

What are intentions?

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1 CHAPTER 7

² What Are Intentions?

³ Elisabeth Pacherie and Patrick Haggard

4 INTRODUCTION

Neuroscientific work on intentions and voluntary 5 actions has tended to focus on very short time 6 scales, immediately before movement onset. As a 7 prime example, the intentions investigated by 8 Benjamin Libet are states that are first con-9 sciously experienced on average 200 ms before 10 action onset. Libet's experiments showed that 11 these conscious intentions were reliably 12 preceded by a few hundred milliseconds by a 13 negative brain potential, the so-called readiness 14 potential. The existence of this antecedent 15 unconscious brain activity indicated that the 16 action was initiated unconsciously rather than 17 by the conscious intention. This led Libet to the 18 conclusion that we do not have full-blown "free 19 will." However, he attempted to salvage a limited 20 21 form of free will by suggesting that although we cannot consciously initiate actions, we can still 22 consciously veto them in the 200 ms interval 23 between conscious intention and action onset. 24 Libet's conception of free will and his interpreta-25 tion of his results have been widely discussed 26 and criticized. 27

Here, we take as our starting point one of 28 these lines of criticism, voiced notably by Shaun 29 Gallagher (2006). Gallagher argues that it is mis-30 guided to attempt to frame the question of free 31 will at the time scale and in terms of the very 32 short-term motor intentions and control pro-33 cesses Libet considers. Rather, free will involves 34 temporally extended deliberative processes and 35 applies to intentional actions considered at levels 36 of description typically higher and more abstract 37

than descriptions in terms of motor processes 38 and bodily movements. In earlier work, one of us 39 (Pacherie, 2008) proposed a three-tiered hierar- 40 chical model of intentions, the DPM model, 41 distinguishing distal or prospective intentions, 42 proximal or immediate intentions, and motor 43 intentions; the other (Hagggard, 2008) offered a 44 naturalized model of human volition involving a 45 set of decision-making processes concerned with 46 whether to act, what to do (and how), and when 47 to act. If Gallagher is right about the temporal 48 and intentional framework relevant for the exer-49 cise of free will, a discussion of free will must at 50 least include not only the contribution of inten-51 tions to the final process of action initiation itself, 52 but also the anterior decision processes that take 53 place at the level of prospective intentions. 54

1. IMMEDIATE INTENTION AND
ACTION INITIATION55
56

Providing a satisfactory definition of intention is 57 notoriously difficult. In this chapter, we assume 58 that intention is a mental state, which may be 59 associated with particular brain states. But what 60 kind of mental state is an intention? We suggest 61 that intentions have two distinguishing features. 62 First, they are accessible to consciousness. 63 Second, they bear some relation to subsequent 64 action. This relation could be distinctive for two 65 reasons: a causal reason or a content reason. Let 66 us take a physical movement of the body (I raise 67 my arm) as a paradigm of action. The causal 68 reason suggests that the intention (I intend to 69 raise my arm) is simply the mental state that 70

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causes the action of lifting my arm (Wittgenstein, 1 1953). Intentions thus explain why actions occur, 2 and serve as the guarantors of volition. This view 3 is clearly vulnerable to skeptical attack: folk 4 psychology may find it convenient to have some 5 appropriate explanation of a person's actions, 6 and the concept of intention could be designed 7 8 to fulfill this purpose. The fact that intentions do a good job of explaining actions does not there-9 fore constitute evidence that they are a bona fide 10 mental state. 11

The content argument suggests the content 12 13 of the intention ("I will raise my arm") is somehow linked to the specific details of the arm-14 raising action. This view makes clearer 15 predictions about what might constitute an 16 intention. For example, if I perform two differ-17 ent actions, raising my left arm on one occasion 18 and my right arm on another, the intentions for 19 each action should have different contents, capa-20 ble of explaining which arm is used for the action 21 in each case. The content of intention should be 22 discriminative, in the sense that it should predict 23 specific details of action. The content argument 24 emphasizes the continuity between decision and 25 intention: when someone decides to do A rather 26 than B, they may develop an intention whose 27 28 specific content will relate to A rather than to B. A number of neuroscientific studies have 29 attempted to decode the brain processes predict-30 ing the specific content of a subsequent action 31 (Soon, Brass, Heinze, & Haynes, 2008; Haggard 32 33 & Eimer, 1999). This level of motor content would typically be generated once the specific 34 situation and context of action are established, 35 and only immediately before action initiation. 36 Because intention, viewed in this way, is very 37 38 close to the details of motor execution, we use the term "immediate intention" to refer to it. 39

Interestingly, although Libet's work (Libet, 40 Gleason, Wright, & Pearl, 1983) occupies a cen-41 42 tral role in modern scientific work on intention, he himself appeared to avoid the word. On the 43 one hand, he speaks of the "unconscious initia-44 tion" of action. This refers to the set of brain 45 processes that ultimately give rise to muscular 46 47 movement. The readiness potential generated by the frontal motor areas of the brain is a conve-48 nient marker that these processes have begun, 49

but Libet avoids making the simplistic claim that 50 the onset of the readiness potential simply 51 constitutes initiation. On the other hand, the 52 conscious experience of immediate intention (W 53 judgment) occurs several hundred milliseconds 54 after the readiness potential onset, and only 55 slightly before movement itself. If the W judgment 56 is taken as the marker of conscious intention, 57 then, our conscious intentions cannot be the 58 cause or explanation of our actions, because 59 intention follows neural initiation of action, 60 rather than precedes it. 61

But is the W judgment really a marker of 62 immediate conscious intention? Libet himself 63 speaks of an "urge to act." Participants are 64 supposed to report the moment when this urge 65 begins. This is clearly one of the weaker points of 66 the experimental method. How do participants 67 know what they are supposed to report? Could 68 the instruction to report urges somehow suggest 69 to the subject that they should have a specific 70 experience of immediate intention that would 71 otherwise remain unconscious? Could the 72 instruction suggest to subjects the need to report 73 a moment slightly before action, even if they 74 have no distinctive conscious experience at that 75 moment? Participants might interpret the 76 instructions in such experiments as "Behave as if 77 you had free will, and make your reports of 78 intention consistent with this concept of free 79 will." If this were the case, then such experiments 80 could not separate the influence of folk psychol-81 ogy from any genuine mental state of intention, 82 making them vulnerable to skeptical attack, or 83 even scientifically worthless. 84

