

منابع

INTRODUCTION: Why is a Crooked Letter

1. **actually a trap:** I relied on three sources to tell my grandmother's story: an oral history that was performed by the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Dora Kramen Dimitro, interview by Randy Goldman, July 18, 1996,[col_ections.ushmm.org/oh_findingaids/ RG-50.030.0372_trs_en.pdf](https://collections.ushmm.org/oh_findingaids/ RG-50.030.0372_trs_en.pdf); Yaffa Eliach, *There Once Was a World: 900-Year Chronicle of the Shtetl of Eishyshok* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1999); and memories of my conversations with her growing up.
2. **used to house animals:** My grandmother's oral account and the written materials about her experience conflicted with respect to who built the ziemlanka. I deferred to my grandmother's first-person account.
3. **Holocaust remembrance day:** This was not the official Holocaust Remembrance Day but rather an event that my grandparents and other co-survivors organized.
4. **Until relatively recently:** Daniel Dukes et al., "The Rise of Affectivism," *Nature Human Behaviour* 5, no. 7 (July 1, 2021): 816–20, [www.nature.com/ articles/s41562-021-01130-8](https://www.nature.com/articles/s41562-021-01130-8), doi.org/ 10.1038/ s41562-021-01130-8.
5. **heartbreak:** Shayla Love, "The Relatable Emotions of Depressed People from 3,000 Years Ago," *Vice*, May 2021.

6. **In the mid 1860s, an American diplomat:** Ephraim George Squier, Peru: Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1877); Hiran R. Fernando and Stanley Finger, “Ephraim George Squier’s Peruvian Skul and the Discovery of Cranial Trepanation,” in Trepanation: History, Discovery, Theory, ed. Robert Arnott et al. (Boca Raton, Fla.: Taylor & Francis Group, 2003), 3–19; Charles Gross, “A Hole in the Head: A Complete History of Trepanation,” The MIT Press Reader (Aug. 29, 2019), thereader.mitpress.mit.edu/hole-in-the-head-trepanation.
7. **Dr. Paul Broca:** Students of psychology and medicine wil be familiar with the doctor’s name. Broca’s area, a region of the brain involved in speech, was named after him.
8. **were still alive:** Wil iam T. Clower and Stanley Finger, “Discovering Trepanation: The Contribution of Paul Broca,” *Neurosurgery* 49, no. 6 (2001). See also Charles G. Gross, *A Hole in the Head: More Tales of the History of Neuroscience* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2009).
9. **creation of holes in people’s skulls:** M. Ghannae Arani, E. Fakharian, and F. Sarbandi, “Ancient Legacy of Cranial Surgery,” *Archives of Trauma Research* 1, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 72–74; Lydia Kang and Nate Pedersen, *Quackery: A Brief History of the Worst Ways to Cure Everything* (NewYork: Workman, 2017); Ira Rutkow, *Empire of the Scalpel: The History ofSurgery* (New York: Scribner, 2022); Jeffrey A. Lieberman and Ogi Ogas, *Shrinks: The Untold Story of Psychiatry* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2016).
10. **manage their emotions:** Miguel A. Farira Jr., “Violence, Mental Il ness, and the Brain—a Brief History of Psychosurgery: Part 1—from Trephination toLobotomy,” *Surgical Neurology International* 4, no. 49 (2013). Also see R. Aaron Robison et al., “Surgery of the Mind, Mood, and Conscious State: AnIdea in Evolution,” *World Neurosurgery* 77, no. 5–6 (2012): 662–86; Rutkow, *Empire of the Scalpel*.
11. **impossible to know:** Rutkow, *Empire of the Scalpel*, 17.
12. **trying to find tools to regulate them:** K. Tajima-Pozo et al., “Practicing Exorcism in Schizophrenia,” *BMJ Case Reports*, Feb. 15, 2011, bcr1020092350, [doi](https://doi.org/10.1136/bcr-2009-2350).

