1	An external focus of attention promotes flow experience during simulated
2	driving
3	David J. Harris ¹ , Samuel J. Vine ¹ and Mark R. Wilson ¹
4	¹ School of Sport and Health Sciences, University of Exeter, UK
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11	Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to David Harris or Mark Wilson,
12	School of Sport and Health Sciences, University of Exeter, St. Luke's Campus Exeter EX1
13	2LU, UK. E-mail: D.J.Harris@exeter.ac.uk or Mark.Wilson@exeter.ac.uk
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Abstract

27	Achieving a state of flow is associated with positive experiences and improved sporting
28	performance (Jackson & Csikszentmihalyi, 1999). Focused attention is a fundamental
29	component of the flow experience, but to date there has been little investigation of whether
30	attention plays a causal role in creating flow, or is a product of it. Consequently, this study
31	aimed to test the effect of an attentional focus manipulation on flow and performance in a
32	simulated driving task. It was predicted that an external focus would lead to improved
33	visuomotor control, greater flow experience and improved performance. 33 participants from
34	a student population completed the driving task under both internal and external focus
35	instructions. Eye movements and steering wheel movements were recorded during each race.
36	Participants reported greater flow experience ($p < .001$, $d = 1.78$) and enhanced outcome
37	expectancies (p=.02, d=0.41) under external, compared to internal focus conditions, however,
38	there was no effect on visuomotor control (gaze-steering coordination and steering entropy)
39	or racing performance ($ps>0.28$). These findings suggest that adopting an external focus of
40	attention may contribute to positive performance states such as flow.
41	Keywords; the zone, attentional focus, eye tracking, peak performance, coordination,
42	outcome expectancies
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An external focus of attention promotes flow experience during simulated driving

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55 Achieving an optimal mental state for peak performance is a primary goal for athletes. 56 To demonstrate the skills developed through training, unencumbered by distracting or 57 disruptive thoughts, athletes must find a facilitative level of arousal and focus their attention 58 efficiently towards relevant elements of the task (Memmert, 2009). During the state of flow, 59 or 'the zone', athletes report an intense task focus and complete absorption occurring with 60 ease (Jackson & Csikszentmihalyi, 1999; Dietrich, 2004). Notably for performance 61 psychologists, flow has been associated with improved sporting performance (Jackson & 62 Csikszentmihalyi, 1999). Flow is linked with peak performances due to both athlete reports 63 (Jackson, Thomas, Marsh, & Smethurst, 2001) and because of the beneficial cognitive 64 features of flow (Dietrich, 2004). However, experimental approaches are yet to demonstrate a 65 causal effect of flow on performance. Nonetheless an improved understanding of the cognitive mechanisms responsible for flow may enable people in sporting, work and leisure 66 67 activities to achieve flow-like states more often, obtaining the associated motivation and 68 performance benefits. Given the central role of attention in flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990), 69 this study aimed to investigate the effect of an attentional focus manipulation for enhancing 70 flow. Additionally, we aimed to further investigate how the psychological state of flow 71 contributes to performance, through the potential contributory role of outcome expectancies.

72 Flow is often described in attentional terms, but researchers have only recently begun 73 to examine the specific processes responsible (Harris, Vine & Wilson, 2017a; 2017b; Ulrich, 74 Keller, & Grön 2016). Additionally, research to date has focused on changes associated with 75 flow rather than *causally* responsible (Swann, Crust & Vella, 2017), limiting the ability to 76 identify attention as a true mechanism. Therefore experimental approaches that control 77 attention are needed to develop flow theory as well as practical applications. A fitting 78 attentional manipulation may be to promote an external focus of attention. Focusing 79 externally (on the movement effect), relative to internally (on bodily movements), has been found to provide substantial benefits for motor learning and performance (Wulf, McNevin & 80 81 Shea, 2001; Wulf, 2013). The principal mechanism for the benefits of an external focus 82 seems to be through enhanced motor automaticity (Kal, van der Kamp, & Houdijk, 2013; 83 Wulf et al., 2001). For instance Kal et al. (2013) found reduced dual-task costs in a leg

84 flexion task, and Wulf et al. (2001) found reduced probe reaction times in a balance task as a 85 result of an external focus, indicating movements were not being executed through controlled 86 processing. Similarly, McNevin, Shea and Wulf (2003) found more high frequency 87 movement adjustments in a stabilometer task, suggesting that an external focus allowed 88 performers to make use of self-organising capabilities of the motor system. As such, an external focus not only increases movement accuracy but also movement efficiency (Wulf, 89 90 2013). This type of smooth and efficient motor control is typical of athletes' descriptions of 91 flow (Jackson & Csikszentmihalyi, 1999).

