

1 **TITLE PAGE**

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3 Neural precursors of decisions that matter—an ERP study of deliberate and arbitrary choice

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16

17 **Abstract**

18 The onset of the readiness potential (RP)—a key neural correlate of upcoming action—was  
19 repeatedly found to precede subjects' reports of having made an internal decision. This has  
20 been taken by some as evidence against a causal role for consciousness in human decision-  
21 making and thus as a denial of free-will. Yet those studies focused on purposeless, unreasoned,  
22 arbitrary decisions, bereft of consequences. It remains unknown to what degree these specific  
23 neural precursors of action generalize to deliberate decisions, which are more ecological and  
24 relevant to real life. We therefore directly compared the neural correlates of deliberate and  
25 arbitrary decision-making during a \$1000-donation task to non-profit organizations among  
26 subjects prescreened for social involvement. While we found the expected RPs for arbitrary  
27 decisions, they were strikingly absent for deliberate ones. Our results and a drift-diffusion  
28 model we constructed are congruent with the RP representing the accumulation of noisy,  
29 random fluctuations, which drive arbitrary—but not deliberate—decisions. The absence of RPs  
30 in deliberate decisions further points to different neural mechanisms underlying deliberate and  
31 arbitrary decisions and thus challenges the generalizability of studies that argue for no causal  
32 role for consciousness in decision making from arbitrary to deliberate, real-life decisions.

33

## 34 **Significance Statement**

35 The extent of human free will has been debated for millennia. Previous studies demonstrated  
36 that neural precursors of action—especially the readiness potential—precede subjects’ reports  
37 of deciding to move. Some viewed this as evidence against free-will. However, these  
38 experiments focused on arbitrary decisions—e.g., randomly raising the left or right hand. We  
39 directly compared deliberate (actual \$1000 donations to NPOs) and arbitrary decisions, and  
40 found readiness potentials before arbitrary decisions, but—critically—not before deliberate  
41 decisions. This supports the interpretation of readiness potentials as byproducts of  
42 accumulation of random fluctuations in arbitrary but not deliberate decisions and points to  
43 different neural mechanisms underlying deliberate and arbitrary choice. Hence, it challenges  
44 the generalizability of previous results to deliberate decisions.

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## 47 MAIN TEXT

### 48 Introduction

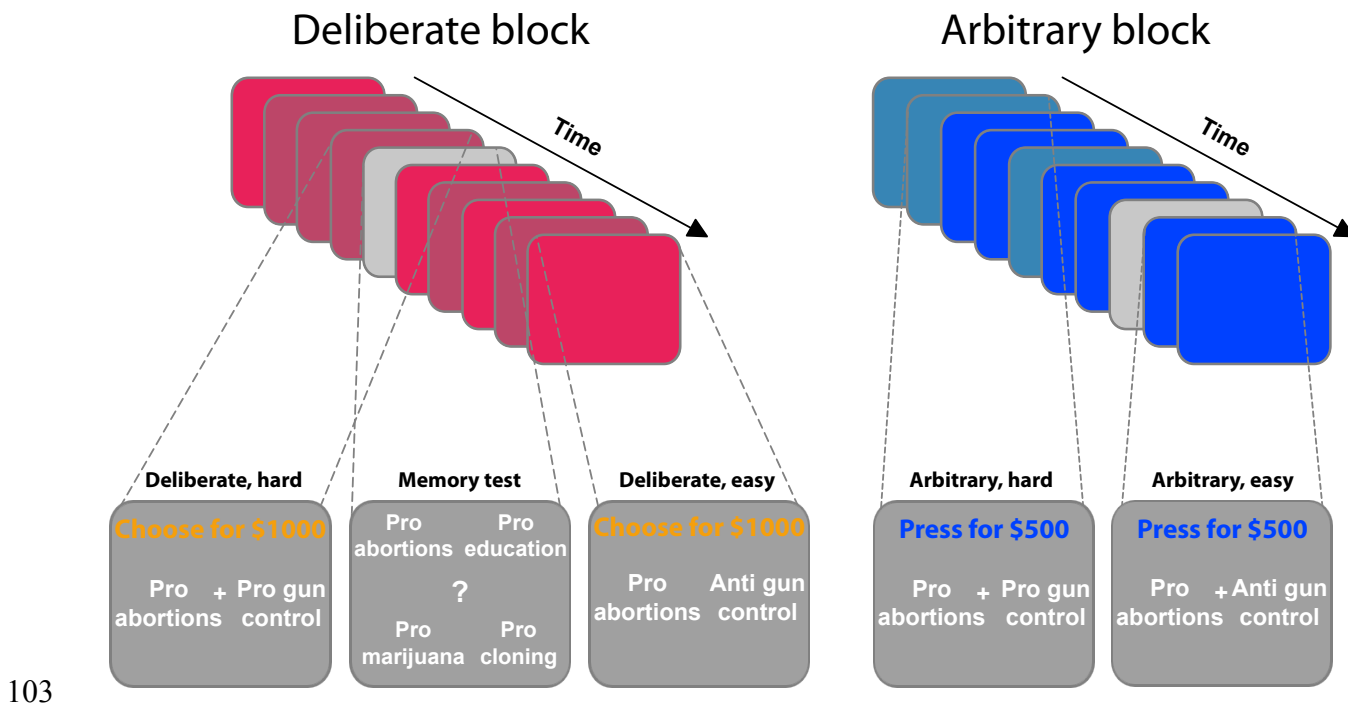
49 Humans typically experience freely selecting between alternative courses of action, say, when  
50 ordering a particular item off a restaurant menu. Yet a series of human studies using EEG  
51 (Haggard & Eimer, 1999; Libet, Gleason, Wright, & Pearl, 1983; Salvaris & Haggard, 2014),  
52 fMRI (S. Bode & Haynes, 2009; S Bode et al., 2011; Soon, Brass, Heinze, & Haynes, 2008;  
53 Soon, He, Bode, & Haynes, 2013), intracranial (Perez et al., 2015), and single-cell recordings  
54 (Fried, Mukamel, & Kreiman, 2011) challenged the validity of this common experience,  
55 finding neural correlates of decision processes hundreds of milliseconds and even seconds  
56 prior to the moment that subjects reported having consciously decided. Some have claimed,  
57 following these and other findings, that the subjective human experience of freely deciding is  
58 but an illusion, because human actions are unconsciously initiated before the conscious  
59 decision to act (Harris, 2012; Libet et al., 1983; Wegner, 2002). This debate has been  
60 captivating scholars from many disciplines in and outside of academia (Frith, Blakemore, &  
61 Wolpert, 2000; Haggard, 2008; Jeannerod, 2006; Lau, Rogers, Haggard, & Passingham, 2004;  
62 Mele, 2006; Wegner, 2002).

63 Critically, in the above studies, subjects were either told to arbitrarily move their right hand or  
64 flex their right wrist; or they were instructed to arbitrarily move either the right or left hand  
65 (Haggard, 2008; Hallett, 2016; A. Roskies, 2010). Thus, their decisions were always  
66 unreasoned, purposeless, and bereft of any real consequence. This stands in sharp contrast to  
67 real-life decisions that are reasoned, purposeful, and bear consequences (Ullmann-Margalit &  
68 Morgenbesser, 1977)—which clothes to wear, what route to take to work, as well as more  
69 formative decisions about life partners, career choices, and so on. Such deliberate decisions are  
70 also at the center of the philosophical debate on free will (Breitmeyer, 1985; A. Roskies,  
71 2010). They typically involve more conscious and lengthy deliberation and might thus be more  
72 tightly bound to conscious processes.

73 Deliberate decisions have been widely studied in the field of neuroeconomics (Kable &  
74 Glimcher, 2009; A. Sanfey, Loewenstein, McClure, & Cohen, 2006) and in perceptual tasks  
75 (Gold & Shadlen, 2007). Yet, interestingly, little has been done in that field to assess the  
76 relation between decision-related activity, subjects' conscious experience of deciding, and the  
77 neural activity instantaneously contributing to this experience. Though some studies compared,  
78 for example, internally driven and externally cued decisions (Thut et al., 2000; Wisniewski,  
79 Goschke, & Haynes, 2016), or stimulus-based and intention-based actions (Waszak et al.,  
80 2005), these were typically arbitrary decisions and actions that had no real implications.  
81 Therefore, the results of these studies provide evidence for comparing arbitrary and deliberate  
82 internal decisions.

83 Here, we compared neural precursors of deliberate and arbitrary decisions—and in particular  
84 the readiness potentials (RP) on the same subjects, in an EEG experiment. We focused on the  
85 RP because this component was the focus of so many previous studies of voluntary action. Our  
86 experiment utilized a donation-preference paradigm, in which a pair of non-profit  
87 organizations (NPOs) were presented in each trial. In deliberate-decision trials, subjects chose  
88 to which NPO they would like to donate \$1000. In arbitrary-decision trials, both NPOs  
89 received an equal donation of \$500, irrespective of subjects' key presses (Fig. 1). In both  
90 conditions, subjects were instructed to report their decisions as soon as they made them, and  
91 their hands were placed on the response keys, to make sure they could do so as quickly as

92 possible. Notably, while the visual inputs and motor outputs were identical between deliberate  
93 and arbitrary decisions, the decisions' meaning for the subjects was radically different: in  
94 deliberate blocks, the decisions were meaningful and consequential—reminiscent of important,  
95 real-life decisions—while in arbitrary blocks, the decisions were meaningless and bereft of  
96 consequences—mimicking previous studies of volition. Demonstrating differences in RP  
97 between arbitrary and deliberate decisions would first challenge the generalizability of the RP  
98 (from arbitrary to deliberate decisions) as an index for internal decision-making. Second, it  
99 would more generally suggest that different neural mechanisms might be at play between  
100 deliberate and arbitrary decisions. This, in turn, would question the generalizability of studies  
101 focused on arbitrary decisions to everyday, ecological, deliberate decisions—regardless of  
102 whether these studies relied on the RP or not.



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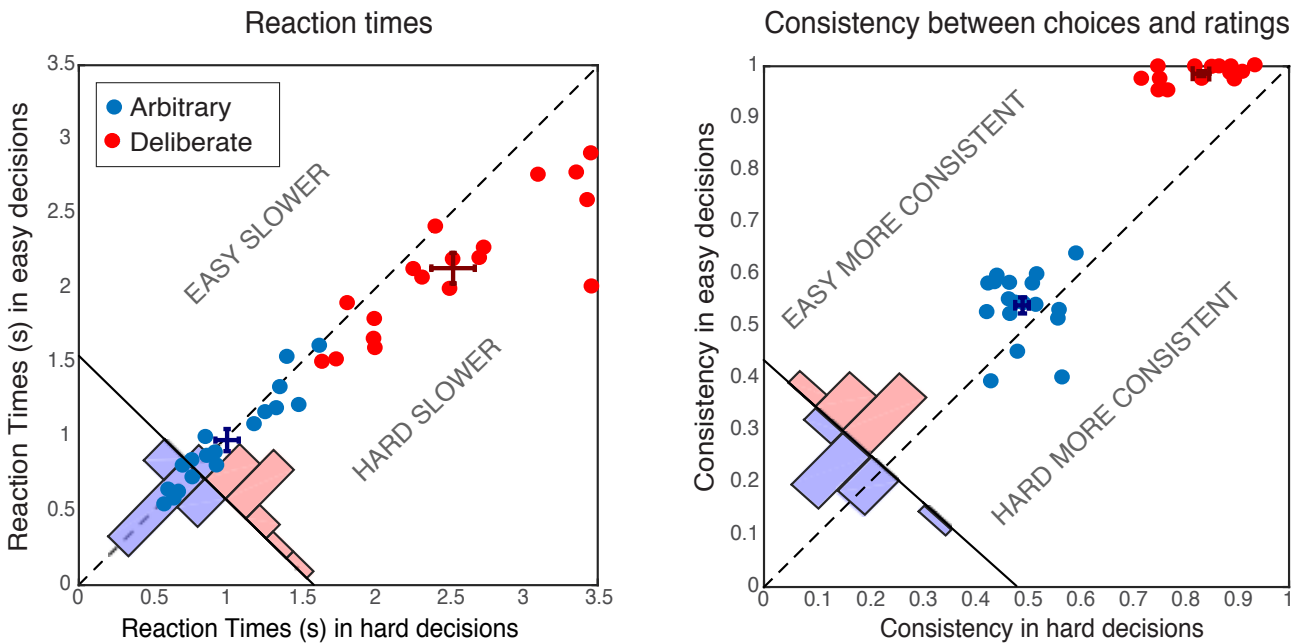
104 **Figure 1: Experimental paradigm.** The experiment included deliberate (red, left panel) and  
105 arbitrary (blue, right panel) blocks, each containing nine trials. In each trial, two NPO names  
106 were presented, and subjects were asked to either choose to which NPO they would like to  
107 donate (deliberate), or to simply press either right or left, as both NPOs would receive an equal  
108 donation (arbitrary). They were specifically instructed to respond as soon as they reached a  
109 decision, in both conditions. Within each block, some of the trials were easy (lighter colors)  
110 decisions, where the subject's preferences for the two NPOs substantially differed (based on a  
111 previous rating session), and some were hard decisions (darker colors), where the preferences  
112 were more similar; easy and hard trials were intermixed within each block. To make sure  
113 subjects were paying attention to the NPO names, even in arbitrary trials, and to better equate  
114 the cognitive load between deliberate and arbitrary trials, memory tests (in light grey) were  
115 randomly introduced, where subjects were asked to determine which of four NPO names  
116 appeared in the immediately previous trial. For a full list of NPOs and causes see  
117 Supplementary Table 1.

