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# قدرت عادت

دلیل  
رفتارهایمان در کار و زندگی

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## یادداشت‌ها



آموخته



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## فصل سوم

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Stream, Ill.: Tyndale House, 2010); *Uncommon: Finding Your Path to Significance* (Carol Stream, Ill.: Tyndale House, 2011). I also owe a debt to Jene Bramel of Footballguys.com; Matthew Bowen of National Football Post and the St. Louis Rams, Green Bay Packers, Washington Redskins, and Buffalo Bills; Tim Layden of Sports Illustrated and his book *Blood, Sweat, and Chalk: The Ultimate Football Playbook: How the Great Coaches Built Today's Teams* (New York: Sports Illustrated, 2010); Pat Kirwan, *Take Your Eye Off the Ball: How to Watch Football by Knowing Where to Look* (Chicago: Triumph Books, 2010); Nunyo Demasio, "The Quiet Leader," *Sports Illustrated*, February 2007; Bill Plaschke, "Color Him Orange," *Los Angeles Times*, September 1, 1996; Chris Harry, "'Pups' Get to Bark for the Bucs," *Orlando Sentinel*, September 5, 2001; Jeff Legwold, "Coaches Find Defense in Demand," *Rocky Mountain News*, November 11, 2005; and Martin Fennelly, "Quiet Man Takes Charge with Bucs," *The Tampa Tribune*, August 9, 1996.

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- [5]. In a fact-checking letter, Dungy emphasized that these were not new strategies, but instead were approaches "I had learned from working with the Steelers in the seventies and eighties. What was unique, and what I think spread, was the idea of how to get those ideas across.... [My plan was] not overwhelming opponents

with strategy or abundance of plays and formations but winning with execution. Being very sure of what we were doing and doing it well. Minimize the mistakes we would make. Playing with speed because we were not focusing on too many things.”

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- [12]. Data provided by AA General Service Office Staff, based on 2009 figures.
- [13]. Getting firm figures on AA's membership or those who have achieved sobriety through the program is notoriously difficult, in part because membership is anonymous and in part because there is no requirement to register with a central authority. However, the 10 million person figure, based on conversations with AA researchers, seems reasonable (if unverifiable) given the program's long history.
- [14]. In psychology, this kind of treatment—targeting habits—is often referred to under the umbrella term of **“cognitive behavioral therapy,”** or in an earlier era, **“relapse prevention.”** CBT, as it is generally used within the treatment community, often incorporates five basic techniques: (1) Learning, in which the therapist explains the illness to the patient and teaches the patient to identify the symptoms; (2) Monitoring, in which the patient uses a diary to monitor the behavior and the situations triggering it; (3) Competing response, in which the patient cultivates new routines, such as relaxation methods, to offset the problematic behavior; (4) Rethinking, in which a therapist guides the patient to reevaluate how the patient sees situations; and (5) Exposing, in which the therapist helps the patient expose him-or herself to situations that trigger the behavior.
- [15]. Writing about AA is always a difficult proposition, because the program has so many critics and supporters, and there are dozens of interpretations for how and why the program works. In an email, for instance, Lee Ann Kaskutas, a senior scientist at the Alcohol Research Group, wrote that AA

indirectly “provides a method for attacking the habits that surround alcohol use. But that is via the people in AA, not the program of AA. The program of AA attacks the base problem, the alcoholic ego, the self-centered, spiritually bereft alcoholic.” It is accurate, Kaskutas wrote, that AA provides solutions for alcoholic habits, such as the slogans “go to a meeting if you want to drink,” and “avoid slippery people, places, and things.” But, Kaskutas wrote, “The slogans aren’t the program. The program is the steps. AA aims to go much deeper than addressing the habit part of drinking, and AA founders would argue that attacking the habit is a half measure that won’t hold you in good stead; you will eventually succumb to drink unless you change more basic things.” For more on the explorations of AA’s science, and debates over the program’s effectiveness, see C. D. Emrick et al., “Alcoholics Anonymous: What Is Currently Known?” in B. S. McCrady and W. R. Miller, eds., *Research on Alcoholics Anonymous: Opportunities and Alternatives* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers, 1993), 41–76; John F. Kelly and Mark G. Myers, “Adolescents’ Participation in Alcoholics Anonymous and Narcotics Anonymous: Review, Implications, and Future Directions,” *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs* 39, no. 3 (September 2007): 259–69; D. R. Groh, L. A. Jason, and C. B. Keys, “Social Network Variables in Alcoholics Anonymous: A Literature Review,” *Clinical Psychology Review* 28, no. 3 (March 2008): 430–50; John Francis Kelly, Molly Magill, and Robert Lauren Stout, “How Do People Recover from Alcohol Dependence? A Systematic Review of the Research on Mechanisms of Behavior Change in Alcoholics Anonymous,” *Addiction Research and Theory* 17, no. 3 (2009): 236–59.

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methods of HRT. “My understanding is that Simplified Habit Reversal is effective for reducing habits (e.g., hair pulling, nail biting, thumb sucking), tics (motor and vocal), and stuttering,” he wrote. However, other conditions might require more intense forms of HRT. “Effective treatments for depression, smoking, gambling problems, etc. fall under the umbrella term ‘Cognitive Behavioral Therapy,’ ” Dufrene wrote, emphasizing that simplified habit replacement is often not effective for those problems, which require more intensive interventions.

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- [31]. In fact-checking correspondence, Dungy said “**we did lose again in the playoffs to Phil, in another poor showing. This was probably our worst playoff game and it was done under the cloud of rumors, so everyone knew that ... ownership would be making a coaching change. I think we had instances in the past where we didn’t truly trust the system, but I’m not sure that was the case here. Philadelphia was just a tough match-up for us and we couldn’t get past them. And not playing well, the score turned out to be ugly. However, it was one of our worst games since the ‘96 season.**”
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- [3]. In a fact-checking conversation, O’Neill made clear that the comparison between organizational routines and individual habits is one that he understands and agrees with, but did not explicitly occur to him at the time. “I can relate to that, but I don’t own that idea,” he told me. Then, as now, he recognizes routines such as the hospital-building program, which is known as the Hill-Burton Act, as an outgrowth of a pattern. “The reason they kept building was because the political instincts are still there that bringing money back home to the district is how people think they get reelected, no matter how much overcapacity we were creating,” he told me.

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- [9]. In a fact-checking conversation, O’Neill made clear that, at the time, the concept of the “**habit loop**” was unknown to him. He didn’t necessarily think of these programs as fulfilling a criterion for habits, though in retrospect, he acknowledges how his efforts are aligned with more recent research indicating how organizational habits emerge.
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Comes to Jitters,” *The New York Times*, July 26, 2009; Mark Levine, “Out There,” *The New York Times*, August 3, 2008; Eric Adelson, “And After That, Mr. Phelps Will Leap a Tall Building in a Single Bound,” *ESPN.com* July 28, 2008; Sean Gregory, “Michael Phelps: A Real GOAT,” *Time*, August 13, 2008; Norman Frauenheim, “Phelps Takes 4th, 5th Gold Medals,” *The Arizona Republic*, August 12, 2008.

