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1 How cognitive heuristics can explain social interactions in
2 spatial movement

3

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14

15 **Abstract:**

16 The movement of pedestrian crowds is a paradigmatic example for collective motion. The
17 precise nature of individual-level behaviours underlying crowd movements has been subject
18 to a lively debate. Here, we propose that pedestrians follow simple heuristics rooted in
19 cognitive psychology, such as ‘stop if another step would lead to a collision’ or ‘follow the
20 person in front’. In other words, our paradigm explicitly models individual-level behaviour as a
21 series of discrete decisions. We show that our cognitive heuristics produce realistic emergent
22 crowd phenomena, such as lane formation and queuing behaviour. Based on our results, we
23 suggest that pedestrians follow different cognitive heuristics that are selected depending on
24 the context. This differs from the widely-used approach of capturing changes in behaviour via
25 model parameters and leads to testable hypotheses on changes in crowd behaviour for
26 different motivation levels. For example, we expect that rushed individuals more often evade
27 to the side and thus display distinct emergent queue formations in front of a bottleneck. Our

28 heuristics can be ranked according to the cognitive effort that is required to follow them.
29 Therefore, our model establishes a direct link between behavioural responses and cognitive
30 effort and thus facilitates a novel perspective on collective behaviour.

31

32 **Keywords:**

33 Cognitive heuristics, social interactions, collective behaviour, spatial movement, pedestrian
34 dynamics, decision making

35

36 **Introduction**

37 How do humans respond to the social environment and make decisions based on available
38 local information? One successful theory is based on cognitive heuristics [1,2,3]. Heuristics
39 are simple and efficient rules that do not necessarily lead to the global optimum but yield a
40 “good-enough solution”. For instance, if you have to choose between two alternatives, you
41 choose the one you know already rather than assessing the relative merit of both. This
42 decision rule is called the “recognition heuristic” and there is evidence for its efficiency and
43 use in humans [1]. In general, cognitive heuristics are “(a) *ecologically rational (i.e., they*
44 *exploit structures of information in the environment), (b) founded in evolved psychological*
45 *capacities such as memory and the perceptual system, (c) fast, frugal, and simple enough to*
46 *operate effectively when time, knowledge, and computational might are limited, (d) precise*
47 *enough to be modelled computationally, and (e) powerful enough to model both good and*
48 *poor reasoning*” [2]. There is a wealth of research showing their effectiveness [3]. A good
49 example of how simple rules may describe movement decision is given by McLeod and
50 Dienes [4]: in baseball, fielders do not compute the trajectory of the ball and then move to
51 that position. Instead, they may simply estimate whether the ball lands before or behind them
52 and continuously adjust their position accordingly.

53

54 Movement in the presence of others in particular is one context where individuals have to
55 respond to the social environment and make decisions based on local information.

56 Specifically, spatial movement and social interactions play an important role in the context of
57 pedestrian dynamics. Perceptual motor-control models can be used to describe individual
58 steering behaviour, including collision avoidance [5,6,7]. Social interactions have been
59 successfully studied with individual-based simulation models [8,9], which typically have a set
60 of behavioural rules or equations of motion and are studied by varying the model's
61 parameters to explore differences in behaviour.

62

63 In social force models [10,11], 'social forces' are directly translated into physical forces,
64 which accelerate the simulated pedestrian. Force vectors representing the various influences
65 on the simulated pedestrian are combined (e.g. interactions with other pedestrians or
66 preferred movement direction). To compute the motion of pedestrians, a second order
67 differential equation has to be solved. Whether the numerical scheme necessary for this
68 computation can be considered a cognitive capacity available to humans is questionable in
69 our opinion. In cellular automata [12,13], pedestrians move from cell to cell on a grid. The
70 next position is determined by either drawing from a probability distribution or optimising a
71 utility function; both options encode social interactions and personal preferences. In the
72 'optimal steps model' [14], a utility function is optimised on a circle around the simulated
73 pedestrian's current position. The radius of the circle coincides with a pedestrian's step
74 length, thus emulating stepwise motion in continuous space. However, utility optimisation has
75 been dismissed as an inaccurate description of cognitive processes [1]. Evaluating a
76 probability function, as is common practice with cellular automata, does not seem to be a
77 plausible model for human decision making either but may describe some observed crowd
78 phenomena.

79

80 Our approach presents a departure from previous work on pedestrian behaviour in that it is
81 based on the paradigm of cognitive heuristics. It does not rely on analogies from physics and
82 does not contain numerical optimisation schemes. Instead, mathematical operations used for
83 the heuristics are based on cognitive capacities that are known or can be expected to be

84 available to humans and animals showing similar behaviour. The model is intended to not
85 only describe behaviour but also cognition.

86

87 Particularly relevant to our study is the work by Moussaïd et al. [15,16], who proposed a
88 process oriented perspective on decision making of pedestrians. However, while process
89 oriented, their proposed rules lead to a numerically complex computational task. Specifically,
90 Moussaïd and co-workers postulate that pedestrians choose the most direct path towards
91 their target destination, taking obstacles into account. This behaviour is implemented by
92 finding the movement direction that minimises the value of a cost function. In contrast to
93 that, we propose rules that are computationally simple and therefore in our opinion more
94 plausible as a description of the cognitive process. We show how very simple heuristics can
95 be sufficient to produce plausible pedestrian dynamics.

96

97 A key novelty of our approach is that we explicitly compartmentalise behavioural responses.
98 More specifically, we hypothesise that pedestrians follow different cognitive heuristics that
99 are selected depending on the environment or context. This contrasts with previous work on
100 modelling social interactions in movement in which model parameters are adjusted to
101 reproduce or make predictions about the dynamics in different environments or contexts (e.g.
102 [11,17]). We suggest testable hypotheses derived from our approach. To give an example,
103 we propose a number of heuristics that represent an increase in the level of proactiveness or
104 competitiveness of pedestrians' movement decisions. In heuristics that are more proactive or
105 competitive, pedestrians tend to step to the side more often because they evaluate more
106 options. The differences between these heuristics could be interpreted as context-dependent
107 changes in social norms. Our approach facilitates a novel perspective on the behavioural
108 responses of pedestrians. We argue that heuristics can be ordered according to the level of
109 cognitive effort required to follow them, which may provide insights into decision making from
110 another perspective. In some contexts, very simple heuristics are sufficient to produce
111 plausible pedestrian dynamics, whereas in other contexts, they are not. In principle, this

112 allows us to make predictions on the extent to which pedestrians have free cognitive
113 capacities that they can use for other mental activities in different crowd movement
114 scenarios. Based on these insights, built environments could be designed in a way that
115 requires less cognitive effort and hence eases navigation for visitors.

116

117 To demonstrate the potential and usefulness of our approach, we report simulation results of
118 two scenarios that commonly occur in real life: pedestrians moving in one direction through a
119 narrow bottleneck, such as an exit door, and pedestrians moving in two directions in a
120 corridor.

