

Who gets lost and why: A representative cross-sectional survey on sociodemographic and vestibular determinants of wayfinding strategies

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1 **Abstract**

2 When we think of our family and friends, we probably know someone who is good at finding
3 their way and someone else that easily get lost. We still know little about the biological and
4 environmental factors that influence our navigational ability. Here, we investigated the
5 frequency and sociodemographic determinants of wayfinding and their association with
6 vestibular function in a representative cross-sectional sample (N = 783) of the adult German-
7 speaking population. Wayfinding was assessed using the Wayfinding Strategy Scale, a self-
8 report scale that produces two scores for each participant representing to what degree they rely
9 on route-based or orientation (map-based) strategies. We were interested in the following
10 research questions: (1) the frequency and determinants of wayfinding strategies in a population-
11 based representative sample, (2) the relationship between vestibular function and strategy
12 choice and (3) how sociodemographic factors influence general wayfinding ability as measured
13 using a combined score from both strategy scores. Our linear regression models showed that
14 being male, having a higher education, higher age and lower regional urbanization increased
15 orientation strategy scores. Vertigo/dizziness reduced the scores of both the orientation and the
16 route strategies. Using a novel approach, we grouped participants by their combined strategy
17 scores in a multinomial regression model, to see whether individuals prefer one strategy over
18 the other. The majority of individuals reported using either both or no strategy, instead of
19 preferring one strategy over the other. Young age and reduced vestibular function were
20 indicative of using no strategy. In summary, wayfinding ability depends on both biological and
21 environmental factors; all sociodemographic factors except income. Over a third of the
22 population, predominantly under the age of 35, does not successfully use either strategy. This
23 represents a change in our wayfinding skills, which may result from the technological advances
24 in navigational aids over the last few decades.

25

26 Introduction

27 Wayfinding; the ability to find one's way in an unfamiliar environment, has an outstanding
28 place among our cultural skills. The ability to find one's way in a complex environment is no
29 trivial feat. It is therefore not surprising that we find a high degree of variability in individuals'
30 ability and the strategies used and declines in normal aging [1], in neurodegenerative disease
31 [2] and with vestibular dysfunction [3,4]. These strategies have been broadly defined as route
32 strategies and orientation strategies [5,6]. The difference between these two strategies is
33 demonstrated in Figure 1.



34
35 **Figure 1. Illustration of the two main wayfinding strategy types. Left: the orientation strategy**, in
36 which individuals use spatial relations and global reference points such as the sun or cardinal directions to
37 navigate. Individuals that use this strategy often report having a 2D map of the environment in their head.
38 An example orientation strategy statement: *“I keep track of the direction (north, south, east or west) in*
39 *which I was going”*. **Right: the route strategy**, where individuals make navigation decisions based upon
40 information in their immediate environment from an egocentric viewpoint. They may know to turn left at
41 the building with ivy on the wall. An example route strategy statement: *“Before starting, I ask for*
42 *directions telling me whether to turn right or left at particular streets or landmarks”*. Images from Virtual
43 Tuebingen, based on [7,8]

44 Route strategies, also called “path” or “response-based” strategies involve wayfinding by
45 learning a route from a starting point to a destination as a sequence of instructions based on
46 local orientation points or landmarks cues [1,2,5]. The route strategy requires only an egocentric
47 frame of reference or a path view of the environment [1], in other words the viewpoint that is

48 always present when we navigate through the environment. Knowledge from this path can then
49 be used to assemble the positions into a network of internal representations of landmarks, routes
50 and other positional information. This network of information; often described as a “cognitive
51 map” [6,9] of the environment, provides us with survey knowledge, i.e. an integrated
52 understanding of the spatial layout of the environment, including relative distances between
53 objects. The orientation strategy makes use of this conglomerate of information; global
54 reference points, e.g. the position of the sun, distances or the cardinal directions [5,10,11] are
55 used to navigate the environment. This strategy is thought to rely on an allocentric frame of
56 reference, a bird’s eye perspective or a map-like internal representation of the environment,
57 representations that are independent of one’s current position and orientation in space [9].