[org/ 10.1136/ bcr.10.2009.2350](https://doi.org/10.1136/bcr.10.2009.2350); Kang and Pedersen, Quackery; Ronald J. Comer and Jonathan S. Comer, *Abnormal Psychology*(New York: Macmillan, 2018); Stephen A. Diamond, “Possession, Exorcism, and Psychotherapy,” in D. A. Leeming, ed., *Encyclopedia of Psychology and Religion* (Boston: Springer, 2014): 1355–59, doi.org/ 10.1007/ 978-1-4614-6086-2_224.

13. **Nobel Prize in 1949:** “The Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine 1949,” Nobel-prize.org, [www.nobelprize.org/ prizes/ medicine/ 1949/ moniz/ facts/](https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/medicine/1949/moniz/facts/).

14. **we remain in trouble in the emotion department: U.S. Department of Health** and Human Services, “New Surgeon General Advisory Raises Alarm About the Devastating Impact of the Epidemic of Loneliness and Isolation in the United States,” press release, May 3, 2023, [www.hhs.gov/ about/ news/ 2023/ 05/ 03/ new-surgeon-general-advisory-raises-alarm-about- devastating-impact-epidemic-loneliness-isolation-united-states.html](https://www.hhs.gov/about/news/2023/05/03/new-surgeon-general-advisory-raises-alarm-about-devastating-impact-epidemic-loneliness-isolation-united-states.html); “Loneliness Minister: ‘It’s More Important Than Ever to Take Action,’ ” gov.uk, June 17, 2021, [www.gov.uk/ government/ news/ loneliness-minister- its-more-important-than-ever-to-take-action](https://www.gov.uk/government/news/loneliness-minister-its-more-important-than-ever-to-take-action); “Japan’s Parliament Enacts Bill to Tackle Social Isolation,” Japan Times, May 31, 2023, [www.japantimes.co.jp/ news/ 2023/ 05/ 31/ national/ social-isolation-bil/](https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2023/05/31/national/social-isolation-bill/).

15. **Bruce Springsteen:** Chloe Melas, “Bruce Springsteen Opens Up About His Battles with Depression: ‘I Know I Am Not Completely Well,’ ” CNN, Nov. 28, 2018, [www.cnn.com/ 2018/ 11/ 28/ entertainment/ bruce-springsteen- mental-health-interview/ index.html](https://www.cnn.com/2018/11/28/entertainment/bruce-springsteen-mental-health-interview/index.html).

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18. **one trillion dollars:** Lancet Global Health, “Mental Health Matters,” Lancet Global Health 8, no. 11 (2020), [www.thelancet.com/journals/langlo/article/PIIS2214-109X\(20\)30432-0/full-text](http://www.thelancet.com/journals/langlo/article/PIIS2214-109X(20)30432-0/full-text).
19. **people who are good at managing their emotions:** Terrie Moffitt et al., “A Gradient of Childhood Self-Control Predicts Health, Wealth, and Public Safety,” Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 108, no. 7 (2011): 2693–98, [doi:10.1073/pnas.1010076108](https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1010076108); Leah S. Richmond-Rakerd et al., “Childhood Self-Control Forecasts the Pace of Midlife Aging and Preparedness for Old Age,” Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 118, no. 3 (2021): e2010211118, [doi:10.1073/pnas.2010211118](https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2010211118); Benjamin Chapman et al., “High School Personality Traits and 48-Year All-Cause Mortality Risk: Results from a National Sample of 26,845 Baby Boomers,” Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health 73 (2019): 106–10; Markus Jokela et al., “Personality and All-Cause Mortality: Individual-Participant Meta-analysis of 3,947 Deaths in 76,150 Adults,” American Journal of Epidemiology 178 (2013): 667–75.
20. **Chatter:** Ethan Kross, Chatter: The Voice in Our Head, Why It Matters, and How to Harness It (New York: Crown, 2021).
21. **living in the present:** Several studies show that directing people to think about how they’ll feel about something that’s bothering them in the future, rather than focusing on how they feel in the moment, alleviates distress. For discussion, see Kross, Chatter. For examples of studies that illustrate this point, see Emma Bruehlman-Seneca and Ozlem Ayduk, “This Too Shall Pass: Temporal Distance and the Regulation of Emotional Distress,” Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 108 (2015): 356–75; and Emma Bruehlman-Seneca, Ozlem Ayduk, and Oliver P. John, “Taking the Long View: Implications of Individual Differences in Temporal Distancing for Affect, Stress Reactivity, and Well-Being,” Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 111 (2016): 610–35, doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000103.

