

UCSF

UC San Francisco Previously Published Works

Title

If It All Comes Down to Bodily Awareness, How Do We Know? Assessing Bodily Awareness

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7sh820zq>

Journal

Kinesiology Review, 9(3)

ISSN

2163-0453

Author

Mehling, Wolf E

Publication Date

2020-08-01

DOI

10.1123/kr.2020-0021

Peer reviewed

If It All Comes Down to Bodily Awareness, How Do We Know? Assessing Bodily Awareness

Wolf E. Mehling

A purported key mechanism of action in most mind–body movement approaches is the maturation and development of bodily awareness. This is an experiential learning process with its own phenomenology, underlying neurological processes, and challenges for scientific study. This report focuses on the assessment of changes in bodily awareness, which is of key importance for the documentation of this learning process for both research and clinical application. Objective assessments requiring lab equipment are briefly reviewed. Qualitative assessments can be performed by interviews, focus groups, and second-person observation of movement performance. In addition, systematically developed self-report questionnaires have become available in recent years, have undergone extensive validation, and are presented here.

Keywords: assessment, body awareness, interoception, questionnaire

It has been suggested that improvement in bodily awareness is a key mechanism of action for many movement therapies (Mehling et al., 2011). Examples of these mind–body therapies include mindful movement, integrative exercise, movement-education approaches named after or by founding teachers (e.g., Feldenkrais [the Feldenkrais method], F.M. Alexander [the Alexander technique], Rosen [the Rosen method], Middendorf [Middendorf breath], and G. Alexander [eutony]; Alexander, 1983), breath therapies (Mehling, 2001), mindful awareness in body-oriented therapy (Price, Wells, Donovan, & Rue, 2012), dance therapies (Marich & Howell, 2015; van Vugt, 2014), and many lesser-known approaches. As this mechanism also appears to be shared with tai chi and yoga, which in turn is part of mindfulness-based stress reduction (Carmody & Baer, 2008), some of the references in the following will come from research on these methods.

Bodily awareness can be—and has been—defined in a variety of ways, which has led to some confusion in the literature. For many decades, physicians associated bodily awareness with somatization and hypochondriasis, body image and self-objectification (Daubenmier, 2005)—a general hypervigilance toward bodily sensations interpreted as threatening and anxiety-provoking in patients. This style of bodily awareness is apparently maladaptive and has traditionally been assessed, due to lack of better instruments, by having patients check a list of anxiety-related symptoms (Porges, 1993). Possibly in part due to the prominence of its author and his polyvagal theory among body-oriented psychotherapists, and despite that fact that his highly popular theory has been seriously questioned, if not thoroughly debunked (Grossman, 2016; Grossman & Deuring, 2020), Porges’s questionnaire is still applied in bodily awareness and interoception-related research and has led to considerable confusion in the literature (Mehling, 2016; Trevisan et al., 2019). However, the evenhanded (Williams, 2010), adaptive (salutogenic) style of attention toward bodily sensations, generally labeled “mindful,” which is the hallmark of the increasingly popular approaches discussed in this special issue of *Kinesiology Review*, is clearly not captured by this legacy measure and required the development of new instruments (see the systematic

review in Mehling et al., 2009). Another legacy measure of bodily awareness is the Body Awareness Questionnaire (Shields, Mallory, & Simon, 1989), which was developed to assess the tendency to focus on bodily sensations that explicitly are unrelated to and exclude emotions. However, if researchers are interested in the interface of physical sensations and emotions, as well as the awareness of their interrelatedness, then for our purposes the usefulness of the questionnaire may be limited.

In order to better define the ambiguous construct of bodily awareness, an expert panel developed the following rather lengthy definition:

Body awareness is the perception of bodily states, processes and actions that is presumed to originate from sensory proprioceptive and interoceptive afferents and that an individual has the capacity to be aware of. Body awareness includes the perception of specific physical sensations (e.g., awareness of heart activity; proprioception of limb position) as well as complex syndromes (e.g., pain; sense of relaxation; ‘somatic markers’ of emotions). Body awareness is hypothesized as the product of an interactive and dynamic, emergent process that (a) reflects complex afferent, efferent, forward- and back-projecting neural activities, (b) includes cognitive appraisal and unconscious gating, and (c) is shaped by the person’s attitudes, beliefs, experience and learning in a social and cultural context. (Mehling et al., 2009, p. 4)

Bodily awareness has also been a topic for philosophers at least since Merleau-Ponty (Barsalou, 1999; Bermudez, 2018; Leder, 1990; Merleau-Ponty, 1945; Shusterman, 2008). What may be of importance for our discussion is that bodily awareness is conceived of as a developmental process unfolding not only during childhood (Oldroyd, Pasupathi, & Wainryb, 2019) but also—most important—throughout adulthood (Gadow, 1980). Gadow (1980) proposed a model of four stages of this development, from taking the body for granted, having an aversive relationship to uncomfortable sensations (e.g., pain), accepting physical symptoms as valid information from one’s body, to appreciating the wisdom of the body for decision making. Meditators and contemplatives might add a fifth stage: a nonconceptual, nondual experience of

The author (Wolf.Mehling@ucsf.edu) is with the Osher Center for Integrative Medicine, University of California San Francisco, San Francisco, CA, USA.

mind and body as one. Although conceptualizing this development as a linear progression may be an oversimplification, capturing any individual development along that axis for research appears quite challenging, to say the least.

Neurologically, bodily awareness is the part of proprioception and interoception of which one can be aware. Proprioception is defined here as the perception of joint angles and muscle tensions, of movement, posture, and balance. Interoception, more narrowly defined, is the perception of physical sensations from inside the body and includes sensations related to internal organ function, such as heartbeat, respiration, satiety, and autonomic nervous system activity related to emotions (Craig, 2003; Sherrington, 1906). More broadly defined, it can include any perception that originates inside the body (Cameron, 2001; Farb et al., 2015). In the last decade, research interest in interoception has virtually exploded (Khalsa et al., 2018). This construct is now deeply anchored in neuroscience (Farb et al., 2015; Khalsa et al., 2018; Seth, 2013) and has caught the interest of the National Institute of Health (NIH; Chen, 2019).

