

# The Small-World Phenomenon

Complex Networks, CSYS/MATH 303, Spring, 2010

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The Small-World Phenomenon

History  
An online experiment  
Previous theoretical work  
An improved model  
References

1/47



## Outline

History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

An improved model

References

The Small-World Phenomenon

History  
An online experiment  
Previous theoretical work  
An improved model  
References

2/47



## Some problems for people thinking about people?:

### How are social networks structured?

- ▶ How do we define connections?
- ▶ How do we measure connections?
- ▶ (remote sensing, self-reporting)

### What about the dynamics of social networks?

- ▶ How do social networks evolve?
- ▶ How do social movements begin?
- ▶ How does collective problem solving work?
- ▶ How is information transmitted through social networks?

The Small-World Phenomenon

History  
An online experiment  
Previous theoretical work  
An improved model  
References

3/47



## Social Search

### A small slice of the pie:

- ▶ **Q.** Can people pass messages between distant individuals using only their existing social connections?
- ▶ **A.** Apparently yes...

### Handles:

- ▶ The Small World Phenomenon
- ▶ or “Six Degrees of Separation.”

The Small-World Phenomenon

History  
An online experiment  
Previous theoretical work  
An improved model  
References

4/47



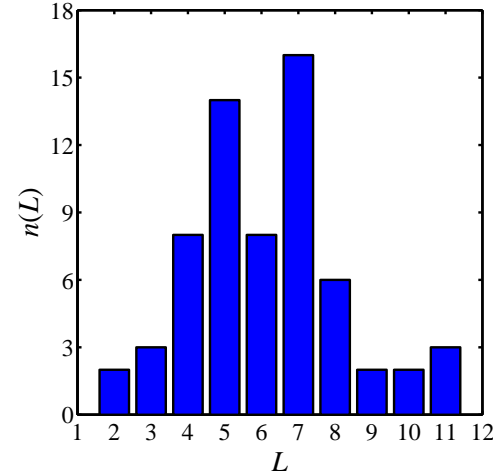
# The problem

Stanley Milgram et al., late 1960's:

- ▶ Target person worked in Boston as a stockbroker.
- ▶ 296 senders from Boston and Omaha.
- ▶ 20% of senders reached target.
- ▶ average chain length  $\simeq 6.5$ .

# The problem

Lengths of successful chains:



From Travers and Milgram (1969) in Sociometry:<sup>[4]</sup>  
 “An Experimental Study of the Small World Problem.”

# The problem

Two features characterize a social ‘Small World’:

1. Short paths exist and
2. People are good at finding them.

# Social Search

Milgram’s small world experiment with e-mail<sup>[2]</sup>

## Social search—the Columbia experiment

- ▶ 60,000+ participants in 166 countries
- ▶ 18 targets in 13 countries including
  - ▶ a professor at an Ivy League university,
  - ▶ an archival inspector in Estonia,
  - ▶ a technology consultant in India,
  - ▶ a policeman in Australia, and
  - ▶ a veterinarian in the Norwegian army.
- ▶ 24,000+ chains

The Small-World Phenomenon

History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

An improved model

References

9/47



## Social search—the Columbia experiment

- ▶ Milgram's participation rate was roughly 75%
- ▶ Email version: Approximately 37% participation rate.
- ▶ Probability of a chain of length 10 getting through:

$$.37^{10} \simeq 5 \times 10^{-5}$$

- ▶  $\Rightarrow$  384 completed chains (1.6% of all chains).

The Small-World Phenomenon

History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

An improved model

References

10/47



## Social search—the Columbia experiment

- ▶ Motivation/Incentives/Perception matter.
- ▶ If target *seems* reachable  
 $\Rightarrow$  participation more likely.
- ▶ Small changes in attrition rates  
 $\Rightarrow$  large changes in completion rates
- ▶ e.g.,  $\searrow$  15% in attrition rate  
 $\Rightarrow$   $\nearrow$  800% in completion rate

The Small-World Phenomenon

History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

An improved model

References

11/47



## Social search—the Columbia experiment

### Successful chains disproportionately used

- ▶ weak ties (Granovetter)
- ▶ professional ties (34% vs. 13%)
- ▶ ties originating at work/college
- ▶ target's work (65% vs. 40%)