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## فصل پنجم

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**Management Training for Improving Job Performance: A Field Experiment Involving Salespeople,”** *Journal of Applied Psychology* 85 (2000): 361–72.

- [2]. Angela L. Duckworth and Martin E. P. Seligman, **“Self-Discipline Outdoes IQ in Predicting Academic Performance of Adolescents,”** *Psychological Science* 16 (2005): 939–44.
- [3]. Information on Starbucks training methods is drawn from numerous interviews, as well as the company’s training materials. Information on training materials comes from copies provided by Starbucks employees and court records, including the following internal Starbucks documents and training manuals: Starbucks Coffee Company Partner Guide, U.S. Store Version; Learning Coach Guide; In-Store Learning Coaches Guide; Shift Supervisor Learning Journey; Retail Management Training; Supervisory Skills Facilitator Guide; Supervisory Skills Partner Workbook; Shift Supervisor Training: Store Manager’s Planning and Coaches Guide; Managers’ Guide: Learning to Lead, Level One and Two; Supervisory Skills: Learning to Lead Facilitators Guide; First Impressions Guide; Store Manager Training Plan/Guide; District Manager Training Plan/Guide; Partner Resources Manual; Values Walk. In a statement sent in response to fact-checking inquiries, a Starbucks representative wrote: **“In reviewing, we felt that your overall theme focuses on emotional intelligence (EQ) and that we attract partners who need development in this area—this is not true holistically. It’s important to note that 70 percent of U.S. partners are students and learning in a lot of ways in their life. What Starbucks provides—and partners are inclined to join because of it—is an environment that matches their values, a place to be a part of something bigger (like community), an approach that focuses on problem solving by showing not telling and a successful way to deliver inspired service.”** The company added that **“we’d like to note that as part of our Customer Service Vision, our partners are trusted completely and are empowered to use their best judgment. We believe**

that this level of trust and empowerment is unique, and that partners rise to the occasion when we treat them with respect.”

- [4]. Harriet Mischel and Walter Mischel, “The Development of Children’s Knowledge of Self-Control Strategies,” *Child Development* 54 (1983), 603–19; W. Mischel, Y. Shoda, and M. I. Rodriguez, “Delay of Gratification in Children,” *Science* 244 (1989): 933–38; Walter Mischel et al., “The Nature of Adolescent Competencies Predicted by Preschool Delay of Gratification,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 54 (1988): 687–96; J. Metcalfe and W. Mischel, “A Hot/Cool-System Analysis of Delay of Gratification: Dynamics of Will Power,” *Psychological Review* 106 (1999): 3–19; Jonah Lehrer, “The Secret of Self Control,” *The New Yorker*, May 18, 2009.
- [5]. In a fact-checking email, Muraven wrote: “There is research to suggest that marital problems spring from low self-control and that depletion contributes to poor outcomes when couples are discussing tense relationship issues. Likewise, we have found that on days that require more self-control than average, people are more likely to lose control over their drinking. There is also some research that suggests depleted individuals make poorer decisions than nondepleted individuals. These findings may be extended to explain extramarital affairs or mistakes by physicians, but that has not been” directly shown to be a cause-and-effect relationship.
- [6]. Roy F. Baumeister et al., “Ego-Depletion: Is the Active Self a Limited Resource?” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 18 (1998): 130–50; R. F. Baumeister, M. Muraven, and D. M. Tice, “Self-Control as a Limited Resource: Regulatory Depletion Patterns,” *Psychological Bulletin* 126 (1998): 247–59; R. F. Baumeister, M. Muraven, and D. M. Tice, “Longitudinal Improvement of Self-Regulation Through Practice: Building Self-Control Strength Through Repeated Exercise,” *Journal of Social Psychology* 139 (1999): 446–57; R. F. Baumeister, M.

Muraven, and D. M. Tice, "Ego Depletion: A Resource Model of Volition, Self-Regulation, and Controlled Processing," *Social Cognition* 74 (2000): 1252–65; Roy F. Baumeister and Mark Muraven, "Self-Regulation and Depletion of Limited Resources: Does Self-Control Resemble a Muscle?" *Psychological Bulletin* 126 (2000): 247–59; See also M. S. Hagger et al., "Ego Depletion and the Strength Model of Self-Control: A Meta-Analysis," *Psychological Bulletin* 136 (2010): 495–25; R. G. Baumeister, K. D. Vohs, and D. M. Tice, "The Strength Model of Self-Control," *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 16 (2007): 351–55; M. I. Posne and M. K. Rothbart, "Developing Mechanisms of Self-Regulation," *Development and Psychopathology* 12 (2000): 427–41; Roy F. Baumeister and Todd F. Heatherton, "Self-Regulation Failure: An Overview," *Psychological Inquiry* 7 (1996): 1–15; Kathleen D. Vohs et al., "Making Choices Impairs Subsequent Self-Control: A Limited-Resource Account of Decision Making, Self-Regulation, and Active Initiative," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 94 (2008): 883–98; Daniel Romer et al., "Can Adolescents Learn Self-Control? Delay of Gratification in the Development of Control over Risk Taking," *Prevention Science* 11 (2010): 319–30. In a fact-checking email, Muraven wrote: "Our research suggests that people often don't even realize that they are depleted and that the first act of self-control affected them. Instead, exerting self-control causes people to be less willing to work hard on subsequent self-control efforts (ultimately, this is a theory of motivation, not cognition)... [E]ven after the most depleting day, people still don't urinate on the floor. Again, this suggests the motivational aspect of the theory—they lack the motivation to force themselves to do things that are less important to them. I realize this may seem like splitting hairs, but it is critical to understand that self-control doesn't fail because the person cannot muster the needed resources. Instead it

fails because the effort seems too great for the payoff. Basically, I don't want the next murderer to say that he was depleted so he couldn't control himself."

- [7]. Megan Oaten and K. Cheng, "Longitudinal Gains in Self-Regulation from Regular Physical Exercise," *Journal of Health Psychology* 11 (2006): 717–33. See also Roy F. Baumeister et al., "Self-Regulation and Personality: How Interventions Increase Regulatory Success, and How Depletion Moderates the Effects of Traits on Behavior," *Journal of Personality* 74 (2006): 1773–1801.
- [8]. Megan Oaten and K. Cheng, "Improvements in Self-Control from Financial Monitoring," *Journal of Economic Psychology* 28 (2007): 487–501.
- [9]. Roy F. Baumeister et al., "Self-Regulation and Personality."
- [10]. Ibid.
- [11]. For a selection of Heatherton's fascinating work, see Todd F. Heatherton, Ph.D., <http://www.dartmouth.edu/~heath/#Pubs> last modified June 30, 2009.
- [12]. Lehrer, "The Secret of Self Control."
- [13]. In a fact-checking email, Dr. Heatherton expanded upon this idea: "Exactly how the brain does this is somewhat unclear, although I propose that people develop better frontal control over subcortical reward centers. . . . The repeated practice helps strengthen the 'muscle' (although clearly it is not a muscle; more likely it is better prefrontal cortical control or the development of a strong network of brain regions involved in controlling behavior)." For more information, see Todd F. Heatherton and Dylan D. Wagner, "Cognitive Neuroscience of Self-Regulation Failure," *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 15 (2011): 132–39.
- [14]. In a fact-checking email, a Starbucks spokesman wrote: "Currently, Starbucks offers discounts at many of the national fitness clubs. We believe that this discussion should be more around overall health and wellness

options provided to our partners, rather than focusing specifically on gym memberships. We know that our partners want to find ways to be well and we continue to look for programs that will enable them to do that.”