121

122 **Methods**

123 ***Simulation procedure***

124 We represent pedestrians as disks of radius 0.2 m. Following previous work, we assume that
125 each pedestrian has a preferred speed that is drawn from a truncated normal distribution with
126 mean 1.34 m/s and standard deviation 0.26 m/s, truncated at 0.5 and 2.0 m/s [18]. Our
127 model simulates pedestrian movement in discrete time and space. However, pedestrians'
128 positions are not bound to a spatial grid and the simulation is not updated in fixed time steps.
129 Instead, pedestrians move by making discrete steps of a fixed length at time intervals
130 dictated by their preferred speed [19] and decide on the direction of their movement by using
131 one of the cognitive heuristics described below. The motivation for this approach is the
132 naturally stepwise human motion process. Additionally, there is evidence that decisions are
133 made for each step [20]. This discretisation of pedestrian movement, albeit in combination
134 with a utility optimisation scheme, was originally proposed with the optimal steps model [14].
135 Therefore, pedestrians make one decision for every step, and the step is realised in a
136 discrete process. Additional details on the simulation procedure can be found in the
137 supplementary information.

138

139 ***Cognitive heuristics for pedestrians***

140 We implement four cognitive heuristics that simulated pedestrians use to determine the
141 direction of their next step. Throughout, we assume that pedestrian movement is directed
142 towards a fixed target in space (e.g. the end of a corridor or an exit). Therefore, the default
143 movement preference of pedestrians is directly towards a target [21] in all four heuristics.
144 Targets are implemented as rectangular surfaces inside the simulated environment and
145 pedestrians attempt to move in a direct line from their current position to the nearest point on
146 this surface. When pedestrians reach an intermediate target, they are assigned the next
147 target and when they reach their final target, they are removed from the simulation. Our
148 cognitive heuristics implement this goal-directed movement, as well as the responses of
149 pedestrians to their environment (figure 1).

150

151 The *step or wait heuristic* describes the most basic movement behaviour that avoids
152 collisions (fig. 2a). Pedestrians assess if a step from their current location in the direction
153 towards their target leads to a collision. If not, they take the step. Otherwise, they remain
154 stationary. We define collisions to occur if the pedestrian's body overlaps with the body of
155 another pedestrian or a wall at any point on the path between their current location and the
156 location one step length directly towards their target. The only cognitive capacities necessary
157 for this heuristic are the anticipation of the next step towards the target (for the neural basis
158 of this capacity, see [22]) and the detection of a collision on the path to it (e.g. [23,5]).

159

160 With the *tangential evasion heuristic*, pedestrians first assess a step directly towards their
161 target. If this leads to a collision, they assess if they can make either of the two steps that
162 tangentially avoid the closest pedestrian between them and the target, starting with the step
163 that gets them closer to the target (see [24,25] for the estimation of distances). Only if both of
164 these steps also lead to a collision, they remain at the current position (fig. 2b). The only
165 additional computations necessary for this heuristic are finding the tangential evasion points
166 and estimating the distance to the target. In our simulations, these points are determined by
167 moving one step length along the tangents from the moving pedestrian's centre to a circle

168 around the centre of the pedestrian in their way. This circle has a diameter of two pedestrian
169 diameters, which avoids overlapping of the physical representations of pedestrians. This
170 heuristic contains the step or wait heuristic and adds further planning, making it more
171 demanding. We also suggest that since pedestrians evaluate more options in this heuristic
172 when compared to the step or wait heuristic, it is a more proactive or competitive heuristic
173 that pedestrians employ when their level of motivation to reach the target is higher.
174 Specifically, by evading to the side pedestrians tend to overtake others in front of them.

175
176 The *sideways evasion heuristic* extends the tangential evasion heuristic and is therefore
177 more demanding than the previous two heuristics. If tangential evasion steps are not
178 possible, pedestrians additionally consider evasion steps orthogonal to the direct line
179 towards the target, starting with the step that gets them closer to the target. Only if all of
180 these steps lead to a collision, the pedestrian remains at the current position (supplementary
181 figure S1). The sideways evasion heuristic comprises the evaluations of the previous
182 heuristics. Therefore, we suggest that the sideways evasion heuristic is more proactive and
183 competitive than the tangential evasion heuristic. Behavioural rules similar to the sideways
184 and the tangential evasion heuristics have been implemented previously [26]. However, this
185 implementation in a cellular automaton was not motivated through cognitive heuristics and
186 was not compared to empirical data.

187
188 In dense crowds, pedestrians may use the same path chosen by another pedestrian walking
189 in the same direction [27]. This is captured in the *follower heuristic* (supplementary figure
190 S2). If agents detect a collision with someone walking in the opposite direction on the path to
191 the target some steps ahead, they start following the closest pedestrian moving in the same
192 direction. If that fails, they use the sideways evasion heuristic to navigate directly to the
193 target. Collisions are detected by extending the direction to the target by 5 steps. To account
194 for pedestrians walking in the same direction, crossing paths are only considered a collision if
195 the other pedestrian's last movement direction has an angle greater than $2/3 \pi$ radians to the

196 target direction of the focal pedestrian. In that case, a pedestrian to follow is searched for
197 within a 10 m radius. This pedestrian must be within a range of $\pi/2$ radians relative to the
198 current walking direction of the focal pedestrian. Furthermore, the walking directions of the
199 two pedestrians must not differ by more than $\pi/2$ radians. While it is possible to change the
200 parameters of this heuristic (e.g. searching radius), we focus on conceptual ideas and the
201 general plausibility of heuristics and therefore keep parameter values fixed.

202

203 The follower heuristic assumes the capacity to anticipate the own movement towards the
204 target and detect collisions on this path, and to locate another individual moving in the same
205 direction (see [21,28] for details on motion perception). Additionally, it contains the
206 computational steps of the previously defined heuristics. Therefore, this heuristic is
207 potentially more demanding than the other three, but may also be less demanding if following
208 another pedestrian prevents tangential or sideways evasions. In contrast to the previous
209 heuristics, which can be ordered in terms of increasing levels of proactiveness or
210 competitiveness, the follower heuristics presents a departure from this concept. Being a
211 forward-planning strategy, which pedestrians may employ to facilitate their progress within a
212 crowd, it is certainly proactive. However, this strategy should not be related directly to
213 pedestrians being competitive, as it involves following and therefore accepting not to
214 overtake others, who move in the same direction.

215

216 Pedestrian decisions in our model are essentially deterministic. Stochasticity is introduced in
217 the simulations only through the pedestrians' preferred speeds, initial conditions (e.g.
218 positions of pedestrians), and the random resolution of conflicts in the order of movement
219 events. Once the general model parameters (pedestrian radius, preferred speeds, initial
220 conditions) have been set, the simulation proceeds according to the deterministic cognitive
221 heuristics. The heuristics we propose do not allow pedestrian to step backwards. Instead,
222 conflicts are resolved by evading tangentially, to the side, or by following another pedestrian
223 ahead. If two evasion directions around a conflict position yield equal progress towards the

224 target, one is chosen at random. Cultural norms may result in a preference for evasions to
225 the left or right around conflict positions (e.g. [17]) and it would be possible to include such
226 preferences in our model. We aim to model general behaviour and therefore do not
227 implement side preferences. Nevertheless, such preferences may have an impact on crowd
228 dynamics and should be introduced and calibrated according to measurements when
229 scenarios in specific contexts are studied.

