Freedom from habits: the capacity for autonomous behaviour

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Keywords

Abstract

The capacity for autonomous behaviour is key to human intelligence, and fundamental to modern social life. However, experimental investigations of the cognitive bases of human autonomy are challenging, because experimental paradigms typically *constrain* behaviour using controlled contexts, and elicit behaviour by external triggers. In contrast, autonomy and freedom imply unconstrained behaviour initiated by endogenous triggers. Here we propose a new theoretical construct of adaptive autonomy, meaning the capacity to make behavioural choices that are free from constraints of both immediate triggers and habitual responding, but nevertheless show appropriate coordination with the environment. Participants (N = 152) played a competitive game in which they had to choose the right time to act, in the face of an opponent who punished (in separate blocks) either choice biases (such as always responding early), habitual sequences of action timing across trials (such as early, middle, late…), or habitual responses to the effects of reinforcement (such as win-stay, lose-shift). Adaptive autonomy with respect to each habit was measured by the ability to maintain performance against the opponent even when the corresponding habit was punished, by adapting action selection strategies. We found that participants could become free from habitual choices regarding when to act and could also become free from habits of sequential action. However, they were not able to free themselves from influences of reinforcement, even when these resulted in poor performance. These results

32 point to a new concept of autonomous behaviour as flexible adaptation of habitual behaviour
33 under different classes of external constraint.

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Introduction

Animal behaviour depends upon both exogenous, environmental factors and multiple
endogenous factors. An important aspect of endogenous action can be conceptualized as a
dimension extending from stereotypical behavioural patterns like habits, up to flexible, intelligent,
novel actions. Adaptation to environmental challenges, and the ability to find novel solutions, are
thought to play a special role in human autonomy and volition. The capacity of human autonomy
has often been examined in experimental tasks which encourage participants to act freely [1-4] or
to act randomly [5-7] by explicitly telling them to do so. Such instructions in voluntary-action studies
invite participants to behave in a way that reflects their own understanding of volition and
freedom [8]. Outside the laboratory, in contrast, people readily switch between more stereotyped
and more autonomous behaviours without explicit instruction, as a function of multiple situational
and internal factors.

As such, it remains unclear whether and how people can express behavioural autonomy
through volitional actions. We choose competitive games as a good testing ground for this
question, for two reasons. First, many competitive games require people to initiate actions
endogenously, rather than in response to external stimuli. For example, in the 'rock, paper,
scissors' game, each participant selects an action without first seeing the action of their opponent.
This stimulus-independence is considered a necessary condition for volition [9]. Second, volitional
actions are often contrasted with habitual or routine actions [10]. Competitive games offer a
convenient way to manipulate the extent to which any particular action is or is not habitual. For
example, if a player behaves habitually in a competitive game, their opponent will be able to
predict their upcoming choice, and adjust their strategy accordingly. Therefore, an agent playing
a competitive game should avoid habitual or exploitative behaviours, and should instead
innovate in order to avoid their opponent deriving advantage by predicting their behaviour.
Humans and non-human primates indeed respond to competitive pressure by initiating
exploratory behaviour [11-13].

The present study therefore investigates human volition and autonomy in a competitive
game in which participants could not react to their competitor's current move (stimulus

independence), and additionally received more reward when they avoided the competitor's
prediction (habit independence). Further, we used several virtual competitor algorithms, each
designed to punish a particular kind of habit. Whereas psychologists have often thought of habits
as personality traits, we reasoned that habits are under strategic control. A person might stop
behaving habitually when a competitor begins to predict, exploit and punish their habitual
behaviour. Thus, *change* in habitual behaviour under competitive pressure offers a quantitative
measure of individual autonomy with respect to habits.

We conceptualised three distinct "habit families" [†]. The first was simple repetition of the
same option [14-16]. We refer to this as *standard choice habits*. Consider the simple task of
repeatedly generating one of three digits (see Figure 1A). Agent X may prefer to choose "1", for
whatever reason. Suppose now that a competitor punishes X for repeating one choice within a
game scenario. If X can break her habit, she should now choose the two other digits more often
and should approach an agent who has no preference on any options. This adaptive capacity
may reflect the autonomy each agent has over their choice habits. We call this quantity *adaptive*
autonomy.

The second habit family we considered is *transition habits*. This refers to action chains
or routines [14,17,18]. In our example, integer counting ("1, 2, 3") is such a habit (agent X in Figure
1B). The only way to completely avoid such habits is to generate each choice independently
from the previous trial. Yet studies of random number generation show people find this difficult
[6,7,19]. Figure 1B illustrate potential behavioural adaptation to punishing transition habits.

Lastly, we consider how people respond to previous action successes and failures, by
considering *reinforcement habits*. In Figure 1C, agent X repeats the digit that has been rewarded.
In contrast, we can imagine an agent who generates each choice independently from whether
the previous outcome was rewarded or not. Most reinforcement learning approaches assume
that a 'win-stay lose-shift' strategy is natural, or even unavoidable [20]. Reinforcement is normally
considered a factor that causes a habit. Here we consider that following reinforcement is itself a
habit, and test whether people can unlearn this familiar reinforcement habit when it is punished
by a competitor. Adaptive autonomy would mean that an agent would be able to break the
association between their next action and the previous outcome (Fig. 1C).

In this experiment, we designed a structured series of competitors in a game scenario,
in order to selectively punish these specific habits. We thus measured individuals' capacity for
adaptive autonomy, defined as the change in behaviour when a specific type of habit was
punished. We could thus test the limits of human autonomy for three habit families of choice,

transition and reinforcement habits. Habit is generally considered an action under control of

model-free reinforcement learning[15], with the distinctive feature that the habitual behaviour

continues even when it is no longer rewarding. In this sense, our different experimental

conditions should motivate participants to break the corresponding habit, and move from model-

free towards model-based behaviour. Adaptive autonomy might reflect a general capacity to

suppress any type of habits by developing appropriate new model-based control, or it might

alternatively be specific to a particular habit family. To investigate this question, we explored

correlations across individuals in our adaptive autonomy measures for each habit. Finally, we

modelled the learning process by which people generated a new action in order to avoid the

competitor.

Figure 1. Three habit families in a hypothetical experiment. An agent is required to generate

digits 1, 2, 3, as shown in the square brackets. **A**. Agent X exclusively selects the digit 1. They

have a *choice habit*. In contrast, an agent with no choice habits selects each digit equally often.

B. Agent X generates successive digits by counting. In contrast, an agent with no transition

habits does not use any obvious transition strategy between moves. **C.** Agent X tends to repeat

any action that has just been rewarded. In contrast, an agent with no reinforcement habits does

not use information about the outcome of the present action to decide their next action. In each

case, the leftward arrow indicates the reduction in a given habit when the opponent punishes

that habit by using it to predict the agent's next move, i.e., adaptive autonomy.

Results

Experimental task

Participants were asked to decide when to press a key that caused some food to be delivered to

a storage location. They were competing with a virtual competitor, represented as a flock of birds

(Fig. 2A). The birds tried to catch the food during the delivery process, by deciding when to fly

out of a tree and across the field. The participant's task was to deliver the food without it being
caught by the birds. We programmed the birds to predict the time of the participant's next action
based on the history of their reaction times. Based on this prediction, the birds made a choice of
when to fly on each trial. They flew at a time that was designed to intercept the food thrown by a
participant within one of three intervals: 1) early throw (0–1.5 sec), 2) middle throw (1.5–3.0 sec)
or 3) late throw (3.0–4.5 sec). Participants were not told whether the birds chose a continuous
or a 3-option distribution. The participants could win a trial by pressing the key during one of two
intervals that the birds did not select. The intervals were not explicitly demarcated for the
participant, who experienced a continuum of potential action times in each trial. Participants
could not perform the task reactively because the birds could travel much faster than the food. If
the participants simply waited for a moment when no birds were present and then threw in
reaction to that moment, the birds could suddenly appear and intercept the food. Therefore, the
participants were instructed to predict when the birds would appear and to try avoid them. This
feature means that our participant's actions were stimulus-independent.
There were 4 blocks in total. In each block, the participants competed with a class of
competitor that pressurised a specific habit (Fig. 2B). In the baseline block, Competitor 0 was
programmed to punish the participants for being impatient: the birds consistently punished a
participant who threw in the early interval, so the participant was incentivized to wait to avoid
being intercepted. In block 1, Competitor 1 punished standard choice habits: if a participant
selected one interval more often than the other two, then the birds became more likely to
intercept the food during the same interval. In block 2, Competitor 2 predicted transition habits,
and punished any predictable association between the time of the participant's current throw and
the time of the preceding throw. Finally, in block 3, Competitor 3 punished reinforcement habits
by seeking out whether the time of the current throw was associated with both the time of the
preceding throw and the preceding outcome. Thus, the participants required progressive
degrees of autonomy across blocks: they needed in each block to act in a way that was even
more unconstrained than required by the competitors they had played previously.
Participants were never told when they should act on any given trial. Participants did not
receive any explicit instruction or explanation about which type of habit was punished in each
block. Instead, they could only monitor the success/failure of avoiding the birds on each trial, and
adapt their behaviour accordingly to try to avoid the birds on future trials. Thus, successful
performance under different punishment regimes would depend on implicit mechanisms of
behavioural adaptation rather than explicit understanding.