118

## 119 Results

### 120 Behavioral Results

121 Subjects' reaction times (RTs) were analyzed using a 2-way ANOVA along decision  
122 type (arbitrary/deliberate) and difficulty (easy/hard). This was carried out on log-  
123 transformed data (raw RTs violated the normality assumption;  $W=0.94$ ,  $p=0.001$ ).  
124 As expected, subjects were substantially slower for deliberate than for arbitrary  
125 decisions (Fig. 2, left;  $F(1,17)=126.11$ ,  $p<0.0001$  for the main effect of decision  
126 type). A main effect of decision difficulty was also found  $F(1,17)=18.76$ ,  $p=0.0004$ ).  
127 Importantly, subjects were slower for hard vs. easy decisions in the deliberate case  
128 (hard vs. easy deliberate decisions:  $t(17)=4.78$ ,  $p=0.0002$ ), yet not for the arbitrary  
129 case ( $t(17)=1.01$ ,  $p=0.33$ ;  $F(1,17)=20.12$ ,  $p=0.0003$  for the interaction between  
130 decision type and decision difficulty). This validates our experimental manipulation,  
131 and further demonstrates that, in deliberate decisions, subjects were making  
132 meaningful decisions, affected by the difference in the values of the two NPOs,  
133 while in arbitrary decisions they were not. What is more, the roughly equal RTs  
134 between easy and hard arbitrary decisions provide evidence against concerns that  
135 subjects were deliberating during arbitrary decisions.



136

137 **Figure 2: Behavioral results.** Response Times (RTs; left) and Consistency Grades (CG; right)  
138 in arbitrary (blue) and deliberate (red) decisions. Each dot represents the average RT/CG for  
139 easy and hard decisions for an individual subject (hard decisions: x-coordinate; easy decisions:  
140 y-coordinate). Group means and SEs are represented in dark red and dark blue crosses. The  
141 histograms at the bottom-left corner of each plot sum the number of dots with respect to the  
142 solid diagonal line. The dashed diagonal line represents equal RT/CG for easy and hard  
143 decisions; data points below that diagonal indicate longer RTs or higher CGs for hard  
144 decisions. In both measures, arbitrary decisions are more centered around the diagonal than  
145 deliberate decisions, showing no or substantially reduced differences between easy and hard  
146 decisions.

147 The consistency between subjects' choices throughout the main experiment and the NPO  
148 ratings they gave prior to the main experimental session was also analyzed using a 2-way  
149 ANOVA (see Methods). As expected, subjects were highly consistent with their own, previous  
150 ratings when making deliberate decisions, but not when making arbitrary ones (Fig. 2, right;  
151  $F(1,17)=946.55$ ,  $p<0.0001$ ) for the main effect of decision type. A main effect of decision  
152 difficulty was also found ( $F(1,17)=57.39$ ,  $p<0.0001$ ). Again, decision type and decision  
153 difficulty interacted ( $F(1,17)=25.96$ ,  $p<0.0001$ ): subjects were much more consistent with their  
154 choices in easy vs. hard deliberate decisions ( $t(17)=11.15$ ,  $p<0.0001$ ), than they were in easy  
155 vs. hard arbitrary decisions ( $t(17)=2.50$ ,  $p=0.028$ ). Nevertheless, though subjects were around  
156 chance (i.e., 0.5) in their consistency in arbitrary decisions (ranging between 0.39 and 0.64), it  
157 seems that some subjects were slightly influenced by their preferences in easy-arbitrary  
158 decisions trials, resulting in the significant difference between hard-arbitrary and easy-arbitrary  
159 decisions above. Finally, no differences were found between subjects' tendency to press the  
160 right vs. left key in the different conditions (both main effects and interaction:  $F<1$ ).

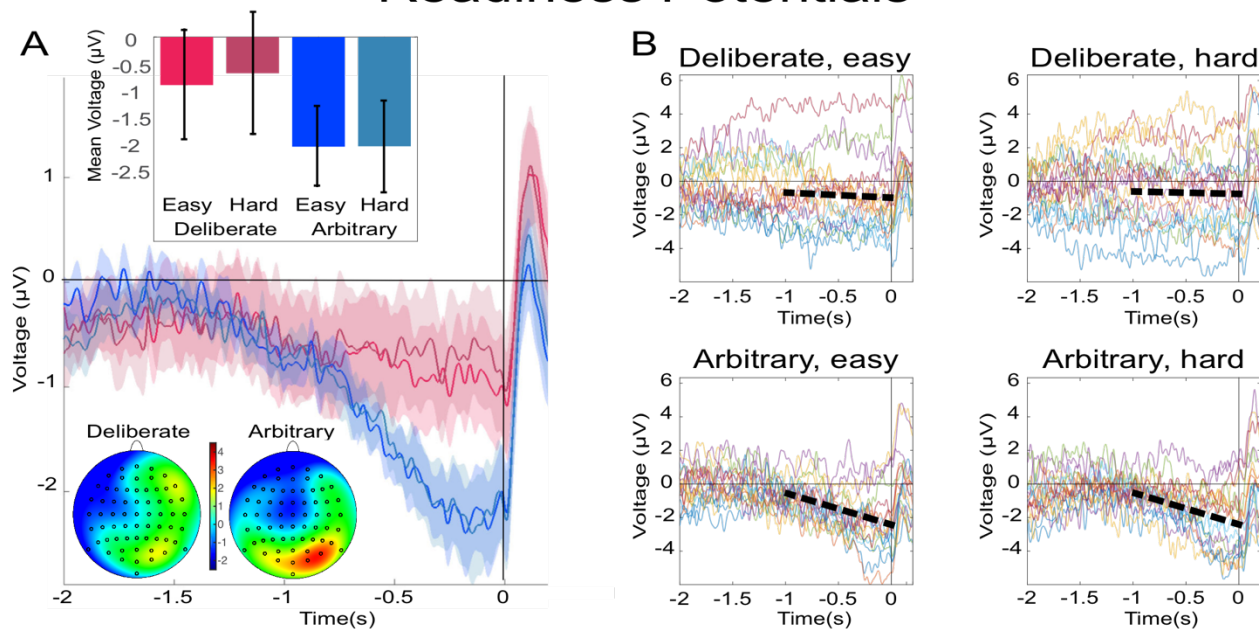
### 161 EEG Results: Readiness Potential (RP)

162 The RP is generally held to index unconscious readiness for upcoming movement (Haggard,  
163 2008; Kornhuber & Deecke, 1990; Libet et al., 1983; Shibasaki & Hallett, 2006); although  
164 more recently alternative interpretations of the RP have been suggested (Miller, Shepherdson,  
165 & Trevena, 2011; Schmidt, Jo, Wittmann, & Hinterberger, 2016; Schurger, Sitt, & Dehaene,  
166 2012; Trevena & Miller, 2010; Verleger, Haake, Baur, & Śmigajewicz, 2016). It has  
167 nevertheless been the standard component studied in EEG versions of the Libet paradigm  
168 (Haggard, 2008; Haggard & Eimer, 1999; Hallett, 2007; Libet, 1985; Libet et al., 1983; Libet,  
169 Wright, & Gleason, 1982; Miller et al., 2011; Schurger et al., 2012; Shibasaki & Hallett, 2006;  
170 Trevena & Miller, 2010). Here, the RP was measured over electrode Cz in the different  
171 conditions by averaging the activity across trials in the 2 s prior to subjects' movement.  
172 Focusing on the last 500 ms before movement onset for our statistical tests, we found a clear  
173 RP in arbitrary decisions, yet RP amplitude was not significantly different from 0 in deliberate  
174 decisions (Fig. 3A;  $F(1,17)=11.86$ ,  $p=0.003$  for the main effect of decision type; in t-tests  
175 against 0, corrected for multiple comparisons, an effect was only found for arbitrary decisions  
176 (hard:  $t(17)=5.75$ ,  $p<0.0001$ ; easy:  $t(17)=5.09$ ,  $p=0.0004$ ) and not for deliberate ones (hard:  
177  $t(17)=1.24$ ,  $p>0.5$ ; easy:  $t(17)=1.84$ ,  $p=0.34$ ). In a similar manner, regressing voltage against  
178 time for the last 1000 ms before response onset, the downward trend was significant for  
179 arbitrary decisions (Fig. 3B;  $p<0.0001$ , for both easy and hard conditions) but not for deliberate  
180 decisions (hard:  $p>0.5$ , easy:  $p=0.35$ ; all Bonferroni corrected for multiple comparisons).  
181 Notably, this pattern of results was also manifested for single-subject analysis (Fig. 4; 14 of the  
182 18 subjects had significant downward slopes for arbitrary decisions—i.e.,  $p<0.05$ , Bonferroni  
183 corrected for multiple comparisons—when regressing voltage against time for every trial over  
184 the last 1000 ms before response onset; but only 5 of the 18 subjects had significant downward  
185 slopes for the same regression analysis for deliberate decisions; see Methods. In addition, the  
186 average slopes for deliberate and arbitrary decisions were  $-0.43\pm 0.31$  and  $-2.30\pm 0.44$   
187 (mean $\pm$ SE), respectively, a significant difference:  $t(17)=3.51$ ,  $p=0.001$ ).

188 To test whether the null result for RP amplitude in deliberate decisions stems from a genuine  
189 absence of effect or from insufficient or underpowered data, we used Bayesian statistics.  
190 Specifically, the Bayes factor allowed us to compare the probability of observing the data  
191 given  $H_0$  (i.e., no RP in deliberate decisions) against the probability of observing the data given  
192  $H_1$  (i.e., RP exists in deliberate decisions). We followed the convention that a  $BF < 0.33$   
193 implies substantial evidence for lack of an effect (that is, the data is three times more likely to

194 be observed given  $H_0$  than given  $H_1$ ),  $0.33 < BF < 3$  suggests insensitivity of the data, and  $BF$   
195  $> 3$  denotes substantial evidence for the presence of an effect ( $H_1$ ) (Jeffreys, 1998). We found  
196 strong evidence that arbitrary trials (pooled across difficulty for more statistical power) are  
197 different from 0 ( $BF=2.82 \cdot 10^6$ ), but inconclusive evidence for deliberate trials ( $BF=1.46$ , again  
198 for pooled trials). Notably, however, this result might reflect the general, slow negative trend  
199 of the deliberate trials data (Fig. 3A) rather than a typical RP, which is locked to movement-  
200 onset and shows a sharp decline towards that. To remove the effect of this slow negative drift,  
201 we used a baseline period of -1000 ms to -500 ms relative to *movement* onset (i.e., a baseline  
202 that immediately preceded our time of interest window) instead of our usual baseline that  
203 preceded stimulus onset (see Methods). Under this analysis, we found evidence that deliberate  
204 decisions are not different from 0 ( $BF=0.332$ ), supporting the claim that the RP during the last  
205 500 ms before response onset was completely absent ( $BF$  for arbitrary decisions was  $5.07 \cdot 10^4$ ).