EVIDENCE FROM DIRECT CORTICAL STIMULATION

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Clearly, experimental manipulations of intention that do not depend on instructions, and 88 therefore avoid the worst problems of suggestion, are highly desirable. Perhaps the most 90 informative data come from reports of direct 91 cortical stimulation prior to neurosurgery for 92 epilepsy. Methodologically, these data clearly 93 differ from psychological experiments relying on 94 participants' understanding of instructions. In 95 fact, no instruction is given at all: the patient's 96

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1 behavior during stimulation is observed, and they are invited to report anything that they feel. 2 Little detail is generally given about how the 3 reporting is done. Few neurosurgical studies 4 seem to address the problems of experimenter-5 led suggestion and response bias, for example, 6 by including catch trials without stimulation. 7 Nevertheless, these data have particular signifi-8 cance for the psychology of intention, and are 9 therefore worth examining in some detail. 10

Direct stimulation data broadly support a 11 distinction between initiation of action and con-12 scious immediate intention. In particular, 13 we shall argue that direct stimulation of the 14 presupplementary motor area (preSMA) is 15 accompanied by an anticipatory conscious expe-16 rience of immediate intention. In contrast, direct 17 stimulation of the deeper cingulate motor area 18 (CMA) produces a strong motivation to perform 19 a specific action, and can trigger action initiation, 20 but without any particular specific conscious 21 experience prior to action. In the neurosurgical 22 literature, and in Libet's work also, the word 23 "urge" is widely used. We argue that the same 24 word is used with two quite different meanings, 25 which have been unnecessarily confounded. 26 On the one hand, an urge involves a conscious 27 experience of being about to act. On the other 28 hand, an urge involves a feeling of compulsion, 29 or having to. We suggest these two components 30 are localized to the preSMA and the CMA respec-31 tively. Rather than the general term "urge" we 32 33 suggest that the terms immediate intention and motivation to act might be more appropriate. 34

35 Pre-SMA Stimulation Can Evoke a State36 Resembling Immediate Intention

37 The awake patient reports a subjective experience or "urge to move" during stimulation of 38 characteristic cortical regions, notably the sup-39 plementary motor area. The study closest to our 40 interest is that by Fried et al. (1991). The paper 41 42 reports responses to stimulation through intracranial grids over the mesial frontal cortex. In one 43 patient, several reports of "urge" were obtained 44 following low-amplitude stimulation over the 45 supplementary motor area. The responses 46 typically referred to a specific contralateral 47 body part, as in "urge to move the right elbow." 48

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In some trials, different verbal formulas appear: 49 "need to move," "feeling as if movement were 50 about to occur." At higher stimulation intensities, actual movements were often evoked. 52 The authors comment that the actual movement 53 evoked was not necessarily commensurate with 54 the urge. However, urge and movement at least 55 referred to the same limb in the majority of trials 56 reported for this patient. 57

The ability to evoke by external intervention 58 a mental state that appears close to conscious 59 intention is intriguing. However, several impor-60 tant methodological questions remain. How 61 general are these sensations: they receive promi-62 nent attention in the report of one case, but it is 63 unclear whether they were investigated and 64 found to be absent, or merely not investigated, 65 in the remaining cases? What phenomenal expe-66 rience does the stimulation cause? Beyond the 67 frequent use of the word "urge" there is little 68 information on phenomenology. One particular 69 concern would be whether the experience reported as "urge" is truly an anticipatory expe-71 rience of central origin, and occurring in advance 72 of movement. Could "urge" actually reflect 73 subtle muscle contractions caused by low-74 intensity stimulation, which lacked the strength 75 required to produce observable movement? 76 Alternatively, could "urge" reflect a sensory 77 experience, like the "tingling" sensation fre-78 quently reported following stimulation at sites 79 close to those provoking "urge" (Fried et al, 80 1991)? The preSMA is known to receive sensory 81 afferent input, probably after initial processing 82 in somatosensory cortical areas (Mima et al, 83 1999). In conditions such as Tourette's syn-84 drome and restless legs syndrome, the urge to 85 move is strongly associated with, or is simply 86 described as, a sensory quality localized in 87 specific body parts, and relieved by movement of 88 those body parts. If urges were essentially 89 sensory in nature, they clearly would not be a 90 good model for conscious intention. Interestingly, 91 however, a recent review of a series of 52 patients 92 who underwent electrical stimulation suggests 93 sensory experiences are not a normal feature of 94 preSMA stimulation, being recorded in only a 95 single instance (Chassagnon, Minotti, Kremer, 96 Hoffmann, & Kahane, 2008). In fact, they were 97

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1 much more common following stimulation of

2 the posterior portion of the CMA. It seems likely
3 that preSMA stimulation produces a specific
4 conscious experience, distinct from both stimu5 lation-evoked sensation and from peripheral
6 sensation. This experience, like immediate inten7 tion, is motorically specific, and linked to an

8 impending action.

