

# Comparing AI Planning Algorithms with Humans on the Tower of London Task

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## Abstract

Understanding problem solving or planning has been a shared challenge for both AI and cognitive science since the birth of both fields. We explore the extent to which modern planners from the field of AI can account for human performance on the Tower of London (TOL) task, a close relative of the Tower of Hanoi problem that has been extensively studied by psychologists. We characterize the task using the Planning Domain Definition Language (PDDL) and evaluate an adaptive online planner and a family of well-known planners, including online planners, optimal planners and satisficing planners. Each planner is evaluated based on its ability to predict the actions and planning times of participants in a new behavioral experiment. Our results suggest that participants use a range of strategies but that an adaptive lookahead planner provides the best overall account of both human actions and human planning times. This finding is consistent with the view that humans differ from standard AI planners by integrating a mechanism for evidence accumulation.

**Keywords:** Tower of London; problem solving; AI planning; evidence accumulation

## Introduction

When preparing a three course meal, fixing a leaky pipe or building a garden box, people must string together a sequence of actions in order to achieve a goal. Tasks like these are typically known as problem solving tasks by cognitive scientists and planning tasks by AI researchers. Problem solving or planning is a hallmark of intelligent behavior, and has been extensively studied by both AI researchers and cognitive scientists since the development of the Logic Theorist in 1956, a theorem prover sometimes described as the first AI program (Gugerty, 2006; Newell & Simon, 1956). In subsequent decades, psychologists have studied human performance on a wide range of problem solving tasks, including water jug problems (Atwood & Polson, 1976) and the tower of Hanoi (Kotovsky, Hayes, & Simon, 1985).

Here we pursue the classic approach to problem solving developed by researchers including Newell and Simon (Newell, Simon, et al., 1972). We focus on a simple task that lends itself to study in the laboratory. For us the task is the Tower of London (TOL) problem, a variant of the well-known Tower of Hanoi problem. Our goal is to identify a planner that matches human performance on the TOL task, and towards that end we evaluate a set of planners including several inspired by state-of-the art approaches in AI. Our approach therefore falls squarely in the tradition established by researchers like Newell and Simon who used computational models such as

the General Problem Solver (GPS) to account for human performance on tasks like the Tower of Hanoi (Newell et al., 1972; Kotovsky et al., 1985).

The Newell-Simon approach to problem solving arguably reached its pinnacle in the 1970s, and has been pursued less actively from the mid 1990s onwards (Ohlsson, 2012). There are at least two reasons, however, why this approach continues to deserve attention. First, AI researchers have developed new approaches to planning that may help to capture aspects of human problem solving. For example, from the mid 1990s modern planning algorithms have relied on domain-general heuristics that can be derived automatically from a problem representation via *relaxations* (Geffner, 2013). This approach to deriving heuristics could potentially lead to new models of human problem solving that can be applied to broad families of problems without requiring problem-specific strategies.

Second, psychologists have continued to construct new models to account for several aspects of human decision making (Solway & Botvinick, 2015; Mormann, Malmaud, Huth, Koch, & Rangel, 2010). A key issue explored in recent modeling work is the tradeoff between time cost and decision quality. Models exploring this idea build on the idea of bounded rationality (Simon, 1990) and the framework of rational analysis (J. R. Anderson, 1989). An agent that makes optimal use of bounded cognitive resources must decide when to stop the search process and act, and recent work on metareasoning has explored this *stopping problem* (M. L. Anderson & Oates, 2007; Tajima, Drugowitsch, Patel, & Pouget, 2019). Solway and Botvinick (2015) use an evidence accumulation mechanism to model performance in a two-step decision problem, but applying a similar approach to more complex sequential decision making problems (e.g. TOL) is a challenge that has not yet been addressed.

The next section summarizes some of the previous computational work on problem solving that forms the backdrop for the work described here. We then describe the Tower of London task and our behavioral experiment. The following sections introduce the specific planners that we evaluate, and discuss the extent to which they account for our behavioral data.

