

1 **Evidence for the ‘safety in density’ effect for cyclists; validation of agent-based**
2 **modelling results**

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Abstract

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16 The safety in numbers (SiN) effect for cyclists is widely observed but remains
17 poorly understood. Although most studies investigating the SiN phenomenon have
18 focused on behavioural adaptation to 'numbers' of cyclists in the road network,
19 previous work in simulated environments has suggested SiN may instead be driven
20 by increases in local cyclist spatial density, which prevents drivers from attempting
21 to move through groups of oncoming cyclists. This study therefore set out to
22 validate the results of prior simulation studies in a real-world environment. Time-
23 gap analysis of cyclists passing through an intersection was conducted using five
24 hours of video-observation of a single intersection in the city of Melbourne,
25 Australia, where motorists were required to 'yield' to oncoming cyclists. Results
26 demonstrated that potential collisions between motor-vehicles and cyclists reduced
27 with increasing cyclists per minute. These results successfully validate those
28 observed under simulated conditions, supporting evidence of a proposed causal
29 mechanism related to safety in density (SiD) rather than safety in numbers, per se.
30 Implications of these results for transportation planners, cyclists, and
31 transportation safety researchers are discussed, suggesting that increased cyclist
32 safety could be achieved through directing cyclists toward focused, strategic
33 corridors rather than dispersed across a network.

34

What is already known on this subject

35

- It is understood that greater numbers of cyclists in a road transport system reduces risk per cyclist, producing a 'safety in numbers' effect

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37

- Potential mechanisms underlying the safety in numbers effect are contested

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- A candidate causal mechanism underlying the Safety in Numbers effect has been suggested based on local spatial density of cyclists; Safety in Density.

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What this study adds

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- This work provides empirical validation of prior simulation results conducted using agent-based modelling.

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- Higher-density groups of passing cyclists prevent potential collisions between motor-vehicles who reject available time-gaps.

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45

- This mechanism provides insight into the SiN phenomenon, which has so far eluded comprehensive explanation.

46

47 **Introduction**

48 The safety in numbers (SiN) effect for cyclists is a widely referenced and observed,
49 but poorly understood phenomenon[1-3]. Although a wide range of academic and
50 applied studies cite SiN as a potential solution to car vs cyclist crashes (hereby
51 referred to as 'collisions')[3-7], there is currently little definitive evidence to guide
52 policy-makers or transport planners in how to use SiN to create a safer cycling
53 environment beyond simply encouraging 'more cyclists' into the system. Despite
54 the lack of evidence surrounding the mechanism(s) that underpin it, the most
55 widely forwarded understanding of SiN is that it is driven by 'behavioural
56 adaptation' among drivers[8, 9]. That is, the more drivers see and become aware of
57 cyclists on the road (or become cyclists, themselves), the more they learn to drive
58 safely around them. Other authors have suggested that variation in risk associated
59 with behavioural adaptation may be supplemented or off-set by improvements to
60 cycling infrastructure[10], seasonal characteristics, [6] general traffic
61 characteristics[11, 12], or behaviour of cyclists[13] that coincide with changes in
62 cycling rates.

63

64 There is little doubt that the SiN effect is genuine. Observed at both a macro and
65 meso-level, there is consistency across studies that the per capita number of
66 collisions between cyclists and cars (i.e., collision risk) for cyclists increases more
67 slowly as more cyclists enter the system[3]. However, beyond manifold studies that
68 have used historic datasets of collisions and cyclist volumes to demonstrate this
69 effect, as well as more recent work involving video-recording of intersections
70 across seasons[6], there is little research studying car vs cyclist interactions at the
71 individual (micro) level. This has restricted the ability of studies to draw
72 conclusions regarding the mechanisms underlying SiN that extend much beyond
73 conjecture. It is important to address this knowledge gap as proposed interventions
74 designed to reduce deaths and injuries among on-road cyclists may prove
75 ineffective, or potentially more dangerous, without accurate understanding.

76

77 Recognising these limitations, previous work has attempted to create agent-based
78 models (ABMs) of cyclist vs car interactions within simulated transport
79 systems[14-16]. ABMs allow both macro and micro-level behaviour of systems to

80 be observed. Within such models, the behaviour of individual drivers and cyclists
81 can be monitored alongside the overall performance (i.e., safety) of the system.