9 CMA Stimulation Produces Motivated but10 Automatized Actions

In fact, the stimulation of the CMA, and particu-11 12 larly of the region of the cingulate sulcus immediately below the preSMA, seems to corre-13 spond more closely to Libet's "unconscious 14 initiation of a . . . voluntary act." Chassagnon 15 16 et al. (2008) report four instances where CMA stimulation elicited reaching and grasping 17 behaviors, "as if the patients were groping 18 around and handling a small object in the dark." 19 There is no specific report or evidence of urge 20 prior to actual movement. An extended report of 21 one patient in this series (Kremer, Chassagnon, 22 Hoffmann, Benabid, & Kahane, 2001) shows 23 that these behaviors had a compulsive, irresist-24 ible quality. This patient had a strong drive to 25 perform the movement once stimulation began, 26 27 making scanning eye movements and exploratory arm movements to identify a potential 28 target for grasping. The patient is described as 29 having an "urge to grasp something." However, 30 it remains hard to locate this feeling of urge 31 32 within the chain of events linked to the action. In particular, no quantitative data is given on two 33 details that are of primary importance for the 34 psychology of intention: the delay between stim-35 36 ulation onset and movement onset, and the delay 37 between stimulation onset and any sense of "urge." We suggest that this patient showed 38 "urge" in the motivational sense during CMA 39 stimulation, but they did not experience the kind 40 41 of anticipatory conscious awareness characteristic 42 of immediate intentions.

A more extensive study of actions evoked by
CMA stimulation in 83 epileptic patients was
reported by Bancaud, Talairach, Geier, Bonis,
Trottier, and Manrique (1976). Stimulation generally produced an increased state of arousal and
attentiveness, often at low stimulation intensities.

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This was interpreted as a nonspecific form of 49 attention to action. At higher stimulation intensities, a range of coordinated manual, buccal, and 51 oculomotor actions were produced. Interest- 52 ingly, if an object were given to the participant 53 during stimulation, it would evoke complex 54 series of object-appropriate movements. For 55 example, when one patient was given a cigarette, 56 they lit and smoked it in a compulsive manner, 57 stopping smoking when stimulation ceased, and 58 restarting when stimulation restarted. In other cases, patients compulsively ate food they were 60 offered, or brought objects to the mouth and 61 sucked them. Again, ceasing stimulation caused 62 the action to end. When the experimenters phys-63 ically restrained the patient's arms, the patient 64 often strove to continue the action, especially 65 at greater stimulation intensities. This sustained 66 drive to achieve the action is not merely a 67 matter of maintaining motor output in the 68 face of perturbation, since in one case the 69 patient transferred an object repeatedly be-70 tween the hands to overcome the experimenter's 71 interference. 72

What did the patients experience? While 73 Bancaud et al. do not address this point system-74 atically, the general attitude of the patients 75 toward their own evoked actions appeared indif-76 ferent. Patients acknowledged the action they 77 had performed immediately afterward, but did 78 not generally give specific reasons why they 79 performed it, nor did they appear surprised by 80 actions that might prima facie seem strange. 81 On questioning the next day, the patients did 82 not find their actions under stimulation in any 83 way surprising or unusual. One way of interpret-84 ing this unusual phenomenology of action would 85 suggest that the CMA drives actions, without 86 any reference to conscious intentions, desires, or 87 reasons for action. For example, a patient 88 presented with a fruit in the absence of stimula-89 tion would merely hold it. But once stimulated, 90 the patient would grasp and eat the fruit for as 91 long as the stimulation lasted. This compulsive 92 eating was not part of a normal desire for food, 93 since it ceased with the end of stimulation. 94

In summary, CMA stimulation transiently 95 induced a syndrome similar to utilization behavior 96 (Lhermitte, 1983). The overall impression is of a 97

CMA role in motivating and driving behavior, 1 but not in anticipating, or monitoring or adjusting 2 it to circumstances, nor in providing a conscious 3 experience of an impending action. The state 4 evoked by CMA stimulation therefore appears to 5 be closer to a motivational drive than to an 6 intentional decision. The evoked actions appear 7 to happen to the patient, but are quite decoupled 8 from their conscious mental life, and play no 9 role in it. This explains why the patient does not 10 produce convincing or detailed reasons to 11 explain why they occurred. 12

13 A Model of Frontal Contributions to14 Intentional Action

One simple model, which could encompass Libet 15 et al.'s (1983) concept of conscious intention, is 16 shown in Figure 7.1. Selection between competing 17 alternative actions that are currently available 18 might occur in dorsolateral prefrontal cortex 19 (DLPFC) (Rowe, Toni, Josephs, Frackowiak, & 20 Passingham, 2000). This process may involve 21 conscious thought about the range of action 22 alternatives, but only at the level of abstract 23 action possibilities. The DLPFC selects the 24 appropriate action, and forwards the decision to 25 two separate cortical motor areas to implement 26 27 it. On the one hand the decision is sent to the CMA, which provides a motivational drive to 28

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initiate the action. On the other hand the 29 decision is sent to the preSMA, which provides a 30 stage of flexible, contextual modulation of inter- 31 nally generated action, weaving the selected 32 action into the ongoing flow of behavior and 33 experience. This flexibility is required since a 34 behavior may be appropriate in one context but 35 not in another: even a strongly motivated action 36 can and should sometimes be stopped or delayed. 37 PreSMA therefore provides contextual arbitra- 38 tion, according to which a drive may be devel-39 oped into an impending action plan, or 40 alternatively inhibited. This contextualizing role 41 of preSMA can explain three specific findings 42 from the neurophysiological literature that may 43 otherwise be hard to explain (see Haggard, 2008, 44 for a detailed review). First, cells in the preSMA 45 appear to play a key role in integrating single 46 into coordinated superordinate 47 actions sequences of behavior. Second, lesions in this 48 area produce compulsive action tendencies, 49 reminiscent of the automatized reaching and 50 grasping evoked by CMA stimulation. Third, the 51 preSMA plays a key role in arbitrating involving 52 conflict between the various alternative actions 53 that could be consistent with a given situation. 54 The preSMA is therefore involved not in the raw 55 drive to action, but in reconciling action drives 56 with current contexts. 57

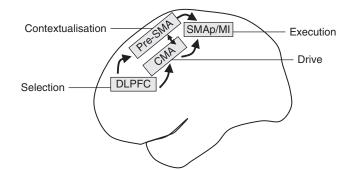


Figure 7.1 A simple model of the division of labor between frontal cortical areas in the initiation of intentional action. Selection between alternative action plans occurs in the dorsolateral prefrontal cortex (DLPFC). The signal corresponding to the selected action is forwarded along two major neural pathways: to the cingulate motor area (CMA) to provide a motivated drive to perform the action, and to the presupplementary motor area (preSMA) to modulate the action according to current context, competing action representations, etc. Hypothesized interactions provide an arbitration between the push from drive and the constraints provided by context. Both areas have access to the main motor execution pathway via supplementary motor area proper (SMAp) and the primary motor cortex (M1).