## Models of Human Problem Solving

Perhaps the most influential cognitive model of problem solving is the General Problem Solver (Newell et al., 1972) and

this model can be regarded as a variant of breadth first search. Subsequent work in this tradition used production systems such as ACT-R (Lebiere & Anderson, 1993), 4CAPS (Varma & Just, 2006) and SOAR (Laird, Newell, & Rosenbloom, 1987) to develop models of problem solving on tasks including the Tower of Hanoi (Ruiz & Newell, 1989) and the Tower of London (Varma & Just, 2006).

In recent years researchers have departed from the earlier emphasis on production systems by considering a range of alternative approaches. Kuperwajs, Van Opheusden, and Ma (2019) used a tree search model with a domain-specific heuristic to predict human performance on a two-player game. Working within the framework of bounded rationality, Callaway et al. (2018) derived a meta-level Markov decision process model to simulate human behavior on a navigation task known as Mouselab. Donnarumma, Maisto, and Pezzulo (2016) developed an approach that combines probabilistic inference with subgoaling to account for human performance on the Tower of Hanoi task.

Recent work suggests that the extent to which people look ahead while planning varies across individuals and across tasks (Callaway et al., 2022; Kryven, Kleiman-Weiner, Tenenbaum, & Yu, 2022). Meder, Nelson, Jones, and Ruggeri (2019) found that an approach that looks ahead only one step provided the best account of human performance in the game of 20 questions, while Krusche, Schulz, Guez, and Speekenbrink (2018) found that people have a planning horizon of at least 3 steps in the farming game that they considered. Several studies demonstrate that time pressure can lead to a shallower search tree (Keramati, Smittenaar, Dolan, & Dayan, 2016; Van Opheusden, Galbiati, Bnaya, Li, & Ma, 2017).

Most recent studies use non-deterministic or partially observable environments so that humans cannot easily derive optimal solutions (Kryven et al., 2022; Krusche et al., 2018), and there has been relatively little work on fully observable deterministic environments (e.g. TOL) in recent years. Our work, however, belongs to the Newell and Simon tradition that explores what can be learned from human performance on deterministic, fully observable-tasks.

### The Tower of London Task

Figure 1a shows an instance of the TOL task. The board shown has pegs that can hold 1, 2 and 3 balls respectively from left to right. Participants are given the board in some initial state, then asked to move balls from peg to peg until the board matches some specified goal state. The instance in Figure 1a can be solved in just two moves, but the shortest solution of the instance in Figure 1b involves 5 moves.

Previous work on the TOL has focused on identifying structural parameters that appear to influence the difficulty of a problem instance, and one such parameter is shown in Figure 1c (Kaller, Unterrainer, Rahm, & Halsband, 2004; Kaller, Rahm, Köstering, & Unterrainer, 2011; Berg, Byrd, McNamara, & Case, 2010). Berg et al. (2010) carried out an experiment in which participants solved a set of TOL problems

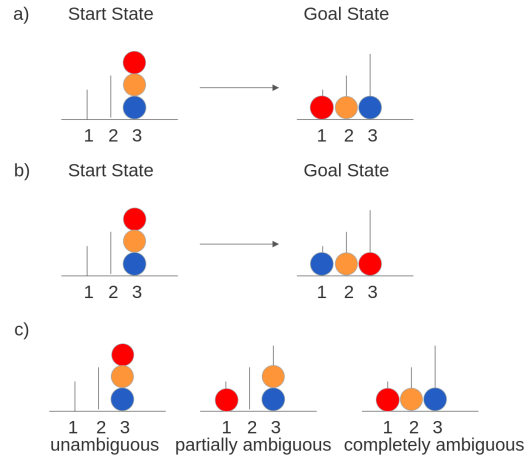


Figure 1: Tower of London task. (a) A problem instance that requires two moves to transition from the start state to the goal state. (b) A problem instance requiring five moves. (c) *Start Hierarchy* is a structural parameter that classifies each instance as unambiguous (all balls on one peg), partially ambiguous or completely ambiguous (all balls on different pegs). The “ambiguity” refers to the initial action: unambiguous actions allow only one action, but completely ambiguous instances allow 4 possible actions.

with optimal solutions of length between 4 and 7, and used their data to evaluate how 5 structural parameters relate to measures of human performance. A small amount of work has attempted to model the actions people choose when solving TOL problems (Varma & Just, 2006; Donnarumma et al., 2016), but to our knowledge no previous work on the TOL task attempts to model both action selection and planning time as we do here.