22. **help us in surprising ways:** For illustrative argument, see Heather C. Lench et al., “Exploring the Toolkit of Emotion: What Do Sadness and Anger Do for Us?,” *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 10, no. 1 (2016): 11–25, doi:10.1111/spc3.12229.
23. **no one-size-fits-all solutions:** Bonanno and Burton, “Regulatory Flexibility.”
24. **instruction manual:** Current therapeutic methods such as cognitive behavioral therapy (CBT) do of course help people regulate their emotions by managing their thoughts, but this book is intended to give everyone, regardless of whether they have access to therapy, the basic building blocks to manage their emotional life. And CBT—as effective as it can be in certain contexts—is ultimately much narrower than this book, focusing as it does on attention and cognition while leaving out the wider universe of sensation, relationships, environments, and culture, all of which we’ll explore here, and all of which we can harness for ourselves, outside a therapist’s office, anytime we need.
25. **“When Asking ‘Why’ Does Not Hurt”:** Ethan Kross, Ozlem Ayduk, and Walter Mischel, “When Asking Why Does Not Hurt: Distinguishing Rumination from Reflective Processing of Negative Emotions,” *Psychological Science* 16 (2005): 709–15.

Chapter 1: Why We Feel

1. **Matt Maasdam:** I interviewed Matt over several occasions during the writing of this book to tell his story.
2. **puppet master lurking inside:** The idea that there is some kind of separate entity inside our minds—a miniature version of ourselves buried deep in the brain, sitting at the control panel, pressing buttons and making things happen—popularized in movies like *Inside Out*, is often called the homunculus fallacy and does not reflect how the brain operates.
3. **more than 90 percent of the time:** Debra Trampe et al., “Emotions in Everyday Life,” *PLoS ONE* 10, no. 12 (2015): e0145450, doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0145450. Participants reported experiencing negative emotions 16 percent of the time and positive emotions 41 percent of the time.

4. **like a virus:** Sigal G. Barsade, “The Ripple Effect: Emotional Contagion and Its Influence on Group Behavior,” *Administrative Science Quarterly* 47, no. 4(2002): 644–75, [doi:10.2307/3094912](https://doi.org/10.2307/3094912); Elaine Hatfield et al., “Emotional Contagion,” *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 2, no. 3 (1993): 96–100, doi:10.1111/1467-8721.ep10770953.
5. **There is a well-circulated quotation:** “They May Forget What You Said, but They Will Never Forget How You Made Them Feel,” Quoteinvestigator.com, [quo-teinvestigator.com/ 2014/ 04/ 06/ they-feel/](http://Quoteinvestigator.com/2014/04/06/they-feel/). This quotation is often misattributed to Maya Angelou rather than Carl W. Buehner.
6. **We don't typically:** Debra Trampe et al., “Emotions in Everyday Life.”
7. **discrete categories:** Alan S. Cowen and Dacher Keltner, “Self-Report Captures 27 Distinct Categories of Emotion Bridged by Continuous Gradients,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 114, no. 38 (2017): E7900–7909, doi:10.1073/pnas.1702247114.
8. **nearly infinite variety:** Lisa Feldman Barrett, *How Emotions Are Made: The Secret Life of the Brain* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017).
9. **Schadenfreude:** Colin Wayne Leach et al., “Malicious Pleasure: Schadenfreude at the Suffering of Another Group,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 84, no. 5 (2003): 932–43, [doi:10.1037/ 0022-3514.84.5.932](https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.84.5.932).
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11. **utterly unique:** Barrett, *How Emotions Are Made*.
12. **what practically everyone agrees on:** I drew from this excellent synthesis by Klaus Scherer on what different emotions theories agree on: Klaus R. Scherer, “Theory Convergence in Emotion Science Is Timely and Realistic,” *Cognition and Emotion* 36, no. 2 (2022): 154–70, doi:10.1080/02699931.2021.1973378.
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Emotion 5, no. 2 (2013): 125–31, doi:10.1177/ 1754073912463617; Barrett, How Emotions Are Made.