As neuroscience has provided deep insight into the mostly unconscious processes involved in and underlying interoception and interoceptive awareness (Critchley, Wiens, Rotshtein, Ohman, & Dolan, 2004; Schmalzl & Kerr, 2016), it has conducted its first studies of the claims of the Feldenkrais Guild that the effectiveness of Feldenkrais training may be based on “rewiring your brain” (i.e., neuroplasticity; Myers, 2016; Verrel, Almagor, Schumann, Lindenberger, & Kuhn, 2015). What is needed are clinical studies to show that changes in brain activities help patients with medical conditions.

The goal of this article is to provide an overview of methods for capturing the changes that may occur with mind–body movement interventions. Objective measures generally require relatively expensive technology primarily available at academic institutions. First-person reports can provide qualitative data on the phenomenology of the experience when undergoing the approaches discussed in this volume, as this phenomenology is hard to capture with objective measures. An innovative interview technique in this field is based on microphenomenology (Petitmengin & Lachaux, 2013). Standardized second-person observations are commonly used in Scandinavian studies of body-awareness approaches. A brief overview of quantitative assessment methods using questionnaires will follow and provide more details about the current state of measurement development, using the Multidimensional Assessment of Interoceptive Awareness (MAIA) as an example.

Methods

The method for this article is an eclectic narrative review presenting a broad array of currently applicable assessment methods. These methods may enable clinicians and researchers to capture processes presumably involved in the therapeutic-movement approaches discussed in this journal issue. It must be noted that the field has expanded in the last decades in such a way that it is impossible to pay respect to all elements and provide a complete review here. Self-report measures that are freely available in the public domain for clinical work and research are highlighted.

Results

First, a brief overview of objective measures for bodily awareness should be provided. Beginning with measures for proprioception

and postural and motor control, the literature on that topic is extensive (Clark, Roijezon, & Treleven, 2015), and here only a few feasible examples are mentioned. One is the joint-repositioning error (Feipel et al., 2003; Newcomer, Laskowski, Yu, Larson, & An, 2000) assessed by wearable motion sensors. These electronic sensors have been miniaturized and have become increasingly sophisticated (Weston, Le, & Marras, 2017). People with higher bodily awareness are expected to be able to more closely repeat a given positioning joint angle at the spine or peripheral joints. Tactile sensory discrimination (Flor, Denke, Schaefer, & Grusser, 2001) and acuity (Kerr et al., 2008) should be mentioned, as the latter has been used to demonstrate improved bodily awareness in a study of tai chi. Motion labs use cameras and body markers (e.g., for assessing body-awareness-based exercise form in chi-running; Kumar et al., 2015). Force plates have been used for the assessment of changes from Alexander-technique or Middendorfbreath therapy (Cacciatore, Horak, & Henry, 2005; Mehling, 2004).

The rubber-hand illusion (Cacciatore et al., 2005; Valenzuela Moguillansky, O'Regan, & Petitmengin, 2013) is a traditional objective measure for what is commonly termed “body ownership” and assesses proprioceptive bias (Longo, Schuur, Kammers, Tsakiris, & Haggard, 2008). It has been studied qualitatively (Valenzuela Moguillansky et al., 2013) and takes notice of the common deficit in bodily awareness by testing a subject's connection to a visible fake hand versus their own invisible hand. Intriguingly, as a side note, temperature and blood supply to the hand diminish to the degree that the real hand is disowned, lost to momentary bodily awareness, in favor of a fake hand (Moseley et al., 2008).

Measurements for dimensions of interoception, interoceptive accuracy (or sensitivity), interoceptive awareness (or sensibility) are based on a terminology that is unfortunately somewhat confusing and that underwent several changes since its operationalization (Ceunen, Van Diest, & Vlaeyen, 2013; Ceunen, Vlaeyen, & Van Diest, 2016; Farb et al., 2015; Garfinkel, Seth, Barrett, Suzuki, & Critchley, 2015; Khalsa et al., 2018). Interoceptive accuracy is measured separately for cardiac, respiratory, and gastrointestinal interoception (Ferentzi et al., 2018). The most frequently used heart-rate-detection/-counting tasks have been shown to have considerable limitations (Desmedt et al., 2020; Knapp-Kline & Kline, 2005; Ring & Brener, 1996; Zamariola, Maurage, Luminet, & Corneille, 2018) and are only poorly related—if at all—with self-reported interoceptive awareness or sensibility (Cali, Ambrosini, Picconi, Mehling, & Committeri, 2015). As this is not the space to comprehensively review the available objective measures (see overviews in Khalsa et al., 2018; Pace-Schott et al., 2019), a few references will have to suffice: Respiratory interoception has been assessed with detection thresholds and discrimination of inspiratory loads placed into the air flow of breathing (Daubemier, Sze, Kerr, Kemeny, & Mehling, 2013; Paulus et al., 2012; Rieger, Stephan, & Harrison, 2020), and gastrointestinal interoception has used intestinal distension (e.g., with water loads; Boeckxstaens, Hirsch, van den Elzen, Heisterkamp, & Tytgat, 2001; Dudley & Stevenson, 2016; Kanazawa et al., 2008). These objective measures assess one dimension of interoception, namely its accuracy. Other aspects such as regulatory aspects (Bornemann, Herbert, Mehling, & Singer, 2014), different styles of attention (Mehling, 2016), the degree of mind–body integration with emotions (Khoury, Lutz, & Schuman-Olivier, 2018), and trusting one's body (Velten & Brotto, 2017) are not captured by measures of interoceptive accuracy. These measures, to use an analogy, test the

equivalent of your visual acuity when looking at modern art in a museum, rather than how you process what you see and feel.