92 Additionally an external focus avoids the disruptive effects of self-focus on the 93 monitoring and control of movement mechanics (Beilock & Carr, 2001). Wulf and colleagues 94 describe this through the 'constrained action hypothesis' (McNevin et al., 2003; Wulf et al., 95 2001); individuals who attempt to consciously control their movements may constraint their 96 motor system, disrupting self-organising processes. Notably, Wulf and Lewthwaite (2010) 97 link the self-schema system, activated through an internal focus, to the functional network of 98 cortical mid-line structures which have also been found to be inactive during flow (Ulrich, 99 Keller, Hoenig, Waller, & Grön, 2014; Ulrich et al., 2016). An external focus of attention 100 may therefore further contribute to finding flow, through facilitating the reduction in self-101 consciousness found in flow states (Wulf & Lewthwaite, 2010).

102 There may also be an important overlap between the attentional focus and flow 103 literatures, in terms of outcome expectancies. Within the OPTIMAL motor learning theory, Wulf and Lewthwaite (2016) outline how a range of predictive cognitions regarding future 104 105 outcomes, referred to as outcome expectancies, may contribute to motor learning and motor 106 performance. Enhanced outcome expectancies refer to positive beliefs about future outcomes 107 including concepts such as self-efficacy, self-confidence and perceived competence. 108 Enhanced expectancies are suggested to benefit movement through goal-action coupling -109 maintaining a focus on the task goal and away from the self. An external focus of attention 110 similarly contributes to goal-action coupling, and hence performance, with better movement 111 outcomes leading to enhanced self-efficacy expectations in a feedback loop.

Within the sporting literature, enhanced outcome expectancies, in particular selfconfidence, have been associated with both flow (Swann, Keegan, Piggott, & Crust, 2012) and performance (McKay, Lewthwaite & Wulf, 2012). There are notable similarities between flow and enhanced expectancies regarding the role of challenge, and the relationship with focused attention (Bandura, 1993; Themanson & Rosen, 2015). Achieving an optimal balance between the challenge of the activity and the skill of the performer is a crucial
determinant of flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). Similarly, Bandura (1993) describes *mastery experiences*, which occur when individuals experience success in challenging tasks, as the
most effective way of developing self-efficacy. Therefore, we would expect enhanced
outcome expectancies during situations of optimal challenge, and a positive relationship
between flow and outcome expectancies.

In summary, previous studies (Harris et al., 2017a; 2017b) have indicated an 123 124 association between improved attention and flow, but research is yet to establish a causal 125 direction. Therefore this study primarily aimed to assess the effect of instructions designed to 126 create an internal or external focus of attention on flow and performance. Additionally, to 127 further understand psychological processes that may contribute to the state of focused 128 attention during flow, outcome expectancies were assessed in relation to flow and markers of 129 visuomotor control. Additionally, as much attentional focus research has focused on 130 relatively simple, discrete tasks, we aimed to extend this literature to a more complex visuo-131 motor skill. To this end, participants were given attentional focus instructions before 132 completing a simulated driving task (as in Harris et al., 2017a). It was predicted, based on a 133 range of previous work (Wulf, 2013; McNevin et al., 2003), that an external focus would 134 promote improved performance, motor control and attention, and as a result, greater flow 135 experience. Further, self-focus (on the hands during driving) has been shown to have negative performance consequences (Wilson, Stephenson, Chattington, & Marple-Horvat, 2007). 136 137 Additionally it was predicted that enhanced outcome expectancies would further contribute to 138 a state of flow, through a relationship with markers of attention control and performance.

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Methods

140 **Participants**

141 Based on an a priori power analysis using G*Power (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang & Buchner, 2007), 33 participants were required in order to find a medium effect on self-142 reported flow (d=0.6, based on Harris et al., 2017a), to achieve a power of .90, given $\alpha=0.05$. 143 144 Therefore, 33 participants (16 female, mean age=22.6 SD=3.4) were recruited from 145 undergraduate and postgraduate student populations through word of mouth. As the simulator 146 controls were easy to learn, inclusion in the study did not require any previous real-world or 147 simulated driving experience. Institutional ethical approval was acquired prior to recruitment, 148 and participants gave written informed consent at the start of testing.

