

The Small-World Phenomenon

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The Small-World Phenomenon

History
An online experiment
Previous theoretical work
An improved model
References

Frame 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

Frame 2/47



Some problems for sociologists

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

Frame 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

Frame 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 $\simeq 6.5$.

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History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

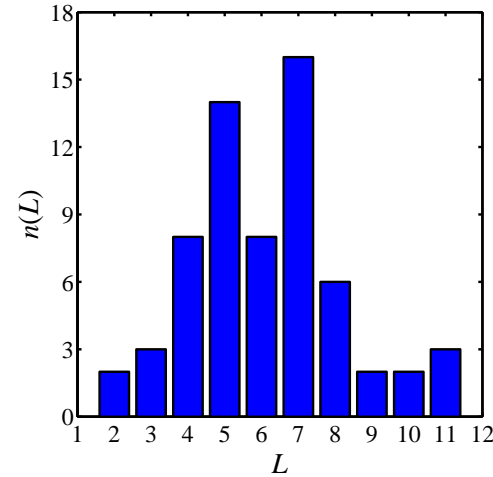
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References

Frame 5/47

The problem

Lengths of successful chains:



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

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History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

An improved model

References

Frame 6/47

The problem

Two features characterize a social ‘Small World’:

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

The Small-World Phenomenon

History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

An improved model

References

Frame 7/47

Social Search

Milgram’s small world experiment with e-mail^[2]

home my small world chat FAQ related links

login sign up

Events and News
Duncan J. Watts's new book is out now!

Project Information
In the Press
Description
Procedures
Security and Privacy
Articles/References
Results

Research Team
Duncan J. Watts
Peter Dodds
Roly Muhamad

Web Development
Peter Haseeli

Vijay (Delhi, India) worked at an engineering firm with Sameer (Kolkata, India) whose daughter

Prerna (Berkeley, USA) goes to school in California and plays soccer with

Christie (Berkeley, USA) whose best friend from high school

William (New York, NY) is studying medicine with

Alice (New York, USA)

Your objective is to get a message to a "target person", somewhere in the world, by forwarding the message to a friend of yours--someone who is "closer" to the target than you are. (If you happen know the target, you can of course send it to them)

If we have asked you to participate (you would have received a message from a friend of yours), you should continue the chain.

If you are just visiting us, sign up to start a new chain.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The Small-World Phenomenon

History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

An improved model

References

Frame 8/47

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

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History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

An improved model

References

Frame 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).

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History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

An improved model

References

Frame 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

Frame 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

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History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

An improved model

References

Frame 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

Frame 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

Frame 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

Frame 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

Frame 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...**

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History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

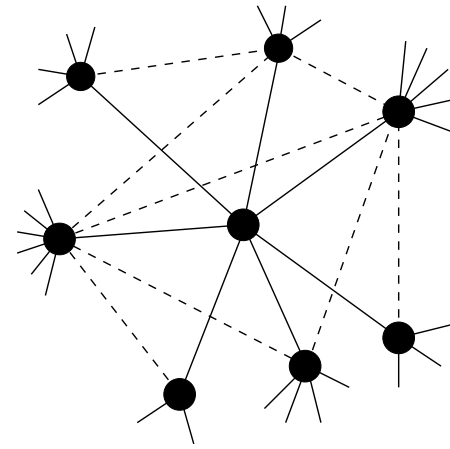
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References

Frame 17/47



Previous work—short paths



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

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History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

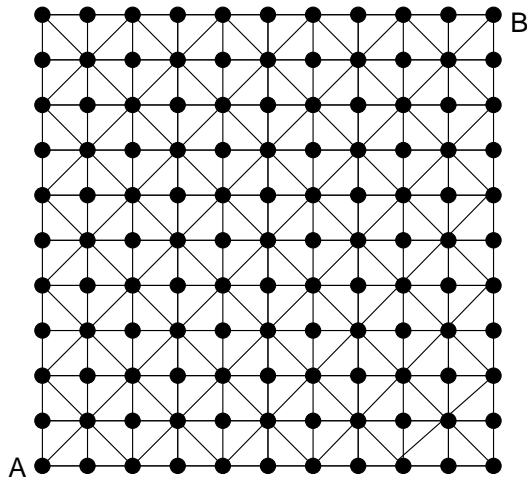
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Frame 18/47



