

# Preferential attachment in sexual networks

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Many social networks are characterized by a highly uneven distribution of links. The observed skewed distributions have in several cases been attributed to preferential attachment (PA), a tendency among nodes in a growing network to form new links preferentially to nodes with high numbers of links. We test the PA conjecture in sexual contact networks. A maximum likelihood estimation-based expectation-maximization fitting technique is used to model new partners over a 1-year period based on the number of partners in foregoing periods of 2 years, 4 years, and lifetime. The PA model is modified to account for individual heterogeneity in the inclination to find new partners and fitted to Norwegian survey data on heterosexual men and women. Results show evidence of nonrandom, sublinear PA when comparing the growth in 3- to 5-year periods. The potential implications of these findings are discussed.

sexual behavior | sexually transmitted diseases

In comparison with the observed incidence of sexually transmitted infections in modern societies, the average number of sexual contacts in national populations is surprisingly low. It has been suggested that the endemic and epidemic spread is driven by smaller subsets (core groups) of the population, in which members have significantly higher numbers of partners and a preference for selecting partners within the group (1). Several studies have, however, recently reported a highly skewed distribution of sexual contacts without a clear core group.

The tail of the sex partner distribution is often modeled by a simple power law, that is, the probability mass function (pmf) of sexual partners  $P(j)$  have the functional form  $P(j) \approx Cj^{-\gamma}$  for some excess  $j > j_c$ , where  $C$  and  $\gamma$  are positive constants. The first suggestion of power law scaling was published by Colgate *et al.* (2) in 1989 from data on homosexual men seen at a sexually transmitted infection clinic in London. More recently, Liljeros *et al.* (3) observed a power law in population data from Sweden, which was later supported by population studies in Burkina Faso (4), Uganda and the United States (5), and Britain and Zimbabwe (6). With one exception (women from the Rakai district in Uganda), the reported slopes are close to  $\gamma = 3$ ; the range for men being  $2.8 \leq \gamma \leq 5.4$  and the range for women being  $3.0 \leq \gamma \leq 4.2$ .

The finding of a power law has been subject to some controversy, and the question has been raised whether a power-law function adequately fits the data. The available sexual data are limited, and the published studies reveal power-law scaling of over one to two orders of magnitude. The limited scaling regime is not sufficient to distinguish a power law from other heavy-tailed distributions, such as log-normal or stretched exponential (Weibull), both of which have characteristic scales and curve away with exponential decay for large enough  $j$ . A study by Handcock (7) suggests that a log-normal distribution provides the best description of the data when lower numbers of partners are included.

Here, we address the question of the origin of the skewed distribution by counting sexual partners in overlapping time intervals. The analysis is restricted to one sex (men or women) at a time. This separation is necessary because the partner identities are not known. Presumably, the individuals are not interconnected but have partners outside the study group. A new contact can be regarded as adding a new link to an observed node, i.e., to increase the degree of the node. The separation of men and women has the further

advantage that gender-specific differences in reported numbers of partners are not mixed in the estimation procedure.

The aim of our analysis is to answer the following questions: To what extent can we use information on partner numbers to predict future partner numbers, and, if one can, what does it tell us about the distribution of partners in the network? We use a statistical method developed particularly for the present study to analyze cumulative numbers of sex partners in survey data.

The observation that success breeds success is common in many situations. In sociology this dynamic phenomenon is called the Matthew effect (8); in economics, it is called increasing return (9); and, in complex network theory, it is usually referred to as preferential attachment (PA) (10). We will hereafter use the latter term to denote a situation in which the chance of having a new partner increases with the quantity of sexual contacts within a given time frame.

People do not have an equal probability for having sexual contacts. For one thing, people are not perceived as being equally sexually attractive. Second, people have personal preferences regarding emotional involvement with sex partners and promiscuity and different attitudes toward commercial sex. Third, people are affected by their social environment and their religious and normative values. In addition to these more or less static individual properties, there are dynamic social and psychological mechanisms that could encourage a tendency to acquire new partners. For instance, studies have shown a positive correlation between knowledge that a person has many partners and the perceived attractiveness of that person (11). In addition, having new partners can be psychologically addictive (12), and flirting skills are likely to improve with practice, potentially resulting in higher numbers of successful pick-ups.

