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1 In press, *Developmental Psychology*

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3 **Voluntary task switching in children: Switching more reduces the cost of task selection**

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Abstract

Emerging cognitive control supports increasingly efficient goal-directed behaviors. With age, children are increasingly expected to decide autonomously and with little external aid which goals to attain. However, little is known about how children engage cognitive control in such a self-directed fashion. The present study examines self-directed control development by adapting the voluntary task switching paradigm—the gold standard measure of this control form in adults—for use with 5-6 year-old and 9-10 year-old children. Overall, *p*(switch) suggests that even younger children can engage self-directed control successfully. However, other measures showed they struggled with task selection. Specifically, compared with older children and adults, they relied more on systematic strategies which reduced the cost of task selection, even when the strategy involved switching more often. Like externally driven control, self-directed control relies critically on task selection processes. These two forms of control likely form a continuum rather than two discrete categories.

Key words: self-directed control, cognitive control, voluntary task switching, endogenous control, cognitive development

42

43 **Introduction**

44 Gaining autonomy is a key aspect of growing up. As children grow older, they are
45 increasingly expected to behave autonomously with little or no aids regarding what to do,
46 how to do it and when to do it. For instance, most of the personal work required to prepare
47 for a school test is less explicitly guided by teachers or parents as children move up across
48 school grades, hence leading to greater demands on what particular course materials to study
49 and when and how to study them. To complete such tasks, children engage cognitive control
50 to regulate their thoughts and actions in a goal-directed manner in a self-directed manner.
51 Although self-directed control engagement is bound to substantially impact on children's
52 lives, including academic achievement, little is known about its development. So far,
53 cognitive control development has been studied almost exclusively in situations where its
54 engagement is externally driven by cues, reminders or clear instructions about the goal to
55 attain. In contrast, the current study examined how children self-directedly engage control
56 when no external support is provided.

57 Even in situations in which cognitive control is externally driven, the ability to select
58 the relevant tasks or actions to perform (or identify goals to pursue) is key to efficient
59 cognitive control (Broeker et al., 2018) and its development across childhood (Chevalier,
60 2015). In particular, task selection (goal identification) is often inferred through cues that
61 guide relevant behavior selection and engagement (Miller & Cohen, 2001). Indeed,
62 frontoparietal activation while engaging cognitive control is largely related to cue processing
63 in adolescents and adults (Chatham et al., 2012; Church, Bunge, Petersen, & Schlaggar,
64 2017). Yet, children struggle to process cues and use this info to select the most relevant task
65 in situations where they have to switch between multiple tasks (Chevalier & Blaye, 2009;
66 Chevalier, Huber, Wiebe, & Espy, 2013). They are better at switching tasks after practicing

67 cue detection (Chevalier, Chatham, & Munakata, 2014; Kray, Gaspard, Karbach, & Blaye,
68 2013) or when cues are easier to process (Chevalier & Blaye, 2009). Cue processing
69 progressively improves with age, resulting in increasingly successful task selection and, more
70 broadly, cognitive control (Chevalier, 2015). As task selection is central, even in situations in
71 which cognitive control is externally driven, children may particularly struggle when
72 cognitive control is self-directed, as there is no external support to drive what to do and when.

73 To date, however, very little is known about how children engage cognitive control in
74 self-directed situations, as only a handful of developmental studies have explored this
75 question, probably because of the difficulty of running less controlled tasks in which control
76 must be engaged in a self-directed manner (Barker & Munakata, 2015). These studies have
77 essentially used the semantic verbal fluency task (Troyer, Moscovitch, & Winocur, 1997), in
78 which children must name as many items from a specific category (e.g., animals) as they can,
79 (Barker et al., 2014; Snyder & Munakata, 2010, 2013). Although younger children
80 spontaneously generate only a couple of items from one subcategory (e.g., cat, dog, rabbit,
81 bird), they generate more items and switch more often between subcategories when given
82 pre-task reminders (e.g., ‘a cat is a pet’ or ‘a lion is a zoo animal’), that reduce high task
83 selection demands (i.e., choices between multiple competing subcategories; Snyder &
84 Munakata, 2010, 2013). Therefore, reducing task selection demands seems critical for
85 successful task performance in young children, perhaps even more so than switching per se.
86 However, it remains unknown how children engage self-directed control in non-linguistic
87 situations, what task selection strategies they use to achieve a goal and how this use of
88 strategies changes with age, and to what extent becoming increasingly self-directed may
89 relate to adaptive use of different control modes. These questions may not be easily answered
90 using the verbal fluency task as this task leaves little room for experimental manipulations
91 (Isacoff & Stromswold, 2014).

92 A promising paradigm to chart out the development of self-directed control is the
93 voluntary task switching (VTS; Arrington & Logan, 2004) procedure, which is considered the
94 gold standard assessment of self-directed control in adults (for a review, see Arrington,
95 Reiman, & Weaver, 2014). Unlike other externally driven task switching paradigms, VTS
96 requires individuals to freely choose which task to perform between two simple tasks on each
97 trial, with the constraints to select the tasks equally often and in a random fashion. But,
98 similar to other task switching paradigms (e.g., Meiran, 1996), task performance is worse in
99 task switch trials than in task repetition trials, and therefore a switch cost is observed,
100 especially in terms of reaction times (RTs, for review see Kiesel et al., 2010;
101 Vandierendonck, Liefoghe, & Verbruggen, 2010). In addition, adults are asked to choose
102 both tasks equally often in a random order, which should result in an equal number of task
103 repetitions and task switches. They nevertheless show a robust repetition bias (i.e., repeating
104 the task they have just done more often than switching to the other task), quantified by a
105 probability of switching (noted $p(\text{switch})$ and ranging from 0 to 1) lower than the optimal
106 score of .5 (around .44), indicating that task selection is particularly effortful (e.g., Arrington
107 & Logan, 2005; Mittelstädt, Dignath, Schmidt-Ott, & Kiesel, 2018). Interestingly, the
108 repetition bias seems to follow a U shape pattern with age, as adolescents and elderly people
109 show a stronger repetition bias than adults (Butler & Weywadt, 2013; Poljac, Haartsen, van
110 der Crujisen, Kiesel, & Poljac, 2018; Terry & Sliwinski, 2012). In line with these findings,
111 VTS performance is associated with greater frontal and prefrontal activation than cued task
112 switching (in which the relevant task on each trial is externally signaled by a task cue).
113 Specifically, enhanced activation in the rostral and dorsal anterior cingulate cortex may
114 reflect voluntary control of action and free choice between competitive alternatives
115 (Demanet, De Baene, Arrington, & Brass, 2013; Marsh, Blair, Vythilingam, Busis & Blair,
116 2007), while activation in the posterior cingulate may support self-chosen intentions (Soon,

117 He, Bode, & Haynes, 2013). Thus, due to higher task selection demands, VTS is more
118 demanding than other task switching paradigms.

119 Having enough time to prepare for the next trial is crucial to engage the cognitive
120 control processes needed to select and execute a task, as evidenced by a smaller repetition
121 bias and higher $p(\text{switch})$ when participants are given a longer preparation time (i.e., response
122 to stimulus interval, RSI) before stimulus onset (Arrington & Logan, 2005; Butler, Arrington,
123 & Weywadt, 2011; Butler & Weywadt, 2013; Liefoghe, Demanet, & Vandierendonck,
124 2009; Yeung, 2010). Adults may benefit from longer preparation time because they need time
125 to adaptively select the task they want to perform next through the representativeness
126 heuristic, that is, selecting a task after maintaining a sequence of recently performed tasks in
127 working memory and comparing it with an internal sequence of randomness before stimulus
128 onset). Alternatively, the task to be performed next can be selected via the availability
129 heuristic, which consists in selecting after stimulus onset the task that has just been done,
130 which has had less time to decay in working memory and is thus easier to reactivate than the
131 other task. Unlike the representativeness heuristic, the availability heuristic requires no
132 preparation time to operate but it leads to more task repetitions (Arrington & Logan, 2005).
133 Long preparation times may allow adults to anticipate and prepare in advance for the
134 upcoming task, hence encouraging the representativeness heuristic over the availability
135 heuristic. Interestingly, these two heuristics map onto the distinction between proactive
136 control (i.e., engagement of control in anticipation of upcoming demands) and reactive
137 control (i.e., engagement of control in the moment it is needed; Braver, 2012), respectively.
138 Concurrent working memory load leads to more task repetitions in VTS (Liefoghe,
139 Demanet, & Vandierendonck, 2010; Weaver & Arrington, 2010), perhaps because it prevents
140 proactive control, which heavily relies on working memory for the sustained maintenance of
141 goal-relevant information (Marklund & Persson, 2012). Unlike adults and older children,

142 younger children tend to be biased towards reactive control, rarely engaging proactive control
143 (Chevalier, Martis, Curran, & Munakata, 2015; Doebel et al., 2017; Munakata, Snyder, &
144 Chatham, 2012). They may therefore rely more on the availability than the representativeness
145 heuristic in VTS, and thus show a greater repetition bias than adults, even with long
146 preparation times.