### AI Planning and Planners

Planning is the model-based approach to reasoning about the action(s) needed to achieve a goal given an initial scenario. In order to apply AI planners to the TOL problem, we translate the task into the propositional subset of the Planning Domain Definition Language (PDDL), which is a standard language for modelling planning problems that extends the expressivity of the well known STRIPS language (Haslum, Lipovetzky, Magazzeni, & Muise, 2019). To encode the height constraints in the task, we simply enumerate all possible ball locations. In our setting, since there are just three pegs with heights of 1, 2, and 3 respectively, we have 6 different locations in total. In each state, there is a fluent (proposition) for each ball recording its current location. In addition, we also mark whether each ball is free to move and whether each location is available. For example, in the start state of Figure 1a, the red ball is in LOC3-3 (the third position on peg 3). There is no other ball on the red ball, so it is free to move to other locations. LOC1-1 is available, so we can execute the action that moves the red ball from LOC3-3 to LOC1-1 and the successor state

is the middle state in Figure 1c.<sup>1</sup>

All of the AI planners evaluated here use the representation just described, but there is another way to model the problem within the PDDL framework. Namely, we can decompose each move action into two steps: first pick up a ball from one peg and then put it down on a peg. The major advantage of this approach is that it allows a player to pick up a ball then return it to the same peg, which occurs occasionally in our behavioral data. However, most previous work on the TOL treats each move as a single action and we follow the same approach for consistency.

Our model evaluation aimed to consider a set of planners that is broadly representative of prior work on planning in the fields of AI and psychology. The following sections describe the 6 different planners that we considered.<sup>2</sup>

## Cognitive Architecture

**4CAPS.** We chose 4CAPS to represent the broader family of cognitive architectures because an existing 4CAPS model of the TOL task is publicly available, and has previously been used to account for both behavioral and brain imaging data (Varma & Just, 2006; Newman, Carpenter, Varma, & Just, 2003). This model includes some productions that are specific to the TOL task, and therefore does not qualify as a fully general model of problem solving.

## Classical Planners

Classical planners search until a complete path to the goal has been found.

**BFS.** The three-peg TOL problem is sufficiently small that Breadth First Search (BrFS) is a viable algorithm. BrFS first tries all possible actions from the start state, and adds all states reached in this way to a queue. It then repeatedly takes a state from the front of the queue, tries all actions from that state, and adds all resulting states to the end of the queue, effectively always expanding the state closest to the initial state that has not been expanded yet. Proceeding in this way guarantees that BrFS will find an optimal solution, but the algorithm is blind because it does not consider the goal when choosing the state to expand next.

**ASTAR.** The ASTAR search algorithm (Hart, Nilsson, & Raphael, 1968) is commonly used as a baseline heuristic search planner in AI planning research. A heuristic is a function that takes a state as input and returns an estimate of the distance between the state and the goal. A heuristic-based algorithm can therefore potentially capture the idea that people are most likely to focus on intermediate states that promise to bring them closer to their ultimate goal. If equipped with an admissible heuristic, then ASTAR is guaranteed to find

an optimal solution.<sup>3</sup> When choosing which state to expand next, ASTAR picks the state that minimizes the cost to reach that state plus the heuristic estimate of the distance to the goal. Here we use the *goal-counting* heuristic, a domain-independent heuristic that can be automatically derived from the PDDL description of the problem, which evaluates a state based on how many goals are yet to be achieved (in our case, how many balls are not yet in their final positions).<sup>4</sup> This heuristic is equivalent to the “perceptual distance” heuristic in the psychological literature (Donnarumma et al., 2016), and has been explored by researchers including Simon (1963).

**GBFS.** The heuristic search algorithm used in most state-of-the-art satisficing planners is greedy best-first search (GBFS) (Heusner, Keller, & Helmert, 2017). In contrast to ASTAR, GBFS expands states using only the heuristic function, and chooses the state that lies closest to the goal according to this function. GBFS is not guaranteed to find an optimal solution and hence produces satisficing planners that trade off solution quality and solution speed. When combined with the goal-counting heuristic, GBFS yields a search strategy that captures some of the core ideas of means-ends analysis (Newell et al., 1972).