58 Both orientation and route strategies have their advantages and disadvantages. The orientation
59 strategy, when used correctly, allows individuals to take detours or find the correct path when
60 approaching a known intersection from another direction [9,12]. The route strategy is
61 computationally less expensive and therefore likely faster, but individuals are not flexible in
62 finding their way [13]. This suggests that persons that use the orientation strategy have superior
63 wayfinding ability, although individuals may be the most proficient if they are able to combine
64 techniques from both strategies [14].

65 Neurological disorders can selectively affect wayfinding strategies. Disorientation and
66 impaired wayfinding are often the first signs of senile dementia and Alzheimer’s disease [2,4].
67 The hippocampus and surrounding medial temporal lobe (MTL) are some of the first brain
68 regions affected by Alzheimer’s disease and dementia [15]. The MTL plays a key role in
69 memory, in particular spatial memory. It is thought to provide important computations for map-
70 based or allocentric navigation [16,17]; computations specific to the orientation strategy.
71 Vestibular dysfunction, the partial or complete loss of function in the vestibular organ or central
72 pathways, is a less well known, but widespread neurological disorder. In an ongoing cross-
73 sectional survey in the United States, vestibular dysfunction, measured by the presence of

74 vertigo/dizziness, was present in over half of the individuals over the age of 40 [18]. Vestibular
75 dysfunction also leads to a decrease in hippocampal size and an associated decrease in
76 navigational ability [3,19,20]. This suggests that Alzheimer's disease, dementia and vestibular
77 dysfunction may specifically impair the ability for persons to use the orientation strategy.
78 Alternatively, recent evidence suggests that vestibular dysfunction strongly influences
79 cognitive function and navigation in general [3,18,21,22]. It was associated with a decrease in
80 cognitive function equivalent to adding five years of age [18], suggesting that vestibular
81 dysfunction may affect both navigation strategies.

82 Although we have started to understand the factors that affect strategy use in individuals, there
83 is also much we do not know. One consistent factor that influences wayfinding is gender. Men
84 appear to consistently prefer orientation strategies and generally have superior performance
85 [5,10,23]. Unfortunately, most of the research on wayfinding has either come from small
86 populations [11] or samples with a restricted range of sociodemographic and biological
87 characteristics, primarily college undergraduates [5,10]. We therefore conducted the current
88 study in order to examine the sociodemographic and vestibular components of wayfinding
89 ability in a representative cross-sectional sample of the German population. The three
90 objectives of the study were (1) to investigate the frequency and determinants of wayfinding
91 strategies in a population-based representative sample (2) to test whether vestibular function
92 affects only the orientation strategy or both wayfinding strategies and (3) to examine the
93 frequency of combined scores in the population and how sociodemographic factors influence
94 general wayfinding ability as measured using both strategy scores.

95 **Methods**

96 **Sample**

97 The data were collected through a computer-assisted telephone interview (CATI-interview)
98 with trained interviewer, as part of an omnibus survey performed by the market research Kantar

99 Health (<http://www.kantarhealth.com/>). To collect a cross-sectional representative sample from
100 the German-speaking population, the Infratest telephone master sample (ITMS) was designed
101 according to the consortium of German market research institutes (Arbeitsgemeinschaft
102 deutscher Marktforschungsinstitute, ADM-Design) [24]. Participants were recruited if they had
103 a minimum age of 18 and a landline; constituting 90% of all private households in Germany.
104 Participants gave oral informed consent before the questionnaire was administered, in
105 accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki. The telephone numbers were based on the official
106 German telephone registry, stratified according to administrative districts and community sizes.
107 Additional numbers were generated by random selection of the last two digits of telephone
108 numbers. Finally, telephone numbers were randomly selected at the community level. This
109 three-stage sampling design is thought to ensure an unbiased sample selection that excludes
110 clustering effects and allows a random selection of defined targets. For example, the lifetime
111 prevalence of 25-30% expected for vertigo/dizziness was estimated with a precision of 2.7%
112 from a sample size of 1,000 participants using the same sampling design [25,26]. Data
113 collection ran December 11th, 12th and 16th 2015.