147 However, the repetition bias or $p(\text{switch})$, which is the unique measure of task
148 selection processes in most prior studies in adults, may fail to capture important aspects of
149 VTS performance, such as the need to perform both tasks equally often and in random
150 fashion. Specifically, a participant could show a $p(\text{switch})$ equal to .5, which is considered as
151 a perfect score of randomness, but nevertheless use a non-random strategy such as
152 systematically switching every two trials (e.g., Task A, Task A, Task B, Task B, Task A,
153 Task A, etc.). Indeed, there are individual differences in self-organized strategies in VTS,
154 with a majority of adults adaptively engaging in both task repetitions and task switches (i.e.,
155 *alternaters*), but also a minority using more basic non-random strategies such as constantly
156 switching between the tasks (i.e., *switchers*) or constantly repeating the task they have just
157 done on a previous trial (i.e., *blockers*; Reissland & Manzey, 2016). This heterogeneity in the
158 use of strategies in VTS echoes developmental research showing great heterogeneity
159 regarding the use of strategies in externally driven task switching situations in children (e.g.,
160 Blakey, Visser, & Carroll, 2016; Dauvier, Chevalier, & Blaye, 2012). Consequently, a full
161 account of task selection processes involved in VTS should at least report measures of (a)
162 task transition, assessing how often participants repeat or switch tasks, (b) task selection
163 equality, indexing how well they perform the two (or more) tasks equally often and (c) task
164 randomness, indicating how often participants use non-random strategies.

165 VTS has never been used with children, despite its prominent role in the adult
166 literature and potential to shed light on self-directed control development. The present study

167 adapted this paradigm for children to investigate age-related changes in task selection
168 processes when no external aid is provided. We targeted 5- to 6- and 9- to 10-year-olds (in
169 addition to adults), given the now well-established transition from reactive to proactive
170 control during that age range (Chevalier et al., 2015; Munakata et al., 2012). We used three
171 different measures to comprehensively capture three main aspects of task selection processes:
172 (a) task transition through $p(\text{switch})$; (b) task selection equality through the relative difference
173 between the proportion of trials in which each of the two tasks was selected; and (c) task
174 randomness through occurrences of non-random strategies. In addition, we examined the role
175 of reactive and proactive control in VTS by varying preparation time duration using a short
176 (600 ms) and a long (2,000 ms) preparation times. Given that younger children engage
177 proactive control less than adults, we expected them to show a lower $p(\text{switch})$ and to be
178 worse at performing the two tasks equally often and be less sensitive to preparation time
179 variations than other age groups, who should show a higher $p(\text{switch})$ and perform the two
180 tasks more equally often especially with the longer preparation time. Importantly, we
181 expected younger children to struggle particularly with task selection and therefore rely more
182 on non-random strategies than older children and adults.

183 **Methods**

184 *Participants*

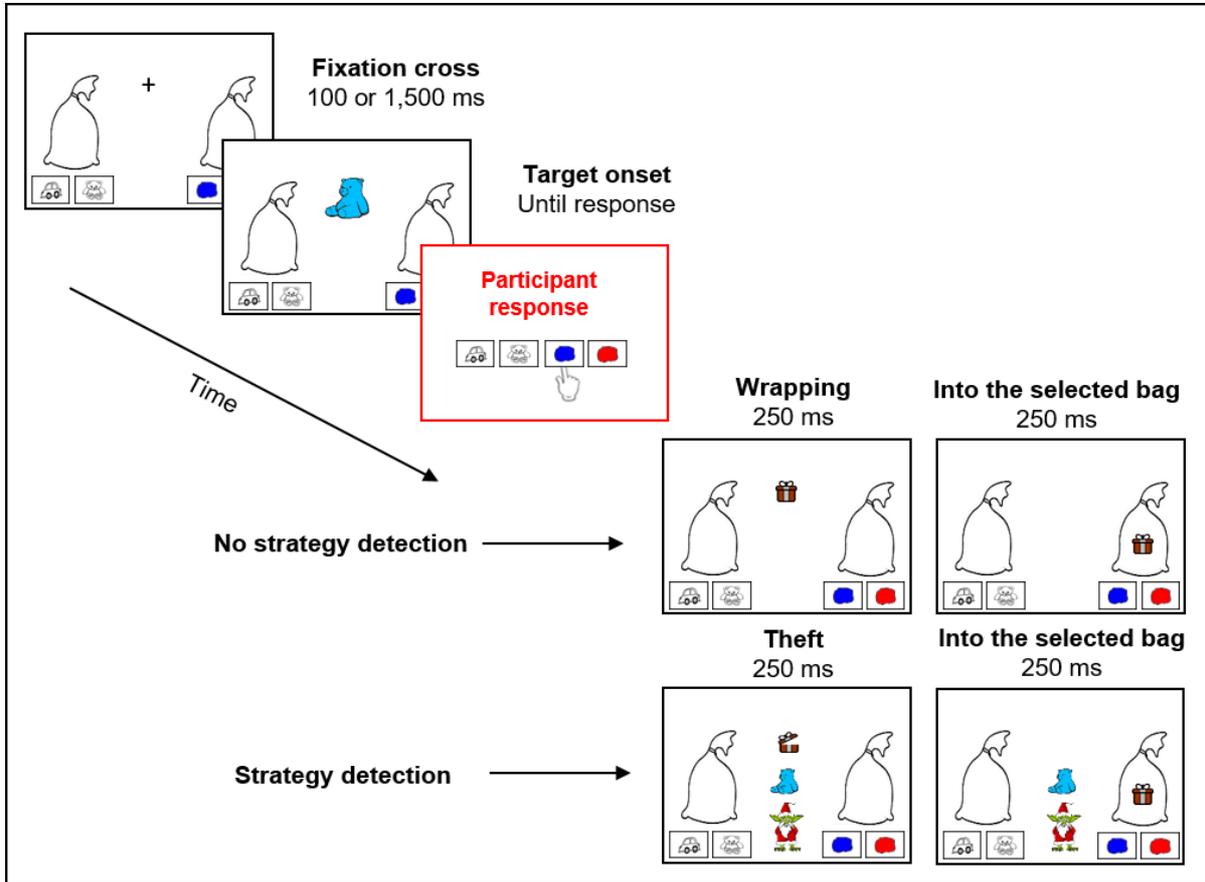
185 Participants included 29 5- and 6-year-old children ($M_{\text{age}} = 6.07$ years, $SD_{\text{age}} = .46$,
186 range: 5.25 – 6.67, 14 females), 31 9- and 10-year-old children ($M_{\text{age}} = 10.01$ years, $SD_{\text{age}} =$
187 $.52$, range: 9.08 – 10.92, 13 females), and 31 adults ($M_{\text{age}} = 21.76$ years, $SD_{\text{age}} = 3.36$, range:
188 18.75 – 30.75, 15 females). Two additional 5-6-year-olds were excluded, because they either
189 failed the practice (see Methods section hereafter) and or fell outside the targeted age range.
190 Data collection stopped when the sample size of each age group reached 31 participants,
191 which is comparable to prior developmental studies comparing 5- and 6-year-old children and

192 9- and 10-year-old children (e.g., Chevalier, Jackson, Roux, Moriguchi, & Auyeung, 2019) or
193 to adult studies using VTS (e.g., Fröber, Pfister & Dreisbach, 2019). Children were recruited
194 from one private preschool and one private primary school and adults were all students
195 enrolling at the University of Edinburgh. Informed written consent was obtained from
196 children’s parents and from adult participants and all children provided signed assent.
197 Children received a small age-appropriate prize (e.g., stickers) and adults received either
198 course credits or £5 for their participation. The research project and protocols were approved
199 by the Ethics Committee from the University of Edinburgh (Study title: Role of time-
200 preparation in voluntary task switching in children and adults, Ref No. 23-1718/2,) as well as
201 all participating schools.