82

83 The results of ABMs of car vs cyclist interactions have suggested that the SiN
84 effect can be replicated in simulated transport systems where drivers demonstrate
85 behavioural adaptation in response to exposure to cyclists[15, 16]. However, it can
86 also be replicated in circumstances where drivers show no capacity to 'learn' to
87 drive safely around cyclists at all[14]. Rather, the SiN effect can be reproduced
88 simply through encouraging behaviour that leads to the formation of higher-density
89 cyclist groups. This reduces the surface-area to volume ratio of cyclists to cars in a
90 manner analogous to the 'selfish-herd' mechanism common to biological predator-
91 prey relationships[17, 18]. The previous computational observations and synthetic
92 evidence[19] produced by these ABMs do not discount the fact that behavioural
93 adaptation may be an additional mechanism contributing to the SiN effect, but
94 suggests that behavioural adaptation is not a necessary condition for reducing risk
95 given certain spatial configurations of cyclists in a network. Therefore, rather than
96 SiN, the theory informed by agent-based modelling proposes that higher levels of
97 safety can be achieved through increasing density; i.e., safety in density (SiD).

98

99 While acknowledged as a potential mechanism[9], the SiD hypothesis has been
100 criticised from the perspective that it is derived from computational models, only,
101 and that no in-situ empirical evidence exists that cyclists 'cluster' in the real world.
102 Whilst the same concerns regarding lack of empirical evidence can also be applied
103 to the behavioural adaptation hypothesis, it is somewhat simpler to address
104 concerns related to spatial phenomena, which can be directly observed.

105

106 The focus of this study was therefore to observe micro-level interactions of cyclists
107 and vehicles at an intersection mirroring that created in prior ABMs to determine
108 how cyclist density is associated with per-capita collision risk for cyclists. In doing
109 so, we aimed to gather empirical evidence of the SiD hypothesis' operation in a
110 real-world situation under conditions that prevented opportunity for behavioural
111 adaptation. Consistent with previous macro-level research demonstrating a
112 decreasing risk of collision per cyclist with increasing cyclist volume, it is
113 hypothesised that increasing density of cyclists at a single intersection will be

114 associated with a decreasing per-capita cyclist risk of potential collision with cars
115 when interacting in 'yield' situations.

116

117 **Method**

118 *Intersection characteristics*

119 Data collection occurred through video recording of naturalistic traffic behaviour
120 occurring at an inner-city cross-intersection in Melbourne, Australia. The intersection
121 was chosen for four reasons. Firstly, it was located along a popular cycling route that
122 featured a marked (not separated) cycling lane carrying a high volume of commuter
123 cyclists to and from Melbourne's central business district. This ensured that adequate
124 volume of cyclist and car interactions could be logged and analysed within the
125 recording period. Secondly, because the north-south route on which cyclists travelled
126 was largely blocked to car traffic, the primary movement of cars at the intersection at
127 the recording time was across the intersection in an East-West direction, producing
128 consistent required judgements and behaviours among drivers. Thirdly, because the
129 selected intersection has previously recorded several car vs cyclist collisions, it has
130 been identified as 'high risk' by local road authorities to the extent that it features high-
131 visibility electronic, flashing signs that warn motorists that cyclists are present (see



132 Figure 1). In this respect, all drivers approaching the intersection were provided with
133 standardised information designed to raise awareness that cyclists were potentially
134 present. Lastly, the combination of intersection and vehicle characteristics described
135 above, were like those observed in the previously analysed simulated environments
136 [i.e., 14, 20, 21].

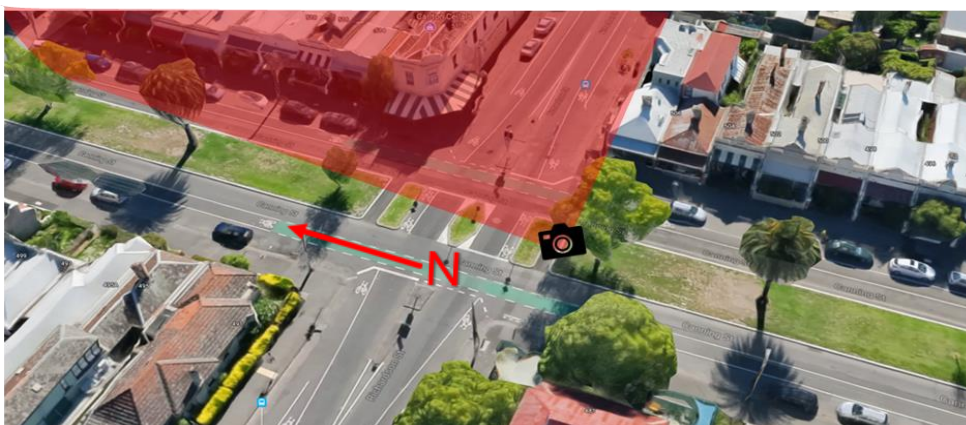
137

138 **Figure 1. The selected intersection (pictured) was chosen based on high cyclist**
139 **volume, consistency of car movements, and standardised information regarding**
140 **the possible presence of cyclists provided through warning signs.**

