

# What do we See when we Look at Networks

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Tommaso Venturini, Mathieu Jacomy, and Pablo Jensen, 2019  
*What Do We See When We Look at Networks an Introduction to Visual Network Analysis and Force-Directed Layouts.*  
*Social Science Research Network*  
[https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=3378438](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3378438).

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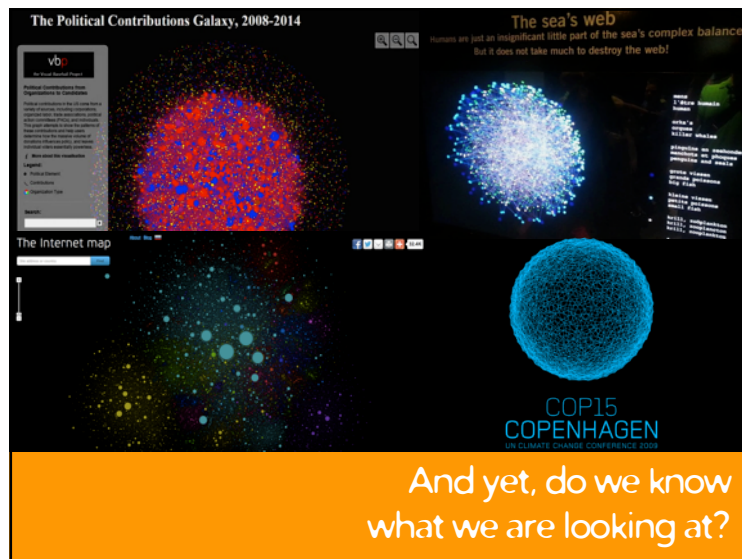
"Tools such as Gephi have made network analysis accessible to broad audiences that happily produce network diagrams without having acquired robust understanding of the concepts and techniques the software mobilizes.

This more often than not leads to a lack of awareness of the layers of mediation network analysis implies and thus to limited or essentialist readings of the produced outputs that miss its artificial, analytical character"

Bernhard Rieder and Theo Röhle, 2017.  
"Digital Methods From Challenges to Bildung"  
In Schäfer M.T and van Es K. (eds.) *Datafied Society*  
pp.109–24. Amsterdam: University Press.

Taking responsibility

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## Part 1: Why are we\* obsessed by networks?

(\* digital STS scholars)

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Actor-**Network** Theory (ANT)

Social **Network** Analysis (SNA)

Digital **Networks**

A productive conflation

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Actor-**Network** Theory (ANT) explains how material-semiotic networks come together to act as a whole... These networks are transient, existing in a constant making and re-making... relations need to be repeatedly "performed" or the network will dissolve.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social\\_network](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_network)

Social **Network** Analysis (SNA) investigates social structures through graph theories. It characterizes structures in terms of nodes (individual actors, people, or things within the network) and the ties or edges (relationships or interactions) that connect them.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social\\_network\\_analysis](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_network_analysis)

Digital **Networks**

The Internet is the global system of interconnected computer networks... It is a network of networks of millions of private, public, academic, business, and government networks.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Internet>

The World Wide Web is an information space where documents and other web resources are... interlinked by hypertext links, and can be accessed via the Internet.

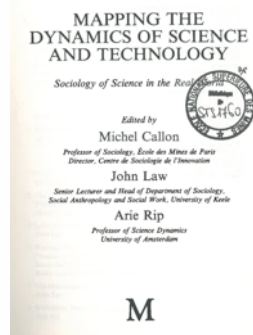
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World\\_Wide\\_Web](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_Wide_Web)

A few definitions  
(from Wikipedia)

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Callon, M., Law, J., & Rip, A. (1986).

*Mapping the Dynamics of Science and Technology*. London: Macmillan.



Instead of following the actors we may therefore follow the texts. We may not, in this way, find out everything there is to know about scientists and laboratories. However, the study of texts is well suited to our particular and limited task: that of studying scientific change.