114 **Measures**

115 The Wayfinding Scale [5], was used to determine relevant predictors of wayfinding strategy
116 types and wayfinding ability. The original scale comprises a total of 14 items; nine items for
117 the orientation strategy, with a maximum score of 45, and five items for the route strategy, with
118 a maximum score of 25. For every item on the original scale, there is a 5-point-likert answering
119 scale, where 1 means *not at all typical for me* and 5 *very typical for me*. For the purpose of this
120 study we deleted one item concerning orientation strategy (“I refer to a published road map
121 when I drive”) because of the decreased use of written maps and increase use of mobile devices
122 for navigation. Additionally, an item from 2002 modified International Wayfinding Scale [10]
123 (“I found maps of the building or complex, with an arrow pointing to my present location, to
124 be very helpful”) replaced one item concerning the route strategy (“Before starting, I ask for a

125 hand-drawn map of the area”) for similar reasons. Consequently, the Wayfinding Scale used
126 had 13 items instead of 14 items and a maximum attainable score of 40 instead of 45 for
127 orientation strategy. The questions used in our Wayfinding Scale can be found in the supporting
128 information (S1 File). For further analysis, the individual sum scores from each strategy were
129 scaled to 100 to compare the individual wayfinding ability among the two strategies and to
130 determine which strategy was preferred.

131 The original scale was adapted for German by multiple iterations of a translation-retranslation-
132 procedure by a team of German and English native-speakers [27]. Because the Wayfinding
133 Scale has been used several times [5,10,28] in different countries [29] and associated with real-
134 world navigational tasks [11], it is regarded as valid and transferrable for the current study.

135 Sociodemographic characteristics included age, sex, education, household income, and a
136 nationally defined regional urbanization metric. Age was stratified into four brackets (18-35,
137 36-55, 56-70, 71-96). The division at age of 55 was near to the median age and allowed to
138 include the thesis of hormonal regulation [30,31]. Education was measured by the highest level
139 of academic achievement. Level of education was then grouped according to the International
140 Standard Classification of Education (ISCED 97) [32,33] into primary/lower secondary,
141 secondary/non-tertiary, upper secondary and tertiary education. The 15 individuals still in
142 school were grouped with the participants who were in secondary, non-tertiary education.
143 Education and household net income were stratified into quartiles. Two items assessed vertigo
144 and balance: “Did you experience moderate or severe dizziness or vertigo during the last 12
145 months? (rotational vertigo, staggering vertigo, imbalance) and “How good is your sense of
146 balance compared to other people your age?”. The town sizes are shown according to BIK
147 regions, which is a national regional classification system established by the market research
148 institute BIK Aschpurwis + Behrens GmbH, comparable to the Metropolitan Statistical Areas
149 (MSA) in the USA [24]. BIK systematics better express the structural features of today’s city
150 regions than the Boustedt method (or the current political town size classes in the new federal

151 states). Existing municipalities in Germany are defined as BIK regions according to the number
152 of inhabitants of a catchment area and the size and intensity of commuter links [34,35]. The
153 BIK-regions can be seen as a measure of regional urbanization, classified by the number of
154 inhabitants per region.

155 **Statistical analysis**

156 Categorical variables were summarized by frequencies and percentages. Continuous variables
157 were summarized by mean and standard deviation.

158 To adjust for the effect of over- or under-representation of specific person groups, e.g. the over-
159 representation of middle aged and upper-/middle-class participants, the sample was weighted
160 by federal state, regional division system, age, gender, occupation, education and the number
161 of individuals living in a household. Thus, each target person was fitted with an individual
162 weighting coefficient. The weighting coefficients summed to the sample size, while the mean
163 value of the weights across the sample was equal to one. Individual weightings ranged from
164 0.27 to 12.69. A weighting of less than one reduced the effect of an over-represented person
165 and a weight greater than one was meant to adjust the influence of participants that were
166 underrepresented in the sample [32,36,37]. If not stated otherwise, we present the weighted
167 results.