141 ***Video recording of car and cyclist interactions***

142 Video recording occurred over a period of five separate days over an 8-day period
143 during daylight hours between 8am and 9am during early June, 2017 to capture
144 morning commuter traffic. Both a variety of days of the week and weather were
145 sampled including 2 x Mondays, a Wednesday, Thursday, and a Friday. One day of the
146 week (Tuesday) was not captured due to heavy rain, making recording impractical. A
147 small, concealed video camera was mounted in a tree on the median strip facing
148 North-East at an angle of approximately 45 degrees to the centre of the intersection.
149 This provided full view of oncoming Northern and Eastern traffic as well as cross-
150 traffic from the West. A view of the selected intersection and indicative camera angle
151 is shown in Figures 2 and 3. Though the camera was concealed so as not to distract
152 drivers or cyclists, researchers remained close to the intersection to answer questions
153 from pedestrians or residents who may have noticed the researchers mounting and
154 un-mounting the cameras at the beginning and end of each recording session. The
155 research was approved by the University of Melbourne Human Research Ethics
156 Committee (1749212.1).

157



158

159 **Figure 2. View of the selected intersection showing orientation, location and**
160 **coverage of the video camera.**

161 ***Data coding***

162 Time-stamped video footage was manually coded to an accuracy of 0.1 sec by the
163 research team (including review of coding accuracy) for all cyclist movements
164 flowing North-South and car-movements flowing East-West (see Figure 3). All
165 other car, pedestrian and bicycle movements were ignored for the purposes of this
166 study. Instances where other vehicle movement potentially interfered with bicycle-
167 vehicle interactions (e.g., a North-South travelling car entered the intersection)
168 were also removed from analysis. The following data was coded for each cyclist as
169 they moved through the intersection:

- 170 • cyclist unique identification number (identified per event, not by person);
- 171 • time at which the cyclist moved through the centre of the intersection; and
- 172 • time-gap between the leading cyclist to the following cyclist.



173
174 **Figure 3. View from the concealed camera of the intersection including a**
175 **cyclist approaching from the North and two waiting drivers from the East.**

176
177 Similarly, the following data was recorded for each driver movement:

- 178 • driver unique identification number (unrelated to vehicle license plate);
- 179 • time at which the driver arrived at the intersection and was at the front of
180 the queue; and
- 181 • time at which the driver started crossing the intersection.

182 Recording these variables produced a temporally ordered list of cyclists and
183 drivers that moved through the intersection over five, 1-hour periods. This
184 allowed calculation of variables, including:

- 185 • the time gap of approaching cyclists to the intersection at the instant when
186 drivers arrived at the intersection (sec);
- 187 • number of cyclists each driver gave way to before moving away from the
188 intersection (n);
- 189 • time gap between each cyclist passing through the intersection (sec); and
- 190 • frequency of cyclists passing through the intersection during each recorded
191 minute (cyclists / min).