- [15]. Michael Herriman et al., “A Crack in the Mug: Can Starbucks Mend It?” Harvard Business Review, October 2008.
- [16]. Sheina Orbell and Paschal Sheeran, “Motivational and Volitional Processes in Action Initiation: A Field Study of the Role of Implementation Intentions,” *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 30, no. 4 (April 2000): 780–97.
- [17]. In a fact-checking statement, a Starbucks spokesman wrote: “Overall accurate assessment, however, we would argue that any job is stressful. As mentioned above, one of the key elements of our Customer Service Vision is that every partner owns the customer experience. This empowerment lets partners know that the company trusts them to resolve issues and helps create the confidence to successfully navigate these moments.”
- [18]. These details were confirmed with Starbucks employees and executives. In a fact-checking statement, however, a Starbucks spokesman wrote: “This is not accurate.” The spokesman declined to provide further details.
- [19]. In a fact-checking statement, a Starbucks spokesman wrote: “While it is certainly not incorrect or wrong to refer to it, LATTE is no longer part of our formal training. In fact, we are moving away from more prescriptive steps like LATTE and are widening the guardrails to enable store partners to engage in problem solving to address the many unique issues that arise in our stores. This model is very dependent on continual effective coaching by shift supervisors, store, and district managers.”
- [20]. In a fact-checking statement, a Starbucks spokesman wrote: “Overall accurate assessment—we strive to provide tools and training on both skills and behaviors to deliver world-class customer service to every customer on every

visit. We would like to note, however, that similar to LATTE (and for the same reasons), we do not formally use Connect, Discover, Respond.”

- [21]. Constance L. Hays, “These Days the Customer Isn’t Always Treated Right,” *The New York Times*, December 23, 1998.
- [22]. Information on Schultz from Adi Ignatius, “We Had to Own the Mistakes,” *Harvard Business Review*, July-August 2010; William W. George and Andrew N. McLean, “Howard Schultz: Building Starbucks Community (A),” *Harvard Business Review*, June 2006; Koehn, Besharov, and Miller, “Starbucks Coffee Company in the 21st Century,” *Harvard Business Review*, June 2008; Howard Schultz and Dori Jones Yang, *Pour Your Heart Into It: How Starbucks Built a Company One Cup at a Time* (New York: Hyperion, 1997); Taylor Clark, *Starbucked: A Double Tall Tale of Caffeine, Commerce, and Culture* (New York: Little, Brown, 2007); Howard Behar, *It’s Not About the Coffee: Lessons on Putting People First from a Life at Starbucks* (New York: Portfolio Trade, 2009); John Moore, *Tribal Knowledge* (New York: Kaplan, 2006); Bryant Simon, *Everything but the Coffee: Learning About America from Starbucks* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009). In a fact-checking statement, a Starbucks spokesman wrote: “Although at a very high level, the overall story is correct, a good portion of the details are incorrect or cannot be verified.” That spokesperson declined to detail what was incorrect or provide any clarifications.
- [23]. M. Muraven, M. Gagné, and H. Rosman, “Helpful Self-Control: Autonomy Support, Vitality, and Depletion,” *Journal of Experimental and Social Psychology* 44, no. 3 (2008): 573–85. See also Mark Muraven, “Practicing Self-Control Lowers the Risk of Smoking Lapse,” *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors* 24, no. 3 (2010): 446–52; Brandon J. Schmeichel and Kathleen Vohs, “Self-Affirmation and Self-Control: Affirming

Core Values Counteracts Ego Depletion,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 96, no. 4 (2009): 770–82; Mark Muraven, “Autonomous Self-Control Is Less Depleting,” *Journal of Research in Personality* 42, no. 3 (2008): 763–70; Mark Muraven, Dikla Shmueli, and Edward Burkley, “Conserving Self-Control Strength,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 91, no. 3 (2006): 524–37; Ayelet Fishbach, “The Dynamics of Self-Regulation,” in *11th Sydney Symposium of Social Psychology* (New York: Psychology Press, 2001); Tyler F. Stillman et al., “Personal Philosophy and Personnel Achievement: Belief in Free Will Predicts Better Job Performance,” *Social Psychological and Personality Science* 1 (2010): 43–50; Mark Muraven, “Lack of Autonomy and Self-Control: Performance Contingent Rewards Lead to Greater Depletion,” *Motivation and Emotion* 31, no. 4 (2007): 322–30.

- [24]. This study, as of the time of writing this book, was unpublished and shared with me on the condition its authors would not be revealed. However, further details on employee empowerment studies can be found in C. O. Longenecker, J. A. Scazzero, and T. T. Standfield, “Quality Improvement Through Team Goal Setting, Feedback, and Problem Solving: A Field Experiment,” *International Journal of Quality and Reliability Management* 11, no. 4 (1994): 45–52; Susan G. Cohen and Gerald E. Ledford, “The Effectiveness of Self-Managing Teams: A Quasi-Experiment,” *Human Relations* 47, no. 1 (1994): 13–43; Ferris, Rosen, and Barnum, *Handbook of Human Resource Management* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1995); Linda Honold, “A Review of the Literature on Employee Empowerment,” *Empowerment in Organizations* 5, no. 4 (1997): 202–12; Thomas C. Powell, “Total Quality Management and Competitive Advantage: A Review and Empirical Study,” *Strategic Management Journal* 16 (1995): 15–37.



## فصل ششم

- [1]. Details on this case come from a variety of sources, including interviews with the professionals involved, witnesses in the operating room and emergency room, and news accounts and documents published by the Rhode Island Department of Health. Those include consent orders published by the Rhode Island Department of Health; the Statement of Deficiencies and Plan of Correction published by Rhode Island Hospital on August 8, 2007; Felicia Mello, “Wrong-Site Surgery Case Leads to Probe,” *The Boston Globe*, August 4, 2007; Felice Freyer, “Doctor to Blame in Wrong-Side Surgery, Panel Says,” *The Providence Journal*, October 14, 2007; Felice Freyer, “R.I. Hospital Cited for Wrong-Side Surgery,” *The Providence Journal*, August 3, 2007; “Doctor Disciplined for Wrong-Site Brain Surgery,” *Associated Press*, August 3, 2007; Felice Freyer, “Surgeon Relied on Memory, Not CT Scan,” *The Providence Journal*, August 24, 2007; Felicia Mello, “Wrong-Site Surgery Case Leads to Probe 2nd Case of Error at R.I. Hospital This Year,” *The Boston Globe*, August 4, 2007; “Patient Dies After Surgeon Operates on Wrong Side of Head,” *Associated Press*, August 24, 2007; “Doctor Back to Work After Wrong-Site Brain Surgery,” *Associated Press*, October 15, 2007; Felice Freyer, “R.I. Hospital Fined After Surgical Error,” *The Providence Journal*, November 27, 2007.
- [2]. Accounts of this case were described by multiple individuals, and some versions of events differ with one another. Those differences, where appropriate, are described in the notes.
- [3]. <http://www.rhodeislandhospital.org>.
- [4]. Mark Pratt, “Nurses Rally on Eve of Contract Talks,” *Associated Press*, June 22, 2000; “Union Wants More Community Support During Hospital Contract Dispute,” *Associated Press*, June 25, 2000; “Nurses Say Staff

Shortage Hurting Patients,” Associated Press, August 31, 2000; “Health Department Surveyors Find Hospitals Stressed,” Associated Press, November 18, 2001; “R.I. Hospital Union Delivers Strike Notice,” Associated Press, June 20, 2000.