We first checked the percentage of successful bird-avoiding trials. The participants
achieved near perfect success rates against Competitor 0 who punished impatience (Fig. 2C;
Median [Mdn] = 96.6%). The participants avoided an immediate response and initiated the throw
a mean 2.15 sec (SD 0.49 sec) after the trial started (Fig. 2D upper panel). In block 1, the success
rate dropped to 66.6%, as would be expected from purely stochastic choices (Fig. 2C; Mdn =
64.3%, $p < .001$, $z = 10.69$ for blocks 0 versus 1, Wilcoxon sign rank). The success rate further
decreased in block 2 (Fig. 2C; Mdn = 59.0%, $p < .001$, $z = 5.74$ for blocks 1 versus 2, Wilcoxon
sign rank) and even further in block 3 (Fig. 2C; Mdn = 56.9%, $p = .015$, $z = 2.44$ for blocks 2
versus 3, Wilcoxon sign rank). Therefore, our progressive series of punishments increased the
predictive power of punishing the participants' responses.
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Figure 2. Virtual competitive environments for penalising habitual actions. **A**. A trial sequence.
A participant decides when to throw food within a 4.5 second time window. The food is delivered
at the top-centre of the screen 1.5 sec after their key press. A virtual competitor (i.e., a flock of
birds) attempts to intercept the food by adjusting the time at which it flies out of a tree.
Participants win a trial if they throw at a time which avoids the food being caught by the birds. **B**.
Experimental design. On each trial, the virtual competitor intercepted the food during one of three

action intervals, 1) early throw (0–1.5 sec), middle throw (1.5–3.0 sec) or late throw (3.0–4.5

sec). In the baseline block, the early interval, associated with impatience, was punished. In block

1, *standard choice habits* that favoured any one interval over all others were predicted and

punished. In block 2, *transition habits* (i.e., any sequential pattern) were punished. In block 3,

reinforcement habits (i.e., any outcome dependence) were punished. **C**. Success rate of avoiding

the birds against each type of competitor. A dashed line denotes the chance level. For each box,

the central mark represents the median, the edges of the box are the 25th and 75th percentiles

and the whiskers are the 2.5th and 97.5th percentiles. * p < significant level after Bonferroni

correction, Wilcoxon signed rank. N = 152. **D**. Response times before the punishment of choice

habits in the baseline block (upper panel) and during the punishment in block 1 (lower panel).

Each small dot represents a reaction time in each trial. The response time data for each

participant are aligned in each row.

Do people adapt to punishments of habitual actions?

We next examined the extent to which people could adapt to punishment of different

habits. We therefore developed a measure that reflects an individual's tendency towards the

habit family selected for punishment on each block. We measured the statistical distance

(Kullback-Leibler [K-L] divergence) between the observed probabilities of selecting the early,

middle and late intervals, and the probabilities that an agent, who does not have a particular type

of habit among three habit families, would exhibit (Figure 3A-C). A lower statistical distance

means that the individual is similar to this habit-free agent. We call this quantity a decision bias.

The decision bias score *before* the punishment of a specific habit reflects an individual's trait

habit regarding when to act. We then looked at the *change* in decision bias scores relative to the

previous block, when a given habitual behaviour was punished. We quantified the decision bias

score for standard choice habits, transition habits and reinforcement habits, respectively (Figure

3A-C). A greater change in bias score would indicate stronger *adaptive autonomy*, or ability to

modulate the trait habit. See *Data analysis* for detailsData analysis.

Participants began to distribute action times appropriately when Competitor 1 started

punishing choice habits (Fig. 2D). Accordingly, their choice bias—a statistical distance of the

observed choice probabilities from probabilities 0.33 (Fig. 3A)—reduced after punishment (Fig.

3D; Mdn = 1.37 for the punishment of impatience versus Mdn = 0.06 for the punishment of choice

habits, p < .001, z = 10.69, Wilcoxon sign rank). Competitor 1 did not seek transition patterns

from one action to the next and allowed participants to still use *transition habits*. We quantified

the sequential bias by considering the extent to which probabilities given the previous action are

explained by one's own choice probabilities (Fig. 3B). We found that the sequential bias

decreased after the competitor pressurised transition habits (Fig. 3E; Mdn = 0.13 for the

punishment of choice habits versus Mdn = 0.09 for the punishment of transition habits, $p < .001$,

$z = 3.82$, Wilcoxon sign rank). Against Competitor 3, the participants were asked to act even

more freely to avoid *reinforcement habits*. We evaluated the reinforcement bias by considering

the extent to which probabilities given the combination of previous action and the previous

outcome are explained by probabilities given the previous action alone (Fig. 3C). The

reinforcement bias did not show any significant improvement under competitor punishment (Fig.

3F; Mdn = 0.11 for the punishment of transition habits versus Mdn = 0.11 for the punishment of

reinforcement habits, $p = .79$, $z = 0.27$, Wilcoxon sign rank).

We further tested the possibility that the participants adapted differently to the influence

of positive and negative reinforcement. The processes that follow a positive outcome may be

different from those that follow a negative outcome [21-23], leading to a stereotypical win-stay lose-

shift strategy [24]. We quantified the positive reinforcement bias and the negative reinforcement

bias separately (Suppl. Fig. 1A). Nevertheless, we did not find significant improvements in the

positive reinforcement bias (Suppl. Fig. 1B; Mdn = 0.29 for the punishment of transition habits

versus Mdn = 0.34 for the punishment of reinforcement habits, $p = .21$, $z = -1.26$, Wilcoxon sign

rank) nor in the negative reinforcement bias (Suppl. Fig. 1B; Mdn = 0.43 for the punishment of

transition habits versus Mdn = 0.41 for the punishment of reinforcement habits, $p = .19$, $z = 1.30$,

Wilcoxon sign rank). These results suggest that people are able to become more autonomous

from standard habitual choices and habitual action transitions but cannot break away from

outcome dependencies. That is, people display habits of being guided by reinforcement, such

as win-stay lose-shift, even when they are discouraged from expressing this habit.