192

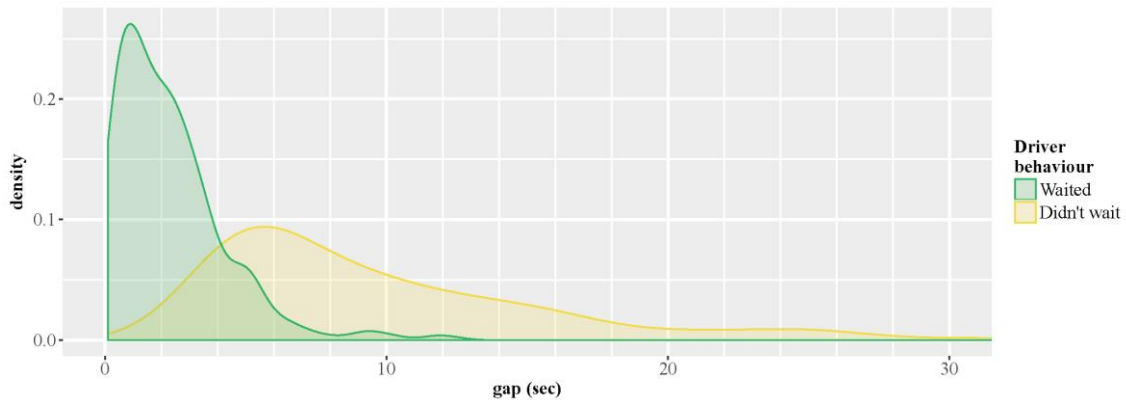
193 Potential collisions were recorded as instances in which a gap of < 4.2 seconds
194 existed between a driver moving through the intersection (gap acceptance) and a
195 cyclist then passing through. Potential collisions therefore represented instances in
196 which drivers made a judgement that was beneath the 50th percentile of that left by
197 all drivers, leading them to potentially misjudge the distance or time in which it
198 would take them to clear the intersection before the arrival of a cyclist (incorrect
199 gap acceptance)[22]. The selection of the < 4.2 second threshold for categorisation
200 of potential collisions was made after analysis of gap acceptance and rejection
201 distributions detailed in the Results section, below. Though 50% of drivers rejected
202 gaps below 4.2 seconds (i.e., waited), these instances were considered of negligible
203 risk [23] or ‘missed opportunities’ [22] by the driver.

204

205 **Results**

206 Figure 4 shows two kernel density estimates [24] of the gap acceptance of drivers
207 who reject (green) or accept the time gap (yellow) upon arrival at the intersection.
208 The distributions overlap, with gaps below 10 seconds generally those when drivers
209 became more likely to ‘reject’ the time-gap as too small for entry (observed: [0.1,
210 12.4]) and longer gaps (>10 seconds) when drivers accepted the gap and moved
211 through the intersection (observed: [2.3, 45.7]).

212



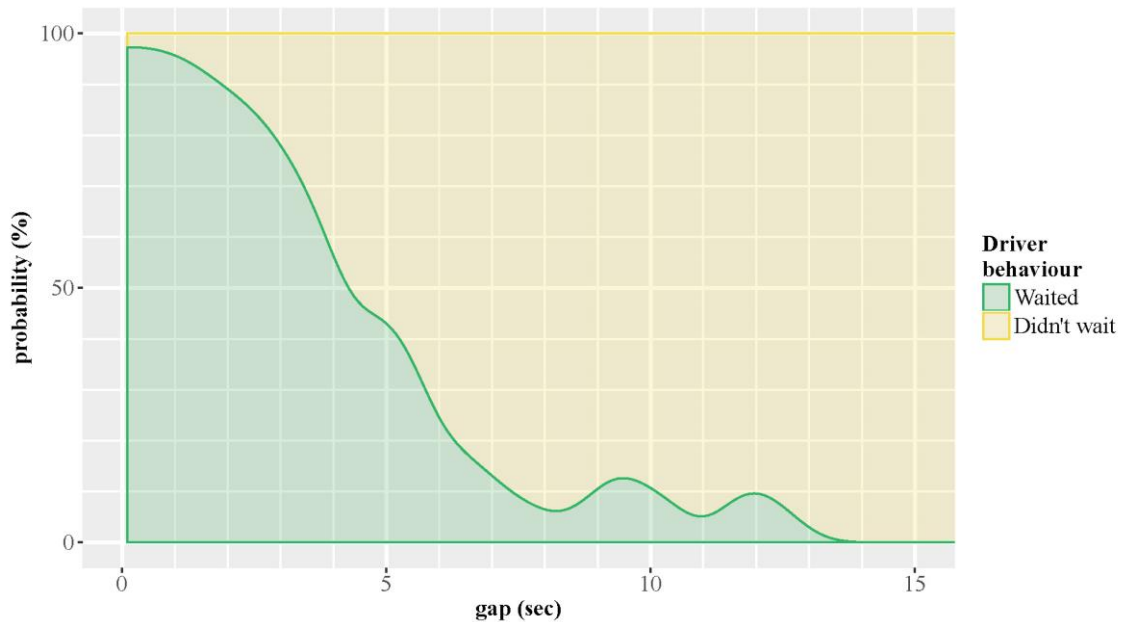
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214 **Figure 4. Time gap acceptance (yellow) or rejection (green) for drivers arriving**
215 **at the intersection and arrival of approaching cyclists.**