202 *Material and procedure*

203 All participants were tested individually in a 30-minute session either in a quiet room
204 at school (children) or in the laboratory (adults). They completed a child-friendly, voluntary
205 task switching paradigm adapted from a similar paradigm in adults (Arrington & Logan,
206 2004) and presented with E-Prime 2 (Psychology Software Tools, Pittsburgh, PA). It was
207 introduced to participants as ‘Santa Claus and Mitch the Bad Elf Game.’ Participants were
208 instructed to help Santa sort toys in two bags for Christmas, while watching out for Mitch, an
209 elf toy-thief. Participants were instructed to switch voluntarily between sorting bidimensional
210 targets (e.g., a blue teddy) by color and shape. If they played the color game, they had to
211 place the target in the Color bag by pressing the response box button matching the target’s
212 color, whereas they had to place the target in the Shape bag if they played the shape game, by
213 pressing the button matching the matching the target’s shape. Participants were given two
214 additional instructions (modelled after Arrington & Logan, 2004), corresponding to two main
215 features of the adult version of voluntary task switching paradigm. First, participants had to
216 put roughly as many toys in each of the two bags. Second, they had to play the two tasks

217 randomly, which was conveyed by asking participants to make sure Mitch could not predict
 218 how they would sort the toys. Otherwise, Mitch would show up and steal the toy inside the
 219 present box (the now empty present box would still be moved into the selected bag).



220
 221 Figure 1. Child-friendly voluntary task-switching paradigm. Participants had to decide

222 whether to sort the toys in the Color or Shape bags according to the general instructions of
 223 filling the two bags with about the same number of toys in a no-predictable fashion to avoid
 224 the theft of the toys.

225

226 Each trial started with a central fixation cross alongside the two bags with two
227 responses pictures below each bag (i.e., a blue and red patch under the Color bag, a car and
228 teddy-bear under the Shape bag; Figure 1). The bags were constantly visible on the right- and
229 left-hand sides of the monitor but the locations of the bags and responses pictures were
230 counter-balanced across participants. After 1,500 ms (in the long preparation time condition)
231 or 100 ms (in the short preparation time condition), the fixation cross disappeared and was
232 replaced with the target that remained on the screen until a response was entered by pressing
233 one of the four buttons on a response box. After the response, the target was replaced by a
234 closed present box that remained at the center of the screen for 250 ms before being moved to
235 the selected bag for 250 ms. If a predictable strategy was used and detected by the program
236 (for details on the different strategies implemented in the program and how many trials in a
237 row of a particular strategy would trigger Mitch the thief elf, see Data processing and analysis
238 section), the target was replaced by an opened present box with a small version of the toy
239 alongside Mitch the thief elf for 250 ms and the sound effect ‘ah-ah’. Then the same present
240 box was closed and moved into the bag chosen by the participants while the small version of
241 the toy and Mitch remained on the screen for 250 ms. Whether or not the elf showed up, the
242 present box inside the bag was no longer visible during the following trial.

243 All participants completed the task in two conditions (order counterbalanced across
244 participants). In the short preparation time condition, the fixation cross was visible only for
245 100 ms, leaving a total of 600 ms (cross fixation duration = 100 ms + present moving or
246 Mitch appearing duration = 500 ms) for participant to prepare for the upcoming trial. In
247 contrast, in the long preparation time condition, the fixation cross was visible for 1,500 ms,
248 providing a total of 2,000 ms (cross fixation duration = 1,500 ms + present moving or Mitch
249 appearing duration = 500 ms) for participant to prepare for the upcoming trial. Different

250 combinations of colors and shapes were used in each condition (either car-teddy-blue-red or
251 doll-plane-green-pink).

252 In both conditions, participants first completed two single-task blocks in which they
253 were instructed to always sort toys by either color or shape, in order to get familiar with each
254 task. Each single-task block comprised four warm-up trials (repeated up to two times if
255 participants made more than two errors) followed by 16 test trials. The order of the color and
256 shape-matching tasks was counterbalanced across participants. Participants then completed
257 two mixed-task blocks in which they were instructed to switch voluntarily between the two
258 tasks with the two constraints of filling the two bags equally often and tricking Mitch as
259 much as they could. To make sure all participants understood the instructions, the
260 experimenter performed two demonstration trials. In the first demonstration, participants
261 observed the experimenter alternate systematically between the two bags (i.e., two tasks) on
262 seven trials ('color-shape-color-shape-color-shape-color' or 'shape-color-shape-color-shape-
263 color-shape' with order counter-balanced across participants and conditions), which resulted
264 in the next target being stolen by Mitch. In the second demonstration, participants were
265 shown one of two potential ways of successfully sorting the toys ('color-color-shape-color-
266 shape-shape-shape-color-color-shape-color-color' or 'shape-shape-color-shape-color-color-
267 color-shape-shape-color-shape-shape' with order counter-balanced across participants and
268 conditions), putting the same number of toys into each bag and avoiding the theft of toys by
269 Mitch. Participants then completed 16 practice trials. Practice trials were repeated (maximum
270 three times) if one bag contained more than 10 toys (62.5%), Mitch stole a toy (i.e., detection
271 of a predictable strategy), or more than eight errors (50%) were made. Critically, participants
272 first performed the practice trials on their own but if these trials needed to be repeated, they
273 received help from the experimenter. Participants who failed to pass the practice trials after
274 three repetitions were excluded ($n = 1$). Participants then completed two mixed-task blocks of

275 40 test trials separated by a short break. At the end of each mixed-task block (practice trials
276 and test trials), feedback was provided to encourage participants to respond accurately and
277 follow the instructions of performing the two tasks equally often and in a random fashion.
278 Feedback conveyed the number of errors, whether one bag contained more toys than the other
279 (more than 62.5% of the toys), and the number of toys stolen by Mitch. Although no
280 feedback regarding response times was given, participants were instructed to respond as
281 quickly as possible before each block.

282 *Data processing and analysis*

283 Trial type was determined as follows: if the task (color or shape) performed on trial n
284 repeated from the trial $n-1$, this trial was coded as a ‘task repetition’ trial, if, conversely, the
285 task on trial n was different from trial $n-1$, this trial was coded as a ‘task switch’ trial. Task
286 performance, task choice and task transition measures, and the use of strategies were
287 analyzed. Task performance was indexed by mean response times (RTs) and accuracy for
288 each trial type (single, task repetition and task switch), which allowed estimating mixing
289 costs (contrasting between single trials and task repetition trials) and switch costs (contrasting
290 between task repetition trials and task switch trials. Mixing costs index the difficulty of
291 selecting the relevant task when tasks are mixed and switch costs index the difficulty of
292 switching from one task to another per se. These analyses were performed after discarding
293 the first trial of each block. Moreover, only RTs for correct responses immediately preceded
294 by another correct response were kept in the analyses, resulting in the removal of 13.56% of
295 the trials in total (a rate in line with previous studies using VTS in adults, e.g., Arrington &
296 Weaver, 2015). RTs on trials following the appearance of the bad elf were also removed as
297 their latencies were longer than on normal trials representing 1.14% of the remaining trials.
298 Finally, RTs were trimmed out if they were under 200 ms, to account for accidental button
299 presses, or greater than 3 standard deviations above the mean of each participant (computed

300 separately for trials from single blocks, and repeat and switch trials from mixed blocks) or
301 10,000 ms, resulting in the removal of 1.71% of the remaining trials.