- [5]. In a statement, a spokes-woman for Rhode Island Hospital said: “The strike was not about relationships between physicians and nurses, it was about wages and work rules. Mandatory overtime is a common practice and has been an issue in unionized hospitals across the country. I don’t know whether there were signs with those messages during the 2000 union negotiations, but if so, they would have referred to mandatory overtime, not relationships between physicians and nurses.”
- [6]. American Academy of Orthopaedic Surgeons Joint Commission Guidelines, <http://www3.aaos.org/member/safety/guidelines.cfm>.
- [7]. RIDH Statement of Deficiencies and Plan of Correction, August 7, 2007.
- [8]. In a statement, Rhode Island Hospital said some of these details are incorrect, and referred to the August 7, 2007, RIDH Statement of Deficiencies and Plan of Correction. That document says, “There is no evidence in the medical record that the Nurse Practitioner, employed by the covering Neurosurgeon, received, or attempted to obtain, the necessary information related to the patient’s CT scan … to confirm the correct side of the bleed and [sic] prior to having the consent form signed for craniotomy surgery. … The medical record indicates that the surgical consent was obtained by a Nurse Practitioner working for the Neurosurgeon who was on call. Although the surgical consent indicates that the procedure to be performed was a ‘Right craniotomy and evacuation of subdural hematoma,’ the side (right) was not initially entered onto the consent form. Interview on 8/2/07 at 2:05 PM with the Director of Perioperative Surgery

indicated that patient ... was transported from the emergency department with an incomplete (as to side) signed surgical consent. The Circulating Nurse noted that the site of the craniotomy was not included on the signed surgical consent as required by hospital policy. She indicated that the site of the craniotomy surgery was then added by the Neurosurgeon, in the operating room, once he was questioned by the Circulating Nurse regarding the site of the surgery.” In a follow-up statement, Rhode Island Hospital wrote that the surgeon “and his assistant finished the spinal surgery, the OR was readied, and when they were in the hall, about to return to the OR, the OR nurse saw the consent form did not include the side of the surgery and told [the surgeon]. The doctor took the consent from the nurse and wrote ‘right’ on it.”

- [9]. In a letter sent in response to fact-checking inquiries, the physician involved in this case contradicted or challenged some of the events described in this chapter. The physician wrote that the nurse in this case was not concerned that the physician was operating on the wrong side. The nurse’s concern focused on paperwork issues. The physician contended that the nurse did not question the physician’s expertise or accuracy. The nurse did not ask the physician to pull up the films, according to the physician. The physician said that he asked the nurse to find the family to see if it was possible to “redo the consent form properly,” rather than the other way around. When the family could not be found, according to the physician, the physician asked for clarification from the nurse regarding the procedure to improve the paperwork. The nurse, according to the physician, said he wasn’t sure, and as a result, the physician decided to “put a correction to the consent form and write a note in the chart detailing that we needed to proceed.” The physician said he never swore and was not excited. Rhode Island Hospital, when asked about this account of events, said it was not accurate and referred to the August 7, 2007, RIDH Statement of

**Deficiencies and Plan of Correction.** In a statement, the hospital wrote, “During our investigation, no one said they heard [the surgeon] say that the patient was going to die.” “Those quotes with all the excitement and irritation in my manner, even swearing was completely inaccurate,” the physician wrote. “I was calm and professional. I showed some emotion only for a brief moment when I realized I had started on the wrong side. The critical problem was that we would not have films to look at during the procedure. . . . Not having films to view during the case is malpractice by the hospital; however we had no choice but to proceed without films.” Rhode Island Hospital responded that the institution “can’t comment on [the surgeon’s] statement but would note that the hospital assumed that surgeons would put films up as they performed surgery if there was any question about the case. After this event, the hospital mandated that films would be available for the team to view.” In a second statement, the hospital wrote the surgeon “did not swear during this exchange. The nurse told [the surgeon] he had not received report from the ED and the nurse spent several minutes in the room trying to reach the correct person in the ED. The NP indicated he had received report from the ED physician. However, the CRNA (nurse anesthetist) needed to know the drugs that had been given in the ED, so the nurse was going thru the record to get her the info.” The Rhode Island Board of Medical Licensure and Discipline, in a consent order, wrote that the physician “failed to make an accurate assessment of the location of the hematoma prior to performing the surgical evacuation.” The State Department of Health found that “an initial review of this incident reveals hospital surgical safeguards are deficient and that some systems were not followed.” Representatives of both the Board and Department of Health declined to comment further.

- [10]. In a statement, a representative of Rhode Island Hospital wrote “**I believe [the surgeon] was the one who noticed that there was no bleeding—there are various versions as to what he said at that time. He asked for the films**

to be pulled up, confirmed the error and they proceeded to close and perform the procedure on the correct side. Except for [the surgeon's] comments, the staff said the room was very quiet once they realized the error.”

- [11]. In the physician's letter responding to fact-checking inquiries, he wrote that “no one has claimed that this mistake cost [the patient] his life. The family never claimed wrongful death, and they personally expressed their gratitude to me for saving his life on that day. The hospital and the nurse practitioner combined paid more towards a \$140,000 settlement than I did.” Rhode Island Hospital, when asked about this account, declined to comment.
- [12]. R. R. Nelson and S. G. Winter, *An Evolutionary Theory of Economic Change* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1982).
- [13]. R. R. Nelson and S. G. Winter, “The Schumpeterian Tradeoff Revisited,” *The American Economic Review* 72 (1982): 114–32. Winter, in a note in response to fact-checking questions, wrote: “The ‘Schumpeterian tradeoff’ (subject of a 1982 AER paper and a kindred chapter, 14, in our book) was only a facet of the project, and not a motivating one. Nelson and I were discussing a collection of issues around technological change, economic growth and firm behavior long before 1982, long before we were together at Yale, and particularly at RAND in 1966–68. Nelson went to Yale in 1968; I went to Michigan that year and joined the Yale faculty in 1976. We were ‘on the trail’ of the 1982 book from 1967, and started publishing related work in 1973. ... In short, while the ‘Schumpeter’ influence is obviously strong in the heritage, the specific ‘Schumpeterian tradeoff’ aspect is not.”
- [14]. For an overview of subsequent research, see M. C. Becker, “Organizational Routines: A Review of the Literature,” *Industrial and Corporate Change* 13 (2004): 643–78; Marta S. Feldman, “Organizational Routines as a

Source of Continuous Change,” *Organization Science* 11 (2000): 611–29.