Neuroscience on interoception has widely employed fMRI (functional magnetic resonance imaging; Critchley, Mathias, & Dolan, 2001; Haase et al., 2016), EEG (electroencephalography; Kerr, Sacchet, Lazar, Moore, & Jones, 2013), and heartbeat-evoked potentials (Baranauskas, Grabauskaite, & Griskova-Bulanova, 2017) to study interoception. Physiological feelings related to emotions have been extensively studied (Barrett, 2017a, 2017b; Pace-Schott et al., 2019; Seth & Critchley, 2013; Wiens, 2005). Again, it is important to note that objective assessments of interoceptive accuracy only poorly correlate with self-reported interoceptive awareness or sensibility. For our field of neuroscience in mindful-movement practices, the NIH has conducted intriguing brain research on yoga and its effect on pain and the insula cortex, which is the brain's hub for interoception (Villemure, Ceko, Cotton, & Bushnell, 2014). But to my knowledge, although currently underway, little *clinical* research has been completed and published on brain imaging with mindful-movement practices and interoceptive bodily awareness. An exception is a recent study on tai chi and depression (Xu et al., 2020). Although bodily awareness was not assessed directly, the authors found connectivity changes indicating “a shift towards processing experience according to sensory rather than cognitive aspects . . . attention toward sensations as they arise without changing them.” They labeled this “changed communication between brain regions involved with bodily processing” as “interoceptive shift” (p. 7).

In the Scandinavian countries, and there particularly within the frame of physical therapy and psychiatric care, body-awareness-based interventions have been developed and widely implemented. One example is basic body awareness therapy (Bravo, Skjaerven, Espart, Sein-Echaluce, & Catalan-Matamoros, 2019): Changes in movement patterns and body-awareness-related treatment effects are assessed by trained physical therapists using a standardized semiquantitative observation scale (a method of second-person assessment), often in addition to detailed first-person, qualitative assessments.

Qualitative research assesses first-person subjective experience from interviews and focus groups. In one such study with well-known experts using a variety of mind-body interventions including yoga (Iyengar and Desikachar), tai chi, Feldenkrais, Alexander, breath therapy, eutony, mindfulness-based stress reduction, and somatic experiencing, improving bodily awareness was viewed as a common key mechanism of action (Mehling et al., 2011). Qualitative studies have been conducted on the Feldenkrais method (Connors, Galea, Said, & Remedios, 2010; Pugh & Williams, 2014), although changes in bodily awareness itself were not the main focus of the studies. A more recently developed method of microphenomenology may be particularly useful for in-depth analyses of what happens during mindful-movement interventions (Petitmengin & Lachaux, 2013) and has been used in assessing subtle variations in bodily awareness in the rubber-hand illusion (Valenzuela Moguillansky et al., 2013).

Self-reported bodily awareness has been assessed by numerous scales (see the review in Mehling et al., 2009). For postural awareness, a new scale has been developed very recently (Cramer, Mehling, Saha, Dobos, & Lauche, 2018). One of the oldest (1984), more disease-specific scales, the Eating Disorder Inventory, is a standard measure in patients with eating disorders (Espelage et al., 2003). It specifically includes a subscale for interoceptive deficits. Price and Daubenmier developed scales that attempt to capture the changes involved in body-oriented psychotherapy (Price &

Thompson, 2007; e.g., mindful awareness in body-oriented therapy; Price et al., 2012) and yoga (Cramer, Lauche, et al., 2018; Daubenmier, 2005). Both joined a team that systematically developed the MAIA (Mehling et al., 2012), which is now used in an improved second version (MAIA-2; Mehling, Acree, Stewart, Silas, & Jones, 2018). It has now been translated into 30 other languages (see <https://osher.ucsf.edu/maia>) and is used worldwide, for example, for capturing changes in interoceptive bodily awareness in patients undergoing mind-body interventions. The MAIA has also shown its ability to distinguish between known groups (Brown et al., 2017; Stern et al., 2017; Todd, Aspell, Barron, & Swami, 2019) and to predict treatment outcomes (Vachon-Preseau et al., 2019, 2018). Similar to many other instruments that try to assess learning processes and subtle variations in a complex construct that is difficult to operationalize, this instrument should be viewed as a work in progress, with the limitations of any self-report measure. This is particularly obvious in regard to its translations and cross-cultural adaptations (see the review in Todd et al., 2020). However, since its publication in November 2012, the MAIA has demonstrated its validity and been applied in numerous studies (Bornemann et al., 2014; de Jong et al., 2016; Duncan et al., 2017; Fissler et al., 2016; Mehling, Chesney, et al., 2018; Price & Hooven, 2018; Price, Thompson, Crowell, & Pike, 2019a), including studies of mindful-movement practices (Mehling, Chesney, et al., 2018; Osypiuk et al., 2020).

The current version of the MAIA consists of eight scales with a total of 37 items that can be used independently from one another according to researchers' needs and research questions (Mehling, Acree, et al., 2018; Mehling et al., 2012):

- *Noticing* (4 items): the awareness of uncomfortable, comfortable, and neutral body sensations
- *Not-distracting* (6 items): the tendency not to ignore or distract oneself from sensations of pain or discomfort
- *Not-worrying* (5 items): the tendency not to worry or experience emotional distress with sensations of pain or discomfort
- *Attention regulation* (7 items): the ability to sustain and control attention to body sensations
- *Emotional awareness* (5 items): the awareness of the connection between body sensations and emotional states
- *Self-regulation* (4 items): the ability to regulate distress by attention to body sensations
- *Body listening* (3 items): the active listening to the body for insight
- *Trusting* (3 items): the experience of one's body as safe and trustworthy.

The questionnaire is in the public domain and free to use without permission. For the most recent version and any translations, please see <https://osher.ucsf.edu/maia>.

Discussion

This review has shown that there are numerous ways to assess variations and changes in bodily awareness in research. These measures have also been applied in clinical practice to document the effects of a given therapy (e.g., in physical therapy, psychotherapy, or psychiatry). If we hypothesize that changes in bodily awareness are a key mechanism in mindful-movement practices, these measures can ideally be applied in research that uses mediation analysis. Mediation analysis tests whether the changes in the