149 Apparatus

150 The simulated race used the game Forza 5 on the Xbox One (Microsoft), displayed through a Panasonic Viera 50inch HD flat-screen television. Participants sat in a Playseat 151 152 Alcantra racing chair, fitted with a force-feedback Thrustmaster TX Ferrai 458 (Hillsboro, 153 Oregon) racing wheel, accelerator and brake pedals. The screen was 120cm (approx.) from 154 the participants' eyes. Steering wheel height and distance to the pedals was adjusted for each 155 participant. A potentiometer, recording wheel movements in degrees of deviation from the 12 156 o'clock position at 60 Hz, was attached to the steering wheel column. The wheel recorded 157 onto a Dell Inspiron Laptop positioned behind the participants' seat.

Participants' eye movements were recorded using SMI ETG 2.0 eye tracking glasses (SensoMotoric Instruments, Boston MA) that record onto a customised Samsung Galaxy smartphone. The glasses are lightweight (76 g) and record binocular eye movements to a spatial resolution of 0.5° at a rate of 60 Hz, allowing synchronisation with the steering wheel potentiometer. Participants had their head stabilised in a customised chin rest to eliminate head movement.

164 Measures

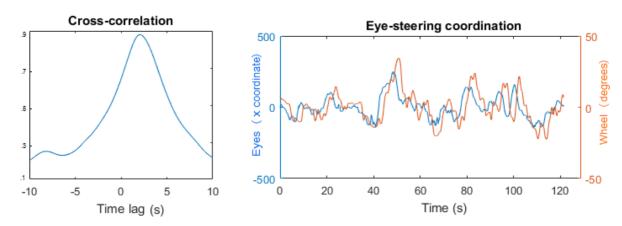
Manipulation check. To check for adherence to instructions participants indicated on
a 1-10 scale the extent to which they were able to maintain the instructed focus, from '*1-Not at all*' to '*10-Completely*' (as in Wells & Papageorgiou, 1998).

Flow. State flow was measured using the Flow Short Scale (FSS; Rheinberg,
Vollmeyer, & Engeser, 2003), a questionnaire used frequently in gaming research. 10 items
such as '*I feel just the right amount of challenge*', '*I have no difficulty concentrating*' and '*I am totally absorbed in what I am doing*' are rated for agreement on a 7-point Likert scale,
with responses ranging from '*Very much*' to '*Not at all*'. The overall scale gave Cronbach's
alpha = 0.88.

Outcome expectancies. As in Badami, VaezMousavi, Wulf and Namazizadeh (2011)
enhanced expectancies were assessed using the perceived competence subscale of the
intrinsic motivation inventory (IMI; McAuley, Duncan & Tammen, 1989). The items '*I think I am pretty good at this activity', 'I think I did pretty well at this activity compared to other students*' and '*This was an activity that I couldn't do very well*' (R) are rated on a 1-7 scale.
These items gave Cronbach's alpha=.84.

180 Eye-steering coordination. To understand psychophysiological changes during flow, 181 eye-steering coordination was used as a measure of visuomotor synchronization (see Figure 182 1). Gaze drives action in a variety of tasks, and directing visual attention to the cornering 183 tangent point is crucial for negotiating bends during driving (Land & Lee, 1994), with the 184 eyes moving to the apex of the corner around a second before the hands move the wheel (Yekshatayan & Lee, 2013). Highly coordinated gaze and wheel movements represent an 185 186 optimal strategy (Chattington, Wilson, Ashford, & Marple-Horvat, 2007), with reduced 187 coordination indicative of inattention (Yekshatyan & Lee, 2013). The coordination is 188 assessed through identifying the optimal time lag between eyes and wheel, and the 189 subsequent correlation between the two signals (r). A higher correlation between eye 190 movements and hand movements indicates that gaze is more closely driving motor output 191 (Chattington et al., 2007).

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Figure 1. Eye-steering coordination for a single race. Panel A) (LHS) shows the peak
correlation across time lags, Panel B) (RHS) shows superimposed gaze and wheel signals.