- [15]. Winter, in a note in response to fact-checking questions, wrote: “There was very little empirical work of my own, and even less that got published—most of that being Nelson on aspects of technological change. In the domain of firm behavior, we mostly stood on the shoulders of the giants of the Carnegie School (Simon, Cyert, and March), and relied on a wide range of other sources—technology studies, business histories, development economics, some psychologists ... and Michael Polanyi, however you classify him.”
- [16]. Winter, in a note in response to fact-checking questions, clarified that such patterns that emerge from thousands of employees’ independent decisions are an aspect of routines, but routines also “get shaped from a lot of directions, one of which is deliberate managerial design. We emphasized, however, that when that happens, the actual routine that emerges, as opposed to the nominal one that was deliberately designed, is influenced, again, by a lot of choices at the individual level, as well as other considerations (see book [Evolutionary Theory of Economic Change] p. 108).”
- [17]. For more on the fascinating topic of how organizational routines emerge and work, see Paul S. Adler, Barbara Goldoftas, and David I. Levine, “Flexibility Versus Efficiency? A Case Study of Model Changeovers in the Toyota Production System,” *Organization Science* 10 (1999): 43–67; B. E. Ashforth and Y. Fried, “The Mindlessness of Organisational Behaviors,” *Human Relations* 41 (1988): 305–29; Donde P. Ashmos, Dennis Duchon, and Reuben R. McDaniel, “Participation in Strategic Decision Making: The Role of Organisational Predisposition and Issue Interpretation,” *Decision Sciences* 29 (1998): 25–51; M. C. Becker, “The Influence of Positive and Negative Normative Feedback on the Development and Persistence of Group Routines,” doctoral thesis,

Purdue University, 2001; M. C. Becker and N. Lazaric, "The Role of Routines in Organizations: An Empirical and Taxonomic Investigation," doctoral thesis, Judge Institute of Management, University of Cambridge, 2004; Bessant, Caffyn, and Gallagher, "The Influence of Knowledge in the Replication of Routines," *Economie Appliquée LVI*, 65–94; "An Evolutionary Model of Continuous Improvement Behaviour," *Technovation* 21 (2001): 67–77; Tilmann Betsch, Klaus Fiedler, and Julia Brinkmann, "Behavioral Routines in Decision Making: The Effects of Novelty in Task Presentation and Time Pressure on Routine Maintenance and Deviation," *European Journal of Psychology* 28 (1998): 861–78; Tilmann Betsch et al., "When Prior Knowledge Overrides New Evidence: Adaptive Use of Decision Strategies and Role Behavioral Routines," *Swiss Journal of Psychology* 58 (1999): 151–60; Tilmann Betsch et al., "The Effects of Routine Strength on Adaptation and Information Search in Recurrent Decision Making," *Organisational Behaviour and Human Decision Processes* 84 (2001): 23–53; J. Burns, "The Dynamics of Accounting Change: Interplay Between New Practices, Routines, Institutions, Power, and Politics," *Accounting, Auditing and Accountability Journal* 13 (2000): 566–86; M. D. Cohen, "Individual Learning and Organisational Routine: Emerging Connections," *Organisation Science* 2 (1991): 135–39; M. Cohen and P. Bacdayan, "Organisational Routines Are Stored as Procedural Memory: Evidence from a Laboratory Study," *Organisation Science* 5 (1994): 554–68; M. D. Cohen et al., "Routines and Other Recurring Action Patterns of Organisations: Contemporary Research Issues," *Industrial and Corporate Change* 5 (1996): 653–98; B. Coriat, "Variety, Routines, and Networks: The Metamorphosis of Fordist Firms," *Industrial and Corporate Change* 4 (1995): 205–27; B. Coriat and G. Dosi, "Learning How to Govern and Learning How to Solve Problems: On the Co-evolution of Competences, Conflicts, and Organisational Routines,"

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- [23]. Winter, in a note in response to fact-checking questions, wrote: “The ‘routine as truce’ formulation has turned out to have particularly long legs, and I think that is because anybody with some experience in working inside an organization quickly recognizes it as a convenient label for the sorts of goings-on that they are very familiar with. ... But some of your example about the salesperson evokes issues of trust, cooperation, and organizational culture that go beyond the scope of ‘routine as truce.’ Those are subtle issues, which can be illuminated from a variety of directions. The ‘routine as truce’ idea is a lot more specific than related ideas about ‘culture.’ It says, ‘If you, Mr. or Ms. Manager, VISIBLY DEFECT from a widely shared understanding of ‘how we do things around here,’ you are going to encounter strong resistance, fueled by levels of suspicion about your motives that are far beyond anything you might reasonably expect. And if these responses are not entirely independent of the quality of the arguments you advance, they will be so nearly independent that you will find it hard to see any difference.’ So, for example, suppose we take your ‘red this year’ example down the road a bit, into the implementation phase, where enormous effort has gone into making sure that the red on the sweater is the same on the catalog cover and on catalog p. 17 and both of those match what is in the CEO’s head, and that red is also the same one produced in response to contracts with suppliers in Malaysia, Thailand, and Guatemala. That stuff is at the other end of the routines spectrum from the decision

on 'red'; people are engaged in complex coordinated behavior—it is more like the semiconductor case. People in the organization think they know what they are doing (because they did more or less the same with the green pullovers featured last year), and they are working like hell to do it, more or less on time. This is guts management stuff, and it is very hard work, thanks partly, in this case, to the (alleged) fact that the human eye can distinguish 7 million different colors. Into that, YOU, Mr. or Ms. Manager, come in and say 'Sorry, it's a mistake, it should be purple. I know we are well down the road with our commitment to red, but hear me out, because ...' If you have lined up strong allies in the organization who also favor a belated switch to purple, you have just touched off another battle in the 'civil war,' with uncertain consequence. If you don't have such allies, your espoused cause and you are both dead in the organization, in short order. And it doesn't matter what logic and evidence you offer following your 'because.' ”

- [24]. Nelson and Winter, *Evolutionary Theory of Economic Change*, 110.
- [25]. Rik Wenting, "Spinoff Dynamics and the Spatial Formation of the Fashion Design Industry, 1858–2005," *Journal of Economic Geography* 8, no. 5 (2008): 593–614. Wenting, in a response to fact-checking questions, wrote: "Nelson and Winter speak of organisational routines as repetitive collective actions which determine firm behaviour and performance. Notably they argue that routines are hard to codify and part of company culture, and as such are hard to change. Also, routines are a major reason why firms differ in their performance and the continued difference over time between firms. The literature started by Steven Klepper interpreted this aspect of routines as part of the reason why spinoffs are in performance similar to their parents. I use this same reasoning in the fashion design industry: fashion

design entrepreneurs form to a large extent their new firm's blueprint based on the organisational routines learned at their former employer. In my PhD research, I found evidence that from the start of the haute couture industry (1858 Paris), spinoff designer firms (whether located in NY, Paris, Milan or London, etc.) do indeed have a similar performance as their motherfirms.”