Figure 3. Measuring decision bias scores with respect to different habits. In the raster plot, potential actions for the early, middle and late intervals are shown. A vector of the numerical values illustrate the probabilities for choosing these three actions. **A.** Agent X who has choice habits selects the early interval more frequently than the other two intervals. In contrast, an agent

without choice habits selects each interval equally often. We measured the statistical distance
(i.e., pattern similarity) between individual and a habit-free agent with respect to their choice
probabilities. **B.** The dashed line from the choice bias vector in A to the transition vector in B
shows the logical relation between choice and transition: any change in choice bias inevitably
changes the transition vector. Sequential bias is considered as the additional change over and
above such basic effects of the choice bias. An agent without any transition habits should
determine their next action independently from the previous action. **C.** Similarly, the dashed line
from the sequential bias vector in B to the reinforcement vector in C shows the logical relation
between transitions and reinforcements. Reinforcement bias is considered as the additional
change over and above such basic effects of sequential bias. An agent without any reinforcement
habits should determine their next action independently from the previous success or failure. **D-**
E. Planned comparisons showing the degree of adaptive autonomy (bias reduction) when choice
habits are punished (D), when transition habits are punished (E) and when reinforcement habits
are punished (F). * $p <$ significant level after Bonferroni correction, Wilcoxon signed rank. On
each box, the central mark represents the median, the edges of the box are the 25th and 75th
percentiles and the whiskers are the 2.5th and 97.5th percentiles. Dots adjacent to each box
shows individual scores.
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Is there a common factor underlying adaptive autonomy for different habits?
The bias reduction between the pre-punishment and the post-punishment phase
provides a measure of adaptive autonomy for each habit family (Fig. 3D-E). Theories of domain-
general cognitive control propose that proactive, strategic cognitive control acts similarly across
cognitive tasks [25-27]. The adaptive ability to become free of one kind of habit would be expected
to correlate with the ability to become free of another habit, to the extent that both depend on a
common, domain-general mechanism. In fact, the correlation structure of the changes in our
decision bias scores showed poor correlations across our 152 participants (Figure 4; $r =$ -0.07~-
0.01). This suggests that the ability to voluntarily regulate one habit is not strongly associated
with the ability to regulate other habits. This also suggests that our measurements are separable
and evaluate three distinct forms of autonomy conceptualised above, rather than a single
common form of autonomy. Since this correlation approach would be undermined by a floor
effect of participants who showed no adaptive autonomy at all, we repeated the correlations
including only participants who showed a numerical change in decision bias. We did not find
significant correlations among adaptive autonomy to the three habit classes even in this

restricted group (*r* = -0.06~0.04). These results suggest that people recruit distinct cognitive
capacities to exert autonomous behaviour when unlearning standard choice habits, transition
habits and reinforcement habits, contrary to concepts of a general cognitive control capacity.

Figure 4. Correlation structure underlying measures of adaptive autonomy. A planned
comparison between the pre-punishment and the post-punishment phase in Figure 3D-F
provides the change in decision bias scores (i.e., adaptive autonomy) for each habit family.
Across 152 participants, there is no strong correlation among three measure of adaptive
autonomy.

A learning process that accounts for behavioural autonomy

What mechanisms could explain how participants adapted to these pressures? How did
they learn actions that successfully avoided their competitor? In competitive games, two
strategies can be taken to sustain performance. One strategy is stochastic selection in which
actions are chosen randomly. This makes behaviour unpredictable, but involves no interaction
with the competitor. An alternative strategy attempts to predict the opponent's next action based
on a history of their prior actions [28,29]. This strategy is called belief learning [30] – broadly speaking,

the strategy adopted by the virtual competitor in this task is considered belief learning (BL). Here

we consider whether our participants also employed BL by predicting when the birds would fly

and avoiding them.

293   BL goes beyond reinforcement learning (RL) [31]. If participants used only RL, they would

update the value of the action interval they just made, based on whether the throw was

successful or fail. In contrast, if participants used BL, they would form a view about which interval

the birds were likely to fly in the next trial, and could therefore update the value of all action

intervals. This difference in the internal processes allows a BL agent to update the values of the

action intervals, thereby prompting a frequent update of the best action. We simulated agents

using either RL or BL in our competitive game (see *Simulated play*), and found that belief learning

indeed induces a smaller choice bias than simple reinforcement learning (Suppl. Fig. 2), leading

to better performance (Fig. 5A). Both RL and BL strategies achieved sufficient success rates

under the punishment of impatience (Fig. 5A; Mdn = 96.7% for RL versus Mdn = 98.3% for BL).

However, the BL strategy sustained a higher chance of winning than the RL strategy under the

punishment of choice habits (Fig. 5A; Mdn = 60% for RL versus Mdn = 66.6% for BL) and under

the punishment of transition habits (Fig. 5A; Mdn = 51.6% for RL versus Mdn = 63.3% for BL).

BL is therefore potentially useful for acquiring adaptive autonomy under competitor pressure.

307   To address which of the above strategies (stochastic selection, RL and BL) captured our

participants' behaviour, we fitted each model to their choice data (see *Computational models*).

We also fitted a hybrid learning rule [28,29,32] which combines reinforcement learning and belief

learning. Across blocks, we found a clear transition in the best-fitting model (Fig. 5B). According

to the summed AICc across participants, the RL model outperformed the stochastic model and

BL model under the punishment of impatience (baseline). However, the BL provided a better fit

to our participants' action when the competitor started punishing choice habits. The BL model

still outperformed when the competitor punished transition habits and reinforcement habits (Fig.

5B). For each model we calculated the number of participants best fit by the model (Fig. 5C) and

the protected exceedance probability from the group-level Bayesian model selection [33,34], which

is an omnibus measure of the probability that the model is the best model among tested models.

The protected exceedance probability for the RL model to outperform the stochastic model and

BL model was close to 100% under the punishment of impatience. The protected exceedance

probability for the BL model was close to 100% under the punishment of choice habits and

transition habits, and this was 97% under reinforcement habits (Fig. 5C).

As such, the hybrid learning rule fitted the data relatively well in all blocks (Fig. 5B). The

hybrid learning rule has an additional parameter that describes the weight given to belief learning

relative to reinforcement learning. The weight placed on BL in the hybrid model was strongly

correlated with the model fit index under the BL only model relative to the RL only model (Fig.

5D). Across blocks, the weight parameter on BL increased from punishment of impatience to

punishment of choice habits (Fig. 5E; Mdn = 0.00 for the punishment of impatience versus Mdn

= 0.63 for the punishment of choice habits, $p < .001$, $z = 8.32$, Wilcoxon sign rank). That is, belief

learning made an important contribution to participants' choices when they were punished for

choice habits (Fig. 5E; Mdn = 0.63), transition habits (Mdn = 0.81; versus choice habits, $p = .10$,

$z = 1.65$) and reinforcement habits (Mdn = 0.74; versus transition habits, $p = .96$, $z = 0.04$). These

findings suggest a shift in learning strategies that followed the demands of the competition:

participants first used reward-guided behaviour when it sustained the success rate. Then, once

the competitor started predicting habit patterns, participants switched to learning successful

actions from the opponent's prior actions. A model comparison indicates that adaptive autonomy

is related to updating and using a model of the opponent, rather than simply behaving randomly.

In the next analysis, we examine a statistical relationship between adaptive autonomy and

developing a model of the opponent.

Figure 5. A shift in the strategy to belief learning as competitive demand increases. **A**. Real
success rate (white bars) in the actual experiment and fictive success rate (green or blue bars).
In simulation, agents who use the reinforcement learning strategy and agent who use the belief
learning strategy competed against each class of competitor. **B.** Summed AICc across
participants. Lower values of AICc are better. Stochastic: stochastic selection model. RL:
reinforcement learning model. BL: belief learning model. Hybrid: hybrid learning rule. **C.** The
number of participants best fit by the model. The P_{exc} inserted in the bar denotes the protected
exceedance probability that supports the corresponding model. **D.** A weight placed on belief
learning relative to reinforcement learning under the hybrid leaning rule. Across participants, as
the weight increases, the BL only model provides a better fit than the RL only model. **E.** A
transition in the belief learning weight across blocks. * p < significant level after Bonferroni
correction, Wilcoxon signed rank. **A&E.** On each box, the central mark represents the median,
the edges of the box are the 25th and 75th percentiles and the whiskers are the 2.5th and 97.5th
percentiles.

A shift in learning strategies enhances behavioural autonomy

To this end, we used a latent change score (LCS) model [35-38]. LCS models conceptualize
the change in score between one time point (before punishment) and the next time point (under
punishment) as a latent change factor (see *Latent change score model*). By using a bivariate
LCS model, two latent change factors can be modelled. This model allows us to estimate
correlated changes between latent factors: the degree to which the bias reduction co-occurs with
the change in weight placed on BL (i.e., a shift in learning strategies). If participants reduced a
decision bias score by simply behaving randomly, the bias reduction would not co-occur with the
change in weight. If, on the other hand, participants adapted to the punishment of choice habits
by learning a successful action from the opponent's past action, the bias reduction would co-
occur with an increase in BL weight.