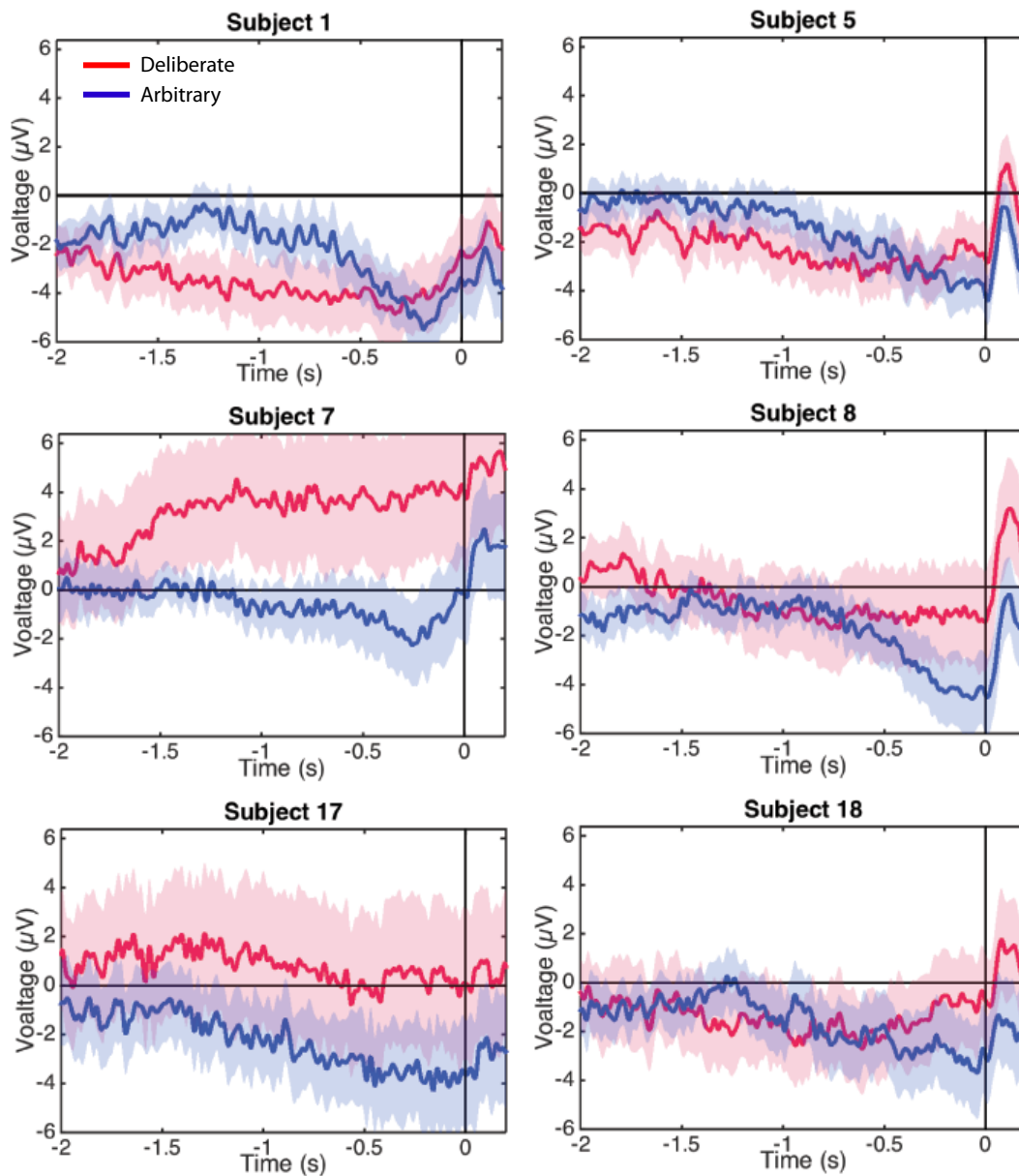
## Readiness Potentials



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207 **Figure 3: The readiness potentials for deliberate and arbitrary decisions.** (A) Mean and SE  
208 of the Readiness Potential (RP) in deliberate (red shades) and arbitrary (blue shades) easy and  
209 hard decisions in electrode Cz, as well as scalp distributions. Zero refers to time of right/left  
210 movement, or response, made by the subject. Notably, the RP significantly differs from zero  
211 and displays a typical scalp distribution for arbitrary decisions only. The scalp distribution was  
212 calculated over the averaged activity during the last 500 ms before response, across subjects.  
213 The inset shows the mean amplitude of the RP, with 95% confidence intervals, over the same  
214 time window. Response-locked potentials with an expanded timecourse, and stimulus-locked  
215 potentials are given in Fig. 6B and 6A, respectively. The same (response-locked) potentials as  
216 here, but with a *movement-locked baseline* of -1 to -0.5 s (same as in our Bayesian analysis  
217 below), are given in Fig. 6C. (B) Individual subjects' Cz activity in the four conditions ( $n=18$ ).  
218 The linear-regression line for voltage against time over the last 1000 ms before response onset  
219 is designated by a dashed, black line. Note that the waveforms converge to an RP only in  
220 arbitrary decisions.

221 We further tested whether differences in reaction time between the conditions, eye movements,  
222 the hand with which the subjects executed the movement, and subjects' consistency scores  
223 might explain our effect. We also tested whether the RPs might reflect some stimulus-locked  
224 potentials or be due to baseline considerations.



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**Figure 4: Individual-subjects RPs.** Six examples of for individual subjects' RPs for deliberate decisions (in red) and arbitrary ones (in blue).

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*Differences in reaction times (RT) between conditions, including stimulus-locked potentials and baselines, do not drive the effect*

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RTs in deliberate decisions were typically more than twice as long as RTs in arbitrary decisions. We therefore wanted to rule out the possibility that the absence of RP in deliberate decisions stemmed from the difference in RTs between the conditions. We carried out four analyses for this purpose. First, we ran a median split analysis—dividing the subjects into two groups based on their RTs: lower and higher than the median, for deliberate and arbitrary trials, respectively. We then ran the same analysis using only the faster subjects in the deliberate condition ( $M=1.91$  s,  $SD=0.25$ ) and the slower subjects in the arbitrary condition ( $M=1.25$  s,  $SD=0.23$ ). If RT length affects RP amplitudes, we would expect the RP amplitudes to be more similar between these two groups. However, though there were only half the data points, a similar pattern of results to those over the whole dataset was observed (Fig. 5A). Deliberate

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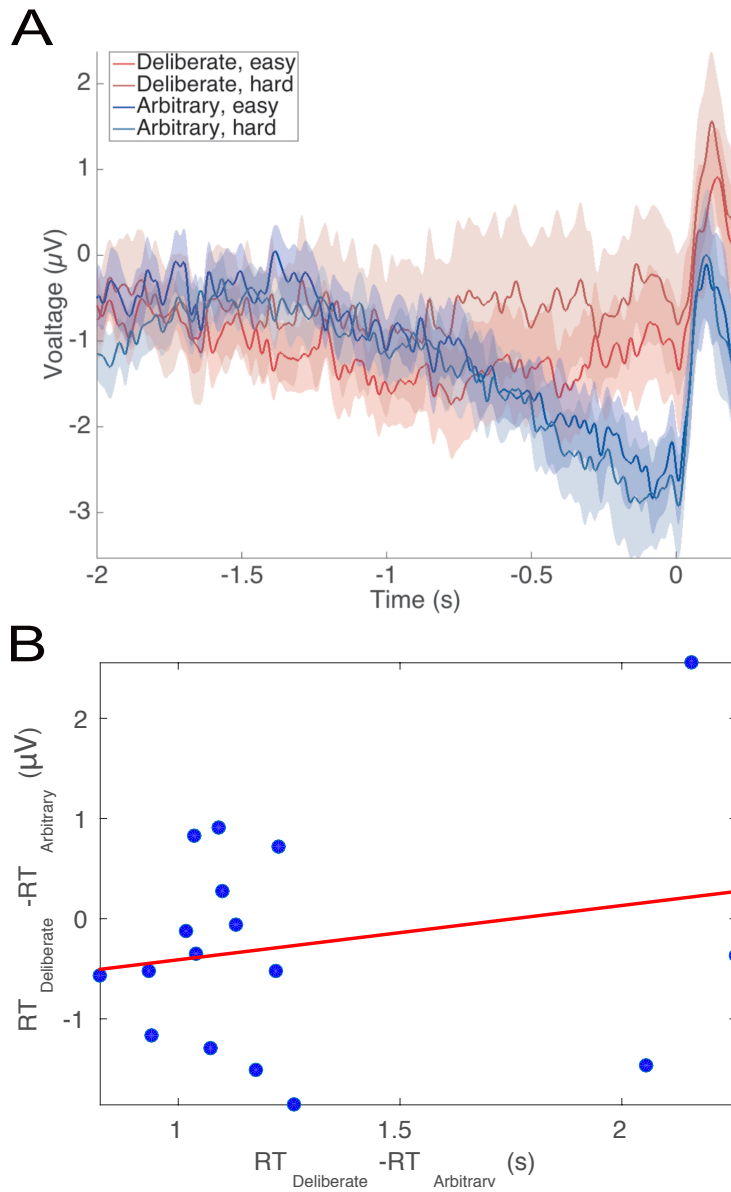


240 and arbitrary decisions were still reliably different ( $F(1,17)=5.22$ ,  $p=0.03$ ), with significant RPs  
241 found in arbitrary (easy:  $t(8)=4.57$ ,  $p=0.0018$ ; hard:  $t(8)=4.09$ ,  $p=0.0035$ ), but not deliberate  
242 (easy:  $t(8)=1.92$ ,  $p=0.09$ ; hard:  $t(8)=0.63$ ,  $p=0.54$ ) decisions. In addition, the RPs for arbitrary  
243 decisions were not significantly different between the subjects with above-median RTs and the  
244 entire population for the easy or hard conditions (easy:  $t(25)=0.14$ ,  $p>0.5$ ; hard:  $t(25)=0.56$ ,  
245  $p>0.5$ ). Similarly, the RPs for deliberate decisions were not significantly different between the  
246 subjects with below-median RTs and the entire population for the easy or hard conditions  
247 (easy:  $t(25)=-0.34$ ,  $p>0.5$ ; hard:  $t(25)=0.17$ ,  $p>0.5$ ). This suggest that RTs do not reliably affect  
248 Cz activation for deliberate or arbitrary decisions in our results.

249 Second, we regressed the difference between RPs in deliberate and arbitrary decisions  
250 (averaged over the last 500 ms before response onset) against the difference between the RTs  
251 in these two conditions for each subject (Fig. 5B). Again, if RT length affects RP amplitudes,  
252 we would expect differences between RTs in deliberate and arbitrary conditions to correlate  
253 with differences between RPs in the two conditions. But no correlation was found between the  
254 two measures ( $r=0.22$ ,  $t(17)=0.86$ ,  $p=0.4$ ). We further tried regressing the RP differences on  
255 RT differences. The regression did not produce any reliable relation between RT and RP  
256 differences (regression line:  $y = 0.54$  [CI -0.8, 1.89]  $x - 0.95$  [CI -2.75, 0.85]; the  $R^2$  was very  
257 low, at 0.05 (as expected from the  $r$  value above), and, as the confidence intervals suggest, the  
258 slope was not significantly different from 0,  $F(1,17)=0.74$ ,  $p=0.4$ ).

259 A third concern that could relate to the RT differences among the conditions is that the RP in  
260 arbitrary blocks might actually be some potential evoked by the stimuli (i.e., the presentations  
261 of the two causes), specifically in arbitrary blocks, where the RTs are shorter (and thus stimuli-  
262 evoked effects could still affect the decision). In particular, a stimulus-evoked potential might  
263 just happen to bear some similarity to the RP when plotted locked to response onset. To test  
264 this explanation, we plotted the potentials in all conditions, locked to the onset of the stimulus  
265 (Fig. 6A). We also plotted the response-locked potentials across an expanded timecourse for  
266 comparison (Fig. 6B). If the RP-like shape we see in Figs. 3A and 6B is due to a stimulus-  
267 locked potential, we would expect to see the following before the 4 mean response onset times  
268 (indicated by vertical lines at 0.98 and 1.00, 2.13, and 2.52 s for arbitrary easy, arbitrary hard,  
269 deliberate easy, and deliberate hard, respectively) in the stimulus-locked plot (Fig. 6A):  
270 Consistent potentials, which precede the mean response times, that would further be of a  
271 similar shape and magnitude to the RPs found in the decision-locked analysis in the arbitrary  
272 condition (though potentially more smeared for stimulus locking). We thus calculated a  
273 stimulus-locked version of our ERPs, using the same baseline (Fig. 6A). As the comparison  
274 between Fig. 6A and 6B clearly shows, no such consistent potentials were found before the 4  
275 response times, nor were these potentials similar to the RP in either shape or magnitude (their  
276 magnitudes are at the most around  $1\mu\text{V}$ , while the RP magnitudes we found are around  $2.5\mu\text{V}$ ;  
277 Figs. 3A, 6B). This analysis thus suggests that it is unlikely that a stimulus-locked potential  
278 drives the RP we found.