302 Task selection was measured via three indices. (1) *Task transition* was calculated
303 based on whether the task was repeated or switched on a given trial n . This measure, often
304 considered as the main outcome variable in studies using the voluntary task-switching,
305 corresponds to $p(\text{switch})$, and was calculated by dividing the number of task switch trials by
306 the total number of task switch and task repetition trials (i.e., 78). This score ranges between
307 0 and 1 with .5 corresponding to a perfectly equal number of task repetitions and task
308 switches. (2) *Task selection equality* corresponds to a task selection measure of the ability to
309 perform each task equally often in the mixed blocks. This index consisted in the relative
310 difference between the proportion of trials in which the Shape bag was selected and the
311 proportion of trials in which the Color bag was selected. As such, the closer this index was to
312 0, the more equally frequently the two tasks were performed. (3) *Task randomness* was via
313 occurrences of ten different systematic strategies. These strategies ranged from five basic to
314 complex patterns as follows:

315 - *Repetition Only (detected over seven trials):*

316 ○ Task A, Task A, Task A, Task A, Task A, Task A, Task A.

317 ○ Task B, Task B, Task B, Task B, Task B, Task B, Task B.

318 - *Switch Only (detected over seven trials):*

319 ○ Task A, Task B, Task A, Task B, Task A, Task B, Task A.

320 ○ Task B, Task A, Task B, Task A, Task B, Task A, Task B.

321 - *One Repetition and Switch (detected over nine trials):*

322 ○ Task A, Task A, Task B, Task B, Task A, Task A, Task B, Task B, Task
323 A.

324 ○ Task B, Task B, Task A, Task A, Task B, Task B, Task A, Task A, Task
325 B.

326 - *Two Repetitions and Switch (detected over eleven trials):*

327 ○ Task A, Task A, Task A, Task B, Task B, Task B, Task A, Task A, Task
328 A, Task B, Task B.

329 ○ Task B, Task B, Task B, Task A, Task A, Task A, Task B, Task B, Task
330 B, Task A, Task A.

331 - *Three Repetitions and Switch (detected over thirteen trials):*

332 ○ Task A, Task A, Task A, Task A, Task B, Task B, Task B, Task B, Task
333 A, Task A, Task A, Task A, Task B.

334 ○ Task B, Task B, Task B, Task B, Task A, Task A, Task A, Task A, Task
335 B, Task B, Task B, Task B, Task A.

336 If participants used one of these patterns, the corresponding strategy was
337 automatically detected by the program and triggered Mitch the thief elf. The frequency of
338 these strategies was used during the game (i.e., when Mitch showed up) as provided an
339 indication of randomness. Moreover, our analyses also focused on the qualitative type of
340 strategies (e.g., simple repetition of one task for seven trials or more complex alternation with
341 a switch every third repetition for thirteen trials).

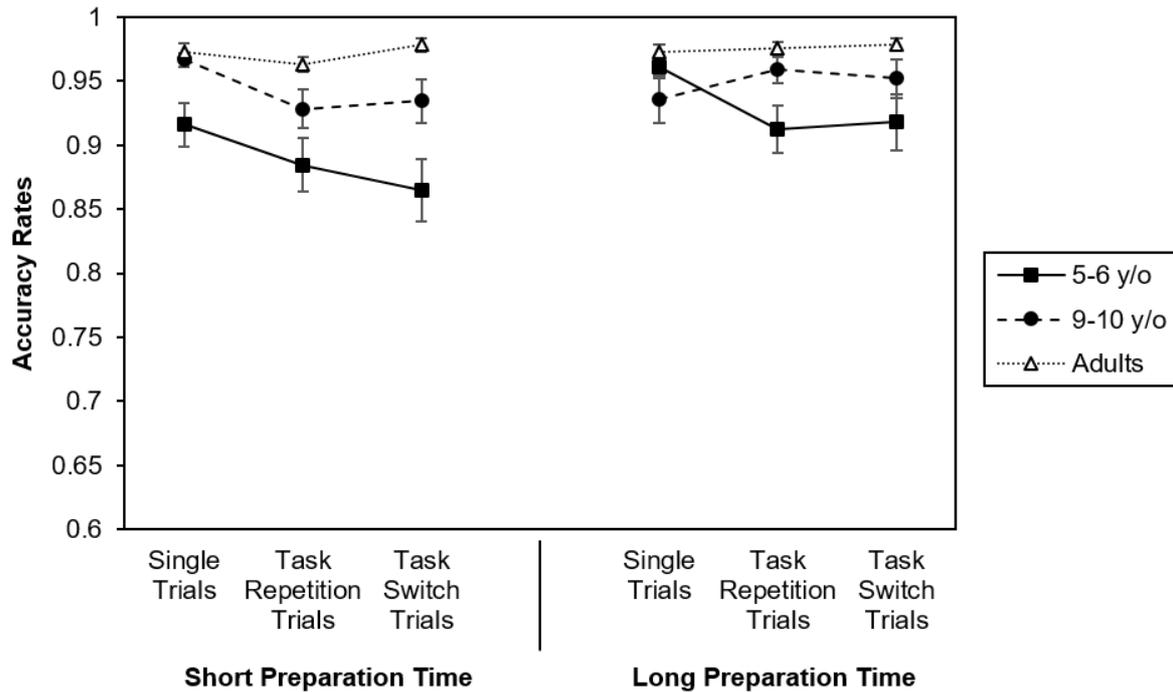
342 Task performance and task selection measures were analyzed with mixed analyses of
343 variance (ANOVAs) with age as a between-subjects variable, and preparation time and/or
344 trial type as within subject variables, Bonferroni-corrected post hoc tests, and *t*-tests. When
345 appropriate, the Greenhouse-Geisser (Greenhouse & Geisser, 1959) correction was applied
346 for violation of the assumption of sphericity. Finally, the type of strategies used across age
347 groups and preparation time durations was analyzed with a multivariate analysis of
348 covariance (MANCOVA).

349 **Results**

350 *Task performance*

351 *Accuracy rates*

352 A 3 (age group: 5-6 years, 9-10 years, adults) X 2 (preparation time: short, long) X 3
353 (trial type: single, task repetition, task switch) mixed ANOVA was performed on accuracy
354 rates. The analysis showed main effects of age, $F(2, 88) = 10.56, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .19$, trial
355 type, $F(2, 176) = 3.80, p = .038, \eta^2_p = .04$, and preparation time, $F(1, 88) = 8.681, p = .004,$
356 $\eta^2_p = .09$, and these effects were qualified by a significant two-way interaction between age
357 and preparation time, $F(2, 176) = 4.30, p = .017, \eta^2_p = .09$, and a significant three-way
358 interaction, $F(4, 176) = 3.57, p = .014, \eta^2_p = .07$. Preparation time differentially affected trial
359 type across age groups (Figure 2). More specifically, while 5-6 year-olds were significantly
360 less accurate with the short than the long preparation time ($M_{\text{short}} = 88.86\%$ vs. $M_{\text{long}} =$
361 93.04%), $p = .008$, no such difference was observed in 9-10 year-olds and adults (9-10 year-
362 olds: $M_{\text{short}} = 94.32\%$ vs. $M_{\text{long}} = 94.87\%$; adults: $M_{\text{short}} = 97.15\%$ vs. $M_{\text{long}} = 97.59\%$),
363 respectively $p = .574$ and $p = .209$. Moreover, for the 5-6 year-olds, only the difference
364 between single trials and task repetition trials in the long preparation time condition ($M_{\text{single}} =$
365 96.09% , vs. $M_{\text{task repetition}} = 91.25\%$) was significant, $p = .012$, revealing significant mixing
366 costs. Conversely, 9-10 year-olds showed significant mixing costs in the short preparation
367 time condition ($M_{\text{single}} = 96.67\%$ vs. $M_{\text{task repetition}} = 92.82\%$), $p = .014$. For adults, accuracy
368 rates across trial types and preparation time revealed no significant mixing or switch costs, all
369 $ps > .079$.