We fitted the bivariate LCS model to our data set. Our observed variables were the
choice bias score and BL weight under the hybrid learning rule. To estimate the latent change
factors, we used these two scores on the punishment of impatience in the baseline and on the
punishment of standard choice habits in block 1, because the participants were asked to avoid
their choice habits between these two conditions. Figure 6A illustrates fitted paths (significant
paths are shown as thicker lines) from the pre-punishment phase (T0: punishment of impatience)
to the post-punishment phase (T1: punishment of standard choice habits). This model, with fixed
intercepts, shows a fit close to the saturated (i.e., perfect) model ($\chi^2(4) = 0.00$; RMSEA < 0.001,
90% confidence interval = [0.000, 0.000]; CFI = 1.00; SRMR = 0.00; AIC = -325.1). In bivariate
LCS models, three kinds of paths can be estimated. The first is the extent to which the bias
reduction is explained by the initial bias before punishment, which is termed auto-regression in
LCS models. We found negative auto-regressive effects. This means that individuals who started
off with a smaller bias gained a smaller reduction in the bias, possibly because of reaching to
the lower limit of the scale (i.e., scale attenuation). The second is the extent to which the bias
reduction is explained by the initial BL weight before punishment, which is termed cross-coupling.
There were no significant cross-coupling effects: a greater reduction in the choice bias was not
associated with individuals who started off with a greater weight.

However, we found a medium negative correlated change. This suggests that individuals
who gained a greater shift from reinforcement learning to belief learning exhibited a greater
reduction in choice bias and thus a greater adaptation in choice habits (Fig. 6B; standardised
coefficient = -0.347, 95% confidence interval = [-0.480, -0.199]). When we removed the cross-
coupling paths from the model in Figure 6A, the model still fitted the data well ($\chi^2(6) = 2.37$;
RMSEA < 0.001, 90% CI = [0.000, 0.053]; CFI = 1.00; SRMR = 0.03; AIC = -326.8). However,

removing the cross-coupling paths as well as the path for the correlated change produced a bad

model fit ($\chi^2(7)$ = 23.80; RMSEA = 0.126, 90% CI = [0.071, 0.185]; CFI = 0.68; SRMR = 0.10;

AIC = -309.0). Importantly, when we fitted the hybrid learning rule to the data set where the

competitor's action was randomised, the reduction in the choice bias did not co-occur with an

increasing weight on belief learning (Suppl. Fig. 3). This result validates that our participants

were likely affected by the competitor's action to decide their next action. To summarise, the

structural equation modelling demonstrates a statistical relationship between adaptive autonomy

and belief learning: individuals who successfully reduce their choice habits are more likely to

update and develop a model of the opponent's action, rather than behaving stochastically without

interacting with the opponent. See *LCS models* in the supplement for the validation of our finding.

Figure 6. The bivariate latent change score model of adaptive autonomy and strategic learning. **A**. Estimated parameters. The change score in the choice bias was modelled as a latent factor between the score before the punishment of choice habits (baseline) and that under the punishment (block 1). A latent change in the belief learning weight was modelled similarly. Values in bold are standardised parameter estimates, and values in italic are un-standardised parameter estimates (with standard errors in parentheses). Solid lines indicate that the parameter is significant at $p < .05$. **B**. Scatter plot of correlated change. The bias reduction in choice habits is correlated with a greater shift to belief learning relative to reinforcement learning.

Discussion

It is widely assumed that humans have a capacity for autonomous behaviour. However, its cognitive basis is not well understood. We developed an experimental paradigm that implicitly elicits autonomous behaviour, in the form of a decision when to act so as to escape a competitor. We measured the extent to which people could express autonomy by adapting their behaviour to free themselves from different types of habits. We found that people can become autonomous regarding standard choice habits and transition habits, but are limited in their ability to become free of reinforcement habits. We further showed, in a large sample, that adaptive autonomy with respect to choice habits is uncorrelated with adaptive autonomy with respect to transition habits and that to reinforcement habits. This suggests distinct cognitive modules for these three forms of autonomy, rather than a common module or a single form. We further demonstrated that building beliefs about the environment, in our case, about a competitor's strategy, is linked to a greater adaptive autonomy.

Measures of autonomy

Traditional experimental psychology struggles to investigate autonomy. Experimental approaches to the study of volition often involved giving people a paradoxical instruction regarding what they should do [1-4,7]. The few studies that have examined human autonomous behaviour typically used competitive game contexts [24,39,40], and have rarely considered subtypes of autonomy. We conceptualized three forms of autonomy, as freedom from three cognitively distinguishable types of habit: *standard choice habits*, *transition habits* and *reinforcement habits*. We attempted to evoke autonomous behaviour by programming a competitor to punish any lack of each type of autonomy. Using a statistical distance measure derived from information geometry, we developed measures that approximate a person's trait for each habit, and we further quantified the extent to which people could break a specific habit when punished. We found no strong correlations between these three types of adaptive autonomy, making a single common underpinning cognitive control function unlikely, and supporting the idea that behavioural autonomy involves dissociable components. In tasks where participants react to external stimuli quickly, it has been suggested that a domain-general top-down control is used to solve different cognitive tasks [25-27]. However, in free, stimulus-independent action, our results suggest that a domain-specific top-down control independently regulates each particular form of autonomy: there are multiple ways to act freely, and it is important to consider *from what* an agent may be free. We studied choice biases, sequential biases and reinforcement biases, but

446   other biases of free action doubtless also exist. We showed that, for example, an agent who

447   becomes increasingly free from choice bias may yet be unable to free themselves from the

448   biasing effects of reinforcement.

450   **Relevance to classical neuropsychological tasks**

451   Our study evokes behavioural phenomena that neuropsychologists have traditionally

studied using arbitrary, open-choice tasks. For instance, our measure of choice bias is related

to the capacity to inhibit a prepotent, impulsive action [41]. People usually place costs on waiting,

preferring earlier rewards; a form of temporal discounting [42]. The sequential bias we measured

reflects executive control and working memory which are often assessed using random number

generation tasks [5,6]. In these tasks, people cannot sufficiently randomise numbers and tend to

seek simple rules such as repetition, counting or alternation [7,19]. In contrast, the capacity to avoid

the reinforcement bias is related to voluntary regulation of reward-seeking behaviour [43,44] and to

the balance between exploitation and exploration [45]. These classical preferences are often seen

as robust individual traits affecting any relevant task [46-48]. Here we instead see these biases as

a state function of cognitive control processes. We developed a competitive game in which

participants would need to avoid some specific preference or bias in order to obtain rewards.

Our results demonstrate that people can balance choice frequencies and break transitions

between actions. Our results suggest that, when circumstances require, people can

appropriately increase their behavioural autonomy.

466   In contrast, we found people could not avoid reinforcement habits. Neither positive

reinforcement bias nor negative reinforcement bias changed when penalised. A stereotypical

win-stay lose-shift behaviour has been shown in competitive games [24,49]. In particular, people

are less flexible regarding changing lose-shift behaviour than win-stay behaviour when adopting

to new game rules [40,50]. The experience of a negative outcome generates a quicker decision and

an impulsive response on the next trial [51]. Indeed, event-related brain potentials show a greater

negative amplitude after negative outcome feedback than after positive outcome feedback [21,22].

We note that individuals vary in their ability to avoid habitual behaviour after negative

reinforcement. These individual differences are associated with post-error reaction times.

Individuals who make quicker decisions after a loss than after a win show a poorer performance

than individuals who make slower responses after a loss [52]. Therefore, overcoming impulsivity

after failure may be a key aspect of volitional control for humans.

Sustaining autonomy during interactions with the world

Our model comparisons showed that participants did not achieve adaptive autonomy

simply by behaving randomly. Rather, their choice strategy depended on feedback process in a

way that they interacted with the environment. Reinforcement learning updates the best action

by a reward prediction error while belief learning updates the best action by an action prediction

error, defined as a difference between the expected action competitor would take and the actual

action taken. Unlike classical reinforcement tasks, there was no explicit rewarding option that

participants can exploit, because our task was designed to produce stimulus-independence and

participants experienced the continuum of the time. Nevertheless, both reinforcement learning

and belief learning provided better fits to participants' performance than random selection. Both

reinforcement learning and belief learning can contribute to volitional, self-generated actions,

because both are determined by internal representations of expected values, rather by an

immediate stimulus [53]. Furthermore, belief learning is considered to recruit a mentalizing or an

implicit understanding of what the other agent would intend and do [28,54]. These neural substrates

are often found in separate neural networks: the reward prediction errors are encoded in the

ventral striatum [29,55,56] while the prediction errors about the state of the environment are encoded

in several areas including the rostral anterior cingulate, the medial prefrontal cortex and the

posterior superior temporal sulcus [28,29].