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197 Steering entropy. To examine motor control, a measurement of steering wheel movement was obtained using a potentiometer. Sample entropy was used to assess the 198 199 complexity of steering wheel movement. Entropy in general relates to rate of information production, and in a biological time series relates to randomness or complexity. Sample 200 entropy is calculated from the natural logarithm of the conditional probability that a series 201 202 similar for *n* points remains similar at the next point (see Richman & Moorman, 2000). 203 Sample entropy is robust to variations in sample size. Measurements of higher entropy (in 204 *bits*) would suggest a more complex steering strategy, most likely reflective of more 205 corrective movements.

206 **Procedure**

207 Participants attended one testing session for approximately one hour. They first read the information sheet and had the experiment explained verbally before signing the consent 208 209 form. Overall, participants completed 5 races (2 laps each) on the simulator. In each race, 210 participants were required to complete two laps of a moderately difficult racecourse as a time 211 trial (i.e. no opponents), with racing settings standardised across all races and participants. 212 Three familiarization races were conducted, the first two without eye tracking equipment. 213 Before the third race participants put on the SMI eye tracking glasses, and placed their head 214 in the chin rest to allow familiarization with the equipment prior to the test races. Participants 215 were then randomly assigned to either internal or external focus instructions in a 216 counterbalanced design. Prior to the first test race the SMI eye tracking glasses were 217 calibrated over three points across the television screen, and the tracking was then checked 218 over a variety of markers across the screen.

219 Participants were next read instructions designed to promote either an internal or distal external focus. Internal focus: 'As you drive, keep your eyes on the road and maintain 220 221 your focus on your hands on the steering wheel. This should help you steer more smoothly.' 222 External focus: 'As you drive, keep your eyes on the road and maintain your focus on where 223 you are heading. This should help you become less distracted. 'Instructions were designed to 224 induce an internal/external focus, while still allowing the internal instructions to be task-225 relevant (cf. Collins, Carson, & Toner, 2016). A reminder of the focus of attention was given 226 at the half-way point of each race (start of lap 2). Following each of the test races participants 227 completed the Flow Short Scale and manipulation check questionnaires. At the end of testing, 228 participants were debriefed and allowed to ask any questions regarding the study.

229 Data Analysis

Gaze data was downloaded from the SMI ETG to BeGaze 3.6 software for analysis,
allowing raw csv data to be extracted from the gaze video. Gaze videos were checked for
recording quality, with videos that displayed a poor calibration removed from the analysis (2
participants).

Data processing was conducted in Matlab (2016a). To compute time lag and crosscorrelation in eye-steering coordination, x-axis gaze coordinates and wheel movements (in degrees) were time locked and filtered using a lowpass moving average filter. The crosscorrelation function measures the degree of similarity across shifted sequences of the corresponding vector, as a function of the time lag. The peak lagged correlation indicates the
average time lag between eyes and wheel, and *r* the degree of correlation between the signals.
Sample entropy of the de-noised wheel signal was then calculated, using a tolerance of

241 0.2*standard deviation of the sample (Richman & Moorman, 2000).

Statistical analysis was performed using JASP (v0.7, Love et al., 2015). Dependent variables were analysed using paired t-tests to compare internal and external conditions, with Wilcoxon signed rank test used when data deviated from normality. Bayes Factors were also obtained using a symmetric Cauchy prior. We report BF_{10} which corresponds to the amount of evidence in favour of the alternative over the null model. We follow the convention that any $BF_{10} > 3$ is evidence for the alternative with factors of 10+ indicating strong evidence. Our raw data is available from the Open Science Framework [osf.io/y3fwj/].

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Results

250 Manipulation check

Participants who reported a difficulty in maintaining the instructed attentional focus (scores of 3 or below on the manipulation check) were removed from the analysis (n=3).

A Mann-Whitney U one sample test indicated a preference for an external focus

254 (M=7.82, SD=2.86, comparison value=6), V(32)=304.00, p=.006, d=0.62, BF₁₀=18.25.

255 Flow and outcome expectancies

Paired t-tests and Wilcoxon signed-rank tests were used to compare self-report scores between experimental conditions. There were significantly higher ratings of flow experience in the external condition (M=46.88, SD=7.85) than the internal condition (M=32.91, SD=11.81), W(29)=525.50, p<.001, d=1.78, BF₁₀=6.72*10⁸ (Figure 2). Likewise there were significantly higher ratings of outcome expectancies in the external condition (M=12.41, SD=2.63) than the internal condition (M=11.97, SD=3.51), t(28)=2.22, p=.04, d=0.41, BF₁₀=1.63 (Figure 2).