### ... and disproportionately avoided

- ▶ hubs (8% vs. 1%) (+ no evidence of funnels)
- ▶ family/friendship ties (60% vs. 83%)

### Geography $\rightarrow$ Work

The Small-World Phenomenon

History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

An improved model

References

12/47



## Social search—the Columbia experiment

Senders of successful messages showed **little absolute dependency** on

- ▶ age, gender
- ▶ country of residence
- ▶ income
- ▶ religion
- ▶ relationship to recipient

Range of completion rates for subpopulations:  
30% to 40%

The Small-World  
Phenomenon

History

An online  
experiment

Previous  
theoretical work

An improved  
model

References

13/47



## Social search—the Columbia experiment

Nevertheless, some weak discrepancies do exist...

**An above average connector:**

Norwegian, secular male, aged 30-39, earning over \$100K, with graduate level education working in mass media or science, who uses relatively weak ties to people they met in college or at work.

**A below average connector:**

Italian, Islamic or Christian female earning less than \$2K, with elementary school education and retired, who uses strong ties to family members.

The Small-World  
Phenomenon

History

An online  
experiment

Previous  
theoretical work

An improved  
model

References

14/47



## Social search—the Columbia experiment

**Mildly bad for continuing chain:**

choosing recipients because **“they have lots of friends”** or because they will **“likely continue the chain.”**

**Why:**

- ▶ Specificity important
- ▶ Successful links used relevant information. (e.g. connecting to someone who shares same profession as target.)

The Small-World  
Phenomenon

History

An online  
experiment

Previous  
theoretical work

An improved  
model

References

15/47



## Social search—the Columbia experiment

**Basic results:**

- ▶  $\langle L \rangle = 4.05$  for all completed chains
- ▶  $L_*$  = Estimated ‘true’ median chain length (zero attrition)
- ▶ Intra-country chains:  $L_* = 5$
- ▶ Inter-country chains:  $L_* = 7$
- ▶ All chains:  $L_* = 7$
- ▶ Milgram:  $L_* \simeq 9$

The Small-World  
Phenomenon

History

An online  
experiment

Previous  
theoretical work

An improved  
model

References

16/47



## Previous work—short paths

- ▶ Connected **random networks** have short average path lengths:

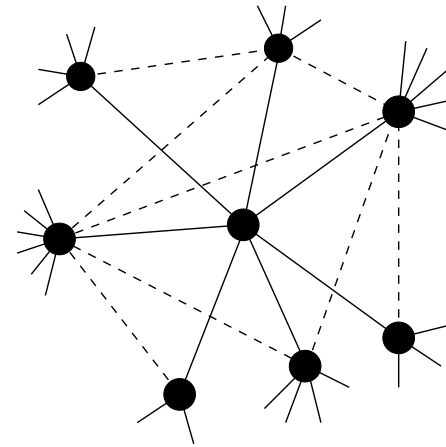
$$\langle d_{AB} \rangle \sim \log(N)$$

$N$  = population size,

$d_{AB}$  = distance between nodes  $A$  and  $B$ .

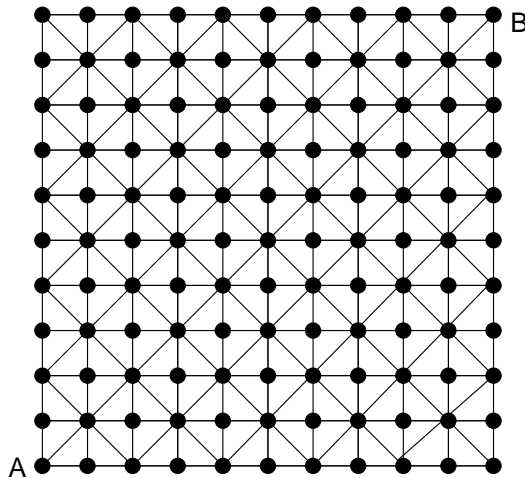
- ▶ **But: social networks aren't random...**