Mentalising is a key cognitive component recruited in competitive games [28,29]. We found

that, when the competitor started predicting people's upcoming action, people also switched

started predicting the competitor's action, switching the strategy from reinforcement learning to

belief learning. This result suggests that people implicitly learned a model of the competitor's

strategy (or the likelihoods of the competitor's actions) based on a sampling of previous trials.

Particularly, a greater adaptive autonomy was associated with a greater shift to belief learning:

those individuals who shifted to learn successful actions from the competitor's actions rather

than from reinforcement alone were able to reduce their choice habits. In our task, this process

must have been implicit, because participants were not told anything about the algorithm the

competitor used. We cannot tell whether participants discovered and explicitly represented the

punishment rules used by the competitor, but we speculate that explicitly understanding the

constraints on behaviour might be associated with increased autonomy.

To conclude, we have developed a new experimental paradigm and analysis pipeline to

study when and how human actions can become autonomous. We propose a new theoretical

construct of *adaptive autonomy*, meaning the capacity to free one's behavioural choices from

constraints of habitual responding, when a particular habit becomes dysfunctional, for example due to environmental changes like the competitive pressure in our game scenarios. We have shown that people can indeed express adaptive autonomy, and that they do so by reducing the habitual elements of their behaviour, including habits of choice, habits of rule-based sequential action and habits of being guided by reinforcement. These appear to be three distinct forms of adaptive autonomy, rather than a single common cognitive mechanism for avoiding all habits, for example by strategic randomness. We show that becoming free from the effects of reinforcement is particularly difficult. Finally, by showing that belief learning plays an important part in boosting autonomy, we show a strong connection between autonomous action and mentalising abilities.

Limitations

The three habit forms we tested were hierarchical. The standard choice habit – favouring one action over all others – is more general, while the reinforcement habit is more specialised. Therefore, we ordered experimental blocks so that the competitive game algorithms could penalise habits progressively and serially. Each block implicitly required participants to act more freely and unpredictably than the preceding block. This fixed order may limit the generalisability of our results, but the order we used is the most reasonable. The differences we observed between the different forms of adaptive autonomy could be confirmed in further between-participant studies. We also note that the AICc difference between the hybrid learning rule and the stochastic selection model became relatively small at the punishment of transition habits (block 2), compared with the punishment of choice habits (block 1; Figure 5B). Some proportion of the participants (37.5% in Figure 5C) was not fully explained by the hybrid learning rule in block 2. These participants might have behaved more stochastically due to a practice effect or might have found a way to become more free from habits of transition. That is being said, our model at least captured the behaviour in adapting to the punishment of choice habits. Models which better describe a transition between actions could be addressed in future.

Empiricist view versus nativist views of human autonomy

Our work is broadly compatible with an empiricist view of human autonomy as opposed to a nativist view. In our view, some of the key attributes historically associated with "free will", such as the ability to act endogenously and purposefully, can be acquired, or at least adapted, through experience. Such adaptation requires people to make novel, non-habitual, 'smart'

actions in certain situations. We found that people were more or less successful in adapting their

trait habits both at the individual level and at the level of different punishments. An individual's

degree of autonomy is unique and contingent on environmental constraints. A strongly nativist

view would suggest that autonomy is a state that occurs inside an individual's mind and is

independent of the external environment. However, our results imply that being sensitive to the

contingencies of the external environment is key to autonomy, and that autonomous agents are

characterised by appropriate reaction to the restrictions that the environment places on their own

actions. In this sense, autonomy can be seen a reasoned, goal-oriented response that occurs

through interaction with an environmental context.

556   Methods

557   Participants

One hundred and fifty-nine participants (age range = 18–45, M = 29.5 yo, SD = 7.2) were

recruited online via the Prolific website (https://www.prolific.co/). Participants received a basic

payment of £3.75 for their participation in a 30 minute experiment. They earned a bonus of up to

£4 based on their performance on the task. There were 95 female participants and 64 male

participants. Recruitment was restricted to the United Kingdom. Seven participants were

excluded from the analysis (Suppl. Info.) and the remaining 152 participants were analysed. All

procedures were approved by the Research Ethics Committee of University College London.

Participants gave informed consent by checking and validating the consent form.

567   Experimental design

Apparatus. We used the JavaScript library jsPsych [57] and the plugin jsPsych-psychophysics [58]

to program the task and hosted the experiment on the online research platform Gorilla

(https://gorilla.sc/) [59], which participants could access through their browser on their own

computer. We assumed that monitor sampling rates were typically around 60 Hz, with little

variation across computers [59]. The size and position of stimuli were scaled based on each

participant's screen size which was automatically detected. The size of stimuli reported below

are for a monitor size of 15.6" (view point size, width x height: 1536 x 746 pixels). A short version

of our task is available to play online: https://research.sc/participant/login/dynamic/5D39406C-

8AB9-4F6D-8FD7-9F995D9DCB83

Stimuli and task. Each trial started with a fixation cross, which appeared for 0.6–0.8 seconds.
The images of a tree, a flock of birds and a basket containing apples then appeared (Fig. 2A). A
tree (width x height: 307 x 375 pixels) was shown on the left of the screen and a flock of birds
(width x height: 30 x 22 pixels each) were located on the tree. A rectangular basket of apples
(width x height: 153 x 167 pixels) was presented in the bottom centre. After the fixation cross
disappeared and all images appeared, the participants were given 4.5 sec to throw the food.
Pressing a key initiated delivery of the food to a storage location which was located at 447 pixels
forward from the start point. This delivery took 1.5 sec. We programmed the birds to attempt to
intercept and catch the food. The birds on each trial were designed to intercept the food thrown
within one of three intervals: 1) early throw (0–1.5 sec), 2) middle throw (1.5–3.0 sec) or 3) late
throw (3.0–4.5 sec). After their departure, it took approximately 0.25 sec for each bird to reach
the storage location; the birds passed through that point. The participants competed with the
virtual competitor, aiming to deliver food before or after the birds reached the storage location.
We counted whether one of the birds overlapped with the food when the delivery was completed
(at the offset of moving). If this was the case, the food was caught, and the participant lost a trial.
If not, the food was delivered without it being caught, and the participant won a trial. If no
response was submitted before 4.5 sec, the food was launched automatically, and a trial was
terminated as a timeout. Finally, we provided a feedback message: "Success!", "Fail!" or
"Timeout!", which lasted for 1.0 sec. The next trial then started with a fixation cross.
In the instructions, we emphasised the following points. First, merely reacting to the
absence of a stimulus – the birds resting in the tree – will not win the game because the birds
can travel much faster than the food. Second, merely waiting for the birds to pass is not a solution
because of the time constraint. Third, the birds' flying interval is not the same on every trial, nor
is it random. Instead, the birds can learn when the participant is likely to throw the food. Therefore,
it is important to predict when the birds will likely fly and to randomise your throw times in order
to avoid the competitor's prediction.
604
Procedure. Participants first received the instructions and viewed a set of demonstrations about
the task. Following some practice trials, the participants completed four blocks of the game with
a 1-minute break between blocks. The baseline block lasted 2.5 minutes while the remaining
blocks 1, 2 and 3 lasted 5 minutes each. The participants got as many throws of the food as they
could in the 2.5 or 5 minutes. The participants could check how much time was left in each block.
We used time, and not trial number, to terminate each block so that participants did not respond

immediately on every trial, finishing the game early. The bonus payment was determined by the

percentage of throws that successfully avoid birds and was paid up to £1 for each block: if 40

out of 60 throws are successful, we paid £1 x 66.6% = £0.66 (average bonus, baseline: £0.94;

block 1: £0.63; block 2: £0.59; block 3: £0.57). The success rate and the timeout rate were

included in the feedback. Nevertheless, we assumed that some participants might consume time

by not focusing on the game. To prevent this, we encouraged participants to sustain the

proportion of timeout trials under 5%.