## Online Planners

Online planners are able to choose an action before a complete path has been found, and have been previously explored as models of human problem solving (Kuperwajs et al., 2019; Krusche et al., 2018). One prominent approach is Monte-Carlo Tree Search, but we did not consider this approach because it is best-suited for stochastic environments and the TOL is a deterministic task. Instead, we evaluate two lookahead planners that both rely on the goal-counting heuristic.

**Lookahead.** The basic lookahead planners have a fixed horizon that was set to all values from 1 to 7 (maximum solution length). The planner evaluates the value of a state recursively using the minimal state value of its successors, and the state values of all leaf nodes are based on the heuristic function (goal-counting in this work). After computing these state values, the planner chooses the path with minimal estimated cost. If multiple paths have the same minimal value, the planner randomly chooses one of these paths.

**Adaptive lookahead (A-LH).** Although many online planners (e.g. Monte-Carlo Tree search) use a fixed planning horizon or a pre-defined timing budget, a small amount of work in AI has explored methods for optimizing lookahead depth (Bulitko, Levner, & Greiner, 2002). For example, Kryven et al. (2022) develop a model with an adaptive planning horizon for a task that involves navigating through a maze.

Here we propose and evaluate an adaptive lookahead planner that draws on prior work on evidence integration and human meta-reasoning (Solway & Botvinick, 2015; M. L. Anderson & Oates, 2007). To achieve a balance between ex-

<sup>1</sup>The PDDL representation of the start state of Figure 1a is {(in RED LOC3-3), (in ORANGE LOC3-2), (in BLUE LOC3-1), (free LOC1-1), (free LOC2-1), (free LOC2-2), (clear RED)}

<sup>2</sup>All classical planners, as well as the heuristics were implemented using the LAPKT framework (Ramirez, Lipovetzky, & Muise, 2015). BrFS, and the online planners were implemented in Python. For 4CAPS, we used v1.2 of the TOL model.

<sup>3</sup>A heuristic function is *admissible* if it never overestimates the real distance between a state and the goal state

<sup>4</sup>The goal-counting heuristic is admissible. The ASTAR planner in this paper is therefore guaranteed to find an optimal solution.

ploration and exploitation, this planner uses the upper confidence bound (UCB) algorithm as an action selection strategy, and keeps searching (evidence integration) until enough nodes have been expanded to suggest that the difference in value (as measured by the goal-counting heuristic) between the best action and the second best action exceeds some decision threshold. Our implementation sets this threshold to 1 because the goal-counting heuristic is integer-valued.

## Behavioral Experiment

To allow us to compare the models just described, we ran a behavioral experiment to collect fine-grained behavioral data (including response times) as participants solve instances of the TOL. Berg et al. (2010) previously ran a comprehensive experiment on the TOL, but their data are not publicly available. We therefore ran our own experiment using the same problem instances that they considered.

Our experiment included two between-participant conditions: a *full* condition and a *no-constraint* condition. In the full condition participants were asked to form a full plan to the target configuration before making their first move, and given feedback after each instance indicating whether they had found an optimal solution. In the no-constraint condition participants were simply asked to solve the task without any further instruction. The *full* condition matches the procedure used by Berg et al. (2010), and explicitly instructs participants to act as a classical offline planner. In the absence of this instruction, we anticipated that participants would behave more like an online planner.

We pre-registered the behavioral experiment on AsPredicted (see <https://aspredicted.org/w5x45.pdf>)<sup>5</sup> The experiment was programmed in javascript using the jspsych toolbox (De Leeuw, 2015).

**Instances.** Following Berg et al. (2010), we considered all 117 problem instances with optimal solutions between 4 and 7 in length. For each instance, we generate a corresponding PDDL file automatically using the Python package Tarski (Francés, Ramirez, & Collaborators, 2018).

**Participants.** 239 participants completed the experiment on Prolific. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the two conditions, and completed 39 TOL instances randomly picked from 117 instances. Our final data set included 130 participants in the full condition and 109 in the no-constraint condition.