## Previous work—short paths



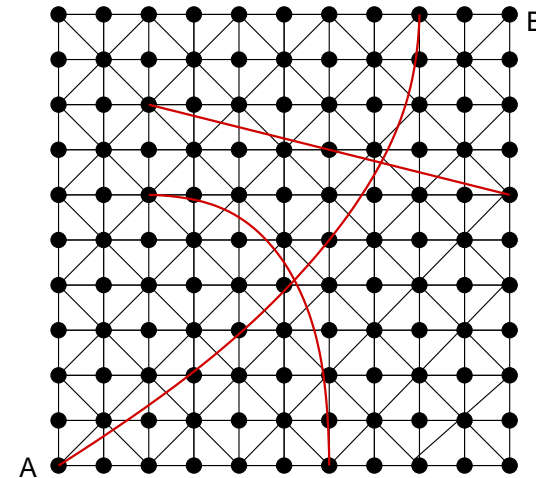
Need **“clustering”** (your friends are likely to know each other):

## Non-randomness gives clustering



$d_{AB} = 10 \rightarrow$  too many long paths.

## Randomness + regularity



Now have  $d_{AB} = 3$

$\langle d \rangle$  decreases overall

# Small-world networks

Introduced by  
Watts and Strogatz (Nature, 1998) [6]  
“Collective dynamics of ‘small-world’ networks.”

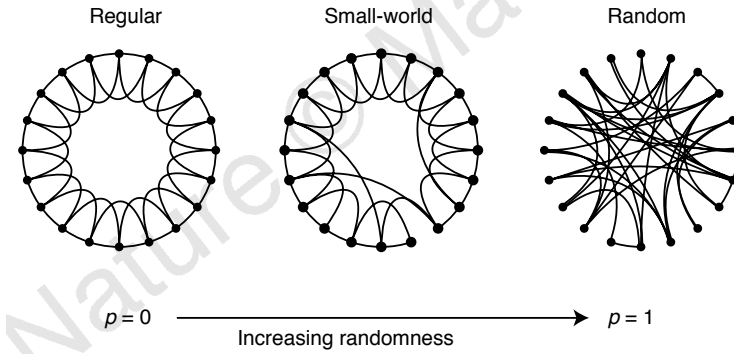
Small-world networks were found everywhere:

- ▶ neural network of *C. elegans*,
- ▶ semantic networks of languages,
- ▶ actor collaboration graph,
- ▶ food webs,
- ▶ social networks of comic book characters,...

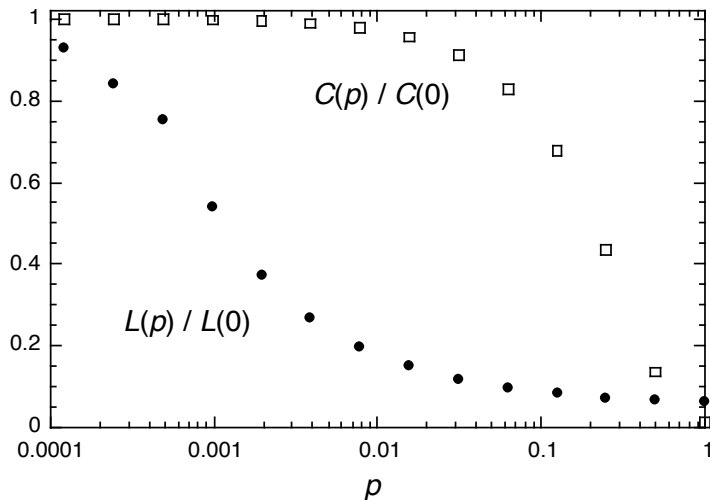
Very weak requirements:

- ▶ local regularity + random short cuts

# Toy model



# The structural small-world property



# Previous work—finding short paths

But are these short cuts findable?

**No.**

Nodes **cannot** find each other quickly with **any local search method**.

## Previous work—finding short paths

- ▶ What can a local search method reasonably use?
- ▶ How to find things without a map?
- ▶ Need some measure of distance between friends and the target.

### Some possible knowledge:

- ▶ Target's identity
- ▶ Friends' popularity
- ▶ Friends' identities
- ▶ Where message has been

## Previous work—finding short paths

Jon Kleinberg (Nature, 2000) [3]  
“Navigation in a small world.”

### Allowed to vary:

1. local search algorithm and
2. network structure.