230

231 Our model has been designed deliberately to be a modular framework of heuristics that can
232 easily be extended with additional behaviours. This is illustrated by the construction of new
233 heuristics by including other heuristics and is in line with the notion of a heuristic toolbox [1].
234 Furthermore, a similar approach has been successfully applied in robotics [29]. The
235 modularity not only allows for the incremental construction of behavioural rules but also
236 facilitates extending the model to describe additional behavioural features. As discussed
237 below, the flexibility may represent a challenge in model validation. However, we also argue
238 that this paradigm is plausible for evolved biological behaviour [1].

239

240 In the results and discussion section, we use the terms cognitive effort and cognitive
241 capacity. Cognitive effort is defined through the (explicitly stated) computational steps
242 necessary for the decision. A cognitive capacity is a computational step in a heuristic. An
243 additional discussion on the justification of the approach with cognitive heuristics can be
244 found in the supplementary information.

245

246 ***Bottleneck simulations***

247 We simulate pedestrians exiting a room (width 14 m, length 11 m) through a narrow
248 bottleneck (width 2 m, length 5 m). We position an intermediate target at the entrance to the
249 bottleneck and the final target at the end of the bottleneck (both targets are quadratic boxes,
250 side length: 1.4 m). At the start of simulations, 180 pedestrians are randomly distributed 8 m
251 in front of the bottleneck entrance inside a box of width 10 m and length 5 m (see also fig.

252 3a.1-c.1). The size of the room, bottleneck, and crowd are similar to the setup of an
253 experiment with volunteers [30]. We can therefore compare the output of our simulations
254 directly to experimental data. The experimental data comprises the trajectories of 179
255 pedestrians exiting through the bottleneck in one run, and we compare this data to 10
256 replicate simulations each for the step and wait, tangential, and sideways evasion heuristics.

257
258 We use a summary statistic to quantify pedestrian movement in the bottleneck scenario
259 (more details can be found in the supplement). This measure takes high values when the
260 queue is spread out along the width of the room in front of the bottleneck and low values for
261 long and narrow queues. Changes in this measure over time and across heuristics provide
262 insights into the form and stability of pedestrian queues.

263

264 ***Corridor simulations***

265 We simulate pedestrians moving in both directions through a 48 m long and 6 m wide
266 corridor. Pedestrians are introduced into the corridor by being placed at a random location
267 inside a box (width 5 m, length 2 m) at either end of the corridor. One additional pedestrian is
268 introduced into the scenario at a fixed rate, every 0.5, 1.0 or 2.0 seconds, on both sides of
269 the corridor. Once introduced into the corridor, pedestrians move towards a target that spans
270 the entire width at the opposite end of the corridor. The target is located 1.5 m in front of the
271 box in which pedestrians walking in the opposite direction are introduced into the corridor
272 (see fig. 4a.1 for environment layout). We run simulations for 300 s and stop introducing new
273 pedestrians after 250 s. We compare the results for 10 replicate simulations for each of our
274 four cognitive heuristics.

275

276 To compare the rate and efficiency at which pedestrians move through the corridor across
277 heuristics, we report the flow computed as the number of pedestrians that cross the halfway
278 mark through the corridor in either direction in 1 s. With this measure (more details can be
279 found in the supplement), we quantify the extent to which pedestrians form lanes, an

280 emergent phenomenon observed in empirical data that has also been reproduced in
281 computer simulations [10].

282

283 **Results and discussion**

284 To start with, we show that our heuristics produce plausible pedestrian dynamics in a
285 bottleneck scenario (figure 3). The simulation snapshots already indicate differences in the
286 dynamics between heuristics. The step or wait heuristic (fig. 3 a.1) produces a cone-shaped
287 agglomeration in front of the bottleneck. The tangential evasion heuristic (fig. 3 b.1) leads to
288 a more compact, rounded queue, and the sideways evasion heuristic (fig. 3 c.1) produces a
289 semi-circular queue. Although the limited field of view and camera distortion make it difficult
290 to see, it appears as if the experimental data (fig. 3 d.1) is closest to the tangential evasion
291 heuristic. The results for the follower heuristic were similar to the sideways evasion heuristic
292 (supplementary figure S5) because pedestrians adopting the follower heuristic revert to the
293 sideways evasion heuristic in the case of jamming.

294

295 The queue measure clearly illustrates differences between the three heuristics. The step or
296 wait heuristic (fig. 3 a.2) yields the smallest values for the measure capturing the fact that
297 queues produced by this heuristic are elongated and do not utilise the width of the available
298 space in front of the bottleneck (see fig 3 a.1). For this heuristic, the pedestrian crowd also
299 takes the longest to exit the room. The tangential evasion heuristic (fig. 3 b.2) leads to higher
300 queue measure values and the egress time is considerably faster. The sideways evasion
301 heuristic (fig. 3 c.2) results in even higher values for the queue measure, capturing the fact
302 that queues are wide (fig. 3 c.1). Interestingly, this heuristic does not lead to faster egress.
303 For the step or wait heuristic, the tangential evasion heuristic and the experiment, the queue
304 measure attains a roughly stable value shortly after the start until just before the end of
305 simulations. For the sideways evasion heuristic, this stable regime is either much shorter or
306 does not exist. Across the three heuristics, the tangential evasion heuristic matches the
307 empirical data (fig. 3 d.2) best.

308

309 Next, we investigate the steps pedestrians actually performed in simulations (e.g. sideways
310 or forward step). We verify that the respective heuristics lead to different behaviour and
311 reveals how the behaviour changes over time (fig. 3 a.3-d.3). For all heuristics, the dominant
312 behaviour over most of the time is to remain at the current position because of the
313 congestion in front of the bottleneck. At the beginning and increasingly towards the end, the
314 less congested state of the crowd allows for both steps forward and evasion steps. The
315 density-speed diagrams show that, in contrast to the experiment, heuristics do not reach
316 densities higher than 5 pedestrians/m² (supplementary figure S6 a-d). This can be explained
317 by the fact that pedestrians in the simulation do not close gaps in front of them when the
318 gaps are smaller than their preferred step length. However, the general shape of the density-
319 speed diagram produced by the simulations is comparable to the experimental data.

320

321 Taken together, these results show that while all heuristics produce plausible pedestrian
322 dynamics, simulations of the tangential evasion heuristic are the most similar to the
323 experimental data. However, we suggest that in other contexts, different heuristics may be
324 more relevant. When describing our heuristics for pedestrians, we have already introduced
325 the notion that some heuristics capture more proactive or competitive behaviour. This
326 suggests a testable hypothesis arising from our simulations. In situations when social norms
327 or the context demand a high degree of cooperation or courtesy or when people are not
328 rushed, they may use the step or wait or tangential evasion heuristic and we thus predict
329 behaviour similar to the dynamics observed in simulations of these heuristics. These
330 heuristics require fewer computations and are therefore less demanding cognitively. If
331 pedestrians attempt to reduce their cognitive effort [31] this may be their default behaviour. In
332 situations when people are highly motivated to pass through a bottleneck quickly (e.g. during
333 stressful evacuations), they may use the sideways evasion heuristic and thus we predicts
334 longer detours in order to overtake others. There is qualitative evidence on the shape of
335 queues supporting this hypothesis from an experiment in which the motivation of volunteers

336 to walk through a bottleneck was controlled carefully [32]. In contrast to previous work where
337 different motivation levels were captured by adjusting model parameters (e.g. [11]), we
338 suggest that changes in motivation lead to the adoption of different heuristics.