- [26]. Details regarding truces—as opposed to routines—within the fashion industry draw on interviews with designers themselves. Wenting, in a response to fact-checking questions, wrote: **“Note that I do not speak of truces between entrepreneur and former employer. This is an extension of the organisational routines literature I did not specifically explore. However, in my research on the ‘inheritage’ effect between motherfirm and spinoff, the role of ‘reputation’ and ‘social network’ are often times mentioned by designers in how they experience advantages of their mother company.”**
- [27]. Rodney Cowton and Tony Dawe, **“Inquiry Praises PC Who Helped to Fight King’s Cross Blaze,”** The Times, February 5, 1988.
- [28]. Details on this incident come from a variety of sources, including interviews, as well as D. Fennell, *Investigation into the King’s Cross Underground Fire* (Norwich, U.K.: Stationery Office Books, 1988); P. Chambers, *Body 115: The Story of the Last Victim of the King’s Cross Fire* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 2006); K. Moodie, **“The King’s Cross Fire: Damage Assessment and Overview of the Technical Investigation,”** *Fire Safety Journal* 18 (1992): 13–33; A. F. Roberts, **“The King’s Cross Fire: A Correlation of the Eyewitness Accounts and Results of the Scientific Investigation,”** *Fire Safety Journal*, 1992; **“Insight: Kings Cross,”** The Sunday Times, November 22, 1987; **“Relatives Angry Over Tube Inquest; King’s Cross Fire,”** The Times, October 5, 1988.



- [29]. In the Fennell report, the investigator was ambiguous about how much of the tragedy could have been averted if the burning tissue had been reported. The Fennell report is deliberately agnostic about this point: “It will remain a matter of conjecture what would have happened if the London Fire Brigade had been summoned to deal with the burning tissue. . . . It is a matter of speculation what course things would have taken if he had followed the new procedure and called the London Fire Brigade immediately.”
- [30]. “Answers That Must Surface—The King’s Cross Fire Is Over but the Controversy Continues,” *The Times*, December 2, 1987; “Businessman Praised for Rescuing Two from Blazing Station Stairwell; King’s Cross Fire Inquest,” *The Times*, October 6, 1998.
- [31]. In a statement in response to fact-checking questions, a spokesman for London Underground and Rail wrote: “London Underground has given this careful consideration and will not, on this occasion, be able to provide further comment or assistance on this. LU’s response to the King’s Cross fire and the organisational changes made to address the issues are well-documented, and the sequence of events leading to the fire is covered in great detail in Mr Fennell’s report, so LU does not consider it necessary to add more comment to the already large body of work on the matter. I appreciate this is not the response you were hoping for.”
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Letter to Rhode Island Hospital from Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, October 25, 2010.

- [33]. “ ‘The Problem’s Not Going Away’: Mistakes Lead to Wrong-Side Brain Surgeries at R.I. Hospital,” Associated Press, December 15, 2007.
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- [35]. In a statement, a Rhode Island Hospital spokeswoman wrote: “I would not describe the atmosphere as being one of crisis—it was more accurately one of demoralization among many. Many people felt beleaguered.”
- [36]. The cameras were installed as part of a consent order with the state’s department of health.
- [37]. Rhode Island Hospital Surgical Safety Background, provided by hospital administrators. More information on Rhode Island Hospital’s safety initiatives is available at <http://rhodeislandhospital.org>.
- [38]. For more on how crises can create an atmosphere where change is possible in medicine, and how wrong-site surgeries occur, see Douglas McCarthy and David Blumenthal, “Stories from the Sharp End: Case Studies in Safety Improvement,” *Milbank Quarterly* 84 (2006): 165–200; J. W. Senders et al., “The Egocentric Surgeon or the Roots of Wrong Side Surgery,” *Quality and Safety in Health Care* 17 (2008): 396–400; Mary R. Kwaan et al., “Incidence, Patterns, and Prevention of Wrong-Site Surgery,” *Archives of Surgery* 141, no. 4 (April 2006): 353–57.

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## فصل هشتم

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Vienna Circle), ed. W. Leinfellner and E. Köhler (Boston: Kluwer, 1997), 261–75; A. Flache and R. Hegselmann, “Rationality vs. Learning in the Evolution of Solidarity Networks: A Theoretical Comparison,” *Computational and Mathematical Organization Theory* 5, no. 2 (1999): 97–127; A. Flache and R. Hegselmann, “Dynamik Sozialer Dilemma-Situationen,” final research report of the DFG-Project Dynamics of Social Dilemma Situations, University of Bayreuth, Department of Philosophie, 2000; A. Flache and Michael Macy, “Stochastic Collusion and the Power Law of Learning,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46, no. 5 (2002): 629–53; Michael Macy, “Learning to Cooperate: Stochastic and Tacit Collusion in Social Exchange,” *American Journal of Sociology* 97, no. 3 (1991): 808–43; E. P. H. Zeggelink, “Evolving Friendship Networks: An Individual-Oriented Approach Implementing Similarity,” *Social Networks* 17 (1996): 83–110; Judith Blau, “When Weak Ties Are Structured,” unpublished manuscript, Department of Sociology, State University of New York, Albany, 1980; Peter Blau, “Parameters of Social Structure,” *American Sociological Review* 39, no. 5 (1974): 615–35; Scott Boorman, “A Combinatorial Optimization Model for Transmission of Job Information Through Contact Networks,” *Bell Journal of Economics* 6, no. 1 (1975): 216–49; Ronald Breiger and Philippa Pattison, “The Joint Role Structure of Two Communities’ Elites,” *Sociological Methods and Research* 7, no. 2 (1978): 213–26; Daryl Chubin, “The Conceptualization of Scientific Specialties,” *Sociological Quarterly* 17, no. 4 (1976): 448–76; Harry Collins, “The TEA Set: Tacit Knowledge and Scientific Networks,” *Science Studies* 4, no. 2 (1974): 165–86; Rose Coser, “The Complexity of Roles as Seedbed of Individual Autonomy,” in *The Idea of Social Structure: Essays in Honor of Robert Merton*, ed. L. Coser (New York: Harcourt, 1975); John Delany, “Aspects of Donative Resource Allocation and the Efficiency of Social Networks: Simulation

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- [16]. McAdam, “Recruitment to High-Risk Activism.”
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- [18]. In a fact-checking email, McAdam provided a few details about the study’s genesis: “My initial interest was in trying to understand the links between the civil rights movement and the other early new left movements, specifically the student movement, the anti-war movement, and women’s liberation movement. It was only after I found the applications and realized that some were from volunteers and others from ‘no shows’ that I got interested in explaining (a) why some made it to Mississippi and others didn’t, and (b) the longer term impact of going/not-going on the two groups.”
- [19]. In another fact-checking email, McAdam wrote: “For me the significance of the organizational ties is not that they make it ‘impossible’ for the volunteer to withdraw, but that they insure that the applicant will likely receive lots of support for the link between the salient identity in question (i.e., Christian) and participation in the summer project. As I noted in [an article] ‘it is a strong subjective identification with a particular identity, reinforced by organizational ties that is especially likely to encourage participation.’ ”
- [20]. Tom Mathews and Roy Wilkins, *Standing Fast: The Autobiography of Roy Wilkins* (Cambridge, Mass.: Da Capo, 1994).