Power-law distributions and other types of skewed distributions are widespread in social, biological, technical, and information networks. A number of generative network models have been proposed to explain the data (13). Commonly, the models are based on (i) constant network growth and (ii) preferential linking to nodes with many connections. The term PA was introduced by Barabási and Albert (10) in the context of World Wide Web networks. In their model, new nodes attach links to existing nodes  $k$  with a probability proportional to their degree of links,

$$p_a(k) = \frac{j_k}{\sum_i j_i}, \quad [1]$$

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Abbreviations: pmf, probability mass function; PA, preferential attachment.

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**Table 1. Maximum likelihood estimation parameter estimates for the PA model**

Data		Parameter estimates								Deviance (Dev) statistics		
Study periods	Obs.	$\alpha$	95% C.I.	$\beta$ per year	95% C.I.	$\delta$	95% C.I.	$\varepsilon$ per year	95% C.I.	Dev	Dev*, mean (SD)	P value
<b>Men</b>												
3-year	930	3.50	2.5–4.6	0.27 (0.26)	0.23–0.31	0.62 (0.67)	0.51–0.73	0.76 (0.75)	0.66–0.85	215.2	176.7 (15.4)	0.0062
5-year	919	1.9	1.4–2.6	0.18 (0.17)	0.14–0.23	0.57 (0.61)	0.48–0.66	0.59 (0.58)	0.51–0.70	308.0	278.6 (18.7)	0.0580
Lt	950	9.6	6.4–17.1	0.80 (0.77)	0.64–0.96	0.26 (0.26)	0.19–0.31	0.84 (0.83)	0.74–0.95	1,051.3	319.7 (21.3)	<0.001
<b>Women</b>												
3-year	1,220	2.9	2.0–4.9	0.19 (0.19)	0.16–0.22	0.54 (0.60)	0.41–0.66	0.65 (0.65)	0.57–0.74	92.0	102.8 (12.6)	0.8036
5-year	1,190	1.5	1.2–2.2	0.14 (0.13)	0.11–0.17	0.57 (0.64)	0.47–0.67	0.44 (0.42)	0.38–0.51	136.5	155.7 (15.4)	0.8943
Lt	1,183	0.5	0.4–0.5	0.63 (0.41)	0.38–0.94	0.29 (0.40)	0.20–0.40	0.34 (0.28)	0.26–0.40	356.1	231.3 (21.2)	<0.001

The maximum likelihood estimation parameter estimates for the PA model with random factors  $\pi(\hat{\theta})$  together with the 95% bootstrap confidence intervals (C.I.). The model fit was evaluated by using deviance test statistics (see *SI Text*). Under the null hypothesis, the derived model can generate the observed data. Hence, small *P* values correspond to a lack of fit. For comparison, the estimates derived from the basic preferential model,  $\pi(\theta)$ , have been added in parentheses for  $\beta$  and  $\varepsilon$ . Lt, lifetime; Obs., observations.

\*Sample of deviance generated from bootstrapping the data.

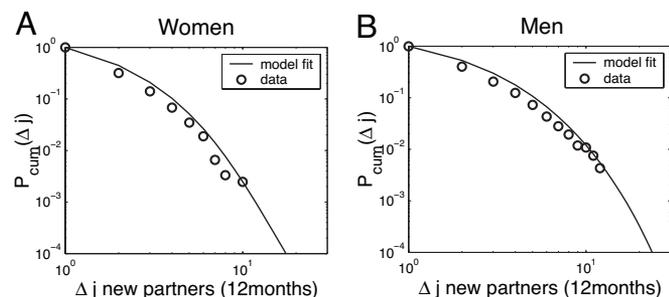
short and extended time scales. Not many sexual surveys contain partner information at this level of detail.