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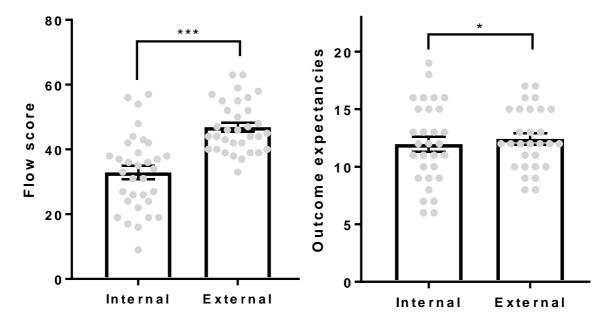
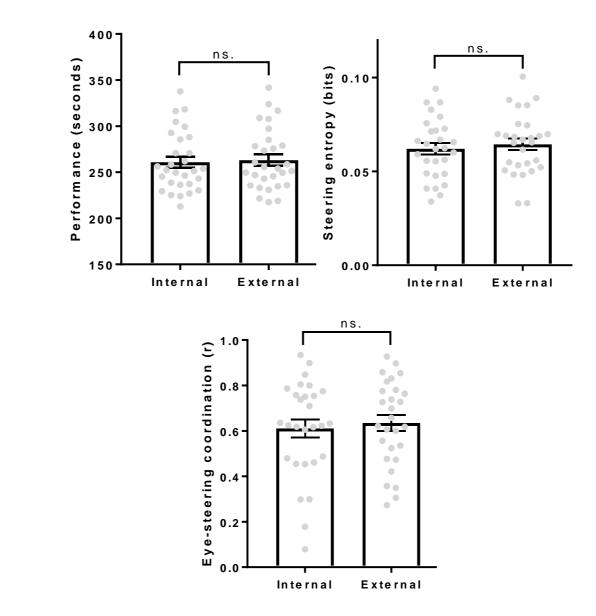


Figure 2. Group means (and standard error) of flow (LHS) and outcome expectancy
scores (RHS). *p<.05, ***p<.001

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Figure 3. Group means (and standard error) of performance (Top-LHS), steering
entropy (Top-RHS) and eye-steering coordination (Bottom). ns=non-significant

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272 Performance measures

273 Paired t-tests indicated no difference in driving performance (seconds) between

- 274 external (*M*=260.80 *SD*=32.17) and internal (*M*=254.40 *SD*=57.99) conditions,
- 275 W(28)=249.00, p=.30, d=0.09, BF₁₀=0.22 (Figure 3). There was no difference in the degree

of eye-steering correlation (r) between external (M=.64 SD=0.19) and internal conditions

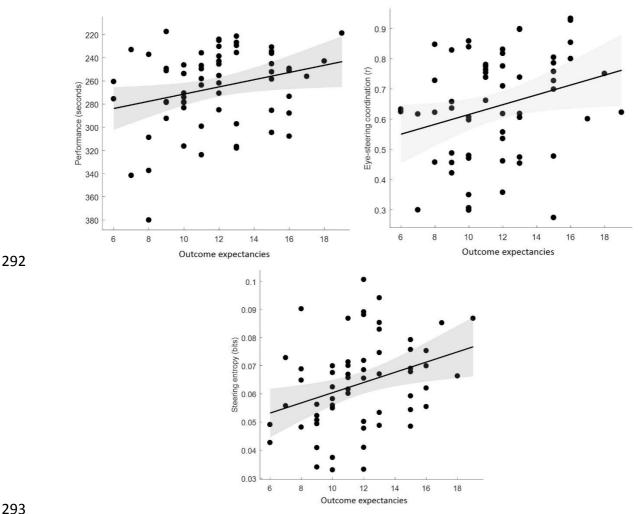
- 277 (M=.61 SD=0.21), W(27)=213.00, p=.83, d=0.12, BF₁₀=0.24 and no difference in time lag
- between external (M=1.28 SD=0.30) and internal conditions (M=1.26 SD=0.28), t(27)=0.28,
- 279 p=.78, d=0.05, BF₁₀=0.21 (Figure 3). Similarly, there was no difference in steering wheel

280 entropy between external (M=0.06, SD=0.02) and internal (M=0.06, SD=0.02) conditions, *t*(27)=-1.10, *p*=.28, *d*=0.21, BF₁₀=0.35 (Figure 3). 281

Correlations 282

Correlation analysis was used to examine the relationship between flow and other 283 284 outcomes, across both conditions. There was found to be a significant relationship between flow and performance, r(62)=-.31, p=.01, BF₁₀=3.30, and flow and outcome expectancies, 285 286 *r*(63)=.30, *p*=.02, BF₁₀=2.70.