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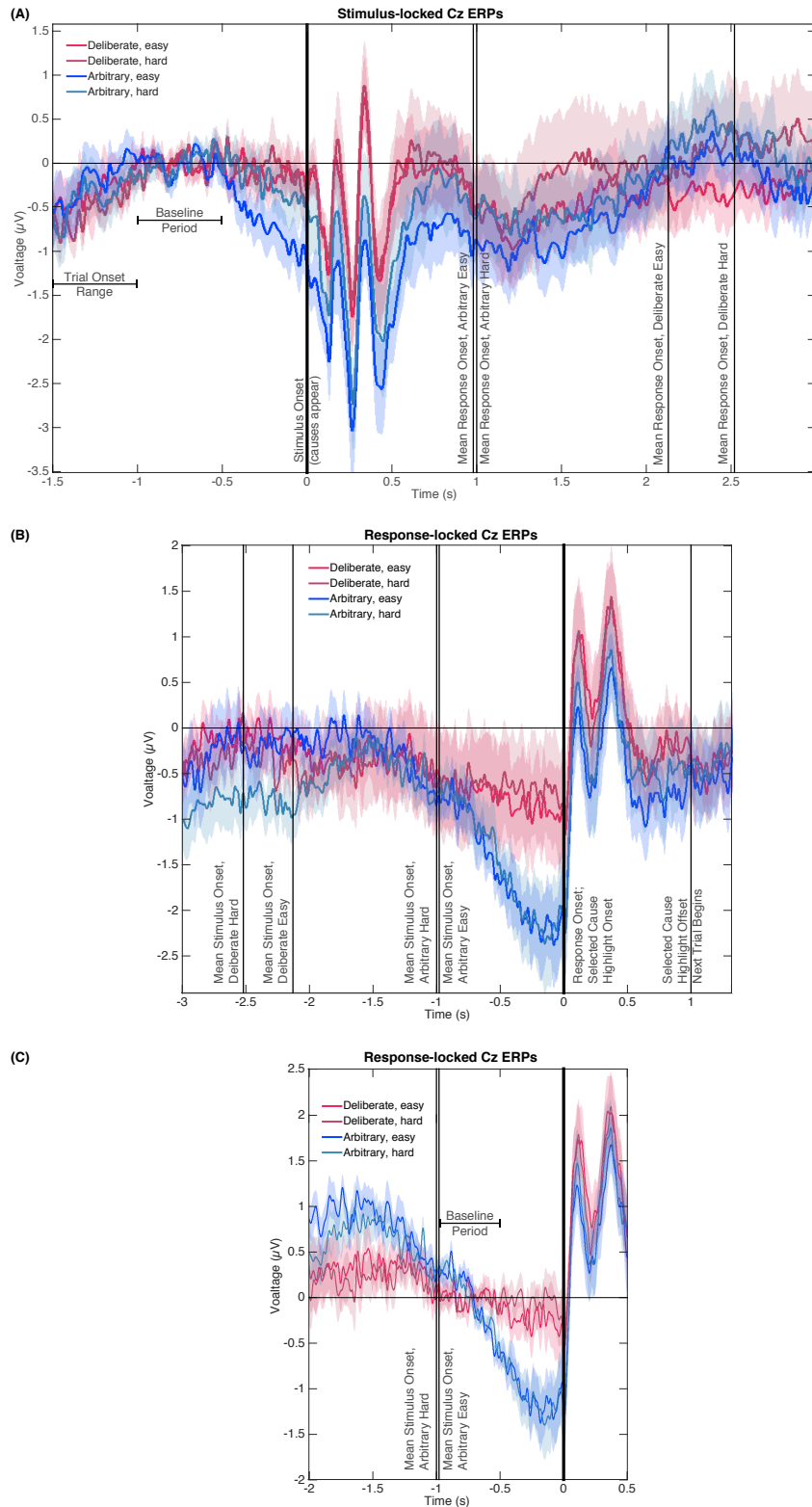
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**Figure 5: Relations between RTs and RPs.** (A) The subjects with above-median RTs for arbitrary decisions (in blue) and below-median RTs for deliberate decisions (in red), show the same pattern that was found in the main analysis (compare Fig. 3A in main text). (B) A regression of the difference between the RPs versus the difference between the RTs for deliberate and arbitrary decisions for each subject. The equation of the regression line is  $y = 0.54 [CI -0.8, 1.89] x - 0.95 [CI -2.75, 0.85]$ . The  $R^2$  is 0.05. One subject, #7, had an RT difference between deliberate and arbitrary decisions that was more than 6 interquartile ranges (IQRs) away from the median difference across all subjects. That same subject's RT difference was also more than 5 IQRs higher than the 75<sup>th</sup> percentile across all subjects. That subject was therefore designated an outlier and removed only from this regression analysis.



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**Figure 6: Stimulus- and response-locked Cz-electrode ERPs with different baselines and overlaid events.** (A) Stimulus-locked waveforms including the trial onset range, baseline period, and mean reaction times for all four experimental conditions. (B) Response-locked waveforms with mean stimulus onsets for all four conditions as well as the offset of the highlighting of the selected cause and the start of the next trial. (C) Same potentials and timeline as Fig. 3A, but with a *response-locked* baseline of -1 to -0.5 s—the same baseline used for our Bayesian analysis.

299 A fourth concern is that the differences in RTs may affect the results in the following manner:  
300 Because the main baseline period we used thus far was 1 to 0.5 s before stimulus onset, the  
301 duration from the baseline to the decision also varied widely between the conditions. To make  
302 sure this difference in temporal distance between the baseline period and the response to which  
303 the ERPs were locked does not drive our results, we recalculated the potentials for all  
304 conditions with a *response-locked* baseline of -1 to -0.5 s (Fig. 6C)—the same baseline we  
305 used for the Bayesian analysis above. The rationale behind this choice of baseline was to have  
306 the time that elapsed from baseline to response onset be the same across all conditions. As is  
307 evident in Fig. 6C, the results for this new baseline were very similar to those for the stimulus-  
308 locked baseline we used before. Focusing again on the -0.5 to 0 s range before response onset  
309 for our statistical tests, we found a clear RP in arbitrary decisions, yet RP amplitude was not  
310 significantly different from 0 in deliberate decisions (Fig. 6C; ANOVA  $F(1,17)=12.09$ ,  
311  $p=0.003$  for the main effect of decision type; in t-tests against 0, corrected for multiple  
312 comparisons, an effect was only found for arbitrary decisions (hard:  $t(17)=4.13$ ,  $p=0.0007$ ;  
313 easy:  $t(17)=4.72$ ,  $p=0.0002$ ) and not for deliberate ones (hard:  $t(17)=0.38$ ,  $p>0.5$ ; easy:  
314  $t(17)=1.13$ ,  $p=0.27$ ). This supports the notion that the choice of baseline does not strongly  
315 affect our main results. Taken together, all the results above provide strong evidence against  
316 the claim that the differences in RPs stem from or are affected by the differences in RTs  
317 between the conditions.

### 318 *Eye movements do not affect the results*

319 Though ICA was used to remove blink artifacts and saccades (see Methods), we wanted to  
320 make sure our results do not stem from differential eye movement patterns between the  
321 conditions. We therefore computed a saccade-count metric (SC; see Methods) for each trial for  
322 all subjects. Focusing again on the last 500 ms before response onset, we computed mean ( $\pm$   
323 s.e.m.) SC values of  $1.65\pm 0.07$  and  $1.67\pm 0.06$  saccades for easy and hard deliberate decisions,  
324 respectively, and  $1.69\pm 0.07$  and  $1.73\pm 0.07$  saccades for easy and hard arbitrary decisions,  
325 respectively. We found no reliable differences between the number of saccades during  
326 deliberate and arbitrary trials ( $F(1,17)=2.56$ ,  $p=0.13$  for the main effect of decision type).

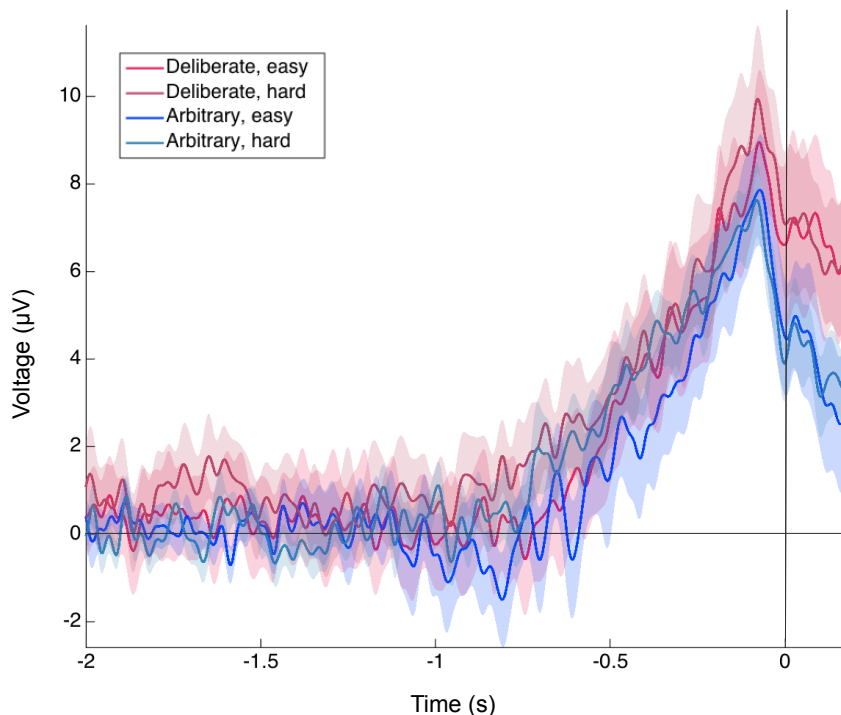
327 We further investigated potential effects of saccades by running a median-split analysis—  
328 dividing the trials for each subject into two groups based on their SC score: lower and higher  
329 than the median, for deliberate and arbitrary trials, respectively. We then ran the same analysis  
330 using only the trials with more saccades in the deliberate condition (SC was  $2.02\pm 0.07$  and  
331  $2.04\pm 0.07$  for easy and hard, respectively) and those with less saccades for the arbitrary  
332 condition (SC was  $1.33\pm 0.07$  and  $1.31\pm 0.08$  for easy and hard, respectively). If the number of  
333 saccades affects RP amplitudes, we would expect that the differences in RPs between arbitrary  
334 and deliberate trials will diminish, or even reverse (as now we had more saccades in the  
335 deliberate condition). However, though there were only half the data points for each subject in  
336 each condition, a similar pattern of results to those over the whole dataset was observed:  
337 Deliberate and arbitrary decisions were still reliably different within the median-split RPs  
338 ( $F(1,17)=16.70$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), with significant RPs found in arbitrary (easy:  $t(17)=4.79$ ,  $p=0.002$ ;  
339 hard:  $t(17)=5.77$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), but not deliberate (easy:  $t(17)=0.90$ ,  $p=0.38$ ; hard:  $t(17)=0.30$ ,  
340  $p>0.5$ ) decisions. In addition, we compared the RP data across all the trials with the median-  
341 split RP data above. No significant differences were found for arbitrary decisions (easy:  
342  $t(17)=1.02$ ,  $p=0.32$ ; hard:  $t(17)=0.75$ ,  $p=0.46$ ) or for deliberate decisions (easy:  $t(17)=1.63$ ,  
343  $p=0.12$ ; hard:  $t(17)=1.47$ ,  $p=0.16$ ). Taken together, the analyses above provide strong evidence  
344 against the involvement of eye movements in our results.

### 345 *Testing alternative explanations*

346 We took a closer look at subjects' behavior in the easy arbitrary condition, where some  
347 subjects had a consistency score that was further above 0.5 (chance) than others. It seems like  
348 those subjects had a greater difficulty ignoring their preferences, despite the instructions to do  
349 so. We therefore wanted to test to what extent the RP of those subjects was similar to the RPs  
350 of the other subjects. Focusing on the 8 subjects that had a consistency score above 0.55  
351 ( $M=0.59$ ,  $SD=0.03$ ) and comparing their RPs to those of the 10 other subjects (consistency  
352  $M=0.50$ ,  $SD=0.06$ ) in easy arbitrary trials, we found no reliable differences ( $t(16)=0.94$ ,  
353  $p=0.36$ ). This is not surprising, as the mean consistency score of these subjects—though higher  
354 than chance—was still far below their consistency score for easy deliberate decisions ( $M=0.99$ ,  
355  $SD=0.02$ ).

### 356 *EEG Results: Lateralized Readiness Potential (LRP)*

357 The LRP, which reflects activation processes within the motor cortex for action preparation  
358 after action selection (Eimer, 1998; Masaki, Wild-wall, Sangals, & Sommer, 2004), was  
359 measured by subtracting the difference potentials (C3-C4) in right-hand response trials from  
360 this difference in left-hand responses trials and averaging the activity over the same time  
361 window (Eimer, 1998; Haggard & Eimer, 1999). In this purely motor component, no  
362 difference was found between the two decision types (Fig. 7; all  $F_s < 1$ ). It should be noted that  
363 the LRP we calculated was relatively large, compared to Haggard and Eimer (1999),  
364 potentially due to referencing differences (see Methods). Our analysis of EOG channels  
365 suggests that some of that LRP might be driven by eye movements (we repeated the LRP  
366 computation on the EOG channels instead of C3 and C4). However, the shape of the eye-  
367 movement-induced LRP is very different from the LRP we calculated from C3 and C4. Also,  
368 the differences that we found between conditions in the EOG LRP are not reflected in the  
369 C3/C4 LRP. So, while our LRP might be boosted by eye movements, it is not strictly driven by  
370 these eye movements.