168 To investigate the determinants of wayfinding, we applied separate linear models for both
169 orientation and route scales as outcomes using the Wayfinding Scale score values (S2 Table).
170 Regression diagnostics for all models included tests for multicollinearity using the variance-
171 inflation-factor and residual-plots, Breusch-Pagan-Screening-Test for heteroscedasticity and
172 Kolmogorov-Smirnov-test for normal distribution as well as further residual diagnostic like
173 cook-distance for outliers [38–41]. Since regression diagnostic of the route scores indicated
174 heteroscedasticity and a variance-stabilizing log-linear-transformation of the scores did not
175 improve goodness-of-fit, regression analysis with heteroscedasticity-consistent standard errors

176 was used with a heteroscedasticity consistent covariance matrix (HCCM 0) based on the Huber-
177 White-Eicker weighting procedure for standard errors. This method is the procedure of choice
178 in this situation as the sample size was large enough ($n > 250$), and because it allows for easy
179 interpretation [42].

180 Using separate models for the route and the orientation strategy neglects the fact that the two
181 scores come from the same individual. Some individuals may score high in both route and
182 orientation strategies, allowing them to flexibly adapt their wayfinding strategy to meet the
183 needs of the situation. Similarly, individuals may score low on both strategies, suggesting that
184 they have a difficult time successfully wayfinding in any situation. To investigate the combined
185 outcome, we categorized individuals into four distinct classes based on their medians of both
186 strategies (76 points on route scale, 60 points on orientation scale). Because our sample is large
187 and representative, the median cut-off values used here can be applied to other studies with
188 smaller and less representative samples.

189 An individual that scored at least 76 points on the route scale, but below 60 points on the
190 orientation scale was classified as a route strategist. An individual that scored 60 points or more
191 on the orientation scale, but less than 76 points on the route scale was classified as an orientation
192 strategist. An individual scoring at least 76 points on route scale and at least 60 points on
193 orientation scale was categorized as a “flexible” strategist. A person that scored less than 76
194 points on route scale and less than 60 on orientation was defined as an “undetermined” strategist.
195 We then used this categorized outcome for a multinomial regression [41,43].

196 All data analysis was carried out using SPSS software (IBM SPSS Statistics for Windows,
197 Version 23.0. Armonk, NY: IBM Corp) and the IBM R-Essentials [44] using R software,
198 version 3.1.0 [45].

199 Results

200 One-thousand three participants, aged 18-96 agreed to participate in the survey. All participants
 201 with missing values were excluded from the statistical analyses. The final sample included 783
 202 participants; 52.7% were women and the mean age was 47.9 years (SD = 17.9). Prevalence of
 203 vertigo/dizziness was 24.2%. Table 1 shows the sociodemographic characteristics of all
 204 participants that were included in the regression analysis, separated by strategy. As described
 205 in the Methods, all data is weighted according to the frequency of the current population.

Table 1. Scores for the orientation and route strategy from the Wayfinding Scale, stratified by each sociodemographic class, including vertigo and balance (n = 783). The outcome scores are scaled to 100 and individually weighted according to the frequency of the current population