## Previous work—finding short paths

### Kleinberg's Network:

1. Start with regular  $d$ -dimensional cubic lattice.
2. Add local links so nodes know all nodes within a distance  $q$ .
3. Add  $m$  short cuts per node.
4. Connect  $i$  to  $j$  with probability

$$p_{ij} \propto d_{ij}^{-\alpha}.$$

- ▶  $\alpha = 0$ : random connections.
- ▶  $\alpha$  large: reinforce local connections.
- ▶  $\alpha = d$ : same number of connections at all scales.

## Previous work—finding short paths

### Theoretical optimal search:

- ▶ “Greedy” algorithm.
- ▶ Same number of connections at all scales:  $\alpha = d$ .

Search time grows slowly with system size (like  $\log^2 N$ ).

**But: social networks aren't lattices plus links.**

## Previous work—finding short paths

- ▶ If networks have **hubs** can also search well: Adamic et al. (2001)<sup>[1]</sup>

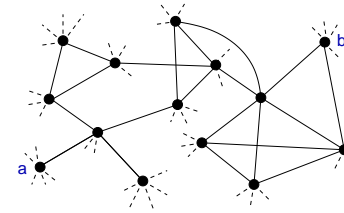
$$P(k_i) \propto k_i^{-\gamma}$$

where  $k$  = degree of node  $i$  (number of friends).

- ▶ Basic idea: get to hubs first (airline networks).
- ▶ **But: hubs in social networks are limited.**

## The problem

If there are no hubs and no underlying lattice, how can search be efficient?



Which friend of **a** is closest to the target **b**?

What does 'closest' mean?

What is 'social distance'?

## The model

One approach: incorporate **identity**.  
(See "Identity and Search in Social Networks." Science, 2002, Watts, Dodds, and Newman<sup>[5]</sup>)

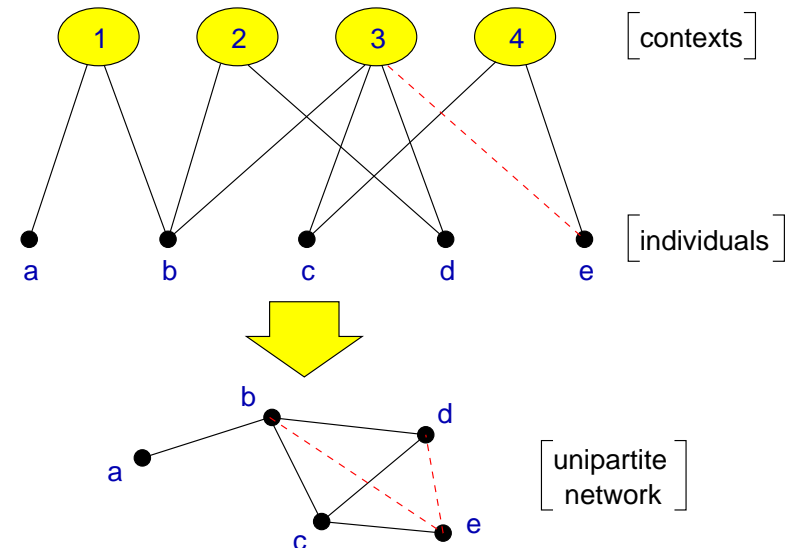
**Identity is formed from attributes such as:**

- ▶ Geographic location
- ▶ Type of employment
- ▶ Religious beliefs
- ▶ Recreational activities.

**Groups** are formed by people with at least one similar attribute.

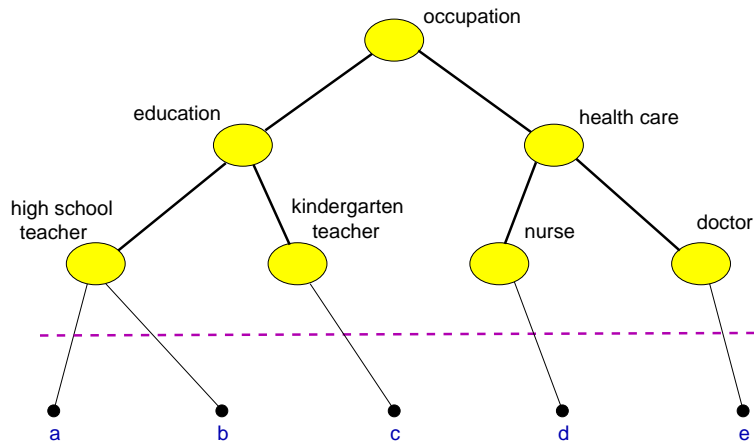
Attributes ⇔ Contexts ⇔ Interactions ⇔ Networks.