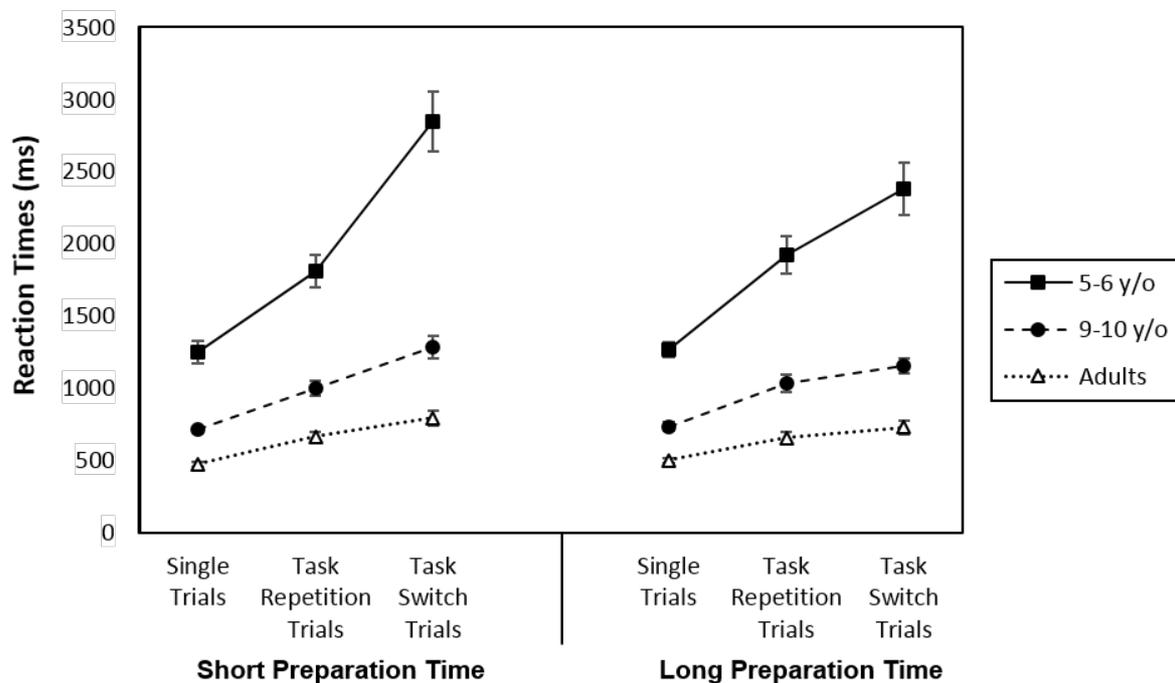
370 Figure 2. Accuracy rates by trial type (single, task repetition, task switch) for 5-6 year olds, 9-
 371 10 year olds and adults as a function of preparation time. Error bars represent standard errors.
 372

373

374 *Reaction times (RTs)*

375 On RTs, a 3 (age group: 5-6 years, 9-10 years, adults) X 3 (trial type: single, task
 376 repetition, task switch) X 2 (preparation time: short, long) mixed ANOVA was performed.
 377 There were main effects of age, $F(2, 88) = 159.89, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .78$, trial type, $F(2, 176) =$
 378 $351.86, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .80$ but not of preparation time, $p = .231$, and these effects were
 379 qualified by two-way interactions between age and trial type, $F(4, 176) = 8.09, p < .001, \eta^2_p =$
 380 $.15$, and trial type and preparation time, $F(2, 176) = 21.87, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .20$, and a three-
 381 way interaction between all these factors, $F(4, 176) = 2.84, p = .038, \eta^2_p = .06$. Although each
 382 age group showed significant mixing and switching costs, all $ps < .001$, these costs were
 383 overall higher for 5-6 year-olds ($M_{\text{single}} = 1261.29$ ms, $M_{\text{task repetition}} = 1870.23$ ms and M_{task}
 384 $\text{switch} = 2614.53$ ms) than for 9-10 year-olds ($M_{\text{single}} = 724.02$ ms, $M_{\text{task repetition}} = 1018.97$ ms
 385 and $M_{\text{task switch}} = 1219.19$ ms) and adults ($M_{\text{single}} = 488.02$ ms, $M_{\text{task repetition}} = 662.70$ ms and

386 $M_{\text{task switch}} = 762.33$ ms). Moreover, preparation times did not affect mixing costs in children
 387 (5-6 year-olds: $M_{\text{short}} = 559.55$ ms vs. $M_{\text{long}} = 658.31$ ms; 9-10 year-olds: $M_{\text{short}} = 291.39$ ms
 388 vs. $M_{\text{long}} = 298.51$ ms), all p s > .629, but it did in adults ($M_{\text{short}} = 191.78$ ms vs. $M_{\text{long}} = 157.58$
 389 ms), $p = .049$. Conversely, switching costs were higher with short than long preparation times
 390 in each age group, and this difference was largest for 5-6 year-olds (5-6 year-olds: $M_{\text{short}} =$
 391 1034.47 ms vs. $M_{\text{long}} = 454.12$ ms; 9-10 year-olds: $M_{\text{short}} = 281.25$ ms vs. $M_{\text{long}} = 119.20$ ms;
 392 adults: $M_{\text{short}} = 129.35$ ms vs. $M_{\text{long}} = 69.92$ ms), all p s < .005 (Figure 3).



393
 394 Figure 3. Response times (RTs) in milliseconds for 5-6 year olds, 9-10 year olds and adults as
 395 a function of preparation time. Error bars represent standard errors.

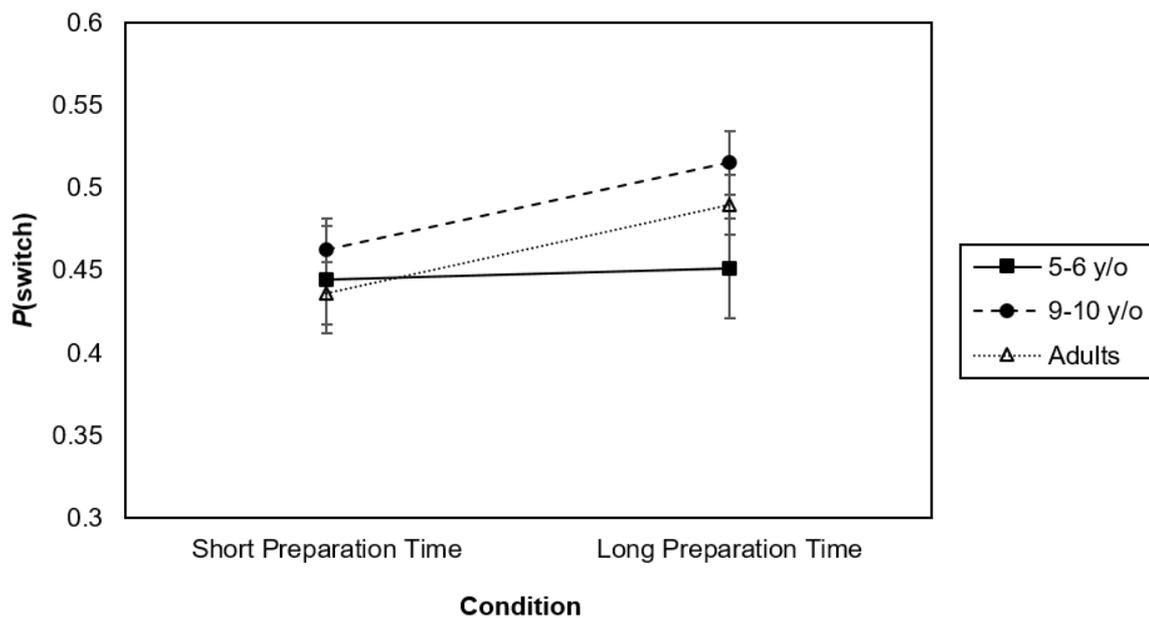
396

397 **Task selection**

398 *Task transition – P(switch)*

399 Task transition was examined with a 3 (age group: 5-6 years, 9-10 years, adults) X 2
 400 (preparation time: short, long) mixed ANOVA performed on $p(\text{switch})$. The analysis revealed
 401 a main effect of preparation time, $F(1, 88) = 7.90$, $p = .006$, $\eta^2_p = .08$, but no effect of age, p
 402 = .353, and no significant interaction between preparation time and age, $p = .275$. Overall,

403 pairwise comparisons indicated that participants switched tasks slightly less often when
 404 preparation time was short than long, respectively, $M_{p(\text{switch})} = 44.78\%$ and $M_{p(\text{switch})} = 48.54$
 405 $\%$, $p = .006$, (Figure 4). However, when comparing $p(\text{switch})$ between both conditions for
 406 each group, we found that there were significant differences between the short and long
 407 preparation time conditions in older children and adults, respectively $p = .015$ and $p = .004$,
 408 but no difference in young children, $p = .831$.