variables		orientation strategy			route strategy			
		(%)	mean	std.dev	median	mean	std.dev	median
total (n=783)			60.5	18.7	60	72.1	19.4	76
gender	men	47.3	64.0	17.5	62.5	74.4	18.7	76
	women	52.7	57.3	19.3	55	70.1	19.8	76
age in years, classes	18-35	28	58.1	17.8	57.5	73.0	15.0	72
	36-55	37.1	61.8	18.3	60	75.5	19.8	80
	56-70	20.4	59.8	19.7	57.5	69.0	20.5	72
	71-96	14.5	62.5	20.0	62.5	66.1	22.1	68
education ¹	primary /lower secondary	32.5	60.7	18.1	60	73.2	18.4	76
	secondary, non-tertiary	36.7	57.7	19.2	55	66.8	21.4	68
	upper secondary	12.3	59.3	17.4	57.5	76.4	15.2	76
	tertiary	18.5	66.5	18.5	65	77.9	16.4	80
net income in €, classes	500 up to 1,500	22.2	59.6	17.8	60	68.5	20.9	76
	1,500 up to 2,500	32.4	58.8	17.7	57.5	70.6	19.5	72
	2,500 up to 3,500 €	22.1	62.2	20.4	60	75.0	17.3	80
	>3,500	23.2	62.1	19.2	60	74.9	18.9	80
inhabitants per BIK-region ²	>2,000 up to 50,000	22.4	60.9	19.1	57.5	72.4	18.4	76
	50,000 up to 100,000	10.8	62.3	18.3	57.5	72.8	17.1	76
	100,000 up to 500,000	29.7	62.1	18.9	62.5	71.1	19.2	72
	500,000 and more	37	58.4	18.5	60	72.6	20.7	80
sense of balance	worse	8.5	58.3	19.3	55	67.3	25.0	76
	equal	56.7	58.5	18.4	57.5	71.5	18.4	72
	better	34.8	64.3	18.7	65	74.3	19.1	80
vertigo/dizziness	yes	24.2	55.2	17.7	52.5	67.3	20.7	68
	no	75.8	62.2	18.8	60	73.6	18.7	76

¹Categorization of German academic achievement according to ISCED 1997: Primary education/lower secondary education=Volks-/Hauptschulabschluss, secondary education=German Realschulabschluss and further education without diploma "Abitur" as well as current students/pupils, upper secondary education=Abitur/(Fach)hochschulreife, tertiary education=diploma for university and higher degree

² BIK-regions=measure of regional urbanization and are classified by the number of inhabitants

206 **Individual wayfinding strategies**

207 Two linear regressions were performed to examine the effect of sociodemographic determinants
208 and vestibular performance, on the orientation and the route strategy respectively. The results
209 of each of these regressions are presented in Table 2.

210 ~~~~~ TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE (separate file) ~~~~~

211 In the orientation strategy gender differences across the entire population were in accordance
212 with what has been seen in other studies with a more limited age and educational stratification.
213 Men reported significantly higher orientation scores than women by almost 5 points. The
214 influence of estrogen was examined by comparing postmenopausal women in both age
215 categories above the age of 55 to younger women, with the expectation that women above 55
216 years of age have less estrogen and therefore higher orientation scores. However, we found no
217 evidence that post-menopausal women reported higher orientation scores than pre-menopausal
218 women.

219 In contrast to our expectations, older participants scored higher on the orientation strategy than
220 younger participants. A person aged 71 or older reported an orientation strategy score that was
221 on average 7 points higher than someone under the age of 36. Educational level and regional
222 urbanization influenced orientation strategy scores in opposite directions. Increasing
223 educational achievement lead to significantly higher orientation scores. Participants residing in
224 urban areas with over 500,000 inhabitants had significantly lower orientation scores than
225 residents in areas with up to 50,000 inhabitants.

226 Our second objective involved understanding the relationship between wayfinding and
227 vestibular function. Both measures of vestibular performance had significant effects on the
228 orientation strategy. Persons with vertigo in the last 12 months had reduced orientation scores
229 of over 6 points. Correspondingly, participants with a good sense of balance had significantly
230 higher scores on the orientation strategy scale.

231 In accordance with previous research, the route strategy showed much less stratified effects
232 than the orientation strategy. There was no significant effect of age or gender on route strategy
233 scores. However, two interesting and significant effects were found that were also seen in the
234 orientation strategy. First, participants with higher educational achievement also reported
235 increased scores on the route strategy. Second, the presence of vertigo in the last 12 months
236 was associated with a 5-point decrease in route strategy scores compared to participants without
237 vertigo.