main clinical outcome (e.g., improved depression or pain scores) associated with or produced by a mind–body intervention are due, at least partially, to improvements in bodily awareness. For example, it has already been shown in research on mindfulness-based therapeutic approaches, which include present-moment interoceptive attention to yoga movements and postures, that changes in interoceptive bodily awareness assessed by the MAIA mediated the benefits of the intervention on depression in patients with chronic pain with comorbid depression (Fissler et al., 2016). In mindfulness-based classes for mothers preparing for childbirth, improvements in interoceptive awareness—again, assessed by the MAIA—mediated the beneficial effects on postpartum depression. And yoga for women improved women’s self-objectification mediated by an improved relationship to their bodies (Daubenmier, 2005). Mediation analyses usually require a sufficient sample size and expert-level knowledge of statistics. Somewhat simpler studies, without that type of mediation analysis, have shown that changes in interoceptive awareness were found in parallel with changes in clinical outcomes. Examples include integrative, body-awareness-focused movement exercises for posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD; Mehling, Chesney, et al., 2018); mindful awareness in body-oriented therapy for substance-use disorder (Price et al., 2019a, 2019b); Qigong for postsurgical pain in patients with breast cancer (Osypiuk et al., 2020); and other mindfulness-based interventions for women with obesity (Daubenmier et al., 2016) or for hypertension (Loucks et al., 2019). The analyses in the latter studies support the hypotheses that the improvements in clinical outcomes may potentially be associated with improvements in interoceptive bodily awareness, but without mediation analysis, these studies are unable to confirm that this improvement in a clinical outcome occurred *because* of improved bodily awareness.

A limitation of this paper may be the research and study preferences of the author. However, the references are numerous and include a variety of viewpoints, some of which are in respectful disagreement with my own and may counterbalance the admitted selection bias.

Conclusions

This paper aimed to show the many ways to study bodily awareness: from a first-person, qualitative phenomenological perspective; from second-person behavioral observation; quantitatively, by self-report with validated psychological questionnaires; and objectively, with psychophysiological and neuroscientific techniques. This field of research is rapidly expanding (Farb et al., 2015; Khalsa et al., 2018). The scientific journal *Frontiers in Neuroscience* dedicated a special-topic issue to “Neural Mechanisms Underlying ‘Movement-Based’ Embodied Contemplative Practices” (Schmalzl & Kerr, 2016). The current paper can only scratch the surface and offers further references for deepening the study of bodily awareness. Science has opened up to rigorous studies of mindful-movement practices and body-awareness-enhancing approaches. This is the time.

References

Alexander, G. (1983). Eutony means balance of tensions. Psychophysical education, re-education and therapy. *Panminerva Medica*, 25(1), 61–65. PubMed ID: 6866551

Baranaukas, M., Grabauskaitė, A., & Griskova-Bulanova, I. (2017). Brain responses and self-reported indices of interoception: Heartbeat

evoked potentials are inversely associated with worrying about body sensations. *Physiology & Behavior*, 180, 1–7. PubMed ID: 28778551 doi:10.1016/j.physbeh.2017.07.032

Barrett, H.L. (2017a). *How emotions are made—The secret life of the brain*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Barrett, L.F. (2017b). The theory of constructed emotion: An active inference account of interoception and categorization. *Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience*, 12(11), 1833. PubMed ID: 28472391 doi:10.1093/scan/nsx060

Barsalou, L.W. (1999). Perceptual symbol systems. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 22(4), 577–609. PubMed ID: 11301525 doi:10.1017/S0140525X99002149

Bermudez, J.L. (2018). *The bodily self: Selected essays*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Boeckstaens, G.E., Hirsch, D.P., van den Elzen, B.D., Heisterkamp, S.H., & Tytgat, G.N. (2001). Impaired drinking capacity in patients with functional dyspepsia: Relationship with proximal stomach function. *Gastroenterology*, 121(5), 1054–1063. PubMed ID: 11677196 doi:10.1053/gast.2001.28656

Bornemann, B., Herbert, B.M., Mehling, W.E., & Singer, T. (2014). Differential changes in self-reported aspects of interoceptive awareness through 3 months of contemplative training. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 5, 1504. PubMed ID: 25610410 doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2014.01504

Bravo, C., Skjaerven, L.H., Espart, A., Sein-Echaluce, L.G., & Catalan-Matamoros, D. (2019). Basic body awareness therapy in patients suffering from fibromyalgia: A randomized clinical trial. *Physiotherapy Theory and Practice*, 35(10), 919–929. PubMed ID: 29723080 doi:10.1080/09593985.2018.1467520

Brown, T.A., Berner, L.A., Jones, M.D., Reilly, E.E., Cusack, A., Anderson, L.K., . . . Wierenga, C.E. (2017). Psychometric evaluation and norms for the Multidimensional Assessment of Interoceptive Awareness (MAIA) in a clinical eating disorders sample. *European Eating Disorders Review*, 25(5), 411–416. PubMed ID: 28714581 doi:10.1002/erv.2532

Cacciatore, T.W., Horak, F.B., & Henry, S.M. (2005). Improvement in automatic postural coordination following Alexander technique lessons in a person with low back pain. *Physical Therapy*, 85(6), 565–578. PubMed ID: 15921477 doi:10.1093/ptj/85.6.565

Cali, G., Ambrosini, E., Picconi, L., Mehling, W.E., & Comitteri, G. (2015). Investigating the relationship between interoceptive accuracy, interoceptive awareness, and emotional susceptibility. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 6, 1202. PubMed ID: 26379571 doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2015.01202

Cameron, O. (2001). Interoception: The inside story—A model for psychosomatic processes. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 63(5), 697–710. PubMed ID: 11573016 doi:10.1097/00006842-200109000-00001

Carmody, J., & Baer, R.A. (2008). Relationships between mindfulness practice and levels of mindfulness, medical and psychological symptoms and well-being in a mindfulness-based stress reduction program. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine*, 31(1), 23–33. PubMed ID: 17899351 doi:10.1007/s10865-007-9130-7

Ceunen, E., Van Diest, I., & Vlaeyen, J.W. (2013). Accuracy and awareness of perception: Related, yet distinct (commentary on Herbert et al., 2012). *Biological Psychology*, 92(2), 426–427. PubMed ID: 23059638 doi:10.1016/j.biopsycho.2012.09.012

Ceunen, E., Vlaeyen, J.W., & Van Diest, I. (2016). On the origin of interoception. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 7, 743. PubMed ID: 27242642 doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2016.00743

Chen, W. (2019). Join us in April for an NIH blueprint for neuroscience research workshop: The science of interoception and its roles in