Competitor design

The virtual competitor design was primarily inspired by primate work [11,13] and by rat work [60]. We

programmed the learning algorithm (i.e., birds) to seek out behavioural patterns in the

participant's choice history and to pressure participants into novel behaviour. The participants

could decide the time to act between 0 sec (as soon as birds and food appeared) and 4.5 sec

(until timeout). To make the competitor's prediction simple, we discretised the time window into

three intervals, 1) early interval (0–1.5 sec), middle interval (1.5–3.0 sec) and late interval (3.0–

4.5 sec). Given past behaviour, the competitor predicted which response interval a participant

was likely to select. Accordingly, the two other intervals were primed for winning: if the participant

threw the food during the interval predicted by the competitor, the participant lost. If the

participant threw the food during one of two other intervals, the participant won. We adjusted the

birds' departure times by taking their travel time (0.25 sec) and the food delivery/travel time (1.5

sec) into account: if a prediction was made on the late interval, the birds departed from the tree

at the period of 4.25–5.75 sec, and they reached the delivery point during 4.5–6.0 sec to catch

the food when it was delivered.

We designed four distinct competitors (Fig. 2B). First, in the baseline block, Competitor

0 punished participants for being impatient. In this block, the birds blocked the early throw on

every trial. Thus, the stimulus-absence behaviour corresponded with waiting until the middle

interval. Competitor 0 measured the volitional control to resist immediacy or external triggers [10].

Second, in block 1, Competitor 1 predicted *standard choice habits* (choice preferences) – which

interval the participant is going to select –. On each trial, a history of the participant's past ten

choices was used to estimate the probabilities of selecting the early, middle and late interval.

The choice probabilities were then used to generate the competitor's prediction on the upcoming

choice. For instance, if the participant chose the early interval seven times, the middle interval

twice, and the late interval once, the competitor penalised the early interval 70% of the time, the

middle 20% of the time and the late 10% of the time. Thus, Competitor 1 required participants to
balance their general choice frequencies.

In block 2, Competitor 2 sought out *transition habits* (sequential patterns) – which interval
the participant is going to select after the participant made a particular response –. A history of
the past 60 trials was used to estimate the conditional probabilities of selecting three intervals
given the previous reaction time. The estimated probabilities were conditioned on the last
reaction time ± 0.5 sec. Suppose a participant took 2.5 sec to act in the previous trial. Competitor
2 might discover that, in the past, the participant chose the early interval twice, the middle interval
twice, and the late interval six times after the participant had acted in 2.0-3.0 sec. In this case,
Competitor 2 penalised the late interval 60% of the time. We assumed that using the previous
response time (i.e., continuous variable) is more powerful to predict the next response than using
the previous response interval (i.e., categorical variable). Competitor 2 pressured participants in
avoiding habitual transition patterns. Finally, in block 3, Competitor 3 punished *reinforcement*
habits (outcome dependence) – which interval the participant is going to select after the
participant made a particular response and won a trial or lost a trial –. Competitor 3 used the
same search algorithm as Competitor 2 with the exception that they conditioned the search on
the last reaction time and the last outcome. Competitor 3 required participants to act
independently from the previous outcome.

Data analysis
Because the birds intercepted one of the three response intervals, we mainly analysed the data
that was discretised into 1) the early response: responding in 0–1.5 sec, 2) the middle response:
responding in 1.5–3.0 sec, 3) the late response: responding in 3.0–4.5 sec (including timeout).

Quantifying decision bias scores. Statistical distance is a standardised way of measuring the
extent to which the observed probability distribution is different from the target probability
distribution. We calculated the Kullback-Leibler divergence to quantify the extent to which the
participant's choice probability distribution is different from the choice probability distribution that
a habit-free agent would exhibit, a proxy of three habit families. See Figure 3.

1) Choice bias. Competitor 1 punished standard choice habits in selecting one interval more
often than the other two. The probabilities of choosing the early, middle and late interval for a

habit-free agent would be 0.33, respectively. We computed the choice probabilities $P(c)$ given a

history of intervals each participant chose in each block. The K-L divergence is then

$$D_{KL\ choice\ bias} = \sum_{c\ \in\ E,M,L} P(c) \log_2\left(\frac{P(c)}{0.33}\right) \tag{1}$$

679　2) Sequential bias. Competitor 2 punished transition habits on the top of choice habits. Similar

680　to computing the choice probabilities, we computed the conditional probabilities of choosing the

681　early, middle and late interval given the interval chosen on the previous trial $P(c|c_{-1})$. We

682　measured the K-L divergence of these participant's conditional probabilities from the participant's

683　choice probabilities. The K-L divergence for each previous interval c_{-1} is computed as

$$D_{KL\ c_{-1}} = \sum_{c\ \in\ E,M,L} P(c|c_{-1}) \log_2\left(\frac{P(c|c_{-1})}{P(c)}\right) \tag{2}$$

685　The total K-L divergence as a weighted sum is then

$$D_{KL\ sequential\ bias} = \sum_{c_{-1}\ \in\ E,M,L} P(c_{-1}) \cdot D_{KL\ c_{-1}} \tag{3}$$

Since we conditioned the K-L divergence on the previous interval chosen, we took the proportion

of observing that situation into account, and we weighed each divergence by this prior probability.

The target probabilities (i.e., habit-free agent) were set to be the participant's own choice

probabilities, rather than purely stochastic choices 0.33. Therefore, $P(c|c_{-1})$ becomes

equivalent to $P(c)$ and the K-L divergence becomes zero, as long as the participant selects three

intervals independently from the previous choice (even if the participant favours one interval).

This way, we quantified the deviation of patterns associated with the previous choice from

sequential patterns logically expected from the participant's own choice probabilities. Competitor

2 specifically detected and punished this conditional dependence.

3) Reinforcement bias. Competitor 3 punished reinforcement habits on the top of choice habits

and transition habits. Similar to computing the choice probabilities, we computed the conditional

probabilities of choosing the early, middle and late interval given the interval chosen and the

outcome obtained on the previous trial $P(c|c_{-1}, o_{-1})$. We measured the K-L divergence of these

participant's conditional probabilities from the participant's conditional probabilities given the

previous interval solely. The K-L divergence for each previous interval c_{-1} and each previous
outcome o_{-1} is computed as

$$D_{KL\ c_{-1},o_{-1}} = \sum_{c\ \in\ E,M,L} P(c|c_{-1},o_{-1})\log_2\left(\frac{P(c|c_{-1},o_{-1})}{P(c|c_{-1})}\right) \qquad (4)$$

705 The total K-L divergence as a weighted sum is then

$$D_{KL\ reinforcement} = \sum_{c_{-1}\ \in\ E,M,L}\ \sum_{o_{-1}\ \in\ \substack{success\\fail}} P(c_{-1},o_{-1})\cdot D_{KL\ c_{-1},o_{-1}} \qquad (5)$$

Since we conditioned the K-L divergence on the previous interval chosen and the previous
outcome obtained, we took the proportion of observing that situation into account, and we
weighed each divergence by this joint prior probability. The target probabilities (i.e., habit-free
agent) were set to be the participant's own conditional probabilities given the previous interval
solely. Therefore, $P(c|c_{-1},o_{-1})$ becomes equivalent to $P(c|c_{-1})$ and the K-L divergence
becomes zero, as long as the participant selects three intervals independently from the previous
outcome (even if the participant's choice depends on the previous interval). This way, we
quantified the deviation of patterns associated with both the previous choice and the previous
outcome from patterns logically expected from the conditional dependence on the previous
choice solely. Competitor 3 specifically detected and punished this outcome dependence. We
also quantified the positive reinforcement bias and the negative reinforcement bias, separately
(Suppl. Fig. 1). We computed the K-L divergence of the conditional probabilities given the
previous interval and the previous win only or the previous loss only from purely stochastic
choices 0.33. Here the statistical distance can be argued as the distance between the
participant's post-win behaviour or post-loss behaviour and the habit-free agent who is purely
random. These measures were used to generate Figure 3.

Statistical analysis. We tested the performance difference by Wilcoxon signed rank test. The
alpha level of 0.05 was corrected by the number of tests we performed in each class of test
(Bonferroni correction).