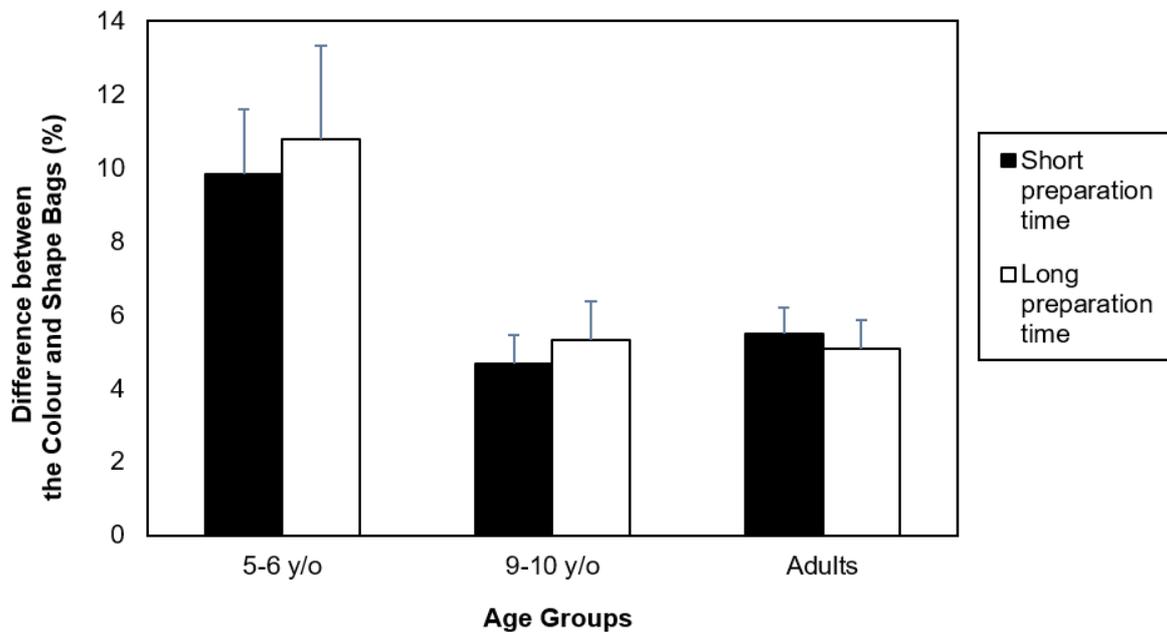
409 Figure 4. $P(\text{switch})$ for 5-6 year olds, 9-10 year olds and adults as a function of preparation
 410 time. Error bars represent standard errors.
 411

412

413 *Task selection equality – Relative difference between the frequency of each task*

414 Task selection equality was analyzed with a 3 (age group: 5-6 years, 9-10 years,
 415 adults) X 2 (preparation time: short, long) mixed ANOVA performed on the relative
 416 difference between the two tasks. The ANOVA showed a main effect of age, $F(2, 88) = 8.19$,
 417 $p = .001$, $\eta^2_p = .16$ but no effect of preparation time, $p = .720$, and no interaction, $p = .871$.
 418 Pairwise comparisons indicated that 5-6 year-olds did not perform the two tasks as equally

419 often ($M_{\text{difference}} = 10.30\%$) as 9-10 year olds ($M_{\text{difference}} = 5.28\%$) and adults ($M_{\text{difference}} = 5.32$
420 $\%$), regardless of the preparation time (Figure 5), all $ps > .003$.

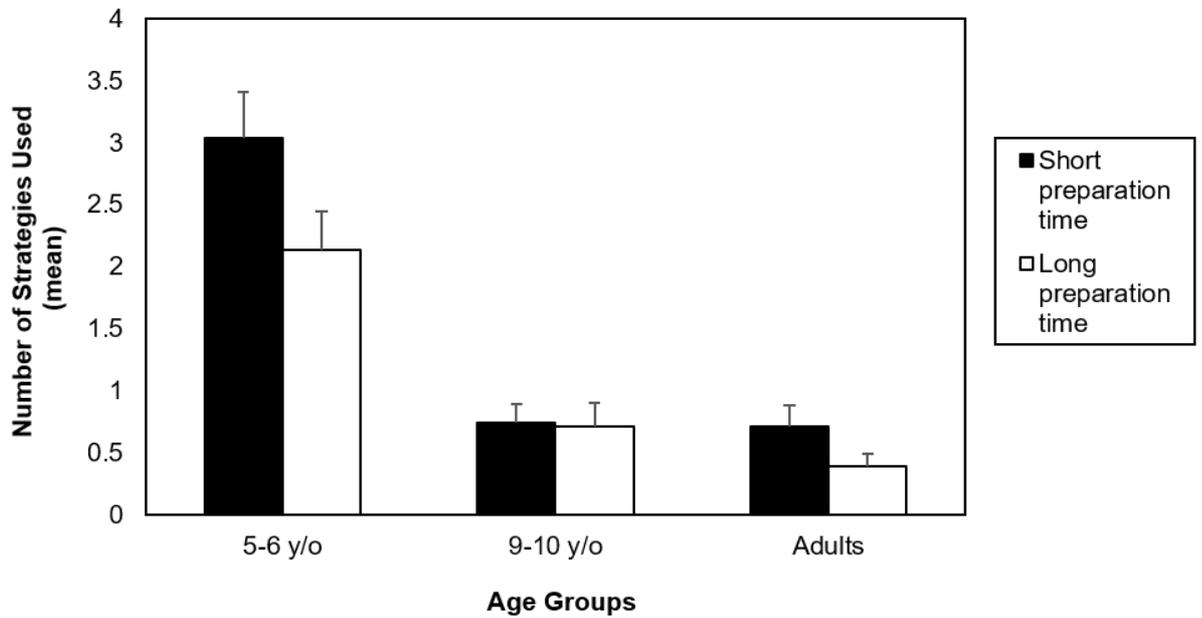


421 Figure 5. Difference between the two bags for 5-6 year olds, 9-10 year olds and adults as a
422 function of preparation time. Error bars represent standard errors.
423

424
425 *Task randomness – Strategy detection and type of strategy used*

426 We examined task randomness with a 3 (age group: 5-6 years, 9-10 years, adults) X 2
427 (preparation time: short, long) mixed ANOVA to test to what extent participants used
428 predictable strategies, and whether or not it varied according to age and/or preparation time.
429 There were main effects of age, $F(2, 88) = 38.82, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .47$, and preparation time,
430 $F(1, 88) = 6.15, p = .015, \eta^2_p = .06$, while the interaction did not reach significance, $p = .113$.
431 Overall, pairwise comparisons indicated that younger children used significantly more non-
432 random patterns or strategies ($M = 2.59$) than older children ($M = 0.73$) and adults ($M =$
433 0.55), all $ps < .001$, and in all age groups, the use of strategies was overall slightly higher in
434 the short preparation time condition than in the long preparation time condition (respectively,

435 $M = 1.49$ and $M = 1.08$; Figure 6). Further analyses revealed that the difference between the
436 two preparation time conditions was not significant for all age groups, all $ps > .054$.