238 In summary, the relevant sociodemographic determinants for wayfinding proved to be gender,
239 age, regional urbanization and education. Income was the only factor measured that did not
240 significantly influence wayfinding scores.

241 **Combined wayfinding strategies**

242 The Wayfinding Strategy Scale provides two independent scores for each participant; one for
243 the orientation strategy and one for the route strategy. If analyzed separately, as has always
244 been done previously, these scores do not show combined effects across both strategies. Most
245 studies agree, though, that superior wayfinding involves the ability to switch between different
246 strategies for flexible and fast adaptation to the situation at hand [1]. We therefore chose a novel
247 approach to analyze the Wayfinding Strategy Scale, taking advantage of our representative
248 sample. We grouped our participants into four groups using a median split and examined the
249 sociodemographic determinants of combined strategies using a multinomial regression model
250 and including all predictors from the linear regression models. Interestingly, the majority of
251 individuals reported using either both strategies or neither strategy, instead of preferring one
252 strategy over the other: 1) 30.7% were **undetermined strategists** that scored below the median
253 in both strategies, 2) 18.5% were **route strategists** that scored above the median only in the
254 route strategy, 3) 15.5% were **orientation strategists** that only scored above the median in the
255 orientation strategy, and 4) 35.3% were **flexible strategists** that scored above the median for

256 both strategies.

257 The multinomial model is highly complex with all possible combinations of differences
258 between groups. However, the odds ratios provide a useful way of interpreting the results of the
259 analysis. An odds ratio greater than 1 means that there is a positive effect of that
260 sociodemographic factor grouping to use a specific strategy compared to the reference grouping
261 and strategy, whereas less than 1 means there is a negative effect. The multinomial model
262 confirmed the results from the linear regression concerning the orientation strategy vs. the route
263 strategy and will therefore not be reported here (for the full model see S3 Table). Instead, we
264 focused here on flexible strategists, who have the ability to use both strategies of wayfinding
265 and should therefore be superior navigators and compared their odds ratios to the undetermined
266 strategists and the orientation strategists (Table 3).

267 ~~~~~ TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE (separate file) ~~~~~

268 Comparing the flexible strategy to the undetermined strategy, a flexible strategist had greater
269 odds of being male, having a high education level, and being older in age (in reference to the
270 youngest age group of 18-35). Comparing the flexible strategy to the orientation strategy, a
271 flexible strategist had greater odds of being male, having a high education level, and living in
272 a lower-density urban area with 100,000 up to 500,000 inhabitants per region. Men were more
273 likely to use a flexible strategy than an undetermined strategy compared to women but did not
274 have significantly higher odds of being a flexible vs. an orientation strategist. Persons in the
275 age group 36-55 yrs. and 71-96 yrs. had significantly greater odds of being a flexible strategist
276 than being an undetermined strategist. However, the age group 71-96 did not have greater odds
277 of being a flexible strategist compared to an orientation strategist.

278 In summary, older males, with a higher education and living in less urbanized areas tended to
279 report using both the orientation and the route strategy, although gender and age effects were

280 similar between the flexible strategy as well as the orientation strategy. In addition, the
281 presence of vertigo, and being in the youngest age group (18-35 years) also reduced the odds
282 of using a flexible strategy for wayfinding.

283 **Discussion**

284 Using the wayfinding strategy scale, we examined how sociodemographic measures influence
285 whether a person tends to follow a route or develop a map of the environment. Persons living
286 in less urban regions, having higher education, being male or over the age of 35 were more
287 likely to report using a map-based wayfinding strategy (the orientation strategy). Being younger,
288 being female or living in more urban areas were indicative of lower scores in the orientation
289 strategy. The presence of vertigo/dizziness in the last 12 months decreased scores for both
290 wayfinding strategies, implying that vestibular problems impair general wayfinding ability. To
291 look at combined effects across wayfinding strategies, we grouped persons with high scores in
292 both strategies as flexible strategists and persons with low scores in both strategies as
293 undetermined strategists. Individuals tended to use both strategies if they were over 35 years
294 old, well-educated and living in less urban areas. Our results provide new insights into how
295 environment, education and behavior affect how humans navigate across an entire adult lifespan.