The National Survey of Sexual Behavior in Norway was conducted by the Norwegian National Institute for Public Health in 2002 (21). To the best of our knowledge, it is the only study in which questions are asked about their exact partner numbers in more than two time periods. The survey is based on 10,000 written questionnaires that were mailed to a random sample of Norwegians between the ages of 18 and 49 years. The respondents supplied information about partner numbers during the previous 1, 3, and 5 years as well as the total number of sexual contacts. The study had a low response rate of 35%, with women being slightly overrepresented. The sample was representative of the Norwegian population with regard to regional, community size, household income, educational level, and occupation (21).

We excluded from the analysis respondents who reported having homosexual contacts (5–10%). Before the analysis, partner numbers during the previous year were adjusted to include new partners only; the procedure involved subtracting one partner from the group of people having a steady partner for >12 months. The data used for the analyses in this paper can be provided upon request.

### Model

A general framework for statistical inference for the PA process was developed by Svensson (22). Here we provide a brief description of the model that was used to estimate transition probabilities in the contact networks.



**Fig. 3.** The cumulative probability of new partners  $P_{cum}(\Delta j) = \sum_{i=j} P(\Delta i)$  as function of the new partners  $\Delta j$  in the 1-year study period. The probabilities were calculated by using the model parameter (Table 1) and by conditioning on the initial numbers of partners  $j_1, j_2, \dots, j_n$  in the study populations. (A) Results for women in the 3-year observation period. (B) Results for men in the 3-year observation period.

The acquisition of new sexual contacts can be modeled as a pure birth process, with a discrete state space  $j = \{0, 1, 2, \dots\}$ , counting the total number of sexual contacts in a person's life, and the transitions  $j \rightarrow j + 1$  describing the events associated with having a new partner. A random selection of  $n$  individuals is observed during two overlapping time periods with a shared end point. We name them the initial period and the study period (see Fig. 1). Our aim is to study how the numbers of new partners increase during the study period depending on each person's individual history of new partners during the initial period. In the following analysis, we choose different initial periods, but in all cases the study period is the last single year covered by the survey. The vector  $\mathbf{N} = N_1(\cdot), N_2(\cdot), \dots, N_n(\cdot)$  counts the numbers of new partners during this interval. For convenience, we set  $t = t^*$  at the start of the period of observation,  $t = 0$  at the start of the study period and  $t = T (= 1 \text{ year})$  at the end of the observation period. With this notation,  $N_i(0) = j_i$  is the number of new partners for individual  $i$  during the initial period and  $\Delta j_i$  is the number of new partners during the study period. Thus,  $N_i(T) = j_i + \Delta j_i$  is the total number of new partners during the entire observation period. We will set up a model that describes the distribution of the random variable  $\Delta j_i$  given  $j_i$ .

Let  $\pi$  be an intensity vector describing the rate of transitions between the different states,

$$\pi = (\pi_0, \pi_1, \dots) \quad [4]$$

where each term  $\pi_j$  for  $j = \{0, 1, 2, \dots\}$  is the one-step probability per year that a person with exactly  $j$  partners will acquire a new partner. In accordance with the PA scenario, Eq. 1, the following parametric model  $\pi(\theta)$  is assumed.

$$\pi_j(\theta) = \begin{cases} \beta & j = 0 \\ \varepsilon j^\delta & j \geq 1 \end{cases} \quad [5]$$

The process of having a first partner is considered here separately.

In this model, the jump intensities for all individuals are assumed to be equal. One may expect considerable individual variation in partner numbers depending, for example, on socioeconomic factors. Lacking information on such auxiliary variables, heterogeneity is introduced into the model by modifying the intensity vector with a random proportionality factor  $\kappa_i$  for each  $i$  individual,  $\pi \rightarrow \kappa_i \pi = (\kappa_i \pi_0, \kappa_i \pi_1, \dots)$ . The frailty terms are drawn independently from a gamma distribution,

$$g_\alpha(\kappa) = \frac{\alpha^\alpha}{\Gamma(\alpha)} \kappa^{\alpha-1} \exp(-\alpha \kappa) \quad [6]$$





ered satisfactory. Thus, the analyses show evidence of sublinear PA in growing sexual networks.