14. **positive reframing:** Alison S. Troy et al., “A Person-by-Situation Approach to Emotion Regulation: Cognitive Reappraisal Can Either Help or Hurt, Depending on the Context,” *Psychological Science* 24, no. 12 (2013): 2505–14, doi:10.1177/0956797613496434.
15. **essential place in our lives:** Aaron C. Weidman and Ethan Kross, “Examining Emotional Tool Use in Daily Life,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 120, no. 5 (2021): 1344–66, [doi:10.1037/pspp0000292](https://doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000292); Heather C. Lench and Zari Koebel Carpenter, “What Do Emotions Do for Us?,” in *The Function of Emotions*, ed. Heather C. Lench (New York: Springer, 2018), 1–7; Azim F. Shariff and Jessica L. Tracy, “What Are Emotion Expressions For?,” *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 20, no. 6 (2011): 395–99, doi:10.1177/ 0963721411424739.
16. **anxiety:** Andrew Mathews, “Why Worry? The Cognitive Function of Anxiety,” *Behaviour Research and Therapy* 28, no. 6 (1990): 455–68, doi:10.1016/ 0005-7967(90)90132-3; Jeffrey A. Gray, *The Neuropsychology of Anxiety: An Enquiry into the Function of the Septo-Hippocampal System* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Lench and Carpenter, “What Do Emotions Do for Us?”
17. **sadness:** For a discussion of the physiological slowing-down effects of sadness, see David Huron, “On the Functions of Sadness and Grief,” in Lench, *Function of Emotions*, 59–91. For a discussion of the ways sadness impacts the need to reflect, and its implications for social interactions, see Melissa M. Karnaze and Linda J. Levine, “Sadness, the Architect of Cognitive Change,” in Lench, *Function of Emotions*, 45–58.
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19. **others are more likely to help:** Morteza Dehghani et al., “Interpersonal Effects of Expressed Anger and Sorrow in Morally Charged Negotiation,” *Judgment and Decision Making* 9, no. 2 (2014): 104–13, doi:10.1017/ [s193029750005477](https://doi.org/10.1017/s193029750005477); **Ad J. M. Vingerhoets and Lauren M. Bylsma,** “The Riddle of Human Emotional Crying: A Challenge for Emotion Researchers,” *Emotion Review: Journal of the International Society for Research on Emotion* 8, no. 3 (2016): 207–17, [doi:10.1177/1754073915586226](https://doi.org/10.1177/1754073915586226).
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22. **Guilt:** June Price Tangney and Ronda I. Dearing, *Shame and Guilt* (New York: Guilford Press, 2002); David M. Amodio et al., “A Dynamic Model of Guilt: Implications for Motivation and Self-Regulation in the Context of Prejudice,” *Psychological Science* 18, no. 6 (2007): 524–30, doi:10.1111/j.1467-9280.2007.01933.x.
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24. **Fear:** Parisa Parsafar and Elizabeth L. Davis, “Fear and Anxiety,” in Lench, *Function of Emotions*, 9–23; Randolph M. Nesse and Phoebe C. Elsworth, “Evolution, Emotions, and Emotional Disorders,” *American Psychologist* 64, no. 2 (2009): 129–39, [doi:10.1037/a0013503](https://doi.org/10.1037/a0013503); Dean Mobbs et al., “When Fear Is Near: Threat

Imminence Elicits Prefrontal-Periaqueductal GrayShifts in Humans,” Science 317, no. 5841 (2007): 1079–83, doi:10.1126/ science.1144298.