296 One of the factors that most consistently affects wayfinding is gender. The fact that men report
297 higher orientation strategy scores than women has been shown in young adults [5,11,29]; we
298 demonstrate the same trend across all age groups. Men also have higher scores for both the
299 route and orientation strategy, suggesting they can flexibly choose what navigation strategy to
300 use. This may explain the overall and a task-related advantage in navigational ability in real and
301 simulated environments, albeit in only about half of the cases (49.28%) [23]. Gender differences
302 already exist in childhood, but it is not clear to what extent biological and sex-typed experiential
303 factors interact [10,55–57] to produce this effect and if they are consistent throughout lifetime
304 [9].

305 Because we measured a large range of ages, we were able to show that age had a large effect
306 on wayfinding scores. Older participants showed a stronger reliance on orientation strategy and
307 overall higher scores than younger participants. In the original Wayfinding Scale study, older
308 participants also tended to report using the orientation strategy, which was attributed to a
309 growing experience in older persons [5]. Most of their participants, however, were between the
310 ages of 18-35, which encompasses our youngest age group. The high scores reported by the
311 oldest age group in our study represent novel findings, that are not entirely consistent with the
312 literature. Behavioral experiments on real or virtual navigation report that older persons have
313 difficulties switching between strategies [58], forming and using a cognitive map [47] and that
314 they prefer an egocentric strategy [47] for navigation, such as the route strategy. Other studies
315 have shown spatial memory deficits among older persons in mental rotation tests [4], and virtual
316 learning/wayfinding performances, typically measured by errors, distance and/or speed
317 [48,49,59]. Navigational self-reports from older participants tend to inflate their actual
318 navigational ability [49] (but see [50]), suggesting that the high scores in the oldest age groups
319 in our study may result from inaccurate reporting. However, the age group 36-55 was more
320 likely to flexibly use both strategies than the youngest age group, and we would not expect the
321 reporting biases to already be present here. Future studies that examine self-reported
322 wayfinding preferences and behavior within the same individual would disentangle these
323 effects.

324 In general, the average scores for both wayfinding strategies were higher across our sample
325 than in previous studies. Although this could suggest a general increase in reporting over time,
326 we attribute it to the greater age diversity in our sample, in particular the higher number of older
327 participants. Previous studies have used smaller sample sizes or narrower age ranges
328 [5,10,11,29,53], therefore, we believe the higher scores are more representative of wayfinding
329 across the population.

330 The strongest positive influence on wayfinding ability comes from education. This could simply
331 be a result of a self-report education bias, where participants with higher education had a better
332 self-assessment [51]. However, behavioral research on visuospatial attention and cognition
333 demonstrate a relationship between higher education and better spatial ability [52,55]. Higher
334 education monotonically increases the probability of a person using the orientation strategy and
335 is indicative of a person being a flexible strategist. Whether the educational effect on
336 wayfinding strategy is a result of improved spatial ability remains to be seen.

337 Participants living in urban areas reported lower scores on orientation strategy, emphasizing the
338 idea that the geographical topography of the environment influences the wayfinding strategy
339 used. Previous research has shown that both men and women are more likely to use cardinal
340 directions when giving directions if they came from places laid out in a grid-like pattern [53].
341 In cities, the omnipresence of signs and buildings makes it impossible or unnecessary to
342 orientate via distances and cardinal directions as in the orientation strategy.

343 Previous studies have shown an age-gender interaction for the orientation strategy, where men
344 show a greater increase in the orientation strategy scores with increasing age [5]. Here instead,
345 we found an age-gender-interaction for route strategy, where younger persons, especially
346 younger men, rely more on the route strategy than older persons. Recent work suggests that the
347 use of mobile GPS devices for navigation activates less of the brain, in particular in the
348 hippocampus, and area thought to be important for the orientation strategy [60] and also leads
349 to increased errors in navigation [61]. This decrease in the use of the orientation strategy in
350 young men could be the first population-based evidence of behavioral changes resulting from
351 increased GPS usage, particularly in the younger generation. We are currently specifically
352 examining the effect of GPS-use on the choice of wayfinding strategy.