339
340 To investigate how crowd dynamics are affected by the use of different heuristics over time,
341 we consider four combinations of heuristics in the bottleneck scenario (fig. 4). First, we
342 randomly assign heuristics to pedestrians with equal probability at the start of simulations.
343 Second, we let pedestrian randomly choose one of the heuristics for each step with equal
344 probability. Third, pedestrians try to evade tangentially after having remained at one position
345 3 times and try to evade to the side after having remained 5 times. Once they have moved,
346 they revert back to the step or wait heuristic. Fourth, instead of reverting to the step or wait
347 heuristic as in the third scenario, pedestrians continue to follow the respective evasion
348 heuristic after having used it for the first time. We chose these examples to illustrate how
349 different ways of selecting heuristics affect the collective dynamics and to explore if
350 individuals who follow different heuristic exit faster or slower than others.

351
352 We report the percentage of each heuristic used over time (fig. 4 e-h.1), the queue measure
353 (fig. 4 e-h.2), and percentage of the observed stepping behaviours (fig. 4 e-h.3). With the
354 random distribution of heuristics, pedestrians following the tangential or sideways evasion
355 heuristics exit earlier than pedestrians following the step or wait heuristic (fig. 4 e.1). These
356 simulations produce a peak in the queue measure at the start of simulations (fig. 4 e.2). The
357 peak indicates that a broader queue shape forms, which subsequently dissolves before
358 pedestrians following the step or wait heuristic leave the scenario (fig. 4 e.3). When
359 pedestrians randomly select their heuristic strategy for each step with equal probability (fig. 4
360 f.1-3), evacuation times do not differ greatly from the tangential evasion heuristic (fig. 3 b.1-
361 3). In the third scenario, where pedestrians choose a more competitive strategy after
362 remaining at the same position for some time (fig. 4 g.1-3), the congestion builds up more
363 slowly but finally reaches the same values as in the previous scenario (fig. 4 g.2).

364 Pedestrians most often chose the sideways evasion heuristic between 30 to 60 s (fig. 4 g.1).
365 However, this does not result in frequent sidesteps, as they mostly have to remain at the
366 current position (fig. 4 g.3). In the fourth scenario, when pedestrians switch to a more
367 competitive heuristic after remaining at one position for some time and then keep using this
368 heuristic (fig. 4 h.1-3), the sideways evasion heuristic increasingly dominates the other
369 heuristics (fig. 4 h.1). Here, the egress times are shortest and similar to the tangential and
370 sideways evasion heuristic (fig. 3 b and c). The queue measure (fig. 4 h.2) increases until it
371 peaks at around 40 s with an equally high value as the sideways evasion heuristic (fig. 3 c.2).
372 Interestingly, the step or wait heuristic dominating at the beginning does not lead to an
373 increase in overall egress times.

374

375 We derive additional hypotheses from these results. Pedestrians who evade sometimes after
376 remaining at a position (fig. 4 g.1-3) do not seem to have an advantage compared to not
377 evading at all (fig. 3 a.1-3). Nevertheless, switching to a more competitive behaviour (fig. 4
378 h.1-3) seems to lead to the most efficient egress, that is, being cooperative first and then
379 competitive does not seem to have a disadvantage over being competitive from the
380 beginning. This suggests that it may be most efficient to first follow a cooperative strategy
381 with less cognitive effort and only switch to a competitive one if cooperation fails instead of
382 being competitive from the beginning (fig. 4 h.1-3). When there are cooperative and
383 competitive individuals in the crowd (fig. 4 e.1-3), the competitive individuals have a clear
384 advantage as they exit first, but there is no great difference between the tangential and
385 sideways evasion heuristic. The less competitive individuals also seem to benefit from the
386 competitiveness of others because the overall egress time decreased compared to full
387 cooperation (fig. 3 a.1-3). When available, sideways evasion is rather rare (fig. 3 c.3 and fig.
388 4 h.3) but does have a considerable impact on the queue measure. Tangential evasion
389 seems to be the preferred choice for intermediate congestion states as it peaks twice, at the
390 beginning and towards the end, when all evasion options are available. As our findings

391 depend on how exactly pedestrians select the heuristic they follow, we provide a useful
392 illustrative indication of the implications of these dynamics.

393

394 We now investigate if our heuristics also provide plausible dynamics in the second scenario,
395 bi-directional flow in a corridor (figure 5). The snapshots give an indication for the differences
396 in dynamics between heuristics. The step or wait heuristic (fig. 5 a.1) produces a global jam
397 and poor usage of space (pedestrians are not evenly distributed in the available space). The
398 tangential evasion heuristic (fig. 5 b.1) and follower heuristic (fig. 5 d.1) lead to a more even
399 distribution of pedestrians in space, but local jams still appear. The sideways evasion
400 heuristic (fig. 5 c.1) produces the most even distribution of pedestrians in space, and no jams
401 are visible in the corridor for this simulation. The follower heuristic is the only heuristic for
402 which the snapshot gives an indication of lane formation. However, pedestrians walking in
403 opposite directions still encounter each other on both sides, that is, the two walking directions
404 are not separated into constant stable lanes.

405

406 The flow of pedestrians over time confirms these qualitative observation (fig. 5 a-d.2). In
407 simulations with the step or wait heuristic, no steady flow of pedestrians through the corridor
408 can be established. As pedestrians with this heuristic lack the ability to walk around
409 oncoming pedestrians, it inevitably leads to a jam of pedestrians in the corridor (fig. 5 a.2).
410 Although this heuristic leads to plausible crowd movement in the bottleneck scenario, in a
411 scenario with pedestrians walking in opposite directions, it is not appropriate. In simulations
412 with the remaining three heuristics, we can observe a constant flow of pedestrians in the
413 corridor for low pedestrian densities (delays 1.0 and 1.5 s). At the start of the simulations,
414 there is a transient time before a constant flow is established, and at the end of simulations,
415 the flow decreases with the number of pedestrians still inside the corridor. However, for
416 higher densities (delay 0.5 s), the tangential evasion and the follower heuristic sometimes fail
417 to sustain a flow of pedestrians through the corridor. The flow initially reaches a high level,
418 but then decreased as local jams occur, spread and gradually make the corridor impassable.

419 Only the sideways evasion heuristic leads to a constant flow of pedestrians at the highest
420 rate entrance rate of pedestrians (with the exception of one run). This suggests that the
421 tangential evasion and the follower heuristic may only apply to particular contexts (certain
422 pedestrian densities in this case). For higher densities, a different strategy is necessary.

423

424 It is a well-documented phenomenon that pedestrians form lanes by walking behind one
425 another in dense crowds [33,27]. We found that evidence for lane formation was not very
426 pronounced for all heuristics apart from the follower heuristic. Here, a strong, spatially
427 localised tendency of pedestrians walking in the same direction when crossing the halfway
428 line emerged over time (movement direction measure; fig. 5 a-d.3 and supplementary table
429 S8). Therefore, if we take the emergence of lanes as the criterion for a plausible pedestrian
430 model, we have to conclude that only the follower heuristic is appropriate in this context.

431 Previously developed simulation models have also succeeded in producing lanes in
432 pedestrian crowds. However, simulations with these models typically implement periodic
433 boundary conditions by connecting the two ends of the corridor and have to run simulations
434 for some time before stable lanes are formed [10].