216

217 Of all observed drivers, 489 rejected the gap (waited), while 431 cars accepted the
218 gap (did not wait). If drivers waited for cyclists at all, the mean number of bicycles
219 they gave way to was 2.31 (SD 2.11). The probability that a driver accepted or
220 rejected the time gap until the next cyclist reached the intersection is shown in
221 Figure 5. This figure shows a critical time gap[25] of approximately 4.2 seconds at
222 which half of the drivers decided to wait, while the other half did not wait. At this
223 interval, cyclists experienced the most uncertain driver behaviour. The observed
224 critical time gap was in the mid-range of previously modelled acceptance ranges of
225 between 2 and 6 seconds [23]. Note that the probability of a driver waiting did not
226 monotonically decrease for increasing gap times, potentially due to the limited
227 observational data in this research.

228



229

230 **Figure 5. Probability estimates for driver behaviour based on the time gap to**
 231 **the next cyclist showing proportions of time-gap acceptance (yellow) and**
 232 **rejection (green).**

233

234 ***Collision risk with variation in cyclist density***

235 The frequency of potential collisions per minute (y) (accepted time gaps of < 4.2
 236 seconds) was modelled using the number of cyclists per minute (x) as a single
 237 explanatory variable. Potential collisions and the number of cyclists were counted
 238 each minute across the total five hours of captured video footage, resulting in an
 239 appropriate sample of cyclist density and potential collision counts ($n = 385$). Count
 240 data was not affected by over-dispersion ($\rho = 0.99$) [26]. Hence, the potential
 241 collision count was modelled using Poisson regression[e.g., 27] following Equation
 242 (1).

$$y = e^{a+\beta x} + \varepsilon \quad (1)$$

243

244 Parameter estimates are presented in Table 1 and are significant at a confidence
 245 level < 0.001. The fitted number of potential collisions is then divided by the
 246 number of cyclists to obtain the per cyclist collision risk at each level of cyclist
 247 density (see Figure 6). Hence, the potential collision count was modelled using
 248 Poisson regression[e.g., 27] following Equation (1), with α and β the model's
 249 parameters related to the intercept and sensitivity to the number of cyclists and ε
 250 the random error component.

251

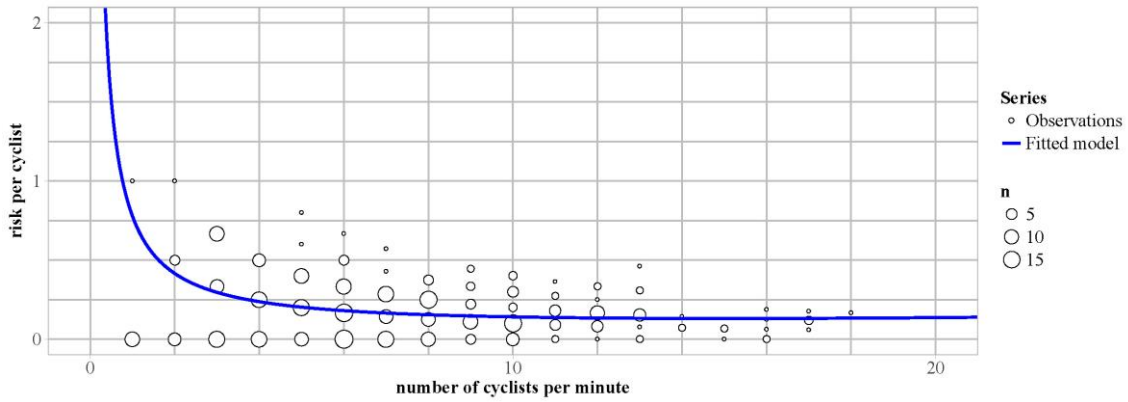
252 **Table 1. Parameter estimates of Poisson regression.**

	Estimate	Std. error	zvalue	P(> z)
α	-0.32	0.10	-3.31	.000
β	0.07	0.01	6.65	.000

253

254 The resulting estimated risk per cyclist (r) was:

255
$$r = \frac{e^{-0.32+0.07x}}{x} \quad (2)$$



256

257 **Figure 6. Potential per-cyclist crash risk (y-axis) with increasing count of**
 258 **cyclists per minute (x-axis).**

259

260 Evident from Figure 6 is the significant reduction in potential per-cyclist crash risk
 261 in circumstances of higher-density cycling. That is, in periods where more cyclists
 262 passed through the intersection per minute, per-cyclist potential collision risk
 263 decreased. This effect of cyclist density on potential collision risk was independent
 264 of behavioural adaptation by drivers.