371  
372 **Figure 7: Lateralized readiness potential.** The lateralized readiness potential (LRP) for  
373 deliberate and arbitrary, easy and hard decisions. No difference was found between the  
374 conditions (ANOVA all  $F_s < 1$ ).

375

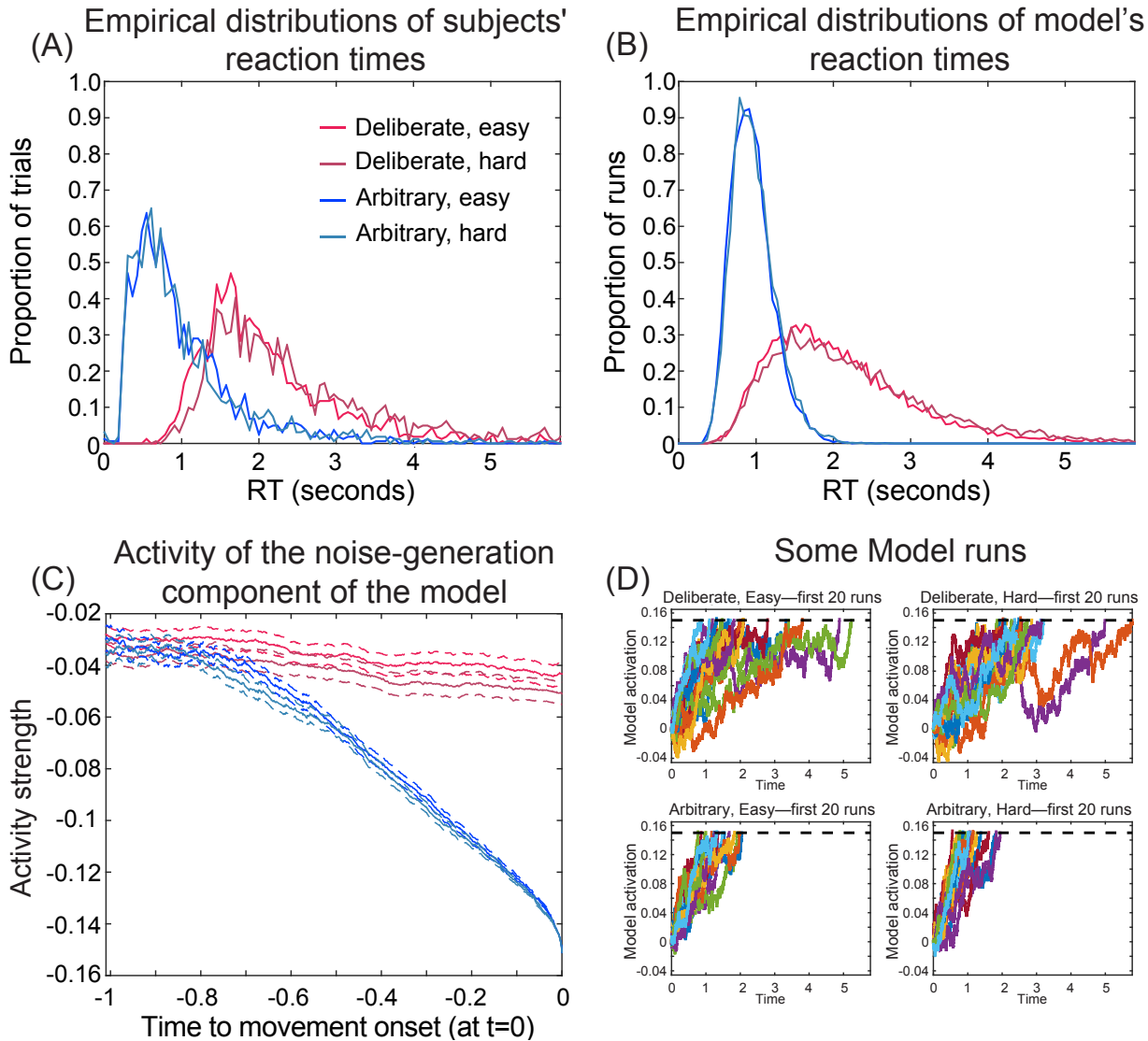
376 *Drift Diffusion Model (DDM)*

377 The main finding of this study—the absence of RP in deliberate decisions, suggesting different  
378 neural underpinnings of arbitrary and deliberate decisions—is in line with recent work that  
379 used a drift-diffusion model (DDM) to claim that the RP might arise from the nonlinearities  
380 associated with threshold crossing together with time-locking neural activity to response onset,  
381 rather than from specific preparation for or ballistic-like initiation of movement (Schurger et  
382 al., 2012). DDMs of decision-making generally feature a process that rises toward a threshold.  
383 The crossing of that threshold reflects the onset of the decision in the model, typically leading  
384 to action. Schurger and colleagues modelled arbitrary decisions, and suggested that there the  
385 nonlinear threshold crossing leading to response onset is largely determined by spontaneous  
386 subthreshold fluctuations of the neural activity (Schurger et al., 2012). This challenged the  
387 common view of the RP as a neural correlate of unconscious preparation for upcoming action  
388 (Shibasaki & Hallett, 2006). Instead, Schurger and colleagues claimed, time-locking to  
389 response onset ensures that these spontaneous fluctuations appear, when averaged over many  
390 trials, as a gradual increase in neural activity.

391 To further assess this interpretation of the RP, we expanded the model developed by Schurger  
392 et al. (2012) to a DDM that was composed of a *value-assessment* component and a *noise-*  
393 *generation* component (see Methods). Under this assumption, Cz-electrode activity mainly  
394 reflects the noise-generation component. (Note that we suggest that noise generation might be  
395 a key function of the (pre-)SMA and other brain regions underneath the Cz electrode during  
396 this specific task. When subjects make arbitrary decisions, these might be based on some  
397 symmetry-breaking mechanism, which is driven by random fluctuations that are here simulated  
398 as noise, following Schurger et al. Thus, we neither claim nor think that noise generation is the  
399 main purpose or function of these brain regions in general.) In addition to the value-assessment  
400 and noise-generation components, each trial was modeled as a race to threshold between the  
401 NPO pair that served as the stimulus. One option was to select the NPO that was rated higher  
402 than the other in the earlier rating session (the *congruent* option; see Methods); the other was to  
403 select the lower-rated NPO (the *incongruent* option). Each decision was thus modeled as a race  
404 between two leaky stochastic accumulators (each composed of a value-assessment and noise-  
405 generation component; see Methods for more details and model parameters; Fig. 8D shows  
406 some runs of the noise-generation component of the model). Note that the longer runs of the  
407 model during deliberate decisions show a more pronounced tendency for what could be  
408 perceived as decision reversals (or “changes of mind”) than arbitrary decisions, as might be  
409 expected a priori (Fig. 8D).

410 We fit our DDM to our average empirical reaction-times, which were 2.13, 2.52, 0.98 and 1.00  
411 s for the different conditions (henceforth, magnitudes are given for deliberate easy, deliberate  
412 hard, arbitrary easy, and arbitrary hard, respectively, in this order). The model’s corresponding  
413 mean RTs were 2.04, 2.46, 0.94, and 0.96 s for these conditions (Fig. 8A, B). The model was  
414 further fit to the empirical consistency ratios (the proportions of congruent decisions), which  
415 were 0.99, 0.83, 0.54 and 0.49. The model’s corresponding consistency ratios were 1.00, 0.84,  
416 0.53 and 0.53. The model then predicted the shape of the ERP in its noise component (assumed  
417 to be reflected by Cz-electrode activity) for each decision type: a continuing, RP-like increase  
418 in activity (with a negative sign) for arbitrary decisions, but only a very slight increase in  
419 activity for deliberate decisions (Fig. 8C). This was in line with our empirical results (compare  
420 Fig. 3A). Note that that the Schurger model aims to account for neural activity leading up to  
421 the decision to move, but no further (Schurger et al., 2012). Similarly, we expect our DDM to

422 fit Cz neural data only up to around -0.1 s (100 ms before response onset). We also make no  
423 claims that ours is the only, or even optimal, model that explains our results. Rather, by  
424 extending the Schurger model, our goal was to show how that interpretation of the RP could  
425 also be applied to our more-complex paradigm. (We refer the reader to work by Schurger and  
426 colleagues (Schurger, 2018; Schurger et al., 2012) for further discussions about the model, its  
427 comparison to other models, and the relation to conscious-decision onset).



428

429 **Figure 8: Empirical and model RTs and model prediction for Cz activity.** (A) The  
430 empirical distributions of subjects' RTs across the four decision types. (B) The equivalent  
431 distributions of RTs for the model. (C) The model's prediction for the ERP activity in electrode  
432 Cz across all four decision types. (D) The first 20 model runs for the noise-generation  
433 component for all four decision conditions. The integration threshold, at 0.15, is designated by  
434 a dashed line in all decision conditions. Here  $t = 0$  s designates the beginning of the model's  
435 run.

## 436 Discussion

437 Since the publication of Libet's seminal work claiming that neural precursors of action, in the  
438 form of the RP, precede subjects' reports of having consciously decided to act (Libet et al.,  
439 1983), a vigorous discussion has been raging among neuroscientists, philosophers, and other

440 scholars about the meaning of these findings for the debate on free will (recent collections  
441 include (Mele, 2015; Pockett, Banks, & Gallagher, 2009; Sinnott-Armstrong & Nadel, 2011)).  
442 Some claim that these results have removed conscious will from the causal chain leading to  
443 action (Haggard, 2005, 2008; Wegner, 2002). Others are unconvinced that these results are  
444 decisive for, or even applicable to, the free-will debate (Breitmeyer, 1985; Mele, 2009;  
445 Nahmias, Shepard, & Reuter, 2014; A. Roskies, 2010). At the heart of much of this debate lies  
446 the RP, thought to represent unconscious decision/planning mechanisms that initiate subjects'  
447 decisions prior to their conscious experience of deciding (Kornhuber & Deecke, 1990; Libet et  
448 al., 1983).

449 Notably, the RP and similar findings showing neural activations preceding the conscious  
450 decision to act have typically been based on arbitrary decisions of different types (Haggard &  
451 Eimer, 1999; Lau et al., 2004; Libet, 1985; Libet et al., 1983; Sirigu et al., 2004; Soon et al.,  
452 2008; Soon et al., 2013). This, among other reasons, rested on the notion that for an action to  
453 be completely free, it should not be determined in any way by external factors (Libet, 1985)—  
454 which is the case for arbitrary, but not deliberate, decisions (where each decision alternative is  
455 associated with a value, and the values of alternatives typically guide one's decision). But this  
456 notion of freedom faces several obstacles. First, most discussions of free will focus on  
457 deliberate decisions, asking when and whether these are free (Frankfurt, 1971; Hobbes, 1994;  
458 Wolf, 1990). This might be because everyday decisions to which we associate freedom of  
459 will—like choosing a more expensive but more environmentally friendly car, helping a friend  
460 instead of studying more for a test, donating to charity, and so on—are generally deliberate, in  
461 the sense of being reasoned, purposeful, and bearing consequences (although see  
462 Deuschländer, Pauen, and Haynes (2017)). In particular, the free will debate is often  
463 considered in the context of moral responsibility (e.g., was the decision to harm another person  
464 free or not) (Fischer, 1999; Haggard, 2008; Maoz & Yaffe, 2016; A. L. Roskies, 2012; Sinnott-  
465 Armstrong, 2014; Strawson, 1994), and free will is even sometimes defined as the capacity that  
466 allows one to be morally responsible (Mele, 2006, 2009). In contrast, it seems meaningless to  
467 assign blame or praise to arbitrary decisions. Thus, though the scientific operationalization of  
468 free will has typically focused on arbitrary decisions, the common interpretations of these  
469 studies—in neuroscience and across the free will debate—have often alluded to deliberate  
470 ones. Here, we show that inference from arbitrary to deliberate decisions may not be justified,  
471 as the neural precursors of arbitrary decisions, and in particular the RP, do not generalize to  
472 meaningful ones (Breitmeyer, 1985; A. Roskies, 2010). These potentially different neural  
473 mechanisms therefore challenge previous studies relying on arbitrary decisions, regardless of  
474 whether they were based on the RP or not.

475 Interestingly, while the RP was present in arbitrary decisions but absent in deliberate ones, the  
476 LRP—a long-standing, more-motor ERP component—was indistinguishable between the  
477 different decision types. This provides evidence that, at the motor level, the neural  
478 representation of the deliberate and arbitrary decisions that our subjects made may have been  
479 indistinguishable, as was our intention when designing the task.