435

436 Although experiments with volunteers on pedestrians moving in corridors have been
437 conducted [33,8,27], a direct comparison to simulations is difficult. In experiments,
438 participants typically enter a corridor segment centrally at one end and leave at the sides on
439 the opposite end [34]. Individual-level target choice (i.e. which side to exit on) and forward-
440 planning (e.g. participants observe the establishment of a convention of keeping left/right)
441 would require additional modelling steps implementing individual decision-making to
442 meaningfully compare pedestrian simulations to such experiments. Therefore, a
443 comprehensive comparison of our heuristics to empirical data is beyond the scope of this
444 work.

445

446 The two simulation studies suggest that some heuristics are more plausible than others
447 depending on the context. The step or wait heuristic produced plausible emergent behaviour
448 in the bottleneck scenario but failed to resolve most basic conflicts in the corridor scenario.
449 The sideways evasion heuristic both allowed for egress through a bottleneck as well as
450 counter flow without jamming. However, it did not produce lanes in the pedestrian flow. The
451 follower heuristic was not able to always prevent jams in the corridor but did produce lanes.
452 In general, we suggest that heuristics are selected depending on the context. This is the
453 crucial difference of our approach compared to most previous modelling frameworks. Instead
454 of formulating one model that attempts to describe all aspects of pedestrian dynamics with
455 changes in model parameters, we suggest that there is a collection of heuristics that are only
456 activated if they are chosen for a specific task based on cues from the environment [3].

457

458 Table 1 summarises the cognitive heuristics we propose and their respective different levels
459 of cognitive effort. Our simulations demonstrate that some heuristics can adequately
460 describe pedestrian dynamics in some situations but that the same heuristics are inadequate
461 for other situations (e.g. step and wait heuristic can describe queuing at exit, but not bi-
462 directional flow in a corridor). Based on this, we suggest that some situations impose a
463 higher cognitive demand on pedestrians. This hypothesis could be tested experimentally. For
464 instance, exposing pedestrians to such situations and measuring their performance in a
465 separate task to be accomplished at the same time (e.g. a counting task) could reveal how
466 much cognitive effort can be diverted away from walking in the presence of others. Previous
467 work has already shown such effects in individuals moving in the absence of others [35].

468

469 **Conclusions and future directions**

470 We proposed four cognitive heuristics that describe and can be used to simulate pedestrian
471 behaviour (summarised in table 1). The heuristics are modular, can contain each other, and
472 therefore vary in degree of complexity. Their computational steps are based on the cognitive
473 capacities of humans. Hence, they are plausible hypotheses for the human decision making

474 process and a step towards explaining social interactions in spatial movement. We used
475 simulations to study emergent effects in two scenarios: egress through a bottleneck and bi-
476 directional flow in a corridor. We validated our results for the former scenario by comparing
477 simulations to a controlled experiment. The simulation results demonstrated how different
478 heuristics lead to different group-level dynamics and we argued that a collection of heuristics
479 is necessary to describe human behaviour for local navigation tasks. Our approach to
480 simulating pedestrian dynamics is fundamentally different to previous models since it allows
481 for the direct study of cognitive processes. We suggest that heuristics can help to explain the
482 cognitive effort connected to moving in a social environment depending on the context.
483 Additionally, we hypothesise that the motivation of pedestrians to move faster could influence
484 the choice of heuristics.

485

486 In order to draw conclusions from our model, it has to be tested against empirical
487 observations. This poses a challenge since it is not clear when a proposed heuristic is a valid
488 model. We argue that the simplest cognitive heuristic that can reproduce an emergent effect
489 is the best model. This argument is supported by the principle of parsimony [36], and we
490 additionally argue that biological organisms economise on energy consumption and hence
491 cognitive efficiency due to evolutionary pressure. Furthermore, free cognitive capacities allow
492 for the coordination of other mental activities and hence give an additionally evolutionary
493 advantage.

494

495 If one heuristic has been found to be inadequate for the description of some phenomenon,
496 this does not mean the paradigm of cognitive heuristics is wrong. It may simply be the wrong
497 heuristic for the context under consideration. At first glance this presents a potential
498 challenge to the paradigm: it appears to allow for new heuristics for every possible novel
499 context. To a certain extent this is plausible, as humans are likely to use a large number of
500 cognitive heuristics [1]. However, the cognitive abilities of humans present a natural limit to
501 the number and nature of cognitive heuristics that can be considered in our approach.

502 Furthermore, as more heuristics for pedestrian behaviour are developed, the usefulness of
503 each heuristic has to be re-assessed according to the parsimonious principle outlined above.
504 Therefore, selecting or detecting which heuristics are actually used is a key challenge in
505 future model development. One consistent approach could be to find heuristics for the
506 selection process. Another approach could be to use unsupervised learning methods from
507 machines learning (e.g. [37]) to discover basic behavioural building blocks. Although large
508 data sets are necessary for this, with technologies on the rise that allow for cheap recording
509 of pedestrian motion and at the same time ensure anonymity and data protection (e.g. [38]),
510 it seems feasibly to conduct such research.

511

512 The explicit modelling of cognitive heuristics or rules of thumb for pedestrian dynamics has
513 practical advantages: the description of heuristics can be given in general language and the
514 resulting models can therefore be used more easily by experts from fields other than
515 mathematical modelling. Although technical knowledge may be necessary for algorithmic
516 implementations, new heuristics can be proposed by a wide community. Furthermore, tools
517 could be developed that allow for the combination and the testing of cognitive heuristics
518 without technical knowledge about the precise mathematical computation.

519

520 In our simulation model, we have focused on an initial development of cognitive heuristics for
521 pedestrians and on demonstrating the usefulness of this approach. Many extensions to our
522 model are possible and may even be necessary. We have already mentioned that additional
523 heuristics will have to be developed to capture the decision making of pedestrians in different
524 contexts. For example, structured social interactions (e.g. with friends or family; [39]) could
525 result in the introduction of compromise decisions in heuristics. Staying close to family
526 members or friends may stand in contrast to moving quickly through a narrow bottleneck. In
527 such situations, a compromise has to be found, which can be realised by linearly combining
528 terms for different objectives [6]. Another aspect of pedestrian behaviour that naturally entails
529 some compromise is walking around a corner. Usually humans want to keep a certain

530 distance to walls. This stands in contrast to passing around the corner on the shortest path.
531 Pedestrians may accept getting very close to the wall directly at the corner but keep a
532 greater distance otherwise [40].

533

534 Our cognitive heuristics only capture the movement decisions of pedestrians. To account for
535 microscopic aspects of movement that are based on physical (e.g. collisions) or
536 biomechanical properties (e.g. locomotion, gait), a continuous motion process is necessary.
537 Our heuristics-based decision process could be complemented with a physical layer.
538 Decisions could be passed on to a physical or biomechanical model that executes the
539 resulting movement. An advantage of this extension would be that phenomena based on
540 physical contact, such as shock waves in crowds [15], could be simulated along with a
541 plausible psychological decision process. The discrete stepping process and additional
542 heuristics could be used to investigate macroscopic features of pedestrian flow through
543 microscopic simulation and help to test assumptions about the underlying mechanisms. For
544 example, Johansson [41] proposed that the distance pedestrians keep to others in front
545 could be related to their stepping behaviour. He showed how this distance and the variation
546 in speeds between individuals can determine the density-speed relation.