Correlation analysis was also used to explore the relationship between outcome 287 expectancies and performance markers. There was found to be a significant relationship 288 between outcome expectancies and performance, r(63)=-.27, p=.03, BF₁₀=1.53. Outcome 289 290 expectancies were also related to higher steering entropy, r(63)=.32, p=.01, BF₁₀=0.99, and 291 improved eye-steering coordination, r(63)=.28, p=.03, $BF_{10}=1.49$ (Figure 4).



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Figure 4. Relationship (with 95% CIS) between outcome expectancies and A) performance
(r=.27, top left); B) eye-steering coordination (r=.28, top right); C) steering entropy (r=.32,
bottom)

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Discussion

299 Focused attention is described as a core component of the flow experience 300 (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990), with recent neuroimaging and eye-tracking findings indicating that 301 during flow, top-down attentional processes are strongly engaged (Ulrich et al., 2016; Harris 302 et al., 2017a). Meanwhile, focus on the self may be inhibited (Ulrich et al., 2014). 303 Experimental manipulations of attention are required to test whether attention changes are 304 merely an outcome of flow, or have a causal effect. Additionally, simple manipulations of 305 attention may provide practical applications for athletes to experience flow more frequently. Therefore this study sought to examine whether an attentional focus manipulation could 306 307 facilitate flow experience in a simulated driving task.

308 In line with our primary hypothesis, external focus instructions lead to greater selfreported flow. This manifested as a large effect (d=1.78) indicating an appreciable difference, 309 310 and Bayes Factor of >100, suggesting the data to be much more likely under the alternative hypothesis. This finding has implications for understanding the mechanisms behind flow as 311 312 previous research has mostly associated attention changes with flow experience (Swann et 313 al., 2017). The current finding however, points to a causal direction, that is, appropriate 314 focusing of attention influences the experiential state. In general, work has indicated selfawareness to be disruptive for flow (Dietrich, 2004; Ulrich et al., 2016), although Jackson 315 316 and Csikszentmihalyi (1999) describe the possibility of remaining highly self-aware during 317 flow. The present findings are in line with a beneficial effect of focusing externally, rather than internally. If future research supports this causal effect of attentional focus, it may have 318 319 important implications for theory and practice. Firstly, there is no convincing theoretical 320 framework within the flow literature that describes the proximal causal mechanisms of flow. 321 Dietrich's (2004) hypofrontality theory could be considered such an approach, but recent 322 findings are at odds with a state of hypofrontality (Harmat et al., 2015). A mechanism based 323 on attention control may provide an alternative hypothesis. Following from this, if a causal 324 influence of attention is supported it provides opportunities for applied interventions to 325 promote flow.

326 The external attentional focus manipulation was also predicted to increase automated 327 motor control (steering wheel entropy) and visuomotor coordination (eye-steering 328 coordination), but this hypothesis was not supported (cf. Wulf, 2013). There were no 329 significant group differences in these measures, with Bayes factors ranging from 0.23-0.35, 330 suggesting weak support for the null. Similarly, there was no performance effect from 331 instructions to focus externally, despite previous support in a range of tasks (Wulf, 2013). 332 Consequently, we cannot conclude that visuomotor changes were responsible for increases in 333 flow. The lack of a performance effect is potentially due to difficulties with the attentional 334 focus manipulation, where participants were directed to the hands on the wheel (internal) or 335 the direction of heading (external). However, they were also asked to maintain their gaze on 336 the road, to avoid confounding the eye-movement analyses by cueing participants to look at 337 their hands. This may have added an additional external element to both groups, reducing any 338 effects of the manipulation. The driving task was also more complex than many used 339 previously to investigate attentional focus (Wulf, 2013), hence future studies to confirm the 340 effect of attentional focus on flow may wish to revert to more traditional balancing or 341 throwing tasks.