353 Participants with vertigo or dizziness, even if they do not have a clear vestibular pathology,
354 have a disadvantage in wayfinding. Similarly, patients with vestibular loss have difficulties in

355 spatial memory [62–65] and wayfinding tasks [3,19,20] as well as reduced hippocampal volume.
356 The hippocampus is thought to be important for the allocentric navigation [9,67] that forms the
357 basis of the orientation strategy. However, participants with vertigo had low scores on both the
358 orientation and the route strategy, which cannot totally confirm the connection between
359 vestibular dysfunction, allocentric navigation and the hippocampus. Our results emphasizes that
360 vestibular input is an important source of information for spatial memory and efficient
361 wayfinding [17,66] for both wayfinding strategies, and supports the theory that vertigo and
362 dizziness has a more generalized effect on cognition [18], more than a specific effect on spatial
363 memory. We are aware that we included a broad definition of vertigo/dizziness. However, the
364 vertigo symptoms were assessed by standardized questions derived from previous studies [54]
365 and the prevalence of vertigo corresponded to recent findings [26].

366 Similar to previous studies using the Wayfinding Scale, the route strategy showed higher scores
367 overall than the orientation strategy, emphasizing the idea that route strategy is less
368 computationally expensive, and therefore less challenging than orientation strategy [5,11,28,67].
369 To examine the ability to switch between different strategies we grouped our sample into four
370 groups, the predominant orientation strategist, the route strategists and our two novel groups,
371 the flexible strategists that use both strategies, and undetermined strategists that do not appear
372 to use either strategy. Males with a high education and living in more rural areas are more likely
373 to flexibly use both strategies, in line with behavioral evidence for a male and educational
374 advantage in spatial abilities [52]. Having vertigo and being in the youngest age group was
375 indicative of not using either strategy, confirming the effect vestibular dysfunction and GPS
376 use on general navigational ability.

377 **Conclusion**

378 Our study is the first to show the strong influence of all sociodemographic factors except
379 income in the choice of wayfinding strategy in a representative sample of the population. We

380 specifically demonstrate the detrimental effect of vertigo and dizziness on wayfinding ability,
381 and a potential change in the way persons (especially young persons) navigate, as a result of
382 the increased use of mobile GPS devices. Plausible mechanisms for these effects may involve
383 orientation-specific brain areas and effects of vestibular input on cognition [3,19,20]. The
384 scores acquired can be used for comparisons in future studies with smaller sample sizes.
385 Longitudinal studies and experiments involving specific navigational paradigms are needed to
386 understand the underlying mechanisms for the sociodemographic effects found here.

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Figure and table legends:

If not already within the text

Table 2. Results of the multiple regression for each strategy separately (n = 783). Beta-coefficients (β), Confidence Intervals and p-values for the regression coefficients for orientation strategy and route strategy (with heteroscedasticity-robust standard errors – see Methods), and individually weighted according to frequency of the current population.

Table 3. The odds of being a flexible strategist (n = 783). Odds ratios (OR), Confidence Intervals (CI) and p-values (p) from the multinomial regression model for the odds of flexible vs. undetermined and flexible vs. orientation strategies. Outcomes were individually weighted according to frequency distribution of the current population. OR >1 means it is more likely to be part of the group of interest.

Supporting information

S1 File. The wayfinding strategy scale as used in the questionnaire

S2 Table. Alternative linear regression models, including lin-log regression and age in yrs. (metric)

S3 Table. Multinomial linear regression models for all possible odds concerning the undetermined, route, orientation, and flexible strategy.

Data availability. Data for all studies are available at <https://web.gin.g-node.org/>.

Code availability. SPSS Syntax-file is available at <https://web.gin.g-node.org/>. The file includes preparation and all relevant analysis for this paper.