547

548 Modelling pedestrian behaviour with cognitive heuristics opens up links in many directions.
549 Therefore, our approach may inspire researchers from many fields to use a similar approach
550 to study questions in their domain. Given the same paradigm, findings can also be integrated
551 and used across disciplines. Therefore, our model could be the start of a new line of
552 research studying social interactions.

553

554

555 **Ethical statement**

556 No experiments with humans or animals were conducted for this research. The empirical
557 data used had been published before and is cited accordingly.

558 **Competing interests**

559 We have no competing interests.

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565 **Authors' contributions**

566 MJS and NWFB designed the study; MJS, NWFB, and GK analysed and interpreted the
567 data. MJS conceived of the simulation model, designed and implemented the simulation
568 procedures, carried out the simulation study and statistical analysis; MJS and NWFB drafted
569 the article; MJS, NWFB, and GK critically revised the article and gave final approval for
570 publication.

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576

577

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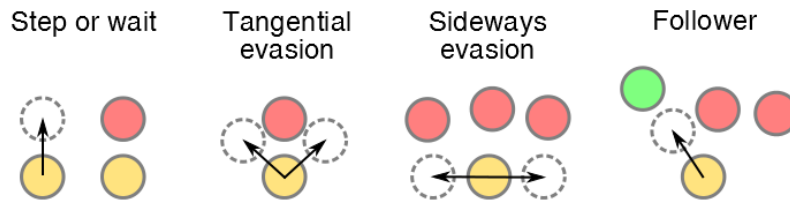
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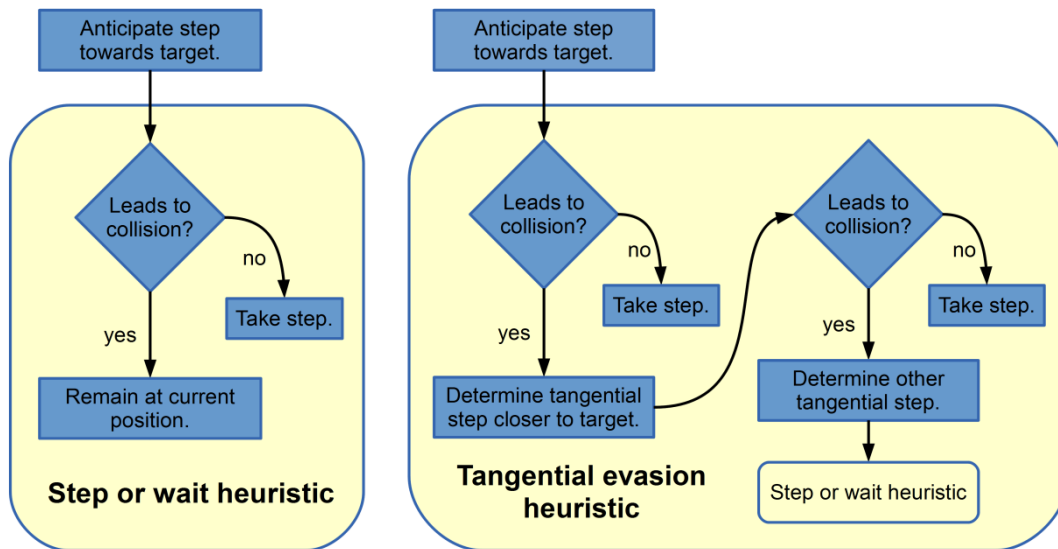
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829 Figure 1: Illustration of behaviours with the four heuristics. The focal pedestrian is the lower, filled
830 (yellow) circle; the solid circles on top are other pedestrians; and the dashed circle represent possible
831 movement steps with the respective heuristics. In all cases, pedestrians try to move towards the top.
832 With the step or wait heuristic, pedestrians either take the step or wait if the position is already taken.
833 With the tangential evasion heuristic, pedestrians choose steps to the side of the conflicting other
834 pedestrian. With the sideways evasion heuristic, pedestrians move to their own side with respect to
835 the target if the path is blocked. With the follower heuristic, they try to follow another pedestrian
836 walking in the same direction (here, to the upper left, in green).

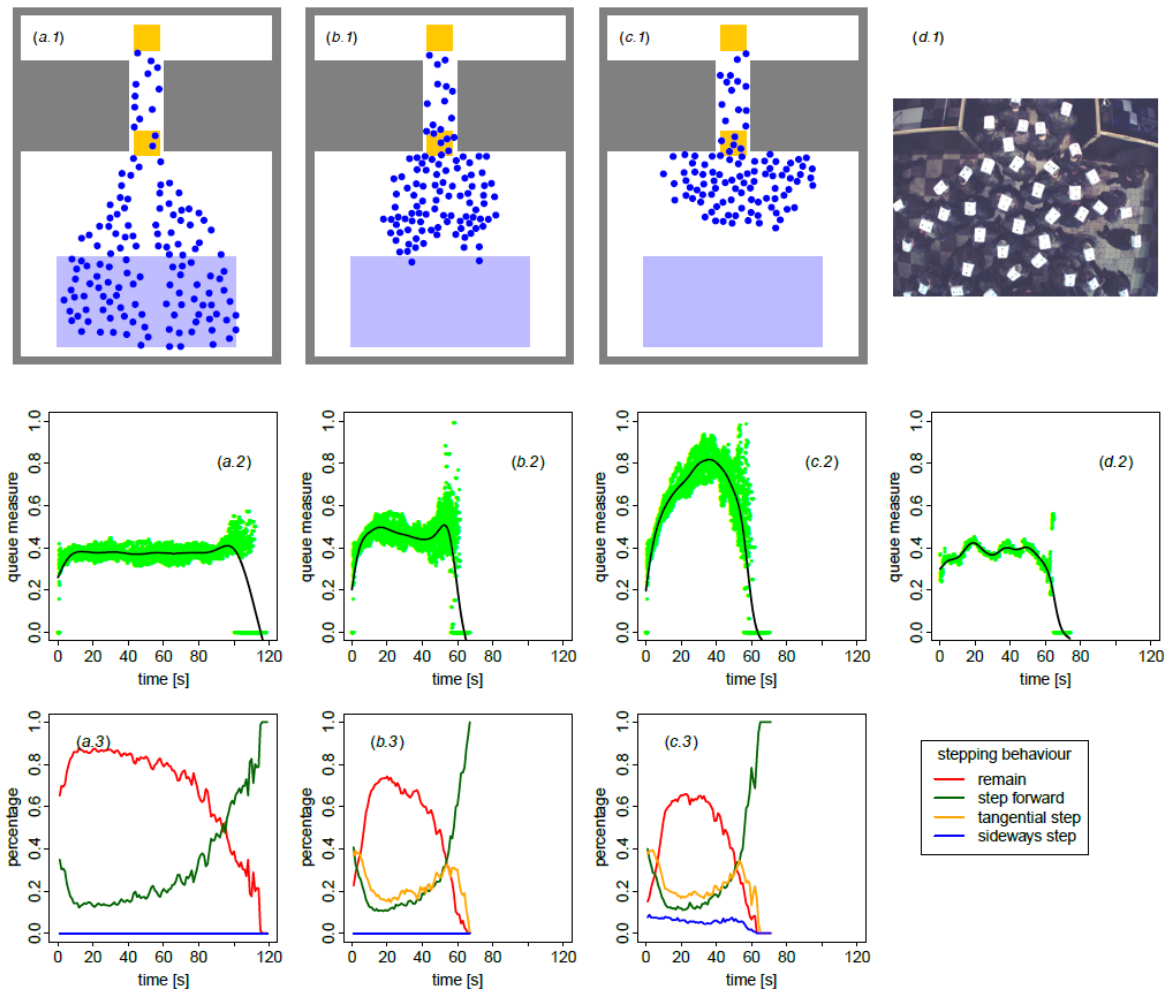
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838