**Outliers.** Observations with abnormal response times were excluded according to a preregistered criterion. For each instance, responses more than 3 standard deviations away from the mean initial planning time for that instance were considered abnormal. As a result, 239 out of 9321 (2.5%) responses were classified as outliers and excluded from our analysis.

<sup>5</sup>Space limitations mean that we cannot report all of the pre-registered analyses here. The preregistration does not include any analyses of action selection because we developed these analyses only after running the experiment.

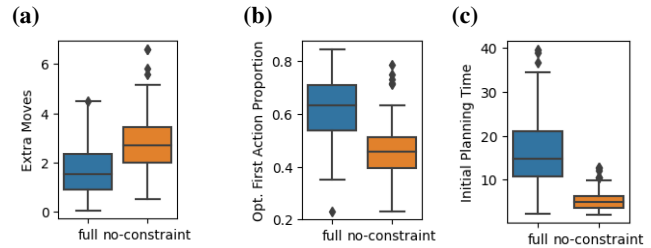


Figure 2: Comparison between the full and no-constraint conditions. (a) Extra moves (b) Optimal first action proportions (c) Initial planning times. Each data point shows mean performance per participant.

## Results

We consider two behavioral measures: the initial action selected for an instance and the initial planning time, or the time taken to select the initial action. Focusing on the first action only simplifies our analyses and facilitates comparisons across a relatively large set of models.

### Human Performance in Two Conditions

We first compare human performance across the two conditions (full vs no-constraint) as shown in Figure 2. We focus on three performance measures. *Extra moves* (Figure 2a) is defined as the difference between the length of the plan provided by a participant and the length of the optimal plan. We also computed the proportion of participants who select an optimal first move (Figure 2b), and considered the time required to select this move (Figure 2c).

Figure 2 shows that participants in the full condition tend to generate plans that are 1.16 steps shorter than plans in the no-constraint condition, and that the first move in the full condition is more likely to be optimal (62% vs 46%). On average, however, participants in the full condition take an extra 11.23 seconds to produce this first move. Student’s t-tests suggest that all three differences are statistically significant: extra moves ( $t(238) = -8.12, p < 0.0001$ ), optimal first action proportion ( $t(238) = 10.58, p < 0.0001$ ) and initial planning time ( $t(238) = 15.07, p < 0.0001$ ).

Each data point in Figure 2 shows a participant rather than an instance, but an analysis at the level of problem instances produced converging results. For a given instance, plans generated in the full condition tend to have fewer steps ( $t(116) = -7.99, p < 0.0001$ ), are more likely to include an optimal first move ( $t(116) = 12.51, p < 0.0001$ ), and have a longer planning time for the the first move ( $t(116) = 20.29, p < 0.0001$ ).

All of these results suggest that our condition manipulation had the expected effect, and that participants rely on different problem-solving strategies across the two conditions. We can now ask which models provide the best account of responses in the two conditions.

### Predicting Action Selection

We first evaluate the extent to which the models accurately predict the first action selected by participants. For each in-

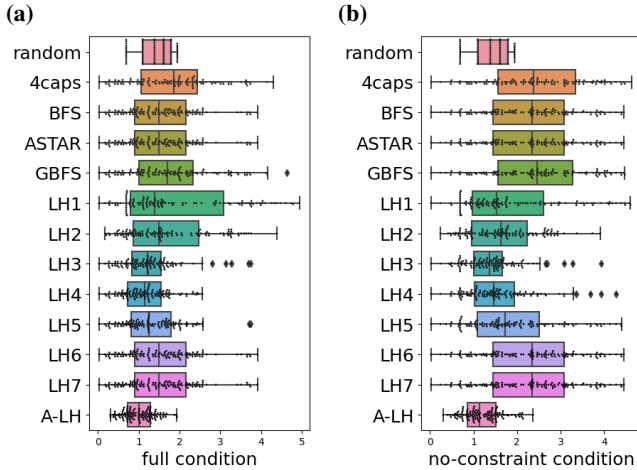


Figure 3: Evaluation of planner predictions about initial action selection. (a) Cross-entropy of human distribution with respect to model distribution for the full condition. (b) Cross-entropy for the no-constraint condition. Each data point shows the cross-entropy for one instance, and smaller values of cross-entropy indicate better fits.

stance, we use the behavioral data to estimate a distribution over initial actions chosen for that instance. We compare these distributions with distributions derived from the models using *cross-entropy*. Due to the non-stochastic nature of most models, which assign a probability of 1 to one action and 0 to all others, we introduce a noise parameter of 0.05 to the model probabilities. This noise is evenly distributed to each action and the probabilities are then renormalized to ensure that cross entropy is well defined in all cases (Jarušek & Pelánek, 2010).