Non-randomness gives clustering



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

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History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

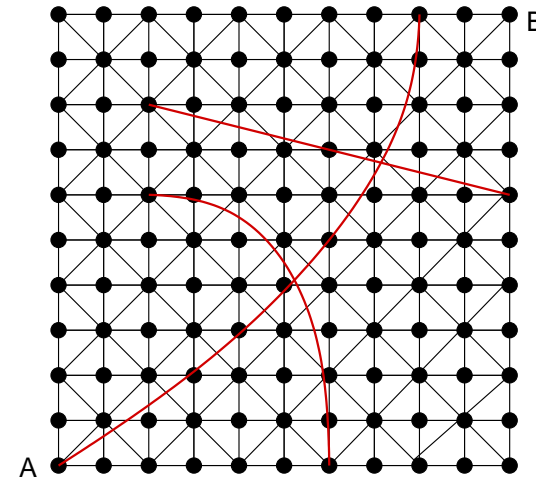
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References

Frame 19/47



Randomness + regularity



Now have $d_{AB} = 3$

$\langle d \rangle$ decreases overall

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History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

An improved model

References

Frame 20/47



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

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History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

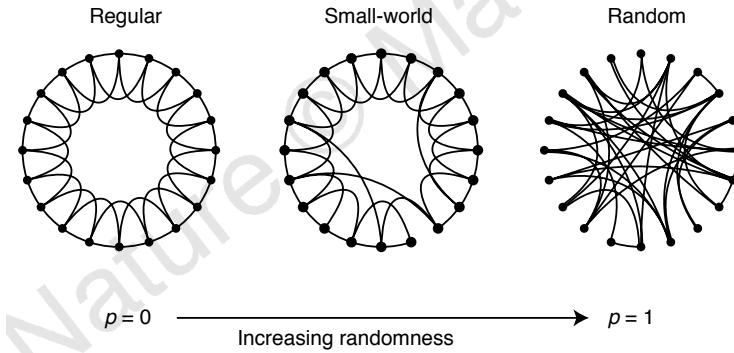
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References

Frame 21/47



Toy model



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History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

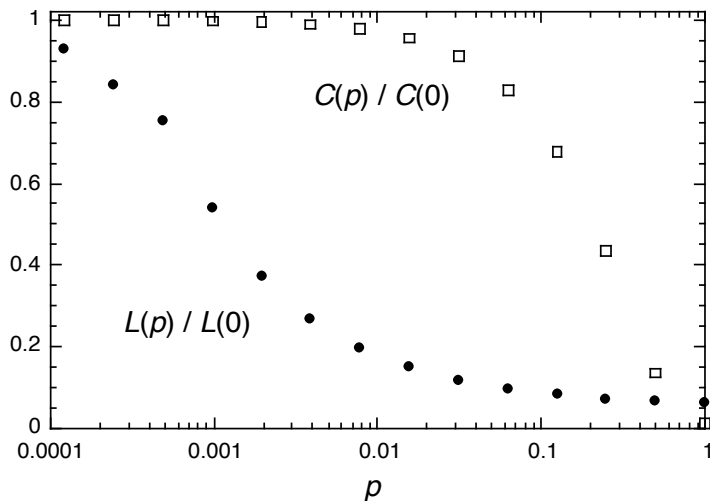
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References

Frame 22/47



The structural small-world property



The Small-World Phenomenon

History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

An improved model

References

Frame 23/47



Previous work—finding short paths

But are these short cuts findable?

No.