342 It was also predicted that an external focus of attention would lead to enhanced outcome expectancies, based on the OPTIMAL theory of motor learning (Wulf & 343 344 Lewthwaite, 2016). This prediction was marginally supported (p=.04) with a small to 345 medium effect (*d*=0.41). A Bayes factor of 1.63, however, provides little support for the 346 alternative hypothesis over the null. A difference in outcome expectancies is in line with the 347 results of Pascua, Wulf and Lewthwaite (2015) who found external focus instructions to 348 enhance self-efficacy in a tennis ball-throwing task, but only at a subsequent retention test. 349 The OPTIMAL theory suggests that enhanced outcome expectancies and an external focus 350 both benefit motor learning and performance, which in turn creates a feedback loop leading 351 to further enhanced expectancies. As there was no evidence of performance improvement as 352 a result of the manipulation, however, the effect of attentional focus on enhanced 353 expectancies may have been through a more direct route, rather than feedback from 354 performance.

A second group of predictions suggested that enhanced expectancies would be related to flow, performance and markers of attention and motor control, which were largely supported. Enhanced expectancies may be strongly tied to the *mastery experience* of challenge-skill balance in a task (Bandura, 1993), and has been linked to performance 359 benefits through enhanced attention control (Themanson & Rosen, 2015). As a result, it may 360 contribute to the state of focused performance during flow. In line with previous findings 361 (Swann et al., 2012) there was a statistically significant, but relatively weak, relationship 362 between flow experience and outcome expectancies, and between outcome expectancies and 363 performance (McKay et al., 2012). Of greatest note were the relationships between outcome 364 expectancies and eye-steering coordination and steering entropy. The degree of eye-steering 365 coordination is a functional gaze-action coupling for negotiating corners (Chattington et al., 366 2007), which impairs performance when disrupted (Marple-Horvat et al., 2005), and indicates 367 good attention during driving (Yekshatayan & Lee, 2013). Entropy in biological time series 368 data is indicative of complexity or randomness (Richman & Moorman, 2000), and here may 369 indicate smaller, more frequent, corrective movements characteristic of automated motor 370 control, as has been found in frequency domain analyses of balance tasks (McNevin et al., 371 2003; Wulf et al., 2001). In combination, these measures indicate automated motor control 372 and an improved functional coupling between gaze and action. It should be emphasised that these were fairly weak relationships (circa r=.30), but as a link between mere belief in 373 374 outcome and precise measures of gaze-action coupling these results are nonetheless 375 noteworthy. Overall, these findings indicate that outcome expectancies may indeed link to 376 flow, performance and positive changes in attention and motor control.

377 In summary, the effect of attentional focus on flow experience found here suggests opportunities for finding flow in a variety of sporting, leisure and work settings. Within sport, 378 379 even if an external focus of attention does not provide the established motor control benefits 380 (Wulf, 2013), it may promote a positive experiential state (flow). Given the importance of 381 goal directed attention in flow (Ulrich et al., 2016) techniques for long-term training of 382 attentional abilities may enable more frequent flow experience. For instance computer-based 383 attention training tasks may enhance executive abilities, although benefits tend to have limited generalisability (Tang & Posner, 2009). Alternatively, gaze training programmes like 384 quiet eye training promote good visual attention control and an external focus (Moore, Vine, 385 386 Cooke, Ring, & Wilson 2012), and can be implemented as a sport specific intervention. Quiet 387 eye training may also contribute to enhanced outcome expectancies, as Wood and Wilson 388 (2012) found a quiet eye trained group to not only improve their attention control in a soccer penalty task, but also showed increased perceptions of competence and reduced outcome 389 390 uncertainty. While achieving flow on a regular basis may be unrealistic, such interventions 391 may serve to regulate attention such that flow may become more common.

392	Conclusions
393	A growing body of research has revealed that the flow experience is underpinned by
394	attention that is task-focused and directed away from the self (Ulrich et al., 2016). The
395	current attentional focus manipulation elicited increased flow experience, showing attentional
396	changes to have a causal effect on flow. Additionally, outcome expectancies were found to
397	relate to both flow and improved visuomotor performance. Both the effect of the attentional
398	focus instructions and the findings pertaining to outcome expectancies suggest practical
399	benefits for finding flow through attention focusing and training techniques.
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