Young people between 18 and 29 years of age and persons living singly reported higher partner numbers compared with values in the ungrouped data. In Norway, there has been a trend toward a decrease in the age of first sexual encounter during the past 10–15 years. During the same time period, the numbers of lifetime heterosexual partners, particularly among youngsters, have increased (25); similar findings have been reported in Britain (26, 27). The stratified analyses gave consistent estimates for the exponent  $\delta$ , which were also in agreement with the  $\delta$  values of the ungrouped data. By contrast, the  $\beta$  and  $\varepsilon$  parameters, which describe the contact rates among individuals with 0 or 1 prior partners, were often distinct. The interpretation of these results is that contact numbers of people with few partners initially are indicative of general behavior in the strata. Although the parameter confidence intervals were quite wide, the model proved sensitive enough to distinguish both high- and low-value groups.

The finding of insufficient model fit to lifetime partner data is important and reveals the limitations of the PA model. PA is not a mechanism that stands alone; it works within a sociodemographic context. The tendency of an individual to engage in multiple sexual contacts varies with steady partnership and age, in addition to other aspects not addressed here, such as changing social norms and residency, among others. All of these factors causes the model assumption of increasing contact rates with past partner numbers to break down over the long term.

It should be noted that the interpretation of lifetime partner data are not straightforward as we compare individuals by their total number of partners up to some given point in time. Because of this “right censoring,” the years of active sexual life among subjects vary substantially. Young people tend to report the fewest partners while simultaneously having high partner change rates. This behavior is inconsistent with the PA scenario and may contribute to the lack of fit to lifetime data. However, no satisfactory model fit was obtained from the age-stratified data (data not shown). This result in turn suggests that the PA scenario is not adequate to model distributions of new partners when conditioning on long-time partner data.

The ability to generalize the present study is limited by several factors. Above all, the response rate of 35% is quite low and is lower than reported values for other European national sexual surveys. This low response rate naturally raises the concern that respondents may differ in some systematic way from those who refused participation; for example, women with extremely high numbers of partners may be underrepresented in national surveys (28). However, we note that the present analysis focuses on the speed at which new partners are obtained. Thus, a low response rate will bias our results only if the responders differ from the general population in their propensity to have new partners during the 1-year study

period. It is not necessary that the survey reflect the contact numbers during the initial period in a correct way, because our analyses are made conditional on these numbers.

Studies of sexual behavior are based on self-reports and are exposed to various forms of recollection bias, principally recall difficulties and self-disclosure bias, that is, deliberate misinformation about true behavior, as well as other methodological problems (29). Recall errors may increase with the length of the recall period (30), and contacts seem to be remembered more easily by people with infrequent partner changes (31). The uncertainty of partner numbers was discernible in a clear preference for rounded numbers among persons with many partners. We tested the effect of data clustering by fitting the model to smoothed data, replacing initial and final values  $N_i(0)$ ,  $N_i(T)$  with whole numbers within a range  $\pm 10\%$  of the original values, and by assuming a flat distribution curve. The procedure improved the model fit substantially for men in the 2- to 4-year studies. The  $P$  values were increased by a factor of 10, thus signifying that data clustering impinges on model performance. The procedure did not noticeably affect the parameter estimates. Among women, the effect of data smoothing was negligible, as partner numbers  $\geq 10$  were reported only rarely. However, the results are highly preliminary. The crude supposition of symmetric variation around the reported values contradicts the gender-specific finding that men and women tend to over- and underreport their partner numbers (32). In addition, recall bias also has been found among individuals reporting one to two partners during a 5-year period (33). Further studies in this area are clearly merited.

When analyzing data stratified by live-in partnerships, no distinction was made as to the cohabitation status of individuals before the 1-year study period. Although the length of the last steady partnership was known, other live-in relationships could not be controlled for. This inconsistency could explain the considerable variation in model fit for these strata.

One effect of PA is that the variation in partner turnover rate in a cohort will increase over time. The current variation in the risk for sexually transmitted infection may therefore partly be a function of the individuals' earlier sexual history instead of sociodemographic differences. PA may, for example, explain the lack of sociodemographic predictors (except age) for genital chlamydia (34). Thus, strategic intervention programs that focus on traditional risk groups may be less effective because a substantial group of individuals with a high number of partners might not be targeted.

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