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

The Small-World Phenomenon

History

An online experiment

Previous theoretical work

An improved model

References

Frame 24/47



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.
- ▶ α 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)^[1]

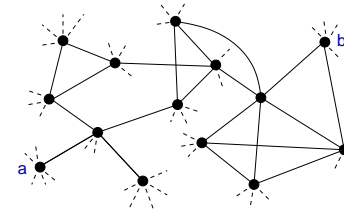
$$P(k_i) \propto k_i^{-\gamma}$$

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^[5])

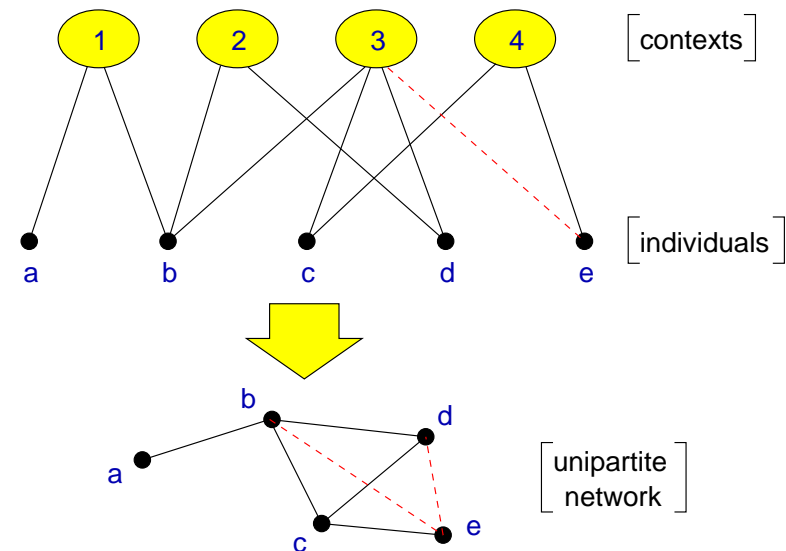
Identity is formed from attributes such as:

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

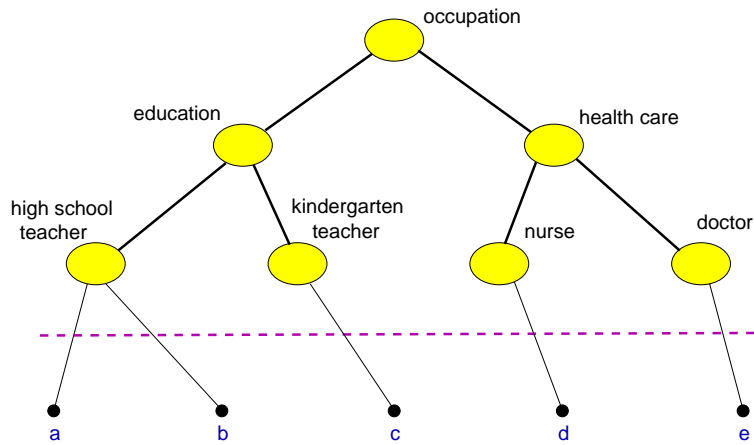
Groups are formed by people with at least one similar attribute.

Attributes \Leftrightarrow Contexts \Leftrightarrow Interactions \Leftrightarrow Networks.

Social distance—Bipartite affiliation networks



Social distance—Context distance



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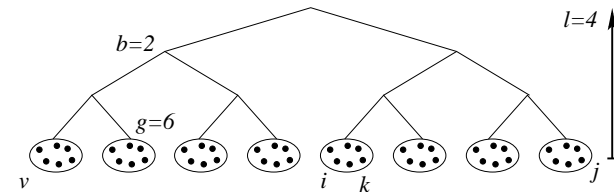
History
An online experiment
Previous theoretical work
An improved model
References

Frame 33/47



The model

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



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

The Small-World Phenomenon

History
An online experiment
Previous theoretical work
An improved model
References

Frame 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.
- ▶ α large: local connections.