Computational models
Reinforcement learning. We tested a reinforcement learning (RL) model in which an action value
is updated via a Rescorla-Wagner rule [31]. On each trial, an RL agent selects an action from the

early, middle or late interval $a \in E, M, L$. For an action a selected on a trial t, the value of action

a is updated by a prediction error δ:

$$\delta_t = r_t - V_t(a) \tag{6}$$

734   where r_t is the actual reward received (1 for successfully avoiding birds and 0 for failure) and

735    $V_t(a)$ is the current expected reward for that action. The reward prediction error δ_t is then used

736   to update the value of the selected action, weighted by the learning rate α

$$V_{t+1}(a) = V_t(a) + \alpha \delta_t \tag{7}$$

738   *Belief learning.* In a belief learning (BL) model, a BL agent infers the opponent's state of mind –

739   what option the opponent is going to select – and decides on the action that maximises the

740   expected reward [28-30]. Actions $a' \in E, M, L$ are available for the competitor to choose. For each

741   action $a \in E, M, L$ on trial t, the value of that action is updated by a prediction error

$$\delta_t = r_t - V_t(a) \tag{8}$$

where $r_t = -1$ if a' is same as a (i.e., the competitor selects the same response interval as the

participant) while $r_t = 0$ if a' is different from a (i.e., the competitor selects a different response

interval). This prediction error is the difference between the current expected value and the

negative reward derived from the competitor's current choice. Therefore, the updated expected

value of action reflects the likelihood of the competitor's choice: the larger the value, the less

likely the competitor choose. The same rule with the RL model was used to update the value of

action a, with the exception that the values of all three intervals were updated on every trial.

Suppose that the birds repeatedly selected the early interval to intercept the food. A direct

observation of the birds' flight at the early interval decreases the value of the early interval. At

the same time, this observation implies that the birds did not fly at the middle nor the late interval.

This increases the values of these intervals.

Hybrid learning. We modelled the hybrid learning rule (aka. experience weighed attraction) as a

combination of reinforcement learning and belief learning [28,29,32]. After updating the value of the

action in each learning process, the hybrid rule combines the values of the action such that

$$V_{t+1}(a) = (1-w) \cdot V_{t+1}^{RL}(a) + w \cdot V_{t+1}^{BL}(a) \tag{9}$$

759   where one additional free parameter w is used to weigh the relative contribution placed on belief

760   learning over reinforcement learning.

761   For all models, the action values were converted into the choice probabilities using the

762   soft-max function to simulate action selection,

$$P_t(a) = \frac{e^{\beta \cdot (V_t(a) + b(a))}}{\sum_{a \in E,M,L} e^{\beta \cdot (V_t(a) + b(a))}} \tag{10}$$

764   where $P_t(a)$ is the probability of choosing the interval a. The inverse temperature parameter β

765   scales the relative difference between the choice probabilities, which scales decision uncertainty.

766   We added the decision preference term b with an exponential temporal discounting [42]:

$$b(a) = e^{-\rho \cdot T(a)} \tag{11}$$

where T is the time corresponding to the chosen interval ($T = 0$, 1.5 or 3.0 sec for the early,

middle or late interval, respectively). The parameter ρ scales the relative preference to earlier

intervals, which captures an individual's temporal discounting or impatience to wait.

For each model, we fitted the model decision probabilities to the participant's choice

interval data by minimizing the negative log-likelihood of the observed choices using Bayesian

adaptive direct search (BADS) [61]. Free parameters were optimised individually for each

participant and separately for each block with the following boundaries: $\alpha \in [0,1]$, $\beta \in [0,20]$, $\rho \in$

$[0,0.2]$, $w \in [0,1]$. The parameter w was fixed to 0 for the reinforcement learning model and fixed

to 1 for the belief learning model. For the stochastic selection model, we fixed the parameters α

and w to 0 so that this model could only capture the participants' decision uncertainty and their

choice preference. This model produced constant model decision probabilities across all trials.

In this nested structure, a better model index relative to the stochastic model would indicate the

presence of a feedback process.

To verify that we had found the global minimum, we repeated the search process with

different starting points. For model comparison, we applied AICc—Akaike information criterion

with a correction for finite sample size—to each participant and model as the information criterion

for goodness-of-fit [62,63]. The summed AICc across participants was reported in Figure 5B. The

parameters best fitted by the hybrid learning rule are illustrated in Supplementary Figure 5 and

the correlation matrix among the parameters is shown in Supplementary Figure 6.

Simulated play

During simulated play, an RL agent and a BL agent played against the prediction algorithm used

by each class of competitor. The competitor's prediction was made using a history of choices a

simulated agent made rather than using real data. For each simulated play of 60 trials (which is

approximately equal to the number of trials in the real game), the success rate was computed.

We simulated each agent's behaviour given a set of model parameters. Each set of parameters

was determined by an extensive grid search in the parameters' space. The simulation play was

repeated 3,000 times for each parameter set.

Latent change score model

Latent change score (LCS) models are the statistical framework that captures the process

underlying the change in the variables of interest at two measurement occasions [35-38]. LCS

models conceptualise the score of variable X at time point $T2$ as

$$X_{T2} = \beta X_{T1} + \Delta X \tag{12}$$

802   where the score X_{T2} is a function of the score X_{T1} weighted by an auto-regressive (i.e., self-

803   feedback) parameter β and some residual ΔX. By fixing the regression weight of X_{T2} on X_{T1} to

804   1, the change score ΔX can be simply rewritten as

$$\Delta X = X_{T2} - X_{T1} \tag{13}$$

806   In structural equation modelling, the change score can be defined as a latent factor by fixing a

807   factor loading on the score X_{T2} to 1. By this mathematical manipulation, the change between $T1$

808   and $T2$ is modelled as a latent factor. Bivariate LCS models predict the change score by an auto-

809   regressive parameter β and a cross-coupling parameter α:

$$\Delta X = \beta X_{T1} + \alpha Y_{T1} \tag{14}$$

$$\Delta Y = \beta Y_{T1} + \alpha X_{T1} \tag{15}$$

In this equation, the auto-regressive parameter β captures the degree to which the initial score

X_{T1} predicts (or is proportional to) the change score ΔX. The cross-coupling parameter α

captures the degree to which the initial score in another domain Y_{T1} predicts (or is proportional

to) the change score ΔX. Above these effects, the bivariate LCS models quantifies the variance-

covariance structure in the change factor, which estimates the correlated change: the degree to

which the change score in one domain ΔX covaries with the change score in another domain ΔY

after taking auto-regressive and cross-coupling effects into account. See Kievit et al., 2018 &
McArdle, 2009 for reviews and Kievit et al., 2017 & Carpenter et al., 2019 for its applications.

We examined the inter-relationships between adaptive autonomy and a shift in learning
strategies. There were three decision bias scores (choice bias, sequential bias and
reinforcement bias) and four hybrid model parameters (learning rate, decision uncertainty,
decision preference and relative weight of belief learning). Considering potential correlations
among seven variables, we controlled for the influences of the other five variables on bivariate
changes. In Figure 6, we used the choice bias score and the belief learning weight. We first
regressed all other five variables against these two scores and retaining only the residuals from
the regression. We then used the residual scores in the choice bias and the residual scores in
the belief learning weight at two measurement points to fit the bivariate LCS model. Therefore,
any parameter estimates in the path model were considered a mere relationship between two
variables included in the model. Because we fitted the bivariate LCS model to residuals,
parameter estimates for the initial intercepts (i.e., mean initial scores) and change intercepts (i.e.,
mean change scores) were fixed to zero.

Models were estimated in the lavaan package for R (version 0.6-11) [64]. We used
maximum likelihood estimation with robust (Huber-White) standard errors and a scaled test
statistic. We evaluated overall model fit using the root-mean-square error of approximation
(RMSEA; acceptable fit: < 0.08; good fit < 0.05), the comparative fit index (CFI; acceptable fit:
0.95 to 0.97; good fit > 0.97) and the standardized root-mean-square residual (SRMR;
acceptable fit: 0.05 to 0.10, good fit: < 0.05) [65].