25. **And lust can:** Cindy Hazan and Philip R. Shaver, “Romantic Love Conceptualized as an Attachment Process,” Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 52, no. 3 (1987): 511–24, doi.org/ 10.1037/ 0022-3514.52.3.511. **In an experiment:** Weidman and Kross, “Examining Emotional Tool Use in Daily Life.”
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27. **Dunedin, New Zealand:** Douglas Starr, “Two Psychologists Followed 1000 New Zealanders for Decades. Here’s What They Found About How Childhood Shapes Later Life,” Science, Feb. 1, 2018, www.science.org/ content/ two-psychologists-followed-1000-new-zealanders-decades-here-s- what-they-found-about-how. For the project website, which includes key references, see “The Dunedin Study—Dunedin Multidisciplinary Health & Development Research Unit,” dunedinstudy.otago.ac.nz/ .
28. **a lot about their lives:** Moffitt et al., “Gradient of Childhood Self-Control Predicts Health, Wealth, and Public Safety.”
29. **Some findings:** Ibid.; Richmond-Rakerd et al., “Childhood Self-Control Forecasts the Pace of Midlife Aging and Preparedness for Old Age.” The links between self-control and brain age and white matter hyperintensities became nonsignificant when covariates were included in the model, but the rest of the findings remained significant.
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2 (2022): 112–59, doi.org/ 10.1177/ 10888683211069025; Kateri McRae and James J. Gross, “Emotion Regulation,” *Emotion* 20, no. 1 (2020): 1–9, doi.org/ 10.1037/ emo0000703.

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33. **duration of our emotions:** Philippe Verduyn and Saskia Lavrijsen, “Which Emotions Last Longest and Why: The Role of Event Importance and Rumination,” *Motivation and Emotion* 39, no. 1 (2015): 119–27, [doi:10.1007/s11031-014-9445-y](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11031-014-9445-y); Philippe Verduyn et al., “Determinants of Emotion Duration and Underlying Psychological and Neural Mechanisms,” *Emotion Review: Journal of the International Society for Research on Emotion* 7, no. 4 (2015): 330–35, [doi:10.1177/1754073915590618](https://doi.org/10.1177/1754073915590618).

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Chapter 2: Can You Really Control Your Emotions?

1. **When Luisa heard:** I changed the name and minor details to protect the identity of the person described in this story. All other details are true.
2. **In the fall of 2000:** Maya Tamir et al., “Implicit Theories of Emotion: Affective and Social Outcomes Across a Major Life Transition,” *Journal of Personality and*

Social Psychology 92, no. 4 (2007): 731–44, doi.org/ 10.1037/ 0022- 3514.92.4.731.

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7. **Jonathan Cohen:** I’m grateful to a lecture delivered by the Princeton neuroscientist Jonathan Cohen for introducing me to the example of the idea of using the “itch” as an illustration of cognitive control. “Jonathan D Cohen on the Rational Boundedness of Cognitive Control,” YouTube, accessed Jan. 9, 2024, www.youtube.com/watch?v=vvvSWkrQ3s. Also see Xintong Dong and Xinzhong Dong, “Peripheral and Central Mechanisms of Itch,” Neuron 98, no. 3 (2018): 482–94, pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/ 29723501/.
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Society B: Biological Sciences 371, no. 1685 (2016): 20150180, doi.org/ 10.1098/rstb.2015.0180.

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Chapter 3: What a 1980s Power Ballad Taught Me About Emotion: Sensory Shifters

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Chapter 4 : The Myth of Universal Approach: Attention Shifters

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Chapter 5 : “Easier F***ing Said Than Done”: Perspective Shifters

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4. **trap of reframing negatively:** Some people think that the key to reframing is to positively reinterpret your feelings. While there are many benefits associated with such reframes, positive reframing is only one example of a helpful cognitive shift. You can also reframe your circumstances by adopting a more sober detached perspective that allows you to take an objective view. In this instance you’re still thinking about a negative situation—you’re not making lemonade out of lemons—but you’re able to wade through the negativity in a more productive way that ultimately helps you out.
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Chapter 8: The Master Switch: Culture Shifters

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Chapter 9: From Knowing to Doing: Making Shifting Automatic

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Conclusion It's 5:00 a.m., Do You Know Where Your Emotions Are?

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Shift

**Managing Your Emotions-
So They Don't Manage You**

Ethan Kross

Translated by Mina Safari

Nashrenovin