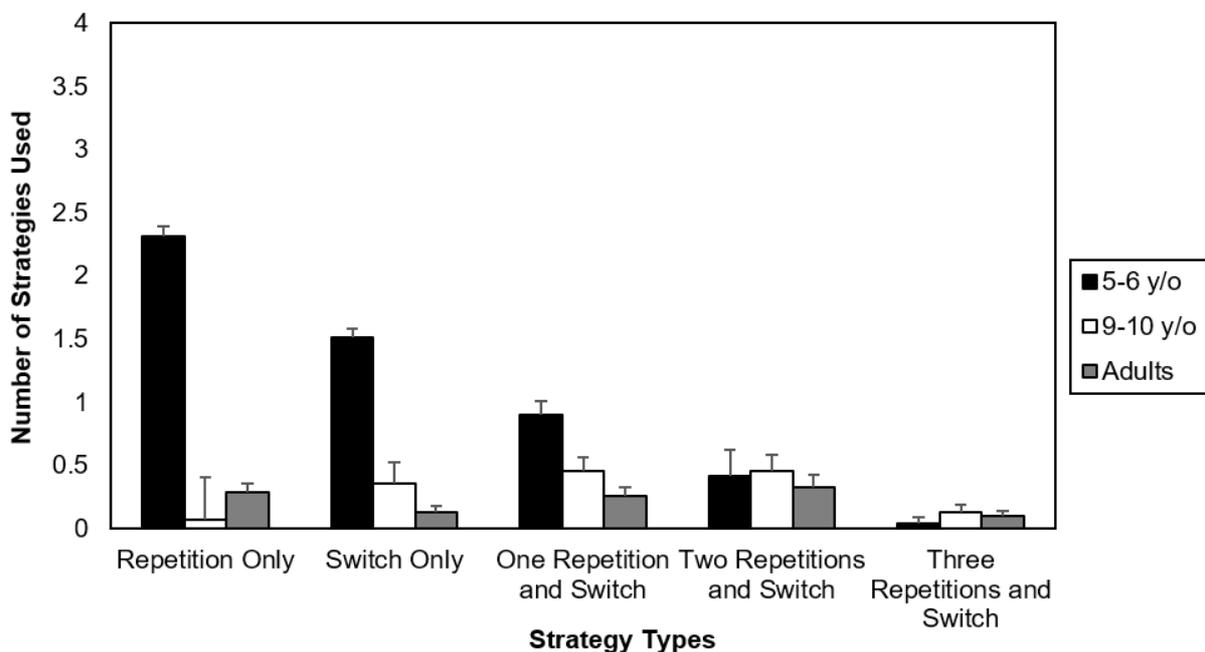


437 Figure 6. Strategy detection (mean) for 5-6 year olds, 9-10 year olds and adults as a function
438 of preparation time. Error bars represent standard errors.
439

440

441 Then, the type of strategies the participants used across age groups and preparation
442 time durations was investigated with a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA). It
443 revealed a significant difference in strategy type used based on age, $F(10, 344) = 9.45, p$
444 $< .001$, Wilk's $\Lambda = .62, \eta^2_p = .21$, but not based on preparation time, $F(5, 172) = 1.29, p =$
445 $.269$, Wilk's $\Lambda = .97, \eta^2_p = .04$, with no interaction between these two factors, $p = .340$. In
446 particular, as illustrated in Figure 7, age had a main effect on the strategy 'Repetition Only',
447 $F(2, 88) = 21.34, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .19$, 'Switch Only', $F(2, 88) = 11.18, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .11$, and
448 'One Repetition and Switch', $F(2, 88) = 4.55, p = .012, \eta^2_p = .05$, but not on the two other
449 strategies, all $ps > .441$. Pairwise comparisons indicated that younger children used
450 'Repetition Only' and 'Switch Only' strategies more often than older children and adults
451 ('Repetition Only': $M = 2.31, M = .06$ and $M = .29$, respectively, all $ps < .001$; 'Switch Only':

452 $M = 1.517$, $M = .35$ and $M = .13$, respectively, $ps < .001$). Younger children also significantly
 453 used more the ‘One Repetition and Switch’ strategy than adults ($M = .90$ and $M = .26$,
 454 respectively), $p = .011$, but not than older children, ($M = .45$), $p = .123$. All other comparisons
 455 were not significant, all $ps > .621$. In younger children, the ‘Repetition Only’ strategy was not
 456 significantly used more frequently than the ‘Switch Only’ strategy, $p = .232$, but more
 457 frequently than ‘One Repetition and Switch’, $p = .039$. No difference was observed between
 458 ‘Switch Only’ and ‘One Repetition and Switch’, $p = .164$.



459 Figure 7. Use rate (mean) of each strategy from more the more basic to the more complicated
 460 (left to right) as a function of age groups (5-6 year olds, 9-10 year olds and adults). Error bars
 461 represent standard errors.
 462

463

464 **Discussion**

465 The current study addressed the development of self-directed control by examining
 466 how 5- to 6-year-olds, 9- to 10-year-olds, and adults voluntarily switch between tasks. In
 467 particular, we explored the role of proactive and reactive control by using a short and a long
 468 preparation time. Contrary to our expectations, younger children showed a similar repetition

469 bias to older children and adults, with a $p(\text{switch})$ value inferior to .5. However, following
470 our predictions, their $p(\text{switch})$ was less sensitive to preparation time variations than for older
471 children and adults, suggesting they engaged control more reactively than older groups.
472 Moreover, younger children were significantly worse at performing the two tasks equally
473 often, and used significantly more basic non-random strategies such as repeating
474 systematically the task that had just been done, switching systematically between the two
475 tasks or always switching after one repetition, reducing the cognitive demands of task
476 selection.

477 Mixing and switch costs found in our experiment replicated the trend found in
478 externally driven task switching paradigms in children (e.g., Chevalier & Blaye, 2009;
479 Chevalier, Dauvier, & Blaye, 2018; Dauvier et al., 2012), suggesting that our child-friendly
480 version of VTS appropriately tapped task switching. Furthermore, using for the first time this
481 child-friendly VTS paradigm, we replicated previous findings from VTS studies in adults
482 showing that participants had overall a $p(\text{switch})$ lower than .5 which even decreased with
483 shorter preparation time for older children and adults (e.g., Arrington & Logan, 2005; Butler,
484 Arrington, & Weywadt, 2011; Butler & Weywadt, 2013; Liefoghe, Demanet, &
485 Vandierendonck, 2009; Yeung, 2010). This further suggests that our VTS paradigm captured
486 self-directed control processes similar to those measured by classic VTS paradigms in adults,
487 hence speaking to the success of our VTS adaption.

488 Surprisingly, children showed a similar $p(\text{switch})$ to adults, against the expectation
489 that the repetition bias would follow a U shape pattern with age, as hinted by prior studies
490 showing a lower $p(\text{switch})$ during adolescence and aging than adulthood (Butler & Weywadt,
491 2013; Poljac, Haartsen, van der Cruijssen, Kiesel, & Poljac, 2018; Terry & Sliwinski, 2012).
492 In our study, the similar $p(\text{switch})$ across all age groups *seemingly* suggests no major
493 differences between children and adults in the task selection processes involved in VTS.

494 However, although the interaction between age and preparation time was not significant,
495 younger children showed the same $p(\text{switch})$ with both preparation times, whereas $p(\text{switch})$
496 significantly increased with preparation time in older children and adults. Younger children
497 may have used reactive control (i.e., availability heuristic) in VTS regardless of the amount
498 of preparation time available, while older participants may have engaged proactive control
499 (i.e., representativeness heuristic) when enough time was available. This would corroborate
500 similar trends observed task switching paradigms, but also in other paradigms both tapping
501 externally-driven cognitive control (e.g., Blackwell & Munakata, 2014; Chevalier, James,
502 Wiebe, Nelson, & Espy, 2014; Chevalier et al., 2015; Lucenet & Blaye, 2014). Nevertheless,
503 further research is needed to clarify the role of reactive and proactive control in children's
504 VTS performance. One promising option would be to couple our child-friendly VTS with
505 physiological measurements such as event-related potentials, fMRI and pupil dilation, as they
506 measures have shown sensitivity to reactive and proactive control engagement on other tasks
507 (e.g., Chatham et al., 2012; Chevalier et al., 2015; Church et al., 2017).

508 As mentioned earlier, a drawback of using $p(\text{switch})$ as a unique measure of task
509 selection (Arrington et al., 2014) is that it does not capture all aspects of VTS performance.
510 In our study, the similar $p(\text{switch})$ found across age groups would suggest that children, and
511 younger children in particular, have little difficulty with self-directed control, which would
512 seem at odd with previous research on self-directed control development using different tasks
513 (Barker et al., 2014; Snyder & Munakata, 2010, 2013; White, Burgess, & Hill, 2009).
514 However, when considering measures other than $p(\text{switch})$, a different picture emerged,
515 showing that task selection was particularly costly for younger children. In particular,
516 younger children performed the two tasks less equally often than older children and adults.