265

266 Discussion

267 The current study supported our hypothesis, demonstrating that potential per-
268 cyclist collision risk decreased with increasing cyclist density (i.e., cyclist count per
269 minute). It demonstrates the SiD hypothesis' operation in a real-world situation
270 under conditions where observations occurred within a limited period, precluding
271 opportunity for behavioural adaptation by drivers. Extrapolated across a transport
272 network, these findings are consistent with previous macro-level observations
273 relating to the SiN effect. However, they make an important advance by providing
274 further insight into a potential mechanism underlying the reduction in per-cyclist
275 risk, namely, cyclist density.

276

277 In a series of ABMs, Thompson et al.[14-16] demonstrated that the SiN effect could
278 be reproduced within a synthetic road network with or without the influence of
279 modelled behavioural adaptation among simulated drivers. This indicated that SiN
280 may be better expressed as SiD because changes in the observed per-capita risk
281 among simulated cyclists was driven by a spatial phenomenon primarily related to
282 the density of cyclists in the system rather than numbers, per se. However, in a
283 subsequent review of potential mechanisms underlying SiN, Jacobsen et al. (2015)
284 discounted the likelihood of this candidate mechanism, arguing that no empirical
285 evidence of SiD had been demonstrated outside computational models. This study
286 now provides such evidence, shedding potentially new light on mechanisms
287 underpinning an issue that has interested transportation safety researchers for
288 some time [e.g., 1, 2, 12]. For example, in a recent exploration and meta-analysis,
289 Elvik[12] questioned the causal mechanisms underlying SiN by highlighting an
290 apparently counter-intuitive relationship between cyclist volume and the strength
291 of the safety in numbers effect. Elvik noted that it was weakest when cycling
292 volumes were highest and that no clear relationship existed between the strength
293 of the SiN effect and the ratio of motor-vehicles to cyclists across a network.
294 Viewed as a phenomenon that is the result of an aggregation of local level
295 interactions, however, we consider that Elvik's findings are consistent with results
296 presented here.

297

298 That is, at specific times and locations where cyclist density is high, the movement
299 of motor-vehicles (and potential collisions) is restricted because time gaps

300 between cyclists are smaller and more likely to be rejected by drivers. At specific
301 locations and times when cyclist density is low, time-gaps are larger and more
302 likely to be accepted by drivers, resulting in higher per-capita collision risk as
303 drivers and cyclists more frequently interact. These interactions considered at a
304 micro-level may be independent of total cyclist numbers, total motor-vehicle
305 numbers, or motor-vehicle to cyclist ratios when measured across the network[14,
306 16]. When total cyclists, motor-vehicles, and collisions are then measured at the
307 level of a region, city, or country, cyclist numbers vs reduced crash risk profiles may
308 well emerge. However, it does not necessarily follow that cyclist numbers or ratios
309 are the causal mechanism underlying SiN. Rather, higher cyclist numbers may
310 simply make it more likely that locations of dense cycling activity occur within a
311 network, which restricts unsafe interactions between cars and cyclists in those
312 locations and results in reduced overall crash risk per-cyclist.

313

314 Consistent with reduction in strength of the SiN effect at high cyclist or pedestrian
315 volumes as reported by Elvik[12], the SiD effect may also be subject to saturation
316 at very high volumes when gap rejection tolerances for individual drivers[23] are
317 exceeded. This can be seen in Figure 6, where very little reduction in risk is
318 achieved for cyclists in circumstances where the per-minute rate exceeds 12
319 cyclists per minute (an average time-gap of 5 seconds). Conversely, if cyclist
320 numbers are dispersed widely across a network, time-gaps may be wider, more
321 likely to be accepted by drivers, and the opportunity for the SiD mechanism to
322 operate may be reduced[14]. Again, this is not dissimilar to the selfish-herd
323 mechanism observed in biological systems, which protects individual herd-
324 members from predators by reducing the surface-area to volume ratio of the
325 group[17, 18]. Dense groups of cyclists have a smaller surface-area to volume ratio
326 than dispersed groups, which provides a protective effect against motor-vehicle
327 incursions through the group.