839 Figure 2: Basic cognitive heuristics for pedestrian decision making. We show the 'step or wait
840 heuristic' on the left and the 'tangential evasion heuristic' on the right. Each computational step
841 represents a cognitive capacity that has to be available. Heuristics are shown in (yellow) boxes with
842 rounded corners. Rectangles (in blue) show actions or calculations of pedestrians and (blue)
843 diamonds show binary decisions. Rectangles with round corners (in yellow) show whole heuristic

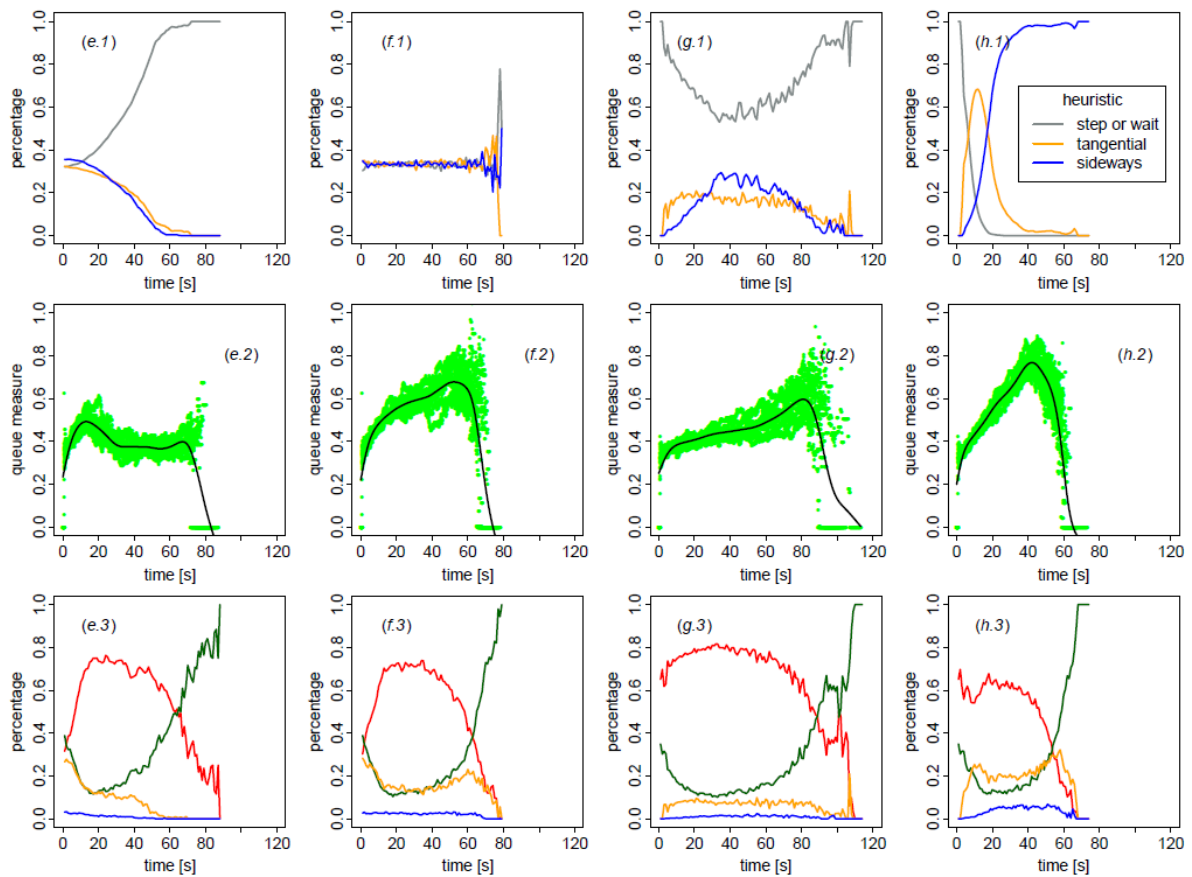
844 building blocks, which can appear in other heuristics. For example, the tangential evasion heuristic
 845 contains the step or wait heuristic and therefore has higher cognitive demand.
 846



847
 848 Figure 3: Analysis of an egress scenario with the step or wait heuristic (a.1-3), tangential evasion
 849 heuristic (b.1-3), sideways evasion heuristic (c1-3), and the results from a controlled experiment
 850 (supplementary material and methods, [29]) with a similar experimental design (d.1-3). The snapshots
 851 in the first row were taken 30 s after the start of the first simulation run (a.1-c.1) and 30 s after the start
 852 of the experiment (d.1; still image of experiment reproduced with permission of the authors in [28,29]).
 853 The camera distortion visible in d.1 was corrected in the experimental data analysed in d.2-3. In the
 854 simulations, pedestrians (blue disks) walk from their initial positions inside the blue rectangle to the
 855 intermediate target (yellow rectangle) at the beginning of the corridor and then to the final target
 856 (yellow square top of image). The queue measure in the second row (a.2-d.2) quantifies the shape of
 857 the crowd in front of the bottleneck. A queue measure of 0 would indicate that pedestrians queue in a
 858 single line in the middle of the corridor. Individual data points from 10 replicate simulation runs (a.2-

859 c.2) and the single experimental run (d.2) are shown in green. The black line is a spline regression
 860 through the scatter plot. The peak of the queue measure towards the end of simulations is caused by
 861 insufficient pedestrian numbers to maintain long queues. The third row (a.3-c.3) shows the observed
 862 stepping behaviour of all agents averaged over the 10 replicate simulations . The three heuristics
 863 produce different shapes in front of the corridor, which can be seen in both the snapshots and the
 864 quantitative queue measure.