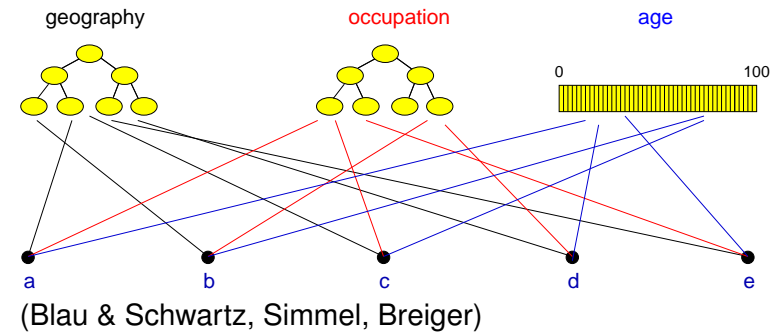
The Small-World Phenomenon

History
An online experiment
Previous theoretical work
An improved model
References

Frame 35/47



Social distance—Generalized context space



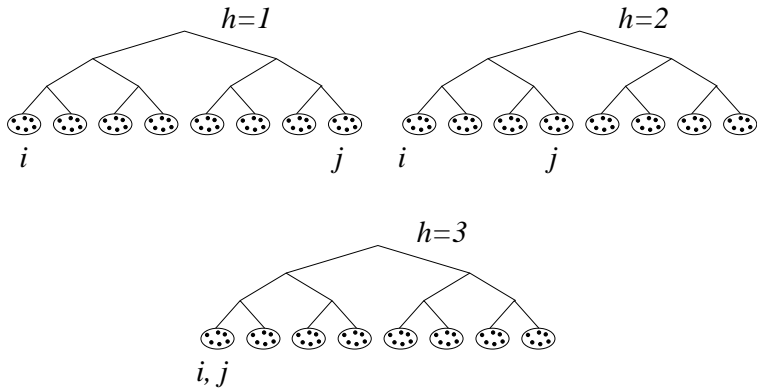
The Small-World Phenomenon

History
An online experiment
Previous theoretical work
An improved model
References

Frame 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:

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

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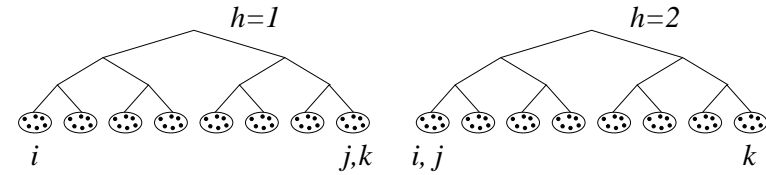
- History
- An online experiment
- Previous theoretical work
- An improved model
- References

Frame 37/47



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

Frame 38/47



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.

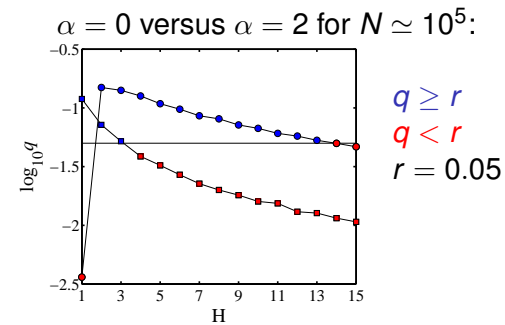
The Small-World Phenomenon

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

Frame 39/47



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.

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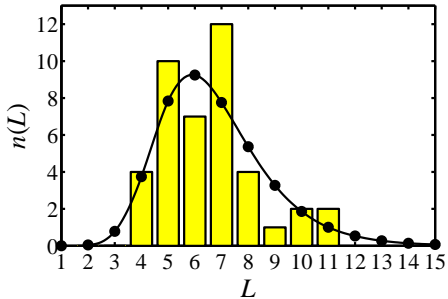
- History
- An online experiment
- Previous theoretical work
- An improved model
- References

Frame 40/47



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

Frame 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

Frame 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

Frame 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

Frame 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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