480 Our finding and the model thus suggest that two different mechanisms may be involved in  
481 arbitrary and deliberate decisions. Earlier literature demonstrated that deliberate, reasoned  
482 decision-making—which was mostly studied in the field of neuroeconomics (Kable &  
483 Glimcher, 2009) or using perceptual decisions (Gold & Shadlen, 2007)—elicited activity in the  
484 prefrontal cortex (PFC; mainly the dorsolateral (DLPFC) part (A. G. Sanfey, Rilling, Aronson,  
485 Nystrom, & Cohen, 2003; J. D. Wallis & Miller, 2003) and ventromedial (VMPFC)  
486 part/orbitofrontal cortex (OFC) (Ramnani & Owen, 2004; Jonathan D Wallis, 2007) and the



487 anterior cingulate cortex (ACC) (Bush, Luu, & Posner, 2000; Carter et al., 1998). Arbitrary,  
488 meaningless decisions, in contrast, were mainly probed using variants of the Libet paradigm,  
489 showing activations in the Supplementary Motor Area (SMA), alongside other frontal areas  
490 like the medial frontal cortex (Brass & Haggard, 2008; Kriehoff, Waszak, Prinz, & Brass,  
491 2011) or the frontopolar cortex, as well as the posterior cingulate cortex (Fried et al., 2011;  
492 Soon et al., 2008) (though see Hughes, Schütz-Bosbach, and Waszak (2011), which suggests  
493 that a common mechanism may underlie both decision types). Possibly then, arbitrary and  
494 deliberate decisions may differ not only with respect to the RP, but be subserved by different  
495 underlying neural circuits, which makes generalization from one class of decisions to the other  
496 more difficult. Deliberate decisions are associated with more lateralized and central neural  
497 activity while arbitrary ones are associated with more medial and frontal ones. This appears to  
498 align with the different brain regions associated with the two decision types above, as also  
499 evidenced by the differences we found between the scalp distributions of arbitrary and  
500 deliberate decisions (Fig. 3A). Further studies are needed to explore this potential divergence  
501 in the neural regions between the two decision types.

502 To be clear, and following the above, we do not claim that the RP captures all unconscious  
503 processes that precede conscious awareness. However, some have suggested that the RP  
504 represents unconscious motor-preparatory activity before any kind of decision (e.g., Libet,  
505 1985). But our results provide evidence against that claim, as we do not find an RP before  
506 deliberate decisions, which also entail motor preparation. What is more, in deliberate decisions  
507 in particular, it is likely that there are neural precursors of upcoming actions—possibly  
508 involving the above neural circuits as well as circuits that represents values—which are  
509 unrelated to the RP. Note also that we did not attempt to separately measure the timing of  
510 subjects' conscious decision to move. Rather, we instructed them to hold their hands above the  
511 relevant keyboard keys and press their selected key as soon as they made up their minds. This  
512 was both to keep the decisions in this task more ecological and because we think that the key  
513 method of measuring decision onset (using some type of clock to measure Libet's W-time) is  
514 highly problematic (see Methods). Some might also claim that unconscious decision-making  
515 could explain our results, suggesting that in arbitrary decisions subjects engage in unconscious  
516 deliberation or in actively inhibiting their urge to follow their preference as well as in free  
517 choice, while in deliberate decisions only deliberation is required. But this interpretation is  
518 unlikely because the longer RTs in deliberate decisions suggest, if anything, that more complex  
519 mental processes (conscious or unconscious) took place before deliberate and not arbitrary  
520 decisions. What is more, these interpretations should impede our chances of finding the RP in  
521 arbitrary trials (as the design diverges from the original Libet task), yet the RP was present,  
522 rendering them less plausible.

523 Aside from highlighting the neural differences between arbitrary and deliberate decisions, this  
524 study also challenges a common interpretation of the function of the RP. If the RP is not  
525 present before deliberate action, it does not seem to be a necessary link in the general causal  
526 chain leading to action. Schurger et al. (2012) suggested that the RP reflects the accumulation  
527 of stochastic fluctuations in neural activity that lead to action, following a threshold crossing,  
528 when humans arbitrarily decide to move. The shape of the RP therefore results from the  
529 manner in which it is computed: averaged over trials that are locked to response onset (that  
530 directly follows the threshold crossing). Our results and our model are in line with that  
531 interpretation and expand upon it, suggesting that the RP represents the accumulation of noisy,  
532 random fluctuations that drive arbitrary decisions, while deliberate decisions are mainly driven  
533 by the values associated with the decision alternatives (Maoz et al., 2013).

534 Our drift-diffusion model was based on the assumption that every decision is driven by a  
535 component based on the values of the decision alternatives (the subject's support for the two  
536 NPOs in our case) and by another component representing noise—random fluctuations in  
537 neural activity. The value component plays little to no role in arbitrary decisions, so action  
538 selection and timing depend on when the accumulation of noise crosses the decision threshold  
539 for the congruent and incongruent decision alternatives. In deliberate decisions, in contrast, the  
540 value component drives the decisions, while the noise has a smaller effect. Thus, in arbitrary  
541 decisions, action onset closely tracks threshold crossings of the noise accumulation. But, in  
542 deliberate decisions, the noise component is at more random levels at the moment of response  
543 onset. Hence, locking the ERP to response onset and averaging over trials to obtain the RP,  
544 leads to a relatively flat signal for deliberate decisions but to the expected RP shape in arbitrary  
545 decisions. This provides strong evidence that the RP does not reflect subconscious movement  
546 preparation. Rather, it is induced by threshold crossing of random fluctuations in arbitrary  
547 decisions, which do not drive deliberate decisions; accordingly, the RP is not found there.  
548 Further studies of the causal role of consciousness in deliberate versus arbitrary decisions are  
549 required to test this claim.

550 Nevertheless, two possible, alternative explanations of our results can be raised. First, one  
551 could claim that—in the deliberate condition only—the NPO names act as a cue, thereby  
552 turning what we term internal, deliberate decisions into no more than simple responses to  
553 external stimuli. Under this account, if the preferred NPO is on the right, it is immediately  
554 interpreted as “Press right”. It would therefore follow that subjects are actually not making  
555 decisions in deliberate trials, which in turn is reflected by the absence of the RP in those trials.  
556 However, the reaction time and consistency results that we obtained provide evidence against  
557 this interpretation. We found longer reaction times for hard-deliberate decisions than for easy-  
558 deliberate ones (2.52 versus 2.13 s, on average, respectively; Fig. 2 left) and higher  
559 consistencies with the initial ratings for easy-deliberate decisions than for hard-deliberate  
560 decisions (0.99 versus 0.83, on average, respectively; Fig. 2 right). If the NPO names acted as  
561 mere cues, we would have expected no differences between reaction times or consistencies for  
562 easy- and hard-deliberate decisions. In addition, there were 50 different causes in the first part  
563 of the experiment. So, it is highly unlikely that subjects could memorize all 1225 pairwise  
564 preferences among these causes and simply transform any decision between a pair of causes  
565 into a stimulus instructing to press left or right.

566 Another alternative interpretation of our results is that subjects engage in (unconscious)  
567 deliberation also during arbitrary decisions (Tusche, Bode, & Haynes, 2010), as they are trying  
568 to find a way to break the symmetry between the two possible actions. If so, the RP in the  
569 arbitrary decisions might actually reflect the extra effort in those types of decisions, which is  
570 not found in deliberate decisions. However, this interpretation entails a longer reaction time for  
571 arbitrary than for deliberate decisions, because of the heavier cognitive load, which is the  
572 opposite of what we found (Fig. 2A). We would also expect the simpler deliberation in  
573 arbitrary-easy trials to result in a shorter reaction-time than that of arbitrary-hard. But this is  
574 not what we find (Fig. 2A).

575 In conclusion, our study suggests that RPs do not precede deliberate decisions. In addition, it  
576 suggests that RPs represent an artificial accumulation of random fluctuations rather than  
577 serving a genuine marker of an unconscious decision to initiate voluntary movement. This  
578 further motivates future investigations into other precursors of action besides the RP using  
579 EEG, fMRI, or other techniques. It would be of particular interest to find the neural activity

580 that precedes deliberate decisions. And it would also be of interest to find neural activity,  
581 which is not motor activity, that is common to both deliberate and arbitrary decisions.

## 582 **Materials and Methods**

### 583 *Subjects*

584 Twenty healthy subjects participated in the study. They were California Institute of  
585 Technology (Caltech) students as well as members of the Pasadena community. All subjects  
586 had reported normal or corrected-to-normal sight and no psychiatric or neurological history.  
587 They volunteered to participate in the study for payment (\$20 per hour). Subjects were  
588 prescreened to include only participants who were socially involved and active in the  
589 community (based on the strength of their support of social causes, past volunteer work, past  
590 donations to social causes, and tendency to vote). The data from 18 subjects was analyzed; two  
591 subjects were excluded from our analysis (see *Sample size and exclusion criteria* below). The  
592 experiment was approved by Caltech's Institutional Review Board, and informed consent was  
593 obtained from all participants after the experimental procedures were explained to them.

### 594 *Sample size and exclusion criteria*

595 We ran a power analysis based on the findings of Haggard and Eimer (1999). Their RP in a  
596 free left/right-choice task had a mean of 5.293  $\mu\text{V}$  and standard deviation of 2.267  $\mu\text{V}$ . Data  
597 from a pilot study we ran before this experiment suggested that we might obtain smaller RP  
598 values in our task (they referenced to the tip of the nose and we to the average of all channels,  
599 which typically results in a smaller RP). Therefore, we conservatively estimated the magnitude  
600 of our RP as half of that of Haggard & Eimer, 2.647  $\mu\text{V}$ , while keeping the standard deviation  
601 the same at 2.267  $\mu\text{V}$ . Our power analysis therefore suggested that we would need at least 16  
602 subjects to reliably find a difference between an RP and a null RP (0  $\mu\text{V}$ ) at a p-value of 0.05  
603 and power of 0.99. This number agreed with our pilot study, where we found that a sample size  
604 of at least 16 subjects resulted in a clear, averaged RP. Following the above reasoning, we  
605 decided beforehand to collect 20 subjects for this study, taking into account that some could be  
606 excluded as they would not meet the following predefined inclusion criteria: at least 30 trials  
607 per experimental condition remaining after artifact rejection; and averaged RTs (across  
608 conditions) that deviated by less than 3 standard deviations from the group mean.

609 Subjects were informed about the overall number of subjects that would participate in the  
610 experiment when the NPO lottery was explained to them (see below). So, we had to finalize  
611 the overall number of subjects who would participate in the study—but not necessarily the  
612 overall number of subjects whose data would be part of the analysis—before the experiment  
613 began. After completing data collection, we ran only the EEG preprocessing and behavioral-  
614 data analysis to test each subject against the exclusion criteria. This was done before we looked  
615 at the data with respect to our hypothesis or research question. Two subjects did not meet the  
616 inclusion criteria: the data of one subject (#18) suffered from poor signal quality, resulting in  
617 less than 30 trials remaining after artifact rejection; another subject (#12) had RTs longer than  
618 3 standard deviations from the mean. All analyses were thus run on the 18 remaining subjects.

### 619 *Stimuli and apparatus*

620 Subjects sat in a dimly lit room. The stimuli were presented on a 21" Viewsonic G225f (20"  
621 viewable) CRT monitor with a 60-Hz refresh rate and a 1024×768 resolution using

622 Psychtoolbox version 3 and Mathworks Matlab 2014b (Brainard, 1997; Pelli, 1997). They  
623 appeared with a gray background (RGB values: [128, 128,128]). The screen was located 60 cm  
624 away from subjects' eyes. Stimuli included names of 50 real, non-profit organizations (NPOs).  
625 Twenty organizations were consensual (e.g., the Cancer Research Institute, or the Hunger  
626 project), and thirty were more controversial: we chose 15 causes that were widely debated  
627 (e.g., pro/anti guns, pro/anti abortions), and selected one NPO that supported each of the two  
628 sides of the debate. This was done to achieve variability in subjects' willingness to donate to  
629 the different NPOs. In the main part of the experiment, succinct descriptions of the causes  
630 (e.g., pro-marijuana legalization, pro-child protection; for a full list of NPOs and causes see  
631 Supplementary Table 1) were presented in black Comic Sans MS.