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Interestingly, the conscious experience of 1 immediate intention seems to involve the same 2 circuits that contextually constrain action drives. 3 The conscious "urge" evoked by preSMA stimu-4 lation, which perhaps underliesW-judgments of 5 intention in Libet-type experiments, would 6 correspond to the moment of opening the gate 7 between drive and motor action. The preSMA 8 would then pass the contextualized action plan to 9 the SMA-proper (SMAp), M1, and possibly CMA 10 for execution. On this model, Libet is absolutely 11 right that our actions are initiated unconsciously, 12 13 by the normal functioning of the sensory and motor network of the cortex. The conscious expe-14 rience of immediate intention occurs when the 15 prefrontal executive opens the gates between this 16 network and motor executive areas, such as M1, 17 so that the drive built up within this network can 18 now proceed to appropriate action execution. 19

20 What Are Immediate Intentions?

The discussion above allows us to revisit our ques-21 tion, "what are immediate intentions?" From a 22 neural point of view, immediate intentions are 23 conscious experiences of impending action, gen-24 erated by the motor systems of the medial frontal 25 cortex. From a psychological point of view, two 26 27 important aspects of immediate intention are worth emphasizing. First, immediate intentions 28 are predictive, in the sense that they precede 29 actions. Second, immediate intentions have an 30 episodic, time-locked quality, rather than being 31 32 abstract and semantic. Thus, the content of an immediate intention prefigures at least some of 33 the specific motor details of the action itself. 34 Immediate intentions are not linked to actions in 35 36 a vague and general way, but in a motor-specific 37 way (Haggard & Eimer, 1999), even in artificial cases such as preSMA stimulation (Fried et al, 38 1991). Put another way, immediate intentions 39 incorporate the specific contextual detail, corre-40 41 sponding at least to the P-level and often to the M-level in the DPM hierarchy. An interesting con-42 scious correlate of this episodic quality is the very 43 integrated experience we have of our own volun-44 tary action. Intention, action, and goal are not 45 experienced as separate disconnected events, but 46 as a tight and integrated flow. In particular, inten-47 tional actions, but not involuntary movements, 48

display an effect called "intentional binding," 49 whereby the experiences of action and effect are 50 perceived as temporally compressed and bound 51 together (Haggard et al, 2002; Haggard & Cole, 52 2007), as if part of a single episode. 53

2. PROSPECTIVE INTENTIONS

We share with other animals the capacity to act 55 purposefully, but we also regularly make more or 56 less complex plans for the future, and our later 57 conduct is guided by these plans. We are, in 58 Michael Bratman's words, planning agents, and this planning ability appears to be distinctively 60 human. People can, and frequently do, form 61 intentions focused on actions that may occur years 62 or even decades later. Intentions to choose par-63 ticular careers, to become prime minister, or to 64 choose a destination for next year's holiday all 65 offer examples. The length of time-scale associ-66 ated with prospective intentions is virtually unlim-67 ited. These long-range intentions appear to be 68 effectively connected with short-range intentions, 69 and therefore with action itself. General intentions 70 formed at one time-point cascade into much more 71 detailed intentions prior to action execution. 72

However, almost nothing is known about 73 how these long-range, prospective intentions 74 connect to immediate, short-term intentions. 75 Indeed, experimental studies of voluntary action 76 deal hardly at all with the concept of prospective 77 intention. On one view, the prospective inten-78 tion in such studies consists in the participant's 79 decision to participate in the experiment in the 80 first place, and thus lies beyond what can be 81 measured in the experimental setting itself. 82

We start this section with a brief review of 83 Bratman's influential account of prospective 84 intentions (or as he calls them future-directed 85 intentions), what their main characteristics are, 86 and what makes it useful to have them. We then 87 turn to the issue what kind of cognitive processes 88 are involved in the formation of prospective 89 intentions and how these relate to the processes 90 involved in immediate intentions. 91

Bratman on Intentions

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Bratman's account of future-directed intentions 93 (Bratman, 1987) stresses the commitment to 94

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1 action that is a distinctive characteristic of intentions. When I intend today to go Christmas 2 shopping tomorrow, I do not simply want or 3 desire today that I go Christmas shopping 4 tomorrow. Rather I am committed now to going 5 shopping tomorrow. What exactly does this 6 commitment involve? Bratman distinguishes 7 two dimensions of a commitment to action: 8 a volitional dimension and a reasoning-centered 9 dimension. The volitional dimension concerns 10 the relation of intention to action and can be 11 characterized by saying that, "intentions are, 12 whereas ordinary desires are not, conduct-13 controlling pro-attitudes. Ordinary desires, in 14 contrast, are merely potential influencers of 15 action" (1987, p. 16). In other words, unless 16 something unexpected arrives that forces me to 17 revise my intention, my intention today to go 18 shopping tomorrow will control my conduct 19 tomorrow. The reasoning-centered dimension 20 of commitment is most directly linked to 21 planning. At stake here are the roles played by 22 intentions in the period between their initial for-23 mation and their eventual execution. First, 24 intentions have what Bratman calls a character-25 istic stability or inertia: once we have formed an 26 intention to A, we will not normally continue to 27 28 deliberate whether to A or not. In the absence of relevant new information, the intention will 29 resist reconsideration, we will see the matter as 30 settled and continue to so intend until the time 31 of action. Intentions are thus terminators of 32 33 practical reasoning about ends or goals. Second, during this period between the formation of an 34 intention and action, we will frequently reason 35 from such an intention to further intentions, 36 37 reasoning from instance from intended ends to intended means or preliminary steps. When we 38 first form an intention, our plans are typically 39 only partial, but if they are to eventuate into 40 action, they will need to be filled in. Thus, inten-41 42 tions are also prompters of practical reasoning 43 about means. Finally, the volitional and reasoning-centered dimensions of intentions together 44 account for another important function of 45 prospective intentions, namely their role in sup-46 porting both intrapersonal and interpersonal 47 coordination. Because intentions have stability, 48 are conduct-controlling, and prompt reasoning 49