865

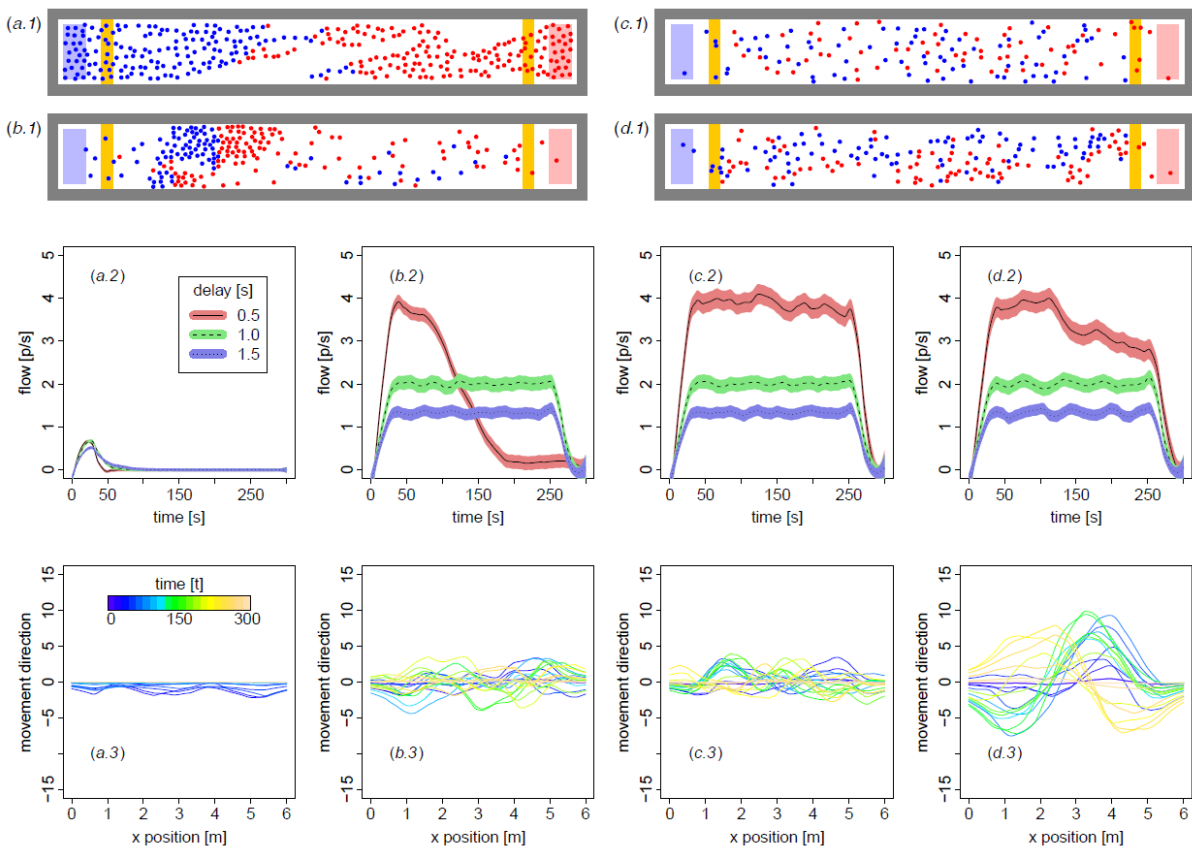


866

867 Figure 4: Analysis of the egress scenario (fig. 3) with combinations of the step or wait, tangential
 868 evasion, and sideways evasion heuristic. In e.1-3, individuals follow one of the heuristics with equal
 869 probability throughout the simulation run. In f.1-3, the probabilities are the same, but which heuristic
 870 they follow is newly decided for each step. In g.1-3, pedestrians follow the step or wait heuristic. After
 871 not moving for 3 steps, they follow the tangential evasion heuristic, and after 5 steps not having
 872 moved, they follow the sideways evasion heuristic. If they can move, they follow the step or wait
 873 heuristic again. In h.1-3, the same scheme is used, but pedestrians follow the heuristic for the rest of
 874 the run once they have chosen another one. The first row (e-h.1) shows which heuristics pedestrians

875 followed over time. The second row (e-h.2) reports the same queue measure used in fig. 3 and the last
 876 row (e-h.3) shows the observed stepping behaviour. The first row visualises the number of agents
 877 present in the simulation following the respective heuristics and supplements the interpretation of the
 878 emergent behaviour in the third row. We averaged the data of 10 simulation runs and 1 s in simulated
 879 time for the first and third row.

880



881

882 Figure 5: Results from corridor simulation study with the step or wait heuristic (a.1-3), tangential
 883 evasion heuristic (b.1-3), sideways evasion heuristic (c.1-3), and follower heuristic (d.1-3). We vary the
 884 rate at which pedestrians enter the corridor (lower delays between pedestrians imply higher rates).

885 The snapshots are for simulations with a delay of 0.5 s and were taken 100 s after the start of the first
 886 simulation run (a.1-d.1). Blue circles depict pedestrians walking to the right and red circles pedestrians
 887 walking to the left. Pedestrians are created at the coloured rectangles (blue and red) at the ends of the
 888 corridor and walk to the opposite target (yellow rectangles). In the second row (a.2-d.2), the average
 889 flow of pedestrians in the middle of the corridor across 10 replicate simulations is shown with a 0.95
 890 confidence interval of the regression line. The last row (a.3-d.3) shows our measure for lane formation

891 over the width of the corridor in the middle of the corridor in one simulation run with a delay of 1.0 s for
892 one representative simulation run (supplementary table S8 for the average across simulation runs).
893 The abscissa (x-axis) specifies the lateral position in the corridor. Positive values indicate more
894 homogeneous flow in one direction, negative values more homogeneous flow in the other direction.
895 Greater absolute values indicate a higher degree of lane formation. When following the step or wait
896 heuristic, pedestrians cannot avoid each other and stop when they meet others walking in opposite
897 direction. The tangential evasion heuristic and follower heuristic lead to occasional jams with at a
898 delay of 0.5 s. The sideways evasion heuristic allows for flow without jams for all three delays. The
899 follower heuristic produces the highest degree of lane formation.

900

Features \ Heuristic	Definition	Emergent behaviour in Bottleneck scenario	Emergent behaviour in Contra-Flow scenario	Potential cognitive effort (ordinal scale)	Cognitive demand
Step or wait heuristic	Pedestrians anticipate the next step but only take it if it does not lead to a collision.	Pedestrians do not overtake or walk around others, passive queueing.	Immediate congestion when pedestrians walking in opposite direction meet.	1	Anticipate step towards target, detect collisions
Tangential evasion heuristic	If the next step leads to a collision, pedestrians try to avoid it tangentially.	Pedestrians sometimes try to overtake and walk around others, no queueing.	Congestion with higher densities, minor lane formations	2 (contains step or wait heuristic)	+ determine tangential evasion directions, estimate distances
Sideways evasion heuristic	If tangential evasion fails, pedestrians then try to avoid the collision to the sides.	Pedestrians very frequently overtake and walk around others, no queueing.	Least likelihood of congestions, least lane formations	3 (contains tangential evasion heuristic)	+ determine sideways evasion directions
Follower heuristic	If a collision on the path towards the target is detected, pedestrians follow another individual walking in the same direction.	Similar to the chosen proximity evasion heuristic, active queueing if no proximity evasion is used.	Moderate likelihood of congestion with high densities, strongest lane formations	4 (contains sideways evasion heuristic)	+ determine walking directions of other pedestrians, select other pedestrian to follow

901

902 Table 1: Summary and comparison of different cognitive heuristics for pedestrians. The first column
903 gives a brief definition of the heuristic. The second and third column describe emergent effects in the
904 bottleneck and corridor simulation scenarios. The fourth column orders the heuristics on an ordinal
905 scale according to how demanding they are in terms of cognitive effort. We only state that a heuristic
906 with a higher value is at least as demanding as a heuristic with a lower value, but we do not attempt to
907 quantify by how much heuristics differ in potential cognitive effort required. The last column
908 summarises the cognitive demand each heuristic poses. More demanding heuristics include the
909 cognitive demand from the heuristics above (indicated with a "+").