### 632 *Study Design*

633 The objective of this study was to compare ERPs elicited by arbitrary and deliberate decision-  
634 making, and in particular the RP. We further manipulated decision difficulty to validate our  
635 manipulation of decisions type: we introduced hard and easy decisions which corresponded to  
636 small and large differences between subjects' preferences for the pairs of presented NPOs,  
637 respectively. We reasoned that if the manipulation of decision type (arbitrary vs. deliberate)  
638 was effective, there would be behavioral differences between easy and hard decisions for  
639 deliberate choices but not for arbitrary choices (because differences in preferences should not  
640 influence subjects' arbitrary decisions). Our 2 x 2 design was therefore decision type (arbitrary  
641 vs. deliberate) by decision difficulty (easy vs. hard). Each condition included 90 trials,  
642 separated into 10 blocks of 9 trials each, resulting in a total of 360 trials and 40 blocks. Blocks  
643 of different decision types were randomly intermixed. Decision difficulty was randomly  
644 counterbalanced across trials within each block.

### 645 *Experimental Procedure*

646 In the first part of the experiment, subjects were presented with each of the 50 NPOs and the  
647 causes with which the NPOs were associated separately (see Supplementary Table 1). They  
648 were instructed to rate how much they would like to support that NPO with a \$1000 donation  
649 on a scale of 1 ("I would not like to support this NPO at all) to 7 ("I would very much like to  
650 support this NPO"). No time pressure was put on the subjects, and they were given access to  
651 the website of each NPO to give them the opportunity to learn more about the NPO and the  
652 cause it supports.

653 After the subjects finished rating all NPOs, the main experiment began. In each block of the  
654 experiment, subjects made either deliberate or arbitrary decisions. Two succinct cause  
655 descriptions, representing two actual NPOs, were presented in each trial (Fig. 1). In deliberate  
656 blocks, subjects were instructed to choose the NPO to which they would like to donate \$1000  
657 by pressing the <Q> or <P> key on the keyboard, for the NPO on the left or right, respectively,  
658 as soon as they decided. Subjects were informed that at the end of each block one of the NPOs  
659 they chose would be randomly selected to advance to a lottery. Then, at the end of the  
660 experiment, the lottery will take place and the winning NPO will receive a \$20 donation. In  
661 addition, that NPO will advance to the final, inter-subject lottery, where one subject's NPO  
662 will be picked randomly for a \$1000 donation. It was stressed that the donations were real and  
663 that no deception was used in the experiment. To persuade the subjects that the donations were  
664 real, we presented a signed commitment to donate the money, and promised to send them the  
665 donation receipts after the experiment. Thus, subjects knew that in deliberate trials, every

666 choice they made was not hypothetical, and could potentially lead to an actual \$1020 donation  
667 to their chosen NPO.

668 Arbitrary trials were identical to deliberate trials except for the following crucial differences.  
669 Subjects were told that, at the end of each block, the pair of NPOs in one randomly selected  
670 trial would advance to the lottery together. And, if that pair wins the lottery, both NPOs would  
671 receive \$10 (each). Further, the NPO pair that would win the inter-subject lottery would  
672 receive a \$500 donation each. Hence it was stressed to the subjects that there was no reason for  
673 them to prefer one NPO over the other in arbitrary blocks, as both NPOs would receive the  
674 same donation regardless of their button press. Subjects were told to therefore simply press  
675 either <Q> or <P> as soon as they decided to do so.

676 Thus, while subjects' decisions in the deliberate blocks were meaningful and consequential,  
677 their decisions in the arbitrary blocks had no impact on the final donations that were made. In  
678 these trials, subjects were further urged not to let their preferred NPO dictate their response.  
679 Importantly, despite the difference in decision type between deliberate and arbitrary blocks, the  
680 instructions for carrying out the decisions were identical: Subjects were instructed to report  
681 their decisions as soon as they made them in both conditions. They were further asked to place  
682 their fingers on the response keys, so they could respond as quickly as possible. Note that we  
683 did not ask subjects to report their "W-time" (time of consciously reaching a decision), because  
684 this measure was shown to rely on neural processes occurring after response onset (Lau,  
685 Rogers, & Passingham, 2007) and to potentially be backward inferred from movement time  
686 (Banks & Isham, 2009). Even more importantly, clock monitoring was demonstrated to have  
687 an effect on RP size (Miller et al., 2011), so it could potentially confound our results (Maoz et  
688 al., 2015).

689 Decision difficulty (Easy/Hard) was manipulated throughout the experiment, randomly  
690 intermixed within each block. Decision difficulty was determined based on the rating  
691 difference between the two presented NPOs. NPO pairs with 1 or at least 4 rating-point  
692 difference were designated hard or easy, respectively. Based on each subject's ratings, we  
693 created a list of NPO pairs, half of each were easy choices and the other half hard choices.

694 Each block started with an instruction written either in dark orange (Deliberate: "In this block  
695 choose the cause to which you want to donate \$1000") or in blue (Arbitrary: "In this block  
696 both causes may each get a \$500 donation regardless of the choice") on a gray background that  
697 was used throughout the experiment. Short-hand instructions appeared at the top of the screen  
698 throughout the block in the same colors as that block's initial instructions; Deliberate: "Choose  
699 for \$1000" or Arbitrary: "Press for \$500 each" (Fig. 1).

700 Each trial started with the gray screen that was blank except for a centered, black fixation  
701 cross. The fixation screen was on for a duration drawn from a uniform distribution between 1  
702 and 1.5 s. Then, the two cause-descriptions appeared on the left and right side of the fixation  
703 cross (left/right assignments were randomly counterbalanced) and remained on the screen until  
704 the subjects reported their decisions with a key press—<Q> or <P> on the keyboard for the  
705 cause on the left or right, respectively. The cause corresponding to the pressed button then  
706 turned white for 1 s, and a new trial started immediately. If subjects did not respond within 20  
707 s, they received an error message and were informed that, if this trial would be selected for the  
708 lottery, no NPO would receive a donation. However, this did not happen for any subject on any  
709 trial.

710 To assess the consistency of subjects' decisions during the main experiment with their ratings  
711 in the first part of the experiment, subjects' choices were coded in the following way: each  
712 binary choice in the main experiment was given a consistency grade of 1, if subjects chose the  
713 NPO that was rated higher in the rating session, and 0 if not. Then an averaged consistency  
714 grade for each subject was calculated as the mean consistency grade over all the choices. Thus,  
715 a consistency grade of 1 indicates perfect consistency with one's ratings across all trials, 0 is  
716 perfect inconsistency, and 0.5 is chance performance.

717 We wanted to make sure subjects were carefully reading and remembering the causes also  
718 during the arbitrary trials to better equate memory load, attention, and other cognitive aspects  
719 between deliberate and arbitrary decisions—except those aspects directly associated with the  
720 decision type, which was the focus of our investigation. We therefore randomly interspersed 36  
721 memory catch-trials throughout the experiment (thus more than one catch trial could occur per  
722 block). On such trials, four succinct descriptions of causes were presented, and subjects had to  
723 select the one that appeared in the previous trial. A correct or incorrect response added or  
724 subtracted 50 cents from their total, respectively. (Subjects were informed that if they reached  
725 a negative balance, no money will be deducted off their payment for participation in the  
726 experiment.) Thus, subjects could earn \$18 more for the experiment, if they answered all  
727 memory test questions correctly. Subjects typically did well on these memory questions, on  
728 average erring in 2.5 out of 36 memory catch trials (7% error) and gaining additional \$16.75  
729 (SD=3.19). Subjects' error rates in the memory task did not differ significantly between the  
730 experimental conditions (2-way ANOVA; decision type:  $F(1,17)=2.51$ ,  $p=0.13$ ; decision  
731 difficulty:  $F(1,17)=2.62$ ,  $p=0.12$ ; interaction:  $F(1,17)=0.84$ ,  $p=0.37$ ).

### 732 *ERP recording methods*

733 The EEG was recorded using an Active 2 system (BioSemi, the Netherlands) from 64  
734 electrodes distributed based on the extended 10–20 system and connected to a cap, and seven  
735 external electrodes. Four of the external electrodes recorded the EOG: two located at the outer  
736 canthi of the right and left eyes and two above and below the center of the right eye. Two  
737 external electrodes were located on the mastoids, and one electrode was placed on the tip of the  
738 nose. All electrodes were referenced during recording to a common-mode signal (CMS)  
739 electrode between POz and PO3. The EEG was continuously sampled at 512 Hz and stored for  
740 offline analysis.

### 741 *ERP analysis*

742 ERP analysis was conducted using the “Brain Vision Analyzer” software (Brain Products,  
743 Germany) and in-house Mathworks Matlab scripts. Data from all channels were referenced  
744 offline to the average of all channels, which is known to result in a reduced-amplitude RP  
745 (because the RP is such a spatially diffuse signal). The data were then digitally high-pass  
746 filtered at 0.1 Hz using a Finite Impulse Response (FIR) filter to remove slow drifts. A notch  
747 filter at 59-61 Hz was applied to the data to remove 60-Hz electrical noise. The signal was then  
748 cleaned of blink and saccade artifacts using Independent Component Analysis (ICA)  
749 (Junghofer, Elbert, Tucker, & Rockstroh, 2000). Signal artifacts were detected as amplitudes  
750 exceeding  $\pm 100 \mu\text{V}$ , differences beyond  $100 \mu\text{V}$  within a 200 ms interval, or activity below  
751  $0.5 \mu\text{V}$  for over 100 ms (the last condition was never found). Sections of EEG data that  
752 included such artifacts in any channel were removed (150 ms before and after the artifact). We  
753 further excluded single trials in which subjects pressed the wrong button as well as trials where  
754 subjects' RTs were less than 200 ms, more than 10s, or more than 3 standard deviations away

755 from that subject's mean in that condition (mean number of excluded trials =7.17, SD=2.46,  
756 which are 1.99% of the trials). Overall, the average number of included trials in each  
757 experimental cell was 70.38 trials with a range of 36-86 out of 90 trials per condition. Channels  
758 that consistently had artifacts were replaced using interpolation (4.2 channels per subject, on  
759 average). No significant differences were found in the number of excluded trials across  
760 conditions (2-way ANOVA; decision type:  $F(1,17)=3.31$ ,  $p=0.09$ ; decision difficulty:  
761  $F(1,17)=1.83$ ,  $p=0.19$ ; interaction:  $F(1,17)=0.42$ ,  $p=0.53$ ).

762 The EEG was segmented by locking the waveforms to subjects' movement onset, starting 2s  
763 prior to the movement and ending 0.2s afterwards, with the segments averaged separately for  
764 each decision type (Deliberate/Arbitrary x Easy/Hard) and decision content (right/left). The  
765 baseline period was defined as the time window between -1000 ms and -500 ms prior to  
766 *stimulus* onset, that is, the onset of the causes screen, rather than prior to movement onset. In  
767 addition to the main baseline, we tested another baseline—from -1000 ms to -500 ms relative  
768 to *movement* onset—to investigate whether the baseline period influenced our main results (see  
769 Results). Furthermore, we segmented the EEG based on *stimulus* onset, using the same  
770 baseline, for stimulus-locked analysis (again, see Results).

771 To assess potential effects of eye movements during the experiment, we defined the radial eye  
772 signal as the average over all 4 EOG channels, when band-pass filtered to between 30 and 100  
773 Hz. We then defined a saccade as any signal that was more than 2.5 standardized IQRs away  
774 from the median of the radial signal for more than 2 ms. Two consecutive saccades had to be at  
775 least 50 ms apart. The saccade count (SC) was the number of saccades during the last 500 ms  
776 before response onset (Keren, Yuval-Greenberg, & Deouell, 2010) (see also (Croft & Barry,  
777 2000; Elbert, Lutzenberger, Rockstroh, & Birbaumer, 1985; Shan, Moster, & Roemer, 1995)).

### 778 *Statistical Analysis*

779 EEG differences greater than expected by chance were assessed using two-way ANOVAs with  
780 decision type (deliberate, arbitrary) and decision difficulty (easy, hard), using IBM SPSS  
781 statistics, version 24. For both RP and LRP signals, the mean amplitude from 500 ms before to  
782 button-press onset were used for the ANOVAs. Greenhouse–Geisser correction was never  
783 required as sphericity was never violated (Picton et al., 2000).

784 Trend analysis on all subjects' data was carried out by regressing the voltage for every subject  
785 against time for the last 1000 ms before response onset using first-order polynomial linear  
786 regression (see Results). We used every 10<sup>th</sup> time sample for the regression (i.e., the 1<sup>st</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>,  
787 21<sup>st</sup>, 31<sup>st</sup> samples, and so on) to conform with the individual-subject analysis (see below). For  
788 the individual-subject analysis, the voltage on all trials was regressed against time in the same  
789 manner (i.e., for the last 1000 ms before response onset and using first-order polynomial linear  
790 regression). As individual-trial data is much noisier than the mean over all trials in each  
791 subject, we opted for standard robust-regression using iteratively reweighted least squares  
792 (implemented using the *robustfit()* function in Mathworks Matlab). The iterative robust-  
793 regression procedure is time consuming. So, we used every 10<sup>th</sup> time sample instead of every  
794 sample to make the procedure's run time manageable. Also, as EEG signals have a 1/f power  
795 spectrum, taking every 10<sup>th</sup> sample further better conforms with the assumption of i.i.d. noise  
796 in linear regression.