The results are summarized in Figure 3. Across both conditions, the online planners outperform the classical planners, and A-LH achieves the best overall performance (smallest cross-entropy). Paired t-tests show that A-LH had a significant advantage over the second best planners in both conditions ( $t(116) = -5.04, p < 0.0001$  for the full condition with LH4 and  $t(116) = -4.98, p < 0.0001$  for the no-constraint condition with LH3). Although the poor performance of classical planners was anticipated in the no-constraint condition, they performed poorly even in the full condition where participants were instructed to behave like classical planners. This finding indicates that classical planners may have limited psychological validity even under conditions that are most favorable to them. Nevertheless, the observation that LH4 is the second best planner in the full condition and LH3 is the second best planner in the no-constraint condition suggests that individuals might engage in deeper thinking in the full condition.

### Predicting Initial Planning Time

We now turn to initial planning times, and use mixed linear models to evaluate our family of planners. We first considered

a regression model that is unrelated to all of our planners and has model string

$$\text{IPT} \sim 1 + \text{condition} + \text{order} + (1|\text{instance}) + (1|\text{participant})$$

The model takes initial planning time (IPT, measured in milliseconds) as the dependent variable, and includes fixed effects for condition (i.e. full or no constraint) and order (an integer from 1 to 39 that indicates the order in which a participant encountered a given instance). The model also includes random effects for problem instance and participant, and we obtained similar results regardless of whether instance is treated as a fixed or a random effect.

As expected, the base model performed better than the three simpler alternatives that omit either or both of the fixed effects. The Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) was smaller for the base model than for the three alternatives by a factor of at least 81.

For the base model, the estimate for *condition* is 11192.72 (95%CI [9734.34, 12651.33]), which suggests that responses were around 11 seconds slower in the full condition compared to the no-constraint condition. The estimate for *order* was -102 (95%CI [-123.36, -81.19]), suggesting that participants became around 0.1 second faster with each additional instance that they solved. This order effect is consistent with the work of Berg et al. (2010), who report that solution times decrease with experience.

For each planner, we then asked whether the base model could be improved by replacing the random effect of instance with a fixed effect for planner response time, which is operationalized as the number of states expanded by a planner. For example, if A-LH predicted human planning times perfectly, then including response times for this model as a predictor should allow the regression model to perfectly account for the human data. BIC values for each of these regression models are shown in Table 1. Among the fixed lookahead models, LH4 and LH6 achieved the best performance in the no-constraint and full conditions respectively, and for space we have not included predictions for the poorer models with lookaheads between 2 and 7. Table 1 also includes baselines that result from replacing the random effect in Equation with fixed effects for optimal cost (OC, or the length of the shortest solution) and start hierarchy (SH, see Figure 1c). We consider both optimal cost and start hierarchy because these structural parameters predicted human performance best among the full set considered by Berg et al. (2010).

As expected, the online planners perform better than the classical planners in the no-constraint condition. In the full condition, two of the classical planners (ASTAR and BFS) perform relatively well as we expected but the best planner for this condition is A-LH. Our results for planning time are therefore broadly compatible with the finding in Figure 3 that the adaptive lookahead planner performs well across both conditions.

Table 1 reveals, however, that the single best predictor for the no-constraint condition is not a planner but rather the Start

Table 1: BIC scores for regression models that take initial planning time as the dependent variable and incorporate planner predictions or structural parameters (OC and SH). For readability, scores are shown as offsets relative to 110066 (full condition) and 82053 (no-constraint condition).