- nervous system disorders [Blog post]. <https://www.nccih.nih.gov/research/blog/join-us-in-april-for-an-nih-blueprint-for-neuroscience-research-workshop-the-science-of-interoception-and-its-roles-in-nervous-system-disorders>
- Clark, N.C., Roijezon, U., & Treleaven, J. (2015). Proprioception in musculoskeletal rehabilitation. Part 2: Clinical assessment and intervention. *Manual Therapy, 20*(3), 378–387. PubMed ID: 25787919 doi:10.1016/j.math.2015.01.009
- Connors, K.A., Galea, M.P., Said, C.M., & Remedios, L.J. (2010). Feldenkrais method balance classes are based on principles of motor learning and postural control retraining: A qualitative research study. *Physiotherapy, 96*(4), 324–336. PubMed ID: 21056168 doi:10.1016/j.physio.2010.01.004
- Craig, A.D. (2003). Interoception: The sense of the physiological condition of the body. *Current Opinion in Neurobiology, 13*(4), 500–505. PubMed ID: 12965300 doi:10.1016/S0959-4388(03)00090-4
- Cramer, H., Lauche, R., Daubenmier, J., Mehling, W., Bussing, A., Saha, F.J., ... Shields, S.A. (2018). Being aware of the painful body: Validation of the German Body Awareness Questionnaire and Body Responsiveness Questionnaire in patients with chronic pain. *PLoS One, 13*(2), e0193000. PubMed ID: 29489889 doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0193000
- Cramer, H., Mehling, W.E., Saha, F.J., Dobos, G., & Lauche, R. (2018). Postural awareness and its relation to pain: Validation of an innovative instrument measuring awareness of body posture in patients with chronic pain. *BMC Musculoskeletal Disorders, 19*(1), 109. PubMed ID: 29625603 doi:10.1186/s12891-018-2031-9
- Critchley, H.D., Mathias, C.J., & Dolan, R.J. (2001). Neuroanatomical basis for first- and second-order representations of bodily states. *Nature Neuroscience, 4*(2), 207–212. PubMed ID: 11175883 doi:10.1038/84048
- Critchley, H.D., Wiens, S., Rotshtein, P., Ohman, A., & Dolan, R.J. (2004). Neural systems supporting interoceptive awareness. *Nature Neuroscience, 7*(2), 189–195. PubMed ID: 14730305 doi:10.1038/nm1176
- Daubenmier, J. (2005). The relationship of yoga, body awareness, and body responsiveness to self-objectification and disordered eating. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 29*(2), 207–219. doi:10.1111/j.1471-6402.2005.00183.x
- Daubenmier, J., Moran, P.J., Kristeller, J., Acree, M., Bacchetti, P., Kemeny, M.E., ... Hecht, F.M. (2016). Effects of a mindfulness-based weight loss intervention in adults with obesity: A randomized clinical trial. *Obesity, 24*(4), 794–804. PubMed ID: 26955895 doi:10.1002/oby.21396
- Daubenmier, J., Sze, J., Kerr, C.E., Kemeny, M.E., & Mehling, W. (2013). Follow your breath: Respiratory interoceptive accuracy in experienced meditators. *Psychophysiology, 50*(8), 777–789. PubMed ID: 23692525 doi:10.1111/psyp.12057
- de Jong, M., Lazar, S.W., Hug, K., Mehling, W.E., Holzel, B.K., Sack, A.T., ... Gard, T. (2016). Effects of mindfulness-based cognitive therapy on body awareness in patients with chronic pain and comorbid depression. *Frontiers in Psychology, 7*, 967. PubMed ID: 27445929 doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2016.00967
- Desmedt, O., Corneille, O., Luminet, O., Murphy, J., Bird, G., & Muraige, P. (2020). Contribution of time estimation and knowledge to heart-beat counting task performance under original and adapted instructions. *Biological Psychology, 154*, 107904. PubMed ID: 32464170 doi:10.1016/j.biopsycho.2020.107904
- Dudley, L., & Stevenson, R.J. (2016). Interoceptive awareness and its relationship to hippocampal dependent processes. *Brain and Cognition, 109*, 26–33. PubMed ID: 27643947 doi:10.1016/j.bandc.2016.08.005