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about means, they support the expectation that 50 I will do tomorrow what I intend today to do 51 tomorrow. Such expectations facilitate coordi-52 nation. My intention to go Christmas shopping 53 tomorrow supports my sister's expectation that 54 I will, and she can go ahead and plan to join me 55 in this shopping expedition. Similarly, I can 56 go ahead and plan my activities for the day 57 after tomorrow, on the assumption that by 58 tomorrow evening I will be done with Christmas 59 shopping. 60

As noted by Bratman himself, future-directed 61 intentions have an air of paradox. They are typi-62 cally stable but they are not irrevocable. Such 63 irrevocability would be irrational, since things 64 can change and our anticipation of the future is 65 not infallible. This suggests that, having formed 66 today an intention to do something tomorrow, 67 I should persist in that intention tomorrow only 68 if it would then be rational for me to form such 69 an intention from scratch. But then, asks Bratman, 70 why I should I bother deciding today what to do 71 72 tomorrow? Isn't that just a waste of time?

Bratman offers several complementary 73 answers to that challenge. They stem from the 74 fact that we are epistemically limited creatures, 75 with limited cognitive and time resources for use 76 in attending to problems, gathering informa-77 tion, deliberating about options, determining 78 likely consequences, and so on. There are several 79 reasons our epistemic limitations make it useful 80 for us to form prospective intentions. First, if 81 our actions were influenced by deliberation only 82 at the time of action, this influence would be 83 minimal, as time pressure isn't conducive to 84 careful deliberation. Advance planning frees us 85 from that time pressure and allows us to deploy 86 the cognitive resources needed for successful 87 deliberation. Second, intentions once formed 88 have characteristic stability. They resist recon-89 sideration. This doesn't mean we never reconsider. 90 Intentions may be revoked. But as Bratman 91 points out, revocability does not entail actual 92 reconsideration. Unless new facts come to light, 93 we will normally simply retain our intentions. 94 Furthermore, in settling on a course of action, 95 we have already rehearsed and weighted the con-96 siderations for and against that course of action. 97 This prior rehearsal puts us in a better position 98

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20	own activities over time and to coordinate them
21	with the activities of other agents. This coordi-
22	nation is best achieved if we plan ahead of time.
23	So-called Buridan cases provide a third reason
24	for forming intentions. We may be forced to
25	choose between options that we find equally
26	desirable. I may have an equal desire to go to a
27	concert or to go see a play tomorrow evening.
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41	to go to the concert or to go see the play.
10	Future Oriented Compitien and Mantal

42 Future-Oriented Cognition and Mental43 Time Travel

44 Prima facie, it would seem that the reasons that
45 make it useful for us to form prospective inten46 tions also apply to other species. Limited cogni47 tive resources and a need for coordination are
48 not unique to humans. So why is it that we alone

appear to exhibit such distinctive planning 49 abilities? One obvious answer is that other species 50 are even more limited then we are in their cogni-51 tive resources; a complementary answer is that 52 how much need and use we have for planning 53 also depends on the kind of environment we live 54 in. There wouldn't be much use for planning in 55 an environment that were completely unpredict-56 able, for planning exploits regularities and in 57 such an environment there would be none to 58 exploit. On the other hand, in an environment both simple and reasonably predictable, there 60 may be cheaper ways of coping than those 61 involving advance planning. Suddendorf and 62 Corballis, (2007) describe several ways in which 63 behavior may be future-oriented without involv-64 ing a capacity to think about the future as such. 65 First, future-directed behavior may be instinc-66 tual, as when, through natural selection, a species 67 has evolved behavioral predispositions to exploit 68 significant long-term regularities. For instance, 69 an animal can gather food for hibernation, 70 although it has yet to experience a winter. 71 Second, future-directed behavior may be driven 72 by procedural learning, allowing an individual to 73 track short-term regularities. For instance, 74 through association, a conditioned stimulus can 75 predict the future arrival of an unconditioned 76 response and trigger a future-directed response. 77 Third, future-directed behavior may exploit 78 semantic memory about regularities, which 79 provides the basis for inferential and analogical 80 reasoning and allows learning in one context to 81 be voluntarily transferred to another. Procedural 82 learning allows for greater flexibility than instinc-83 tual patterns of behavior, allowing behavior to 84 be modulated by individual experience; seman-85 tic memories provide even greater behavioral 86 flexibility as they can be triggered endogenously 87 rather than being stimulus bound. Yet, the envi-88 ronment in which humans live is unique in both 89 its ecological and its social complexity. Humans 90 also have an extraordinary range of desires and 91 motivations, going far beyond the basic drives 92 and simpler desires present in other species. 93 Dealing with this spectacular environmental, 94 social, and motivational complexity may require 95 in turn forms of future-oriented cognition that 96 exhibit unique flexibility and versatility. 97

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A prime candidate for this more flexible form 1 of future-oriented cognition is mental time 2 travel, the faculty that allows a person to men-3 tally project herself backward in time to relive 4 past events or forward to pre-live events 5 (Suddendorf & Corballis, 1997, 2007; Suddendorf 6 & Busby, 2003, 2005; Wheeler, Stuss, & Tulving, 7 1997). Mental travel in the past, known as epi-8 sodic memory, has been intensively studied (e.g., 9 Tulving, 1983, 2005). Mental travel into the 10 future, in contrast, has only recently begun to 11 draw attention. Recent work indicates that 12 mental travel into the past and into the future 13 are closely related, involving similar cognitive 14 processes-a combination of episodic memory 15 and imagination under executive control-and 16 recruiting strongly overlapping neural systems 17 (D'Argembeau & Van der Linden, 2006; 18 Hassabis, Vann, & Magurie, 2007; Klein, 2002; 19 Gerrans, 2007). Several researchers have argued 20 that mental time travel into the future is a crucial 21 cognitive adaptation, enhancing planning and 22 deliberation by allowing a subject to mentally 23 simulate and evaluate contingencies, and thus 24 enhancing fitness, and that mental time travel 25 into the past is subsidiary to our ability to imag-26 ine future scenarios (Dudai & Carruthers, 2005; 27 28 Suddendorf & Corballis, 2007).