- [21]. Branch, Parting the Waters.
- [22]. King, *Stride Toward Freedom*; James M. Washington, *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York: HarperCollins, 1990).
- [23]. King, *Stride Toward Freedom*.
- [24]. For understanding Pastor Warren's story, I am indebted to Rick Warren, Glenn Kruen, Steve Gladen, Jeff Sheler, Anne Krumm, and the following books: Jeffrey Sheler, *Prophet of Purpose: The Life of Rick Warren* (New York: Doubleday, 2009); Rick Warren, *The Purpose-Driven Church* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 1995); and the following articles: Barbara Bradley, "Marketing That New-Time Religion," *Los Angeles Times*, December 10, 1995; John Wilson, "Not Just Another Mega Church," *Christianity Today*, December 4, 2000; "Therapy of the Masses," *The Economist*, November 6, 2003; "The Glue of Society," *The Economist*, July 14, 2005; Malcolm Gladwell, "The Cellular Church," *The New Yorker*, September 12, 2005; Alex MacLeod, "Rick Warren: A Heart for the Poor," *Presbyterian Record*, January 1, 2008; Andrew, Ann, and John Kuzma, "How Religion Has Embraced Marketing and the Implications for Business," *Journal of Management and Marketing Research* 2 (2009): 1–10.
- [25]. Warren, *Purpose-Driven Church*.
- [26]. Donald McGavran, *The Bridges of God* (New York: Friendship Press, 1955). Italics added.
- [27]. Sheler, *Prophet of Purpose*.
- [28]. In a fact-checking email a Saddleback spokesperson, provided additional details: "**Rick suffers from a brain chemistry disorder that makes him allergic to adrenaline. This genetic problem resists medication and makes public speaking painful, with blurred vision, headaches, hot flashes, and panic. Symptoms usually last around fifteen minutes; by that time, enough adrenaline is expended so**



the body can return to normal function. (His adrenaline rushes, like any speaker might experience, whenever he gets up to preach.) Pastor Rick says this weakness keeps him dependent on God.”

- [29]. Discovering Spiritual Maturity, Class 201, published by Saddleback Church, <http://www.saddlebackresources.com/CLASS-201-Discovering-Spiritual-Maturity-Complete-Kit-Download-P3532.aspx>.
- [30]. In a fact-checking email a Saddleback spokesperson said that while an important tenet of Saddleback is teaching people to guide themselves, **“this implies that each person can go in any direction they choose. Biblical principles/guidelines have a clear direction. The goal of small group study is to teach people the spiritual disciplines of faith and everyday habits that can be applied to daily life.”**
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- [32]. Carson; King,
- [33]. *Browder v. Gayle*, 352 U.S. 903 (1956).
- [34]. Washington, *Testament of Hope*.
- [35]. Kirk, Martin Luther King, Jr.
- [36]. *Ibid.*

## فصل نهم

- [1]. “**Angie Bachmann**” is a pseudonym. Reporting for her story is based on more than ten hours of interviews with Bachmann, additional interviews with people who know Bachmann, and dozens of news articles and court filings. However, when Bachmann was presented with fact-checking questions, she declined to participate except to state that almost all details were inaccurate—including those she had previously confirmed, as well as facts confirmed by other sources, in court records, or by public documents—and then she cut off communication.
- [2]. *The Writings of George Washington*, vol. 8, ed. Jared Sparks (1835).
- [3]. Iowa Racing and Gaming Commission, Des Moines, Iowa, 2010.
- [4]. Simon de Bruxelles, “**Sleepwalker Brian Thomas Admits Killing Wife While Fighting Intruders in Nightmare**,” *The Times*, November 18, 2009.
- [5]. Jane Mathews, “**My Horror, by Husband Who Strangled Wife in Nightmare**,” *Daily Express*, December 16, 2010.
- [6]. Simon de Bruxelles, “**Sleepwalker Brian Thomas Admits Killing Wife While Fighting Intruders in Nightmare**.” *The Times*, November 18, 2009.
- [7]. In some instances, people sleepwalk while they experience dreams, a condition known as REM sleep behavior disorder (see C. H. Schenck et al., “**Motor Dyscontrol in Narcolepsy: Rapid-Eye-Movement [REM] Sleep Without Atonia and REM Sleep Behavior Disorder**,” *Annals of Neurology* 32, no. 1 [July 1992]: 3–10). In other instances, people are not dreaming, but move nonetheless.

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- [9]. C. A. Tassinari et al., "Biting Behavior, Aggression, and Seizures," *Epilepsia* 46, no. 5 (2005): 654–63; C. Bassetti et al., "SPECT During Sleepwalking," *The Lancet* 356, no. 9228 (2000): 484–85; K. Schindler et al., "Hypoperfusion of Anterior Cingulate Gyrus in a Case of Paroxysmal Nocturnal Dystonia," *Neurology* 57, no. 5 (2001): 917–20; C. A. Tassinari et al., "Central Pattern Generators for a Common Semiology in Fronto-Limbic Seizures and in Parasomnias," *Neurological Sciences* 26, no. 3 (2005): 225–32.
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- [11]. John Hudson, "Common Law—Henry II and the Birth of a State," BBC, February 17, 2011; Thomas Morawetz, "Murder and Manslaughter: Degrees of Seriousness, Common Law and Statutory Law, the Model Penal Code," Law Library—American Law and Legal Information, <http://law.jrank.org/pages/18652/Homicide.html>.
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a New Assumption in Law and Ethics,” *The Humanist* 66, no. 4 (2006).

- [13]. L. Smith-Spark, “How Sleepwalking Can Lead to Killing,” *BBC News*, March 18, 2005.
- [14]. Beth Hale, “Sleepwalk Defense Clears Woman of Trying to Murder Her Mother in Bed,” *Daily Mail*, June 3, 2009.
- [15]. John Robertson and Gareth Rose, “Sleepwalker Is Cleared of Raping Teenage Girl,” *The Scotsman*, June 22, 2011.
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- [17]. Richard Smith, “Grandad Killed His Wife During a Dream,” *The Mirror*, November 18, 2009.
- [18]. Anthony Stone, “Nightmare Man Who Strangled His Wife in a ‘Night Terror’ Walks Free,” *Western Mail*, November 21, 2009.
- [19]. *Ibid.*
- [20]. Christina Binkley, “Casino Chain Mines Data on Its Gamblers, and Strikes Pay Dirt,” *The Wall Street Journal*, November 22, 2004; Rajiv Lal, “Harrah’s Entertainment, Inc.,” *Harvard Business School*, case no. 9–604–016, June 14, 2004; K. Ahsan et al., “Harrah’s Entertainment, Inc.: Real-Time CRM in a Service Supply Chain,” *Harvard Business Review*, case no. GS50, May 8, 2006; V. Chang and J. Pfeffer, “Gary Loveman and Harrah’s Entertainment,” *Harvard Business Review*, case no. OB45, November 4, 2003; Gary Loveman, “Diamonds in the Data Mine,” *Harvard Business Review*, case no. R0305H, May 1, 2003.
- [21]. In a statement, Caesars Entertainment wrote: “Under the terms of the settlement reached in May of 2011 between Caesars Riverboat Casino and [Bachmann], both sides (including their representatives) are precluded from discussing certain details of the case.⋯ There are