- Duncan, L.G., Cohn, M.A., Chao, M.T., Cook, J.G., Riccobono, J., & Bardacke, N. (2017). Benefits of preparing for childbirth with mindfulness training: A randomized controlled trial with active comparison. *BMC Pregnancy Childbirth, 17*(1), 140. PubMed ID: 28499376 doi:10.1186/s12884-017-1319-3
- Espelage, D.L., Mazzeo, S.E., Aggen, S.H., Quittner, A.L., Sherman, R., & Thompson, R. (2003). Examining the construct validity of the Eating Disorder Inventory. *Psychological Assessment, 15*(1), 71–80. PubMed ID: 12674726 doi:10.1037/1040-3590.15.1.71
- Farb, N.A., Daubenmier, J., Price, C.J., Gard, T., Kerr, C., Dunn, B.D., ... Mehling, W.E. (2015). Interoception, contemplative practice, and health. *Frontiers in Psychology, 6*, 763. PubMed ID: 26106345 doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2015.00763
- Feipel, V., Parent, C., Dugailly, P.M., Brassinne, E., Salvia, P., & Rooze, M. (2003). Development of kinematics tests for the evaluation of lumbar proprioception and equilibration. *Clinical Biomechanics, 18*(7), 612–618. doi:10.1016/S0268-0033(03)00094-9
- Ferentzi, E., Bogdany, T., Szabolcs, Z., Csala, B., Horvath, A., & Koteles, F. (2018). Multichannel investigation of interoception: Sensitivity is not a generalizable feature. *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience, 12*, 223. PubMed ID: 29910718 doi:10.3389/fnhum.2018.00223
- Fissler, M., Winnebeck, E., Schroeter, T., Gummersbach, M., Huntenberg, J.M., Gaertner, M., ... Barnhofer, T. (2016). An investigation of the effects of brief mindfulness training on self-reported interoceptive awareness, the ability to decenter, and their role in the reduction of depressive symptoms. *Mindfulness, 7*(5), 1170–1181. doi:10.1007/s12671-016-0559-z
- Flor, H., Denke, C., Schaefer, M., & Grusser, S. (2001). Effect of sensory discrimination training on cortical reorganisation and phantom limb pain. *Lancet, 357*(9270), 1763–1764. PubMed ID: 11403816 doi:10.1016/S0140-6736(00)04890-X
- Gadow, S. (1980). Body and self: A dialectic. *Journal of Medicine and Philosophy, 5*(3), 172–185. PubMed ID: 6162903 doi:10.1093/jmp/5.3.172
- Garfinkel, S.N., Seth, A.K., Barrett, A.B., Suzuki, K., & Critchley, H.D. (2015). Knowing your own heart: Distinguishing interoceptive accuracy from interoceptive awareness. *Biological Psychology, 104*, 65–74. PubMed ID: 25451381 doi:10.1016/j.biopsycho.2014.11.004
- Grossman, P. (2016, January 18). After 20 years of “polyvagal” hypotheses, is there any direct evidence for the first 3 premises that form the foundation of the polyvagal conjectures? [Discussion post]. https://www.researchgate.net/post/After_20_years_of_polyvagal_hypotheses_is_there_any_direct_evidence_for_the_first_3_premises_that_form_the_foundation_of_the_polyvagal_conjectures
- Grossman, P., & Deuring, G. (2020, March 4). Examining Porges’ “polyvagal” suppositions [Project log]. <https://www.researchgate.net/project/Examining-Porges-Polyvagal-suppositions>
- Haase, L., Stewart, J.L., Youssef, B., May, A.C., Isakovic, S., Simmons, A.N., ... Paulus, M.P. (2016). When the brain does not adequately feel the body: Links between low resilience and interoception. *Biological Psychology, 113*, 37–45. PubMed ID: 26607442 doi:10.1016/j.biopsycho.2015.11.004
- Kanazawa, M., Palsson, O.S., Thiwan, S.I., Turner, M.J., van Tilburg, M.A., Gangarosa, L.M., ... Whitehead, W.E. (2008). Contributions of pain sensitivity and colonic motility to IBS symptom severity and predominant bowel habits. *American Journal of Gastroenterology, 103*(10), 2550–2561. PubMed ID: 18684175 doi:10.1111/j.1572-0241.2008.02066.x
- Kerr, C.E., Sacchet, M.D., Lazar, S.W., Moore, C.I., & Jones, S.R. (2013). Mindfulness starts with the body: Somatosensory attention and top-down modulation of cortical alpha rhythms in mindfulness