Mental time travel, whether into the past 29 or into the future, involves episodic memory 30 and inherits its two main characteristics. First, it 31 is not about regularities but about constructing 32 33 or reconstructing the particularities of specific events. Second, mental time travel involves 34 autonoesis, i.e., awareness of a self as the subject 35 of actual, recalled, or imagined experience. But 36 37 what are exactly the benefits that accrue from using mental time travel rather than simply 38 reasoning from general knowledge stored in 39 semantic memory in planning future actions? 40 As we have seen, prospective intentions involve 41 42 making a number of decisions. The intention 43 is first formed when one reaches a decision about what to do. Once the intention is formed, 44 one must still typically make a number of 45 decisions about how to implement the chosen 46 goal. Another important decision, not explicitly 47 considered by Bratman, concerns when to 48 act. What can mental time travel contribute to 49

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these what-decisions, how-decisions, and when- 50 decisions? 51

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What-decisions

Not all what-decisions involve explicit conscious 53 deliberation. Some decisions are pretty straight-54 forward. If my closest friend invites me to her wedding, of course I'll accept the invitation and 56 form the intention to attend the wedding. 57 If, however, being on the job market, I am offered 58 academic positions in two different universities, 59 I might spend quite a while weighing the pros 60 and cons of each option before reaching a deci-61 sion. Yet, it may be that performing a logical 62 cost-benefit analysis of the two options does not 63 suffice to motivate me to choose one over the 64 other, even if this analysis yields a clear advan-65 tage for one of the options. Rather, I might have to imaginatively rehearse future experiences 67 occupying one or the other position as part of 68 the process of deliberation. 69

Patients with damage to the ventromedial 70 prefrontal cortex (VMPFC) are often described 71 as having impaired ability for planning and 72 decision-making despite retaining intact capaci-73 ties for explicit reasoning. Philip Gerrans, (2007) 74 argues that this impairment is best explained by 75 a deficit in mental time travel. In his view, 76 Damasio's somatic marker hypothesis (Dama Delete comma Tranel, & Damasio, 1991; Bechara, Dama "Gerrans" Damasio, & Lee, 1999), according to which the 79 deficits of VMPFC patients result from a failure 80 to link an implicit emotional response-a 81 somatic marker-with an explicit representation 82 of a situation, is deficient in two ways. First, it 83 uses an account of emotions that explains 84 salience and motivation in terms of valence and 85 within this framework interprets somatic markers 86 as valencing systems whose activation is required 87 to produce suitable motivation. However, recent 88 research shows that the mechanisms that make 89 objects salient and motivate behavior are inde-90 pendent neurally and cognitively from those that 91 determine valence. The mesolimbic dopamine 92 system plays a central role in salience/motivation 93 by predicting reward (rather than valence), while 94 valencing appears to be realized by a number of 95 other systems, including the opioid and benzo-96 diazepine systems (Berridge & Robinson, 2003; 97

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Berridge, 2007; Robinson & Berridge, 2003). 1 Second, the somatic marker hypothesis under-2 specifies the nature of the explicit representa-3 tions involved in decision-making. These 4 representations can either be declarative, as 5 when one performs cost-benefit analysis by 6 7 manipulating probabilities, or episodic, as when one uses past experiences to imagine future ones. 8 According to Gerrans then, the planning and 9 decision-making deficits of VMPFC patients 10 result not so much from their inability to associ-11 ate semantic markers to their explicit declarative 12 13 representations as from their inability to perform mental time travel, that is to imagine 14 themselves living out future scenarios and thus 15 activating the motivationally relevant contin-16 gencies salient in these imagined experiences. 17

18 If this conception of the link between mental time travel and motivation is on the right track, 19 mental time travel could also help explain one 20 unique characteristic of human planning. 21 According to the Bischof-Köhler hypothesis 22 (Bischof-Köhler, 1985; Suddendorf & Busby, 23 2005), nonhuman animals cannot anticipate 24 future needs or drive states. Humans, in 25 contrast, can plan for the future not just on the 26 basis on their current motivational states but 27 also on the basis of what they anticipate their 28 future motivational states to be. The ability to 29 project oneself forward in time and imagine 30 future scenarios may be an important key to 31 motivation regulation. 32

33 How-decisions

The construction of plans for future actions 34 depends in part on semantic memory, since it is 35 36 crucial to their success that the plans we come up 37 with be consistent with our general knowledge about the world. Yet, filling in the details of a 38 plan may depend on our ability to imagine future 39 episodes, since they provide the particularities 40 41 that will help us fine-tune the plan to the particular occasion. However, trade-offs need to be 42 considered, since mental time travel is effortful 43 and cognitively costly. When I form the prospec-44 tive intention to go to my office tomorrow rather 45 than to work from home, there is no need for me 46 to mentally rehearse the route to my office. 47 The route is familiar enough that I can trust 48

myself to do the right thing when the time comes. 49 Suppose, however, that I have an appointment 50 tomorrow in some other part of the city I am less 51 familiar with. In that case, it may be worthwhile 52 rehearsing possible ways of getting there and 53 using memories of past episodes to decide 54 between options. For instance, I may remember 55 that changing lines at this station takes forever 56 and involves walking along endless, badly lit, 57 corridors, or I may remember getting stuck in 58 heavy traffic on a given bus line. Or imagine 59 again, I am about to visit Beijing for the first time 60 and have no clue what the public transportation 61 is like there. In such a case it may be a waste of 62 time and energy imagining potential future 63 scenarios for how to get around in Beijing. 64 The scenarios I come up with may be far off the 65 mark and completely useless in the end; better 66 just way and see. 67