839 **Footnotes**

† The concept of a habit has been discussed over centuries by philosophers [66]. Its theoretical
framework has been formalised by psychologists and neuroscientists' works, but it is still
controversial [14-16]. A psychologist's view of a habit is that it reflects the formation of stimulus-
response associations [67]. A traditional testing ground for habits is a reward devaluation paradigm.
Here a reward previously assigned to a stimulus-response association is devalued [14]. If the
response is still automatically evoked by the stimulus, its behaviour is said to be a habit rather
than goal-directed. In the present study, we do not aim to examine whether or how habits are
formed. Rather, we investigate how people become liberated from their endogenous habitual
patterns. The three habit families we conceptualised are considered different expressions of
habits. From the perspective of a stimulus-response association, standard choice habits are any

obvious responses in any task. Rule habits are those responses evoked by the last response.
While reinforcement habits are the responses elicited by the last outcome/feedback. The precise
mechanism by which each habit forms is unimportant. Rather, the concept of three habit families
refers to statistical patterns that are not random nor independent and that may be continually
shaped by ongoing experience. Thus, volition in our paradigm requires the regulation of
salient/habitual patterns and the exploration of new behavioural patterns.
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Competing interests

The authors declare no competing interests.

Author's contributions

Conceptualization, KO and PH; data collection, KO; investigation, KO, LC, and PH; formal
analysis, KO; writing – original draft, KO; writing – review & editing, KO, LC and PH; supervision,
LC and PH; funding acquisition, PH.

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Data and code availability

The data frame for a representative participant is available in the supplement. The data
frames for all the participants and the codes used to generate the figures will be posted.

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Supplementary Information

Exclusion criterion

We encouraged participants to sustain timeout trials under 5%. We checked the histogram of the timeout rates. Seven participants displayed a timeout above 13 %. This was considerably high compared with the other participants (0–5%: 119 participants; 5–8%: 27 participants; 8–11%: 6 participants; 13–20%: 5 participants; >20%: 2 participants). These participants might not be able to follow the instructions or might not be able to keep their attention on the task, thereby removed from the analysis.

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Supplementary Figure 1

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A. The reinforcement bias vector in Figure 3C is broken down for positive reinforcement bias

and negative reinforcement bias. The statistical distance from an agent without any habits (purely

random agent) is computed. **B.** Planned comparisons shows the degree adaptive autonomy

(bias reduction) when reinforcement habits are punished. **C.** There is no correlation between the

bias reduction in the positive reinforcement bias and the bias reduction in the negative

reinforcement bias. The ability to adapt away from a win-stay type behaviour is not associated

with the ability to adapt away from a lose-shift type behaviour across participants.

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Supplementary Figure 2

Real choice bias (white bars) in the actual experiment and fictive choice bias (green or blue bars) in simulated play. We simulated the choice bias from agents using the reinforcement learning (green) and agents using the belief learning (blue) (see *Simulated play*). Belief learning produced a smaller choice bias in all punishment schemes.

LCS models

We validated the results in Figure 6 in the following analysis. First, to validate whether the competitor's action indeed affected the participant's action, we randomised the competitor's action in the sample we fitted the hybrid rule. This permutation operation indeed disrupted the estimates of the BL weight (Suppl. Fig. 3A). In the permutation sample, we did not find evidence that the reduction in the choice bias co-occurs with a shift in strategies toward belief learning (Suppl. Fig. 3B&C). This result validates that the competitor's action likely affected the participant's action, and that the shifting to the BL strategy was likely associated with changing a pattern of choice.

Second, we used the choice bias score and the difference in AICcs between the RL only model and BL only model as our observed variables. We used these scores on the punishment of impatience in the baseline and the punishment of standard choice habits in block 1. We still found that the reduction in the choice bias co-occurs with a shift in strategies toward belief learning (Suppl. Fig. 4A). This result validates that the correlated change in Figure 6 is unlikely to be due to the boundaries of the parameter estimates under the hybrid learning rule.

Lastly, we checked the possibility that the reduction in the sequential bias or the reinforcement bias co-occurs a shift in strategies. We did not find evidence that the reduction in the sequential bias co-occurs with a shift in strategies toward belief learning, when the transition habits were punished in block 2 (Suppl. Fig. 4B). Nor did we find that the reduction in the reinforcement bias co-occurs with a shift in strategies toward belief learning, when the reinforcement habits were punished in block 3 (Suppl. Fig. 4C). These follow-up analyses confirm that our finding is not simply explained by the fact that the participant's data was used to estimate both a measure of decision bias and parameters of the hybrid model.

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Supplementary Figure 3

A simulated experiment using permutation operation. **A**. In upper panels (red bars), we show the

proportion of the belief learning weight estimated under the hybrid learning rule. A weight

increases between blocks. In this model fitting, a trial sequence of rewards (success or failure)

and that of birds' flight interval (early, middle or late interval) were used to simulate the

participant's choice interval (see *Computational models*). If the competitor's action is critical for

the model fitting, permutating the competitor's action would disrupt the estimates of the BL weight.

To validate this, we swapped the birds' flight interval. For instance, if the participant chose the

late interval and the birds intercepted the middle interval, we swapped the birds' choice to the

early interval on that trial. This permutation does not alter an outcome (i.e., a successful trial is

still success) but does randomise the competitor's action. We did not swap the birds' choice for

unsuccessful trials. In each iteration, we permutated the birds' flight interval 75% of the time and

estimated the BL weight under the hybrid rule. We repeated this procedure 100 times for each

participant and for each block. In lower panels (blue bars), the parameter estimates recovered

from the permutation sample are shown. The BL weights are right-skewed and indeed differ from

the original estimates. **B**. In the upper panel, we show a scatter plot of the correlated change:

how reductions in the choice bias co-occurs with a shift in learning strategies, replotted from

Figure 6B. The correlation coefficient in this original sample ($r = $ -0.347) is plotted as a vertical

red line in the panel **C**. In lower panels, we plot the same correlated change but derived from the

permutation sample. We only show three representative plots. In each sample, we computed the

standardised coefficient of the correlated change. The proportion of these correlation coefficients

is shown as a blue histogram in the panel **C**. The 95% confidence interval ranged from -0.03 to
0.20. The original correlation coefficient is significantly different from the permutated coefficients.
This analysis validates the robustness of estimating the belief learning weight and the robustness
of estimating the coefficient in the correlated change.
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Supplementary Figure 4

As supplementary results, we fitted the bivariate LCS model to the data set in panels **A-C**,
respectively. Estimated parameters in the path model were omitted for the sake of space.
Instead, we visualised the scatter plot of correlated change as we did in Figure 6B. **A**. Here we
used the choice bias score and the AICc difference between the RL only model and BL only
model, instead of the BL weight estimated under the hybrid learning rule. To estimate the latent
change factors, we used these observed scores on the punishment of impatience in the baseline
and the punishment of standard choice habits in block 1. We found a negative correlated change
(standardised coefficient = -0.256, 95% CI = [-0.398 -0.101]): shifting the strategy toward belief
learning as opposed to reinforcement learning was associated with gaining greater reductions in
the choice bias. **B**. Here we used the scores of sequential bias and the scores of the BL weight
on the punishment of choice habits in block 1 and the punishment of rule habits in block 2, to
estimate the latent change factors. We did not find a negative correlated change (standardised
coefficient = 0.180, 95% CI = [0.021 0.330]): shifting the strategy toward belief learning was not
associated with gaining greater reductions in the sequential bias. **C**. Here we used the scores of
reinforcement bias and the scores of the BL weight on the punishment of rule habits in block 2
and the punishment of reinforcement habits in block 3, to estimate the latent change factors. We
did not find a negative correlated change (standardised coefficient = 0.168, 95% CI = [0.009
0.319]): shifting the strategy toward belief learning was not associated with gaining greater
reductions in the reinforcement bias.

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1145 **Supplementary Figure 5**

1146 We show the parameter estimates best-fitted by the hybrid learning rule. The number of

1147 participants in each bin of the parameter values is represented by a histogram. The columns

1148 indicate blocks from the baseline to block 3. The rows indicate four free parameters in the hybrid

1149 model.

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Supplementary Figure 6

From four free parameters we obtained in each column in Supplementary Figure 5, we plot
a correlation matrix among parameters across participants. We note that there is no strong
correlation between the weight parameter and the other three parameters. This indicates
that the weight placed on belief learning is independently estimated from the other three
parameters which is commonly modelled in a classical reinforcement learning model.