- meditation. *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience*, 7, 12. PubMed ID: 23408771 doi:10.3389/fnhum.2013.00012
- Kerr, C.E., Shaw, J.R., Wasserman, R.H., Chen, V.W., Kanojia, A., Bayer, T., . . . Kelley, J.M. (2008). Tactile acuity in experienced tai chi practitioners: Evidence for use dependent plasticity as an effect of sensory-attentional training. *Experimental Brain Research*, 188(2), 317–322. PubMed ID: 18512052 doi:10.1007/s00221-008-1409-6
- Khalsa, S.S., Adolphs, R., Cameron, O.G., Critchley, H.D., Davenport, P.W., Feinstein, J.S., . . . Zucker, N. (2018). Interoception and mental health: A roadmap. *Biological Psychiatry: Cognitive Neuroscience and Neuroimaging*, 3(6), 501–513. PubMed ID: 29884281 doi:10.1016/j.bpsc.2017.12.004
- Khoury, N.M., Lutz, J., & Schuman-Olivier, Z. (2018). Interoception in psychiatric disorders: A review of randomized, controlled trials with interoception-based interventions. *Harvard Review of Psychiatry*, 26(5), 250–263. PubMed ID: 30188337 doi:10.1097/HRP.0000000000000170
- Knapp-Kline, K., & Kline, J.P. (2005). Heart rate, heart rate variability, and heartbeat detection with the method of constant stimuli: Slow and steady wins the race. *Biological Psychology*, 69(3), 387–396. PubMed ID: 15925037 doi:10.1016/j.biopsycho.2004.09.002
- Kumar, D., McDermott, K., Feng, H., Goldman, V., Luke, A., Souza, R.B., . . . Hecht, F.M. (2015). Effects of form-focused training on running biomechanics: A pilot randomized trial in untrained individuals. *PM&R: The Journal of Injury, Function and Rehabilitation*, 7(8), 814–822. PubMed ID: 25633634 doi:10.1016/j.pmrj.2015.01.010
- Leder, D. (1990). *The absent body*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Longo, M.R., Schuur, F., Kammers, M.P., Tsakiris, M., & Haggard, P. (2008). What is embodiment? A psychometric approach. *Cognition*, 107(3), 978–998. PubMed ID: 18262508 doi:10.1016/j.cognition.2007.12.004
- Loucks, E.B., Nardi, W.R., Gutman, R., Kronish, I.M., Saadeh, F.B., Li, Y., . . . Britton, W.B. (2019). Mindfulness-based blood pressure reduction (MB-BP): Stage 1 single-arm clinical trial. *PLoS One*, 14(11), e0223095. PubMed ID: 31774807 doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0223095
- Marich, J., & Howell, T. (2015). Dancing mindfulness: A phenomenological investigation of the emerging practice. *Explore*, 11(5), 346–356. PubMed ID: 26260236 doi:10.1016/j.explore.2015.07.001
- Mehling, W.E. (2001). The experience of breath as a therapeutic intervention—Psychosomatic forms of breath therapy. A descriptive study about the actual situation of breath therapy in Germany, its relation to medicine, and its application in patients with back pain. *Forsch Komplementarmed Klass Naturheilkd*, 8(6), 359–367. PubMed ID: 11799304 doi:10.1159/000057253
- Mehling, W.E. (2004, October). *Breath therapy for chronic low back pain. A randomized controlled trial*. Poster session presented at 2nd Bay Area research symposium, San Francisco, CA.
- Mehling, W.E. (2016). Differentiating attention styles and regulatory aspects of self-reported interoceptive sensibility. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London Series B, Biological Sciences*, 371(1708), 20160013. PubMed ID: 28080970 doi:10.1098/rstb.2016.0013
- Mehling, W.E., Acree, M., Stewart, A., Silas, J., & Jones, A. (2018). The Multidimensional Assessment of Interoceptive Awareness, Version 2 (MAIA-2). *PLoS One*, 13(12), e0208034. PubMed ID: 30513087 doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0208034
- Mehling, W.E., Chesney, M.A., Metzler, T.J., Goldstein, L.A., Maguen, S., Geronimo, C., . . . Neylan, T.C. (2018). A 12-week integrative exercise program improves self-reported mindfulness and interoceptive awareness in war veterans with posttraumatic stress symptoms. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 74(4), 554–565. PubMed ID: 29076530 doi:10.1002/jclp.22549
- Mehling, W.E., Gopisetty, V., Daubenmier, J., Price, C.J., Hecht, F.M., & Stewart, A. (2009). Body awareness: Construct and self-report measures. *PLoS One*, 4(5), e5614. PubMed ID: 19440300 doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0005614
- Mehling, W.E., Price, C., Daubenmier, J.J., Acree, M., Bartmess, E., & Stewart, A. (2012). The Multidimensional Assessment of Interoceptive Awareness (MAIA). *PLoS One*, 7(11), e48230. PubMed ID: 23133619 doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0048230
- Mehling, W.E., Wrubel, J., Daubenmier, J.J., Price, C.J., Kerr, C.E., Silow, T., . . . Stewart, A.L. (2011). Body awareness: A phenomenological inquiry into the common ground of mind–body therapies. *Philosophy, Ethics, and Humanities in Medicine*, 6(1), 6. PubMed ID: 21473781 doi:10.1186/1747-5341-6-6
- Merleau-Ponty, M. (1945). *Phenomenologie de la perception*. Paris, France: Editions Gallimard.
- Moseley, G.L., Olthof, N., Venema, A., Don, S., Wijers, M., Gallace, A., . . . Spence, C. (2008). Psychologically induced cooling of a specific body part caused by the illusory ownership of an artificial counterpart. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 105(35), 13169–13173. PubMed ID: 18725630 doi:10.1073/pnas.0803768105
- Myers, L.K. (2016). Application of neuroplasticity theory through the use of the Feldenkrais method(®) with a runner with scoliosis and hip and lumbar pain: A case report. *Journal of Bodywork and Movement Therapies*, 20(2), 300–309. PubMed ID: 27210847 doi:10.1016/j.jbmt.2015.06.003
- Newcomer, K., Laskowski, E.R., Yu, B., Larson, D.R., & An, K.-N. (2000). Repositioning error in low back pain. Comparing trunk repositioning error in subjects with chronic low back pain and control subjects. *Spine*, 25(2), 245–250. PubMed ID: 10685490 doi:10.1097/00007632-200001150-00017
- Oldroyd, K., Pasupathi, M., & Wainryb, C. (2019). Social antecedents to the development of interoception: Attachment related processes are associated with interoception. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 10, 712. PubMed ID: 31068846 doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2019.00712
- Osypiuk, K., Ligibel, J., Giobbie-Hurder, A., Vergara-Diaz, G., Bonato, P., Quinn, R., . . . Wayne, P.M. (2020). Qigong mind–body exercise as a biopsychosocial therapy for persistent post-surgical pain in breast cancer: A pilot study. *Integrative Cancer Therapies*, 19, 1534735419893766. PubMed ID: 32009481 doi:10.1177/1534735419893766
- Pace-Schott, E.F., Amole, M.C., Aue, T., Balconi, M., Bylsma, L.M., Critchley, H., . . . VanElzakker, M.B. (2019). Physiological feelings. *Neuroscience & Biobehavioral Reviews*, 103, 267–304. PubMed ID: 31125635 doi:10.1016/j.neubiorev.2019.05.002
- Paulus, M.P., Flagan, T., Simmons, A.N., Gillis, K., Kotturi, S., Thom, N., . . . Swain, J.L. (2012). Subjecting elite athletes to inspiratory breathing load reveals behavioral and neural signatures of optimal performers in extreme environments. *PLoS One*, 7(1), e29394. PubMed ID: 22276111 doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0029394
- Petitmengin, C., & Lachaux, J.P. (2013). Microcognitive science: Bridging experiential and neuronal microdynamics. *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience*, 7, 617. PubMed ID: 24098279 doi:10.3389/fnhum.2013.00617
- Porges, S.W. (1993). Body Perception Questionnaire. <http://www.wam.umd.edu/~sporges/body/body.txt>
- Price, C.J., & Hooven, C. (2018). Interoceptive awareness skills for emotion regulation: Theory and approach of mindful awareness in body-oriented therapy (MABT). *Frontiers in Psychology*, 9, 798. PubMed ID: 29892247 doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2018.00798