517 Besides task selection difficulty, developmental limitations in numerical
518 understanding may contribute to age-related differences in VTS performance. Indeed,

519 learning number magnitudes develops slowly across childhood and although children as
520 young as 5 years-old can compare and add numerical quantities, they do not have adult-like
521 exact number magnitude representations and they do not have much experience with numbers
522 exceeding the 0-10 range (Barth, La Mont, Lipton, & Spelke, 2005, but see Sigler, 2016).
523 Therefore, younger children may therefore have failed to add on from the last number and
524 maintained this representation in working memory, leading them to struggle performing the
525 two tasks equally often. That said, counting strategies may not necessarily consist in counting
526 how many times each task was played throughout the game, but instead counting trials within
527 a run of trials before switching to the other task and starting from 1 again, which would
528 require simpler numerical processing. Helping children more easily keep track how many
529 toys have been put into each bag by letting children see how many toys have been sorted
530 within each bag should reduce age-related differences in future research, if these differences
531 arise from limited numerical processing in younger children.

532 Another important finding was that, systematic, non-random strategies were more
533 frequent in younger children than older children and adults. To account for this difference,
534 one may argue that younger children simply did not understand the instruction of filling the
535 two bags in a random fashion, even though this instruction was conveyed in a child-friendly
536 manner through a bad elf that could otherwise guess how the target would be sorted and
537 ‘steal’ it. However, during practice, the use of systematic strategies was actively monitored
538 and participants would progress onto the test blocks only if they successfully played
539 randomly, hence ensuring their understanding of this instruction. As younger children
540 required indeed more practice than older children and adults (respectively $M_{\text{number of practice}} =$
541 1.43, $M_{\text{number of practice}} = 1.21$ and $M_{\text{number of practice}} = 1.11$, all $ps < .019$) to master the
542 instructions, one may argue that they may still have struggled to understand this instruction.
543 However, when comparing younger children who needed only one practice round without the

544 help of the experimenter—and therefore showed perfect understanding of the ‘randomness’
545 instruction—to younger children who needed more than one practice round with the help of
546 the experimenter, we observed no significant differences regarding how often they resorted to
547 strategies (respectively, $M_{\text{number of strategy}} = 4.82$ and $M_{\text{number of strategy}} = 5.25$, $p = .693$). These
548 findings further suggest that younger children understood the need to sort targets randomly
549 but nevertheless relied on non-random strategies.

550 Young children may have been especially prone to resorting to strategies because of a
551 lack of working memory abilities coupled with a difficulty to keep in mind the instructions of
552 performing the two tasks equally often and in a random manner. Indeed, preschoolers, who
553 have low working memory abilities, are more prone to goal neglect (i.e., failure to maintain a
554 goal although how to achieve it is fully understood; see Marcovitch, Boseovski, & Knapp,
555 2007). Moreover, decrements in task performance when keeping prospective rule instructions
556 in mind have been observed with both adults (e.g., Smith, 2003) and children (e.g., Leigh &
557 Marcovitch, 2014; Smith, Bayen, & Martin, 2010; Nigro, Brandimonte, Cicogna, Cosenza,
558 2014; Smith, Bayen, & Martin, 2010). In our study, younger children may have needed the
559 appearance of the thief elf as a prospective cue to follow the instruction of being non-
560 predictable. It is therefore possible that processes underlying prospective memory abilities
561 also affect task selection processes alongside with task performance processes. Consistently,
562 commonality in processes between cognitive control and prospective memory has been
563 emphasized in childhood (Brandimonte, Filippelo, Coluccia, Altgassen, & Kliegel, 2011;
564 Mahy, Moses, & Kliegel, 2014; Mahy & Munakata, 2015; Spiess, Meier, & Roebers, 2016).

565 Whether intentional or not, use of non-random strategies reduced the high cost of task
566 selection demands specific to VTS for younger children. Having to hold complex rule
567 instructions while performing VTS is particularly costly for younger children, and one way to
568 reduce this cost is to favor the easiest rule instruction (i.e., putting about the same number of

569 toys into each bag) over the most difficult rule instruction (i.e., performing the two tasks
570 randomly). In prior research, removing the instruction of performing the two tasks in a
571 random manner resulted in larger individual differences regarding task selection in adults, as
572 indicated by large standard deviations in $p(\text{switch})$, suggesting that some participants were
573 more likely to repeat tasks whereas others were more likely to switch tasks (Arrington et al.,
574 2014). Of particular interest, one of the two most frequent strategies among the younger
575 children consisted in repeating the same task for long runs of trials, which led to a small
576 $p(\text{switch})$ and would fit with the U shape changes in VTS performance with age, with
577 adolescents and elderly people showing a greater repetition bias than adults (Butler &
578 Weywadt, 2013; Poljac et al., 2018; Terry & Sliwinski, 2012). However, younger children
579 also often used another strategy that consisted in switching systematically on every trial,
580 which led to a very large $p(\text{switch})$ and could explain why the overall $p(\text{switch})$ at the group
581 level was unexpectedly similar to that of older children and adults. Favoring the rule
582 instruction of performing the two tasks equally often over the rule instruction of performing
583 the two tasks randomly effectively reduces the cost of task selection. The selection of the
584 ‘Repeat Only’ and ‘Switch Only’ as non-random strategies by younger children echoes the
585 study of Arrington et al. (2014), as well as a recent study showing individual preferences in
586 the use of strategies in a modified version of VTS in adults (Reissland & Manzey, 2016), and
587 confirms that in task switching situations, children show higher variability in individual
588 profiles when it comes to strategy selection (Dauvier et al., 2012; Moriguchi & Hiraki, 2011).

589 It is surprising that children systematically switched between tasks on every trial,
590 given that this strategy must have resulted in heavier task switching demands. This finding
591 further suggests that switching per se is not children’s main difficulty when it comes to
592 engaging efficient cognitive control. Switch costs were indeed not significant in terms of
593 accuracy, even in younger children, although switching tasks is still more time-consuming

594 than repetitions, as attested by significant switch costs in terms of RTs. Unlike switching per
595 se, selecting the appropriate task appeared particularly demanding as attested by (a)
596 significant mixing costs for both accuracy and RTs, and (b) the use of non-random strategies
597 by young children to reduce its costs. This corroborated studies using externally driven
598 situations showing that task selection might be main young children's difficulty when
599 engaging cognitive control (Chevalier, 2015; Chevalier et al., 2018; Deák, Ray, & Pick,
600 2004; Holt & Deák, 2015).

601 In our experiment, participants showed similar mixing and switch costs on RTs to
602 those observed in externally driven situations. Similar processes may indeed be involved in
603 both externally driven and self-directed control, which may mostly differ in task selection
604 difficulty. Indeed, in VTS, while older children and adults adaptively selected tasks, younger
605 children struggled in their task selection as attested by the fact that they performed the two
606 tasks less equally often and used more non-random strategies. This confirms the recent idea
607 that task selection is key in cognitive control (Broeker et al., 2018) and a major force driving
608 cognitive development (Chevalier, 2015). Further, it also suggests that task selection is
609 crucial when drawing the contrast between externally driven and self-directed control. For
610 instance, consider the Wisconsin Card Sorting Test (WCST; Grant & Berg, 1948) compared
611 to VTS. Both tap self-directed control as in VTS, participants have to decide on their own
612 when to switch and what task to switch to, while in WCST, participants have to infer that the
613 rule has changed and figure out on their own which rule is now relevant. However, WCST
614 taps also externally driven control because the need to switch is externally supported by a
615 short feedback from the experimenter after each choice. This feedback indicates when to
616 switch but not towards what to switch to. These differences shed light on a continuum
617 between externally driven and self-directed control based on the amount of task selection
618 demands rather than a difference in nature, such as between reactive and proactive control.

619 To conclude, when voluntarily switching between tasks in VTS, 5- to 6-year-old
620 children especially struggled to select between the two tasks, in comparison with 9- to 10-
621 year-old children and adults, and used strategies which reduced task selection demands, even
622 if these strategies involved frequent switching. These findings are strikingly similar to what
623 has been previously found in tasks tapping externally driven control in children, speaking to
624 the idea that these two forms of control form a continuum in which task selection demands
625 vary rather than two discrete categories. As a consequence, better understanding task
626 selection processes and their development open up new directions to design efficient
627 interventions for assessing and supporting cognitive control in childhood.

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633

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