Category	Planner	full	no-constraint
Baseline	OC	47	114
	SH	584	<b>0</b>
Cognitive Architecture	4CAPS	120	89
Classical Planner	BFS	38	101
	ASTAR	4	83
	GBFS	70	68
Online Planner	LH1	597	78
	LH4	460	72
	LH6	52	85
	A-LH	<b>0</b>	87

Hierarchy parameter shown in Figure 1c. It makes sense that participants should respond quickly when there is only one possible initial action (i.e. the instance is completely unambiguous), but common sense and previous work (Berg et al., 2010) suggest that people’s responses are influenced by factors that go beyond Start Hierarchy alone. The strong performance of Start Hierarchy for the no-constraint condition therefore suggests that none of the planners that we evaluated provides a comprehensive account of human performance.

### Individual Differences

The analysis summarized by Table 1 used individual-level data but did not focus on individual differences. A similar regression approach, however, can be applied to the subset of the data provided by a single participant, which yields regression scores indicating the extent to which each planner or structural parameter predicts the responses of that participant. Distributions of these regression scores across individuals are shown in Figure 4. Consistent with Table 1, the individual level analysis suggests that the adaptive lookahead and classical planners provide the best account of the full condition, and that Start Hierarchy provides the best account of the no-constraint condition. In the full condition, ASTAR, BFS and the adaptive lookahead planner account for the responses of some individuals relatively well (regression scores around 0.6), but in the no-constraint condition no regression score for any individual exceeds 0.5. The results therefore suggest that none of the models provides a good account of individual performance in the no-constraint condition.

### Discussion and Conclusion

We applied a set of planners to the TOL task and evaluated their ability to predict actions and response times collected in a new behavioral experiment. Prior work on the TOL task often asks participants to form a complete plan before acting (Berg et al., 2010), and in this condition we found that an adaptive lookahead planner provides the best account of both actions and response times. This planner allows the size

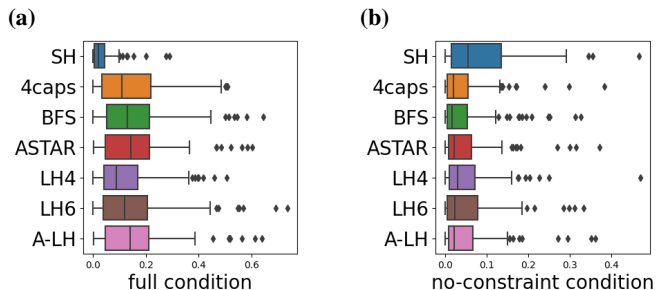


Figure 4: (a) Individual-level analysis of initial planning times. Panels (a) and (b) show regression scores for the full and no-constraint conditions, and each datapoint represents an individual participant.

of the search tree to depend on the difficulty of the current instance, and the good performance of this planner suggests that people flexibly navigate a speed-accuracy tradeoff when approaching sequential decision-making tasks.

The differences we observed between the full and no-constraint conditions confirm that people’s problem solving strategies depend on task requirements, but our planner evaluation did not provide a consistent picture about performance in the no-constraint condition. The adaptive lookahead planner provided the best account of action selection in this condition, but our analysis of response times found that none of the planners was more predictive than a simple structural parameter (Start Hierarchy). It may not be surprising that removing task constraints increases variability and makes experimental data more difficult to model, but our results suggest that more work is needed to develop a satisfying account of human performance in this condition. In this study, we used a regression model to account for the impact of condition and order independent of the current adaptive lookahead planner. However, this planner is highly adaptable and can capture these effects by incorporating adjustable components. For example, the condition effect could be controlled by adjusting the decision threshold, such that a larger threshold in full condition induces deeper thinking depth. Additionally, the order effect could be modeled as a more accurate heuristic estimation as participants gain more experience. Exploring these possibilities is an important direction for future research.

In our study, we employed the goal-counting heuristic as it is a domain-independent heuristic that has been widely used in similar tasks in psychological literature, as shown in previous work (Donnarumma et al., 2016; Simon, 1963). In addition to the goal-counting heuristic, we also tested other general heuristics derived from commonly used relaxations, such as the delete-relaxation (Hoffmann & Nebel, 2001). However, we found that these alternative heuristics did not significantly affect the performance in TOL. Nevertheless, we suggest that future studies explore such relaxations as potential alternatives to goal-counting.

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