### 797 *Model and Simulations*

798 All simulations were performed using Mathworks Matlab 2014b. The model was devised off  
799 the one proposed by Schurger et al. (2012). Like them, we built a drift-diffusion model  
800 (Ratcliff, 1978; Usher & McClelland, 2001), which included a leaky stochastic accumulator  
801 (with a threshold on its output) and a time-locking/epoching procedure. The original model  
802 amounted to iterative numerical integration of the differential equation

$$\delta x_i = (I - kx_i)\Delta t + c\xi_i\sqrt{\Delta t} \quad (1)$$

803 where  $I$  is the drift rate,  $k$  is the leak (exponential decay in  $x$ ),  $\xi$  is Gaussian noise, and  $c$  is a  
804 noise-scaling factor (we used  $c = 0.05$ ).  $\Delta t$  is the discrete time step used in the simulation (we  
805 used  $\Delta t = 0.001$ , similar to our EEG sampling rate). The model integrates  $x_i$  until it crosses a  
806 threshold, which represents a decision having been made.

807 In such drift-diffusion models, for a given  $k$  and  $c$ ,  $I$  and the threshold together determine how  
808 quickly a decision will be reached, on average. If we further fix the threshold, a higher drift  
809 rate,  $I$ , represents a faster decision, on average. (The drift rate alone can thus be viewed as a  
810 constant “urgency to respond” (using the original Schurger term) that is inherent in the demand  
811 characteristics of the task, evidenced by the fact that no subject took more than 20 s to make a  
812 decision on any trial. The leak term,  $k$ , ensures that the model would not be too linear; i.e., it  
813 prevented the drift rate from setting up a linear trajectory for the accumulator toward the  
814 threshold. Hence, due to the leak term, doubling the magnitude of the threshold would make  
815 the accumulator rarely reach the threshold, instead of reaching it in roughly twice the amount  
816 of time (up to the noise term).

817 Our model differed from Schurger’s in two main ways. First, it accounted for both arbitrary  
818 and deliberate decisions and was built to fit our empirical results. It was thus composed of two  
819 components, each generally described by Eq. (1), but with different parameter values. The first  
820 accumulated activity that drove arbitrary decisions (i.e., random fluctuations (Schurger et al.,  
821 2012)). We term it the *Noise* component. The second component drove deliberate decisions  
822 based on subjects’ values associated with the decision alternatives. We term it the *Value*  
823 components. Our model mainly relied on its noise component for arbitrary decisions and on its  
824 value one for deliberate decisions.

825 Second, Schurger and colleagues modeled only the decision *when* to move (during arbitrary  
826 decisions). But our subjects decided both *when* and *which hand* to move. So, we had to extend  
827 the Schurger model in that respect as well. We did this using a race-to-threshold mechanism  
828 between the two decision alternatives. In our empirical paradigm, the difference in rating of the  
829 two causes was either 1 (for hard decisions) or 4-6 (for easy decisions; see “Experimental  
830 Procedure” in Methods), so there was always an alternative that was ranked higher than the  
831 other. Choosing the higher- or lower-ranked alternative was termed a congruent or incongruent  
832 choice with respect to the initial ratings, respectively. Hence, we modeled each decision the  
833 subjects made as a race to threshold between the congruent and incongruent alternatives in the  
834 noise component (for arbitrary decisions) or value component (for deliberate ones).

835 Using a parameter sweep, we found the values of the thresholds, drift rate, and leak that best fit  
836 our average empirical reaction times for (easy, hard) x (deliberate, arbitrary) decisions as well  
837 as our empirical consistency ratios for those 4 decision types. The model’s reaction time was  
838 defined as the overall time that it took until the first threshold crossing in the race-to-threshold



839 pair (again, each step took  $\Delta t = 0.001$  s). We used the same threshold value of 0.15 and leak  
840 value of  $k=0.5$  for all model types. The only parameter that was modulated across (deliberate,  
841 arbitrary) x (easy, hard) decisions x (congruent, incongruent) decision alternatives was the drift  
842 rate,  $I$  (Table 1). All of these parameters were then fixed when we used the model to derive the  
843 simulated Cz activity across all conditions.

844 **Table 1: Values of the drift-rate parameter across decision types.** Values of the  
845 drift-rate parameter,  $I$ , in our model across (deliberate, arbitrary) x (easy, hard)  
846 decisions x (congruent, incongruent) decision alternatives.

Drift rate ( $I$ ) values	Congruent		Incongruent	
	Easy	Hard	Easy	Hard
Deliberate	0.0400	0.1010	0.0228	0.0000
Arbitrary	0.1650	0.1648	0.1650	0.1566

847 Each simulation consisted of either 120 runs of the model, the same as the number of empirical  
848 trials per condition, or 10000 runs of the model for a smoother reaction-time distribution for  
849 the model (see Results). For each run of the model, we identified the first threshold crossing  
850 point and extracted the last second (1000 steps) before the crossing in each run. If the first  
851 crossing was earlier than sample no. 1,000 by  $n > 0$  samples, we padded the beginning of the  
852 epoch with  $n$  null values (NaN or “not-a-number” in Matlab). These values did not contribute  
853 to the average across simulated trials, so the simulated average RP became noisier at earlier  
854 time points in the epoch. Hence, our model was similarly limited to the Schurger model in its  
855 inability to account for activity earlier than the beginning of the trial (see Results).

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1054 Neural precursors of decisions that matter—an ERP study of deliberate and arbitrary choice

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1056 Supplementary Data

1057 **Supplementary Table 1: NPO names and causes acronyms**

<b>NPO</b>	<b>Cause</b>	<b>NPO website</b>
<b>Consensual NPOs</b>		
American Society on Aging	Pro Quality of Life for the Elderly	<a href="http://asaging.org/">http://asaging.org/</a>
Conservation Fund	Pro Environment protection	<a href="http://www.conservationfund.org/">http://www.conservationfund.org/</a>
Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation	Pro Education	<a href="http://www.gatesfoundation.org/">http://www.gatesfoundation.org/</a>
Global Fund for Women	Pro Women's Rights	<a href="https://www.globalfundforwomen.org/">https://www.globalfundforwomen.org/</a>
The Hunger Project	Pro Hunger Relief	<a href="https://www.thp.org/">https://www.thp.org/</a>
Oxfam International	Pro Poverty & Disaster Relief	<a href="http://www.oxfam.org/">http://www.oxfam.org/</a>
World Wild Life Fund (WWF)	Pro Species Conservation	<a href="http://worldwildlife.org/">http://worldwildlife.org/</a>
Cancer Research Institute	Pro Cancer Research	<a href="http://www.cancerresearch.org/">http://www.cancerresearch.org/</a>
Habitat for Humanity	Pro Housing for All	<a href="http://www.habitat.org/">http://www.habitat.org/</a>
Reading is Fundamental	Pro Advancement of Literacy	<a href="http://www.rif.org/">http://www.rif.org/</a>
International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works	Pro Culture & Arts Preservation	<a href="https://www.iiconservation.org/">https://www.iiconservation.org/</a>
Big Brothers and Big Sisters of America	Pro Youth Development	<a href="http://www.bbbs.org/site/c.9iILI3NGKhK6F/b.5962335/k.BE16/Home.htm">http://www.bbbs.org/site/c.9iILI3NGKhK6F/b.5962335/k.BE16/Home.htm</a>
United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)	Pro Child Protection	<a href="http://www.unicef.org/">http://www.unicef.org/</a>
Doctors without Borders (Medecins sans frontieres)	Pro Disaster Medical Care	<a href="http://www.msf.org/">http://www.msf.org/</a>
Soldiers' Angels	Pro Veterans & Military	<a href="http://www.soldiersangels.org/heroes/index.php">http://www.soldiersangels.org/heroes/index.php</a>
Disability Rights International	Pro Disabilities Rights	<a href="http://www.disabilityrightsintl.org/">http://www.disabilityrightsintl.org/</a>

National Crime Prevention Council (NCPC)	Pro Crime Prevention	<a href="http://www.ncpc.org/">http://www.ncpc.org/</a>
Amnesty International	Pro Human Rights	<a href="https://www.amnesty.org/">https://www.amnesty.org/</a>
Peace Corps	Pro Peace & Development	<a href="http://www.peacecorps.gov/">http://www.peacecorps.gov/</a>
World Health Organization	Pro World Health	<a href="http://www.who.int/en/">http://www.who.int/en/</a>
<b>Controversial NPOs</b>		
Planned Parenthood	Pro Abortion & Family Planning	<a href="http://www.plannedparenthood.org/">http://www.plannedparenthood.org/</a>
Pro-Life Alliance	Anti Abortion & Family Planning	<a href="http://www.prolifealliance.com/">http://www.prolifealliance.com/</a>
Human Rights Campaign	Pro LBGTQ Rights	<a href="http://www.hrc.org/">http://www.hrc.org/</a>
National Organization for Marriage	Anti LBGTQ Rights	<a href="https://www.nationformarriage.org/">https://www.nationformarriage.org/</a>
Stem for Life Foundation	Pro Stem Cell Research	<a href="http://www.stemforlife.org/">http://www.stemforlife.org/</a>
Christian Dental & Medical Association	Anti Stem Cell Research	<a href="http://www.cmda.org/">http://www.cmda.org/</a>
Greenpeace	Pro Action Against Climate Change	<a href="http://www.greenpeace.org/international/en/">http://www.greenpeace.org/international/en/</a>
Global Climate Scam	Anti Action Against Climate Change	<a href="http://www.globalclimatescam.com/">http://www.globalclimatescam.com/</a>
National Association for Gun Rights	Pro Gun Rights	<a href="http://www.nationalgunrights.org/">http://www.nationalgunrights.org/</a>
Coalition to Stop Gun Violence	Pro Gun Control	<a href="http://csgv.org/">http://csgv.org/</a>
American Gas Association	Pro Fracking for Natural Gas	<a href="http://www.aga.org/Pages/default.aspx">http://www.aga.org/Pages/default.aspx</a>
Americans Against Fracking	Anti Fracking for Natural Gas	<a href="http://www.americansagainstfracking.org/">http://www.americansagainstfracking.org/</a>
StandWithUs (Israel)	Pro Israel	<a href="http://www.standwithus.com/">http://www.standwithus.com/</a>
Palestinian Centre for Human Rights	Pro Palestine	<a href="http://www.pchrgaza.org/portal/en/">http://www.pchrgaza.org/portal/en/</a>
National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws	Pro Marijuana Legalization	<a href="http://norml.org/">http://norml.org/</a>
Citizens Against Legalizing Marijuana	Anti Marijuana Legalization	<a href="http://www.calmca.org/">http://www.calmca.org/</a>
Understanding Animal Research	Pro Scientific Experiments on Animals	<a href="http://www.understandinganimalresearch.org.uk/">http://www.understandinganimalresearch.org.uk/</a>

International Association Against Painful Experiments on Animals	Anti Scientific Experiments on Animals	<a href="http://www.iaapea.com/">http://www.iaapea.com/</a>
Federation for American Immigration Reform	Pro Immigration Reform	<a href="http://www.fairus.org/">http://www.fairus.org/</a>
American Immigration Control	Anti Immigration Reform	<a href="http://www.immigrationcontrol.com/">http://www.immigrationcontrol.com/</a>
Human Cloning Foundation	Pro Human Cloning	<a href="http://www.humancloning.org/">http://www.humancloning.org/</a>
Americans to Ban Cloning	Anti Human Cloning	<a href="http://www.cloninginformation.org/">http://www.cloninginformation.org/</a>
Americans United for Separation of Church and State	Pro Separation of Church & State	<a href="https://www.au.org/">https://www.au.org/</a>
Christian Coalition of America	Anti Separation of Church & State	<a href="http://www.cc.org/">http://www.cc.org/</a>
Death with Dignity National Center	Pro Euthanasia (Assisted Suicide)	<a href="http://www.deathwithdignity.org/">http://www.deathwithdignity.org/</a>
Euthanasia Prevention Coalition	Anti Euthanasia (Assisted Suicide)	<a href="http://www.epcc.ca/">http://www.epcc.ca/</a>
The Alliance for Better Foods	Pro Genetically Modified Foods	<a href="http://www.betterfoods.org/">http://www.betterfoods.org/</a>
Non-GMO Project	Anti Genetically Modified Foods	<a href="http://www.nongmoproject.org/">http://www.nongmoproject.org/</a>
Answers in Genesis	Pro Creationism Teaching	<a href="https://answersingenesis.org">https://answersingenesis.org</a>
National Center for Science Education	Pro Evolution Teaching	<a href="http://ncse.com/">http://ncse.com/</a>

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