## Social distance—Bipartite affiliation networks





## Social distance—Context distance



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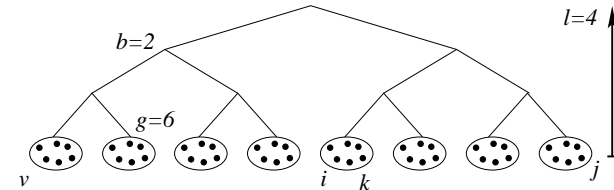
History  
An online experiment  
Previous theoretical work  
An improved model  
References

33/47



## The model

Distance between two individuals  $x_{ij}$  is the height of lowest common ancestor.



$$x_{ij} = 3, x_{ik} = 1, x_{iv} = 4.$$

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History  
An online experiment  
Previous theoretical work  
An improved model  
References

34/47



## The model

- ▶ Individuals are more likely to know each other the closer they are within a hierarchy.
- ▶ Construct  $z$  connections for each node using

$$p_{ij} = c \exp\{-\alpha x_{ij}\}.$$

- ▶  $\alpha = 0$ : random connections.
- ▶  $\alpha$  large: local connections.

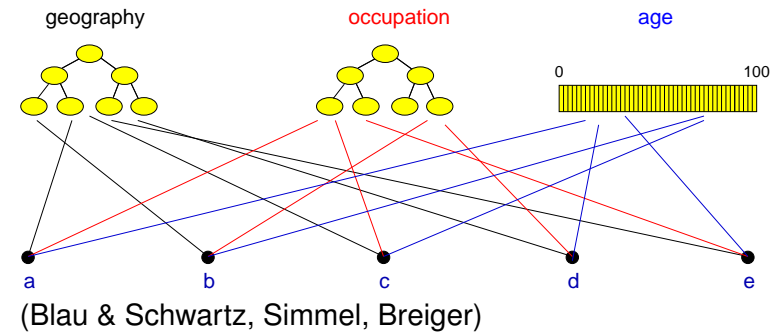
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History  
An online experiment  
Previous theoretical work  
An improved model  
References

35/47



## Social distance—Generalized context space



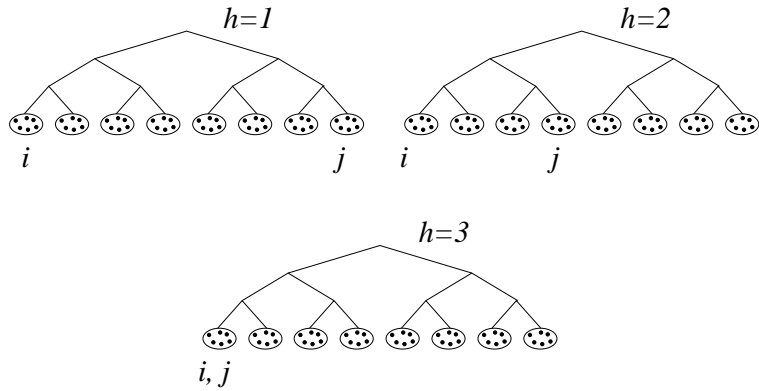
## The Small-World Phenomenon

History  
An online experiment  
Previous theoretical work  
An improved model  
References

36/47



# The model



$$\vec{v}_i = [1 \ 1 \ 1]^T, \vec{v}_j = [8 \ 4 \ 1]^T$$

$$x_{ij}^1 = 4, x_{ij}^2 = 3, x_{ij}^3 = 1.$$

Social distance:

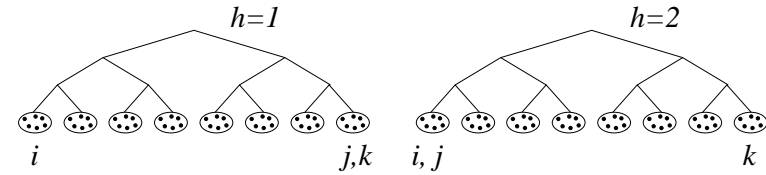
$$y_{ij} = \min_h x_{ij}^h.$$

# The Small-World Phenomenon

- History
- An online experiment
- Previous theoretical work
- An improved model
- References

# The model

Triangle inequality doesn't hold:



$$y_{ik} = 4 > y_{ij} + y_{jk} = 1 + 1 = 2.$$

# The Small-World Phenomenon

- History
- An online experiment
- Previous theoretical work
- An improved model
- References

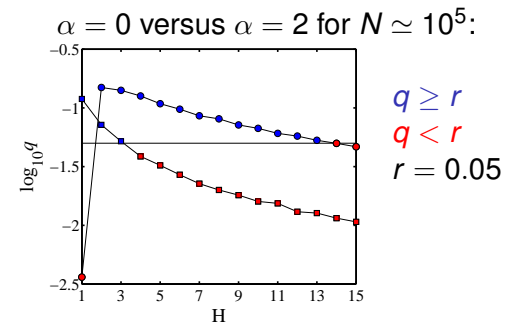
# The model

- ▶ Individuals know the identity vectors of
  1. themselves,
  2. their friends,
  - and
  3. the target.
- ▶ Individuals can estimate the social distance between their friends and the target.
- ▶ Use a greedy algorithm + allow searches to fail randomly.

# The Small-World Phenomenon

- History
- An online experiment
- Previous theoretical work
- An improved model
- References

# The model-results—searchable networks



$q$  = probability an arbitrary message chain reaches a target.

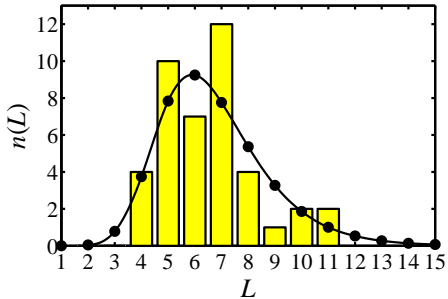
- ▶ A few dimensions help.
- ▶ Searchability decreases as population increases.
- ▶ Precise form of hierarchy largely doesn't matter.

# The Small-World Phenomenon

- History
- An online experiment
- Previous theoretical work
- An improved model
- References

## The model-results

Milgram's Nebraska-Boston data:



Model parameters:

- ▶  $N = 10^8$ ,
- ▶  $z = 300, g = 100$ ,
- ▶  $b = 10$ ,
- ▶  $\alpha = 1, H = 2$ ;
  
- ▶  $\langle L_{\text{model}} \rangle \simeq 6.7$
- ▶  $L_{\text{data}} \simeq 6.5$

The Small-World Phenomenon

History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

An improved model

References

41/47



## Social search—Data

Adamic and Adar (2003)

- ▶ For HP Labs, found probability of connection as function of organization distance well fit by exponential distribution.
- ▶ Probability of connection as function of real distance  $\propto 1/r$ .

The Small-World Phenomenon

History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

An improved model

References

42/47



## Social Search—Real world uses

- ▶ Tags create identities for objects
- ▶ Website tagging: <http://www.del.icio.us>
- ▶ (e.g., Wikipedia)
- ▶ Photo tagging: <http://www.flickr.com>
- ▶ Dynamic creation of metadata plus links between information objects.
- ▶ Folksonomy: collaborative creation of metadata

The Small-World Phenomenon

History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

An improved model

References

43/47



## Social Search—Real world uses

Recommender systems:

- ▶ Amazon uses people's actions to build effective connections between books.
- ▶ Conflict between 'expert judgments' and tagging of the hoi polloi.

The Small-World Phenomenon

History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

An improved model

References

44/47



## Conclusions

- ▶ Bare networks are typically unsearchable.
- ▶ Paths are findable if nodes understand how network is formed.
- ▶ Importance of identity (interaction contexts).
- ▶ Improved social network models.
- ▶ Construction of peer-to-peer networks.
- ▶ Construction of searchable information databases.

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