- Price, C.J., & Thompson, E.A. (2007). Measuring dimensions of body connection: Body awareness and bodily dissociation. *Journal of Alternative and Complementary Medicine*, 13(9), 945–953. PubMed ID: 18047441 doi:10.1089/acm.2007.0537
- Price, C.J., Thompson, E.A., Crowell, S., & Pike, K. (2019a). Longitudinal effects of interoceptive awareness training through mindful awareness in body-oriented therapy (MABT) as an adjunct to women's substance use disorder treatment: A randomized controlled trial. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 198, 140–149. PubMed ID: 30928884 doi:10.1016/j.drugalcdep.2019.02.012
- Price, C.J., Thompson, E.A., Crowell, S.E., Pike, K., Cheng, S.C., Parent, S., ... Hooven, C. (2019b). Immediate effects of interoceptive awareness training through mindful awareness in body-oriented therapy (MABT) for women in substance use disorder treatment. *Substance Abuse*, 40(1), 102–115. PubMed ID: 29949455 doi:10.1080/08897077.2018.1488335
- Price, C.J., Wells, E., Donovan, D., & Rue, T. (2012). Mindful awareness in body-oriented therapy as an adjunct to women's substance use disorder treatment: A pilot feasibility study. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 43(1), 94–107. PubMed ID: 22119181 doi:10.1016/j.jsat.2011.09.016
- Pugh, J.D., & Williams, A.M. (2014). Feldenkrais method empowers adults with chronic back pain. *Holistic Nursing Practice*, 28(3), 171–183. PubMed ID: 24722612 doi:10.1097/HNP.000000000000026
- Rieger, S.W., Stephan, K.E., & Harrison, O.K. (2020). Remote, automated, and MRI-compatible administration of interoceptive inspiratory resistive loading. *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience*, 14, 161. PubMed ID: 32477083 doi:10.3389/fnhum.2020.00161
- Ring, C., & Brener, J. (1996). Influence of beliefs about heart rate and actual heart rate on heartbeat counting. *Psychophysiology*, 33(5), 541–546. PubMed ID: 8854741 doi:10.1111/j.1469-8986.1996.tb02430.x
- Schmalzl, L., & Kerr, C.E. (2016). Editorial: Neural mechanisms underlying movement-based embodied contemplative practices. *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience*, 10, 169. PubMed ID: 27199700 doi:10.3389/fnhum.2016.00169
- Seth, A.K. (2013). Interoceptive inference, emotion, and the embodied self. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 17(11), 565–573. PubMed ID: 24126130 doi:10.1016/j.tics.2013.09.007
- Seth, A.K., & Critchley, H.D. (2013). Extending predictive processing to the body: Emotion as interoceptive inference. *Behavioral Brain Sciences*, 36(3), 227–228. PubMed ID: 23663284 doi:10.1017/S0140525X12002270
- Sherrington, C.S. (1906). *The integrative action of the nervous system*. New Haven, CT, Yale University Press.
- Shields, S.A., Mallory, M.E., & Simon, A. (1989). The Body Awareness Questionnaire—Reliability and validity. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 53(4), 802–815. doi:10.1207/s15327752jpa5304_16
- Shusterman, R. (2008). *Body consciousness: A philosophy of mindfulness and somaesthetics*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Stern, E.R., Grimaldi, S.J., Muratore, A., Murrrough, J., Leib, E., Fleysher, L., ... Burdick, K.E. (2017). Neural correlates of interoception: Effects of interoceptive focus and relationship to dimensional measures of body awareness. *Human Brain Mapping*, 38(12), 6068–6082. PubMed ID: 28901713 doi:10.1002/hbm.23811
- Todd, J., Aspell, J.E., Barron, D., & Swami, V. (2019). Multiple dimensions of interoceptive awareness are associated with facets of body image in British adults. *Body Image*, 29, 6–16. PubMed ID: 30771695 doi:10.1016/j.bodyim.2019.02.003
- Todd, J., Barron, D., Aspell, J.E., Toh, E.K.L., Zahari, H.S., Khatib, N.A.M., ... Swami, V. (2020). Translation and validation of a Bahasa Malaysia (Malay) version of the Multidimensional Assessment of Interoceptive Awareness (MAIA). *PLoS One*, 15(4), e0231048. PubMed ID: 32236136 doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0231048
- Trevisan, D.A., Altschuler, M.R., Bagdasarov, A., Carlos, C., Duan, S., Hamo, E., ... McPartland, J.C. (2019). A meta-analysis on the relationship between interoceptive awareness and alexithymia: Distinguishing interoceptive accuracy and sensibility. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 128(8), 765–776. PubMed ID: 31380655 doi:10.1037/abn0000454
- Vachon-Preseau, E., Berger, S.E., Abdullah, T.B., Griffith, J.W., Schnitzer, T.J., & Apkarian, A.V. (2019). Identification of traits and functional connectivity-based neurotraits of chronic pain. *PLoS Biology*, 17(8), e3000349. PubMed ID: 31430270 doi:10.1371/journal.pbio.3000349
- Vachon-Preseau, E., Berger, S.E., Abdullah, T.B., Huang, L., Cecchi, G.A., Griffith, J.W., ... Apkarian, A.V. (2018). Brain and psychological determinants of placebo pill response in chronic pain patients. *Nature Communications*, 9(1), 3397. PubMed ID: 30209286 doi:10.1038/s41467-018-05859-1
- Valenzuela Moguillansky, C., O'Regan, J.K., & Petitmengin, C. (2013). Exploring the subjective experience of the “rubber hand” illusion. *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience*, 7, 659. PubMed ID: 24167480 doi:10.3389/fnhum.2013.00659
- van Vugt, M.K. (2014). Ballet as a movement-based contemplative practice? Implications for neuroscientific studies. *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience*, 8, 513. PubMed ID: 25100967 doi:10.3389/fnhum.2014.00513
- Velten, J., & Brotto, L.A. (2017). Interoception and sexual response in women with low sexual desire. *PLoS One*, 12(10), e0185979. PubMed ID: 29020067 doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0185979
- Verrel, J., Almagor, E., Schumann, F., Lindenberger, U., & Kuhn, S. (2015). Changes in neural resting state activity in primary and higher-order motor areas induced by a short sensorimotor intervention based on the Feldenkrais method. *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience*, 9, 232. PubMed ID: 25972804 doi:10.3389/fnhum.2015.00232
- Villemure, C., Ceko, M., Cotton, V.A., & Bushnell, M.C. (2014). Insular cortex mediates increased pain tolerance in yoga practitioners. *Cerebral Cortex*, 24(10), 2732–2740. PubMed ID: 23696275 doi:10.1093/cercor/bht124
- Weston, E., Le, P., & Marras, W.S. (2017). A biomechanical and physiological study of office seat and tablet device interaction. *Applied Ergonomics*, 62, 83–93. PubMed ID: 28411742 doi:10.1016/j.apergo.2017.02.013
- Wiens, S. (2005). Interoception in emotional experience. *Current Opinion in Neurology*, 18(4), 442–447. PubMed ID: 16003122 doi:10.1097/01.wco.0000168079.92106.99
- Williams, J.M. (2010). Mindfulness and psychological process. *Emotion*, 10(1), 1–7. PubMed ID: 20141295 doi:10.1037/a0018360
- Xu, A., Zimmerman, C.S., Lazar, S.W., Ma, Y., Kerr, C.E., & Yeung, A. (2020). Distinct insular functional connectivity changes related to mood and fatigue improvements in major depressive disorder following tai chi training: A pilot study. *Frontiers in Integrative Neuroscience*, 14, 25. PubMed ID: 32581734 doi:10.3389/fnint.2020.00025
- Zamariola, G., Maurage, P., Luminet, O., & Corneille, O. (2018). Interoceptive accuracy scores from the heartbeat counting task are problematic: Evidence from simple bivariate correlations. *Biological Psychology*, 137, 12–17. PubMed ID: 29944964 doi:10.1016/j.biopsycho.2018.06.006