More generally, whether we make how-68 decisions early or late and the extent to which we 69 use mental time travel to make those decisions 70 depends on a number of factors, among them: 71 how predictable we think the future situation is; 72 how knowledgeable we are; whether our knowl-73 edge is mostly declarative or based on prior 74 personal experience; how motivated we are 75 (as rehearsing a future scenario may help rein-76 force motivation); how novel or difficult the 77 prospective action is; how neurotic our person-78 ality is. In addition, there appear to be important 79 individual differences in the ability to project 80 oneself into possible future events. A recent 81 study (D'Argembeau & Van der Linden, 2006) 82 provides evidence that the individual differences 83 in dimensions known to affect memory for past 84 events similarly influence the experience of 85 projecting oneself into the future. People less 86 adept at recalling in vivid detail past episodes of 87 their life, are also less able to simulate specific 88 future events. Note that these results also 89 provide support for the view that mental time 90 travel into the past and mental time travel into 91 the future rely on similar mechanisms. 92

When-decisions

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A prospective intention is an intention to perform 94 an action at some future time. But if the intention 95 is to eventuate into action, it is important that the 96

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time of action be specified. An initial when-1 decision can take at least two forms. The time of 2 action can be specified in explicit temporal 3 fashion, say as "next Tuesday" or "on the first of 4 November" or it can be specified in relation to 5 some specific future event, say "when I next meet 6 Charles" or "as soon as the bell rings." Work in 7 the field of prospective memory sheds light on 8 interesting differences between the time-based 9 and the event-based strategies. 10

Prospective memory is a field of cognitive 11 psychology dealing with remembering to 12 perform an action in the future (e.g., I must 13 remember to stop to buy fruit on my way home 14 from work). The starting point for prospective 15 memory is clearly an intention to perform an 16 action at a future time. Most experimental studies 17 deal with event-based prospective memory, in 18 which a specific event that will occur in the 19 future is used as a cue for an action. Translating 20 a long-range intention into action then becomes 21 a matter of identifying that the cue has occurred, 22 and retrieving the appropriate action in response 23 to it. Several studies of "implementation inten-24 tions" in applied psychology (Gollwitzer, 1999), 25 suggest this strategy is effective: intended actions 26 such as taking medication are more likely to 27 occur if people link their implementation to a 28 specific external event. According to Gollwitzer, 29 (1999), what explains the efficacy of implemen-30 tation intentions is the fact that their formation 31 32 triggers two sets of processes. First, when an 33 implementation intention is formed, mental representations of the relevant situational cues 34 become highly activated, leading to heightened 35 accessibility, and thus a better detection, of these 36 cues when they are encountered (Aarts, 37 38 Dijksterhuis, & Midden, 1999; Gollwitzer, 1999; Webb & Sheeran, 2007). Second, implementa-39 tion intention formation not only enhances the 40 accessibility of the specified situational cue, 41 42 but also forges an association between that cue and a response that is instrumental for obtaining 43 one's goal, thus making action initiation more 44 immediate and efficient. 45

Such "implementation intentions" may take
advantage of the fact that externally cued intentions are normally more strongly held, in the
sense of being harder to overturn, than internally

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generated intentions (Fleming, Mars, Gladwin, 50 & Haggard, 2009). 51

Prospective memory can also be time-based, 52 rather than event-based. In time-based prospec- 53 tive memory, an intended action is performed at 54 a designated future time, without any particular 55 cue event occurring at that time. Thus, time-56 based prospective memory seems to be purely 57 endogenous, while event-based prospective 58 memory effectively reduces endogenous actions 59 to cue-triggered reactions. The distinction 60 between the two forms is supported by the 61 dissociation between different rostral prefrontal 62 activations in time-based and event-based 63 prospective memory tasks (Okuda et al., 2007). 64

Recent studies of time-based prospective 65 memory suggest an interesting role for uncon-66 sciously initiated processes, similar to Libet's 67 action initiation, in linking long-range inten-68 tions to eventual action. Kvavilashvili and Fisher 69 (2007) asked participants to call an experimenter 70 at a self-chosen time one week after an initial briefing session. In the intervening week, they 72 noted the circumstances in which they remem-73 bered this intention, using a diary. Although the 74 authors refer to these memory events as "rehears-75 als" they were primarily automatic and uncued 76 events, in which the intention to make the phone 77 call simply "popped into" the participant's mind, 78 without obvious cue or antecedent. The frequency 79 of these recall events increased dramatically in 80 the day before the phone call was due, but this 81 increase was less dramatic in those participants who in fact failed to return the phone call on 83 time. 84

3. LINKING PROSPECTIVE INTENTIONS TO IMMEDIATE INTENTIONS

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Actions are not always the product of prospective 88 intentions, they may often simply be the outcome 89 of immediate intentions, formed on the spot, so 90 to speak. But let us focus on cases where actions 91 are preceded and brought about by prospective 92 intentions. What is the additional contribution, 93 if any, of immediate intentions to such actions? 94

Recall that in the section 1 we characterized 95 the content of immediate intentions as involving 96

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episodic representations. Forming an immediate 1 intention involves fitting one's endogenous goal 2 to the current situation, using contextual infor-3 4 mation to generate a representation of a specific episode of acting. When one has a prospective 5 intention to perform an action, how much work 6 7 there is left for an immediate intention to do 8 at the moment of action itself will depend on how episodic the content of the prospective 9 intention already is. This will in turn depend on 10 the extent to which the agent made use of mental 11 time travel in forming and shaping his prospec-12 13 tive intentions. For example, a person forming a prospective intention may become fully involved 14 in mental time travel and may simulate the full 15 details of how and when the action will occur. 16 Conversely, one can have a genuine prospective 17 18 intention while knowingly leaving it for later to decide on the means. At one extreme of a 19 continuum is the "neurotic planner," at the 20 other end is the "optimistic improviser." 21