328

329 The policy implications of these findings are important to consider for
330 transportation planners, cyclists, and researchers, alike. For planners, they suggest
331 that reducing risk of collision for cyclists in 'yield' situations can be achieved
332 through increasing the density of cyclists along strategic routes. This could be
333 achieved through identifying a well-connected network of cycling routes that are

334 highlighted and recommended to cyclists. Cyclists, themselves, can be encouraged
335 to use these routes in the knowledge that higher density cycling that reduces the
336 time-gap between themselves and other cyclists (to less than 4.2 seconds in the
337 case of the observed intersection) may reduce car vs cyclist crash risk for
338 themselves and fellow travellers. This is a departure from previous policy advice
339 that has advocated that decreased crash risk can be achieved by increasing
340 number of cyclists across the network without consideration of cyclists' immediate
341 local context[e.g., 5, 28].

342

343 For researchers, these results highlight the utility of ABMs to identify new
344 theoretical models in-silico that can then be tested in the field. To date, most work
345 attempting to study SiN has been based on cross-sectional or longitudinal
346 observations of crash-numbers alongside cyclist and motor-vehicle volumes[3, 11].
347 The availability of aggregate data in this form originally drove the development of
348 the SiN theory[4]. However, it is possible that the strength of the original findings
349 may have led to a subsequent degree of observer dependence, whereby data
350 collection has largely continued to follow existing theory focused on 'numbers' of
351 cyclists across a system rather than alternative spatial mechanisms as described
352 here. Instead, the synthetic evidence collected from ABMs[14-16] has enabled a
353 new perspective on the way we could collect observational data[29] related to
354 cycling safety that has been operationalised in this study.

355

356 There are limitations to the present research that restrict generalisation of results.
357 Firstly, the studied interactions between drivers and cyclists were of purposefully
358 designed, simple, select nature where only 'give-way' ('yield') behaviour by drivers
359 was observed. Reductions in potential collision risk in situations where cyclists
360 travelled in parallel with (i.e., alongside) drivers were not studied. Further, though
361 the density measure used in this study relates to time-gaps between cyclists and
362 between cyclist and car-movements, the actual distance in metres was not
363 recorded. It is therefore unclear whether drivers' judgement on when to move
364 through the intersection was based on an estimate of time (e.g., estimation of
365 distance x speed)[22] or simply distance from the cyclist; although it seems
366 reasonable to assume that drivers incorporate the estimated speed of the cyclist
367 (i.e., time-based reasoning).

368

369 Another limitation is that the cyclist / motor vehicle interaction under study related
370 to driver judgement and behaviour of West-travelling motor-vehicles, only.
371 However, during observation, five near-misses and one minor crash were also
372 witnessed for drivers travelling East, who failed to stop for oncoming cyclists at all.
373 Each of these near-miss incidents required cyclists to take evasive action (i.e., to
374 brake heavily) and occurred in circumstances where drivers appeared to be blinded
375 to on-coming cyclists by bright, early-morning sunshine (see Figure 7). The SiD
376 model as described here is unable to account for these 'failed to see'[30]
377 occurrences where saliency of cyclists was either low or the driver's perception was
378 poor. Previous theoretical models have, however, attempted to account for these
379 factors in the context of the SiD effect[16], providing an avenue for future
380 observational studies to explore this issue. This highlights a final important
381 limitation in that our methodology did not measure counts of actual collisions, but
382 situations in which a collision was made more possible through a potentially risky
383 driver manoeuvre. It therefore assumes that the ratio of actual collisions to
384 potential collisions as defined here is robust.

385



386

387 **Figure 7. Photograph taken from the intersection facing East, showing similar**
388 **circumstances under which 5 near-misses and one minor collision were**
389 **observed, possibly due to drivers being 'blinded' to the presence of cyclists by**
390 **early-morning sunshine.**

391

392 **Conclusions**

393 The current study has provided empirical validation of the SiD hypothesis'
394 operation in a real-world situation. It has demonstrated that reduced potential
395 collision risk is associated with reduced time-gaps between cyclists passing
396 through intersections that prevent motor-vehicles from moving between on-coming
397 cyclists (gap rejection). Using a methodology based on synthetic evidence gathered
398 evidence from previous computational observation and experimentation[19-21, 31],
399 this work has provided further support for a candidate causal mechanism
400 underlying the widely observed general relationship between cycling numbers and
401 safety; a mechanism that has thus far eluded comprehensive explanation in the
402 cycling safety literature.

403

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