many specific points we would contest, but we are unable to do so at this point. You have asked several questions revolving around conversations that allegedly took place between [Bachmann] and unnamed Caesars affiliated employees. Because she did not provide names, there is no independent verification of her accounts, and we hope your reporting will reflect that, either by omitting the stories or by making it clear that they are unverified. Like most large companies in the service industry, we pay attention to our customers' purchasing decisions as a way of monitoring customer satisfaction and evaluating the effectiveness of our marketing campaigns. Like most companies, we look for ways to attract customers, and we make efforts to maintain them as loyal customers. And like most companies, when our customers change their established patterns, we try to understand why, and encourage them to return. That's no different than a hotel chain, an airline, or a dry cleaner. That's what good customer service is about. . . . Caesars Entertainment (formerly known as Harrah's Entertainment) and its affiliates have long been an industry leader in responsible gaming. We were the first gaming company to develop a written Code of Commitment that governs how we treat our guests. We were the first casino company with a national self-exclusion program that allows customers to ban themselves from all of our properties if they feel they have a problem, or for any other reason. And we are the only casino company to fund a national television advertising campaign to promote responsible gaming. We hope your writing will reflect that history, as well as the fact that none of [Bachmann's] statements you cite have been independently verified.”.

- [22]. In a statement, Caesars Entertainment wrote: “We would never fire or penalize a host if one of their guests stopped visiting (unless it was the direct result of something the host did). And none of our hosts would be allowed to

tell a guest that he or she would be fired or otherwise penalized if that guest did not visit.”

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- [24]. H. Lesieur and S. Blume, “The South Oaks Gambling Screen (SOGS): A New Instrument for the Identification of Pathological Gamblers,” *American Journal of Psychiatry* 144, no. 9 (1987): 1184–88. In a fact-checking letter, Habib wrote, “Many of our subjects were categorized as pathological gamblers based on other types of behavior that the screening form asks about. For example, it would have been sufficient for a participant to have been counted as a pathological gambler if they simply: 1) had gambled to win money that they had previously lost gambling, and 2) on some occasions they gambled more than they had intended to. We used a very low threshold to classify our subjects as pathological gamblers.”
- [25]. M. Potenza, V. Voon, and D. Weintraub, “Drug Insight: Impulse Control Disorders and Dopamine Therapies in Parkinson’s Disease,” *Nature Clinical Practice Neurology* 12, no. 3 (2007): 664–72; J. R. Cornelius et al., “Impulse Control Disorders with the Use of Dopaminergic Agents in Restless Legs Syndrome: A Case Control Study,” *Sleep* 22, no. 1 (2010): 81–87.

- [26]. Ed Silverman, "Compulsive Gambler Wins Lawsuit Over Mirapex," *Pharmalot*, July 31, 2008.
- [27]. For more on the neurology of gambling, see A. J. Lawrence et al., "Problem Gamblers Share Deficits in Impulsive Decision-Making with Alcohol-Dependent Individuals," *Addiction* 104, no. 6 (2009): 1006–15; E. Cognat et al., "'Habit' Gambling Behaviour Caused by Ischemic Lesions Affecting the Cognitive Territories of the Basal Ganglia," *Journal of Neurology* 257, no. 10 (2010): 1628–32; J. Emshoff, D. Gilmore, and J. Zorland, "Veterans and Problem Gambling: A Review of the Literature," *Georgia State University*, February 2010, [http://www2.gsu.edu/~psyjge/Rsrc/PG\\_IPV\\_Veterans.pdf](http://www2.gsu.edu/~psyjge/Rsrc/PG_IPV_Veterans.pdf); T. van Eimeren et al., "Drug-Induced Deactivation of Inhibitory Networks Predicts Pathological Gambling in PD," *Neurology* 75, no. 19 (2010): 1711–16; L. Cottler and K. Leung, "Treatment of Pathological Gambling," *Current Opinion in Psychiatry* 22, no. 1 (2009): 69–74; M. Roca et al., "Executive Functions in Pathologic Gamblers Selected in an Ecologic Setting," *Cognitive and Behavioral Neurology* 21, no. 1 (2008): 1–4; E. D. Driver-Dunckley et al., "Gambling and Increased Sexual Desire with Dopaminergic Medications in Restless Legs Syndrome," *Clinical Neuropharmacology* 30, no. 5 (2007): 249–55; Erin Gibbs Van Brunschot, "Gambling and Risk Behaviour: A Literature Review," *University of Calgary*, March 2009.
- [28]. In an email, Habib clarified his thoughts on this topic: "It is a question about free will and self-control, and one that falls as much in the domain of philosophy as in cognitive neuroscience... If we say that the gambling behavior in the Parkinson's patient is out of their own hands and driven by their medication, why can't we (or don't we) make the same argument in the case of the pathological gambler given that the same areas of the brain seem to be active? The only (somewhat unsatisfactory) answer that I can come up with (and

one that you mention yourself) is that as a society we are more comfortable removing responsibility if there is an external agent that it can be placed upon. So, it is easy in the Parkinson's case to say that the gambling pathology resulted from the medication, but in the case of the pathological gambler, because there is no external agent influencing their behavior (well, there is—societal pressures, casino billboards, life stresses, etc.—but, nothing as pervasive as medication that a person must take), we are more reluctant to blame the addiction and prefer to put the responsibility for their pathological behavior on themselves—‘they should know better and not gamble,’ for example. I think as cognitive neuroscientists learn more—and ‘modern’ brain imaging is only about 20–25 years old as a field—perhaps some of these misguided societal beliefs (that even we cognitive neuroscientists sometimes hold) will slowly begin to change. For example, from our data, while I can comfortably conclude that there are definite differences in the brains of pathological gamblers versus non-pathological gamblers, at least when they are gambling, and I might even be able to make some claims such as the near-misses appear more win-like to the pathological gambler but more loss-like to the non-pathological gambler, I cannot state with any confidence or certainty that these differences therefore imply that the pathological gambler does not have a choice when they see a billboard advertising a local casino—that they are a slave to their urges. In the absence of hard direct evidence, I guess the best we can do is draw inferences by analogy, but there is much uncertainty associated with such comparisons.”

- [29]. William James, Talks to Teachers on Psychology: and to Students on Some of Life's Ideals.
- [30]. Louis Menand, The Metaphysical Club: A Story of Ideas in America (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2002).



- [31]. James is quoting the French psychologist and philosopher Léon Dumont's essay "De l'**habitude**."