The neurotic planner makes extensive use of 22 mental time travel, imaginatively combining and 23 recombining elements from prior stored 24 episodes to generate, early on, precise scenarios 25 concerning the action to be performed and 26 the situation in which it is to be performed. 27 28 His strategy is to generate as much episodic information as he can as early as he can. When 29 mental time travel serves well, this front-loading 30 strategy leaves little left for immediate intentions 31 to do. 32

33 Using Gollwitzer's terminology, we can say that neurotic planners tend to make early 34 detailed how- and when-decisions, thus forming 35 implementation intentions. A key feature of this 36 37 strategy of early planning is that it allows for 38 later automatization. As Gollwitzer points out, implementation intentions automatize action 39 initiation: "The goal-directed behavior specified 40 in an implementation intention is triggered 41 42 without conscious intent once the critical situa-43 tional context is encountered" (Gollwitzer, 1999, p. 498). Thus, the use of external cues to trigger 44 action seems partly to shift the action from an 45 endogenous or voluntary one to a stimulus-46 47 driven or reactive one.

In contrast, the optimistic improviser gener-48 ates little episodic information early on. She makes 49

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a what-decision, possibly a time-based when-50 decision, but keeps her options open as to how 51 and in what specific situation the action is to be 52 performed. She is committed to generating rele-53 vant episodic information in real time, at the 54 moment of the action itself. The prospective 55 intentions of agents following this strategy con-56 tain as yet too little episodic information to yield 57 action. To fill this informational gap between her 58 prospective intention and action initiation, the 59 agent will have to form an immediate intention 60 specifying the missing information. This means 61 that the agent must retain some endogenous con-62 trol over action initiation and cannot delegate it to 63 automatic responses to environmental triggers. 64

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Episodic information must be generated in 65 order to produce a specific action. It can be gen-66 erated either early (neurotic planner) or later 67 (optimistic improviser). These are in some sense 68 alternative reciprocal responses to the common 69 challenge of deciding exactly what one will do. 70 Despite the personality-based labels we used, 71 early versus late planning isn't just a matter of 72 temperament. Each strategy may be better suited 73 to some situations than to others. Early planning 74 has its dangers. If the agent's anticipations were 75 not correct, the external cues on which action 76 initiation depends may fail to materialize. Or, 77 worse perhaps, the cues may be present and 78 automatically trigger the action when other 79 unanticipated and unattended aspects of the 80 situation make it unadvisable to pursue as 81 planned. The late planner may be more flexible, 82 but she risks unpreparedness when the time of 83 acting comes. Having left it to the last moment 84 to deliberate about means, when she finally does 85 so she also risks reopening the Pandora's box of 86 deliberation about ends. What-decisions and 87 how-decisions aren't strictly compartmentalized. 88 The costs and efforts involved in deliberating 89 about how to A under time pressure, may lead 90 one to reconsider whether to A in the first place, 91 when giving up A-ing may well tempt us as the 92 less costly option. 93

Often, and perhaps most of the time, our planning strategies will be mixed strategies, taking 95 into account various factors beyond mere teperament; among them, the expected predictability of 97 relevant future situations, one's store of relevant

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semantic and episodic information, one's degree 1 of motivation, the degree of novelty or difficulty 2 of the planned action, and how strong one thinks 3 time constraints will be at the time of acting. The 4 generation of episodic information about future 5 actions will thus be distributed over time in vari-6 ous ways according to our assessment of these 7 factors. One example of these differing distribu-8 tions comes from the contrast between an event-9 based and time-based prospective memory. In 10 event-based prospective memory, specific details 11 of the action episode are already present in the 12 13 prospective intention itself. In contrast, timebased prospective memory lacks any concrete 14 details about the specific context in which the 15 action will occur. Most people can and do 16 use both forms of planning. This flexibility in 17 the temporal distribution of episodic information 18 is a fundamental dimension of the psychology 19 of intention. The skilled planner is the one 20 who knows how best to take advantage of this 21 flexibility. 22

23 4. CONCLUSION

The concept of intention can do useful work in 24 psychological theory. We have made a distinc-25 26 tion between prospective and immediate intentions. Many authors have insisted on a qualitative 27 difference between these two regarding the type 28 of content, with prospective intentions generally 29 being more abstract than immediate intentions 30 31 (e.g., Searle, 1983; Pacherie, 2008). However, we suggest that the main basis of this distinction is 32 temporal: prospective intentions necessarily 33 occur before immediate intention and before 34 action itself, and often long before them. In con-35 trast, immediate intentions occur in the specific 36 37 context of the action itself. Yet both types of intention share a common purpose, namely that 38 of generating the specific information required 39 40 to transform an abstract representation of a goalstate into a concrete episode of instrumental 41 action directed toward that goal. To this extent, 42 the content of a prospective and of an immediate 43 intention can actually be quite similar. The main 44 45 distinction between prospective and immediate intentions becomes one of when, i.e., how early 46 on, the episodic details of an action are planned. 47

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In our view, the conscious experience associ-48 ated with intentional action comes from this 49 process of fleshing out intentions with episodic 50 details. In the field of episodic memory, repre-51 sentations of episodes are thought to include an 52 autonoetic type of consciousness (Tulving, 1983). 53 We suggest that intentional actions reach con-54 scious awareness at the point where they become 55 specific action episodes. However, the time when 56 this occurs can vary. We have argued that 57 episodic detail can be generated either as part of advance planning, in the form of prospective 59 intentions, or as part of an immediate intention 60 in real time. In the former case, one might have 61 a conscious mental image of what one will do, 62 but the doing itself may be automatized and only 63 marginally conscious. In the latter case, one may 64 have a specific conscious experience linked to 65 the initiation of action, along the lines studied by 66 Libet. 67

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