The force of such texts also resides in the fact that they contain links with other texts (references to the literature), work and institutions... In sum, texts make possible the construction of linkages between existing entities and the formation of novel entities.

Where the conflation started

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1. The theoretical idea that collective phenomena are best described not by their substances, but by their relations (**actor-network theory**).
2. The methodological appeal for new techniques to analyse and represent the connections between social actors (**network analysis**).
3. The intuition that the inscriptions left by collective actions could be re-purposed for social research (**network data**).

Felicitously confounded by the ambiguity of the word 'network'

1. a conceptual topology (space of connections VS space of coordinates)
2. a set of computation techniques (the mathematics of graphs)
3. an hyper-textual organization of inscriptions (the relational datasets)

The 3 ingredients of the conflation

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a theory without methods  
(actor-network theory) + a methods without theory  
(social network analysis)

A marriage made in heaven

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a theory without methods  
(actor-network theory) + a methods without theory  
(social network analysis)

Once you can get information as bores, bytes, modem, sockets, cables and so on, you have actually a more material way of looking at what happens in Society. **Virtual Society thus, is not a thing of the future, it's the materialisation, the traceability of Society.** It renders visible because of the obsessive necessity of materialising information into cables, into data.

Latour, B. (1998).

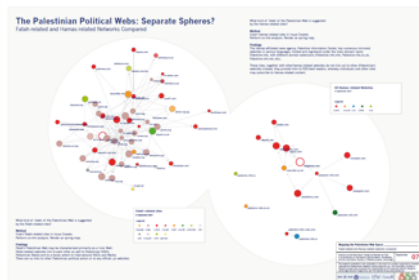
Thought experiments in social science: from the social contract to virtual society  
In 1st *Virtual Society?* Annual Public Lecture. Brunel University, London.

...and in earth

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We took to the Web to study public debates on science and technology, but we found 'issue- networks' instead... Following hyperlinks among pages dealing with a given issue, we found that these links provided a means to demarcate the network that could be said to be staging the controversy in the new medium

Marres, N., & Rogers, R. (2005). *Recipe for Tracing the Fate of Issues and their Publics on the Web.*  
In L. Bruno & P. Weibel (Eds.), *Making Things Public*. Karlsruhe/Cambridge Mass: ZKM/MIT Press.



Exploiting the relationality of digital traces for social sciences

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It is obvious to try to apply standard citation analysis techniques to the web's hypertextual citation structure.

One can simply think of every link as being like an academic citation

And the other way around

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It is obvious to try to apply standard citation analysis techniques to the web's hypertextual citation structure.

One can simply think of every link as being like an academic citation (p.2)

Page, L., Brin, S., Rajeev, M., & Terry, W. (1998)  
The PageRank Citation Ranking: Bringing Order to the Web

And the other way around

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a theory without methods  
(actor-network theory)

a methods without theory  
(social network analysis)

+

a major technological and economic innovation  
(digital networks)

From conflation comes power  
(and responsibility)

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Part 2:  
Are we talking about  
the same networks?

(probably not)

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1. Partiality of digital inscriptions
2. (Lack of) Heterogeneity of nodes and edges
3. (Lack of) Reversibility of nodes and networks
4. Dynamics of relational change

Networks are not networks

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Platforms are not the Web  
 The Web is not the Internet  
 The Internets is not the digital  
 Not all inscriptions are digital

1. Partiality of digital inscriptions  
 Not everything is digitally inscripted

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Platforms are not the Web  
 The Web is not the Internet  
 The Internets is not the digital  
 Not all inscriptions are digital  
 Not everything is inscripted



1. Partiality of digital inscriptions  
 Not everything is digitally inscripted

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Boullier, D. (2015). Pour des sciences sociales de troisième génération : des traces numériques aux répliques. In P. M. Menger (Ed.), *Big Data, entreprises et sciences sociales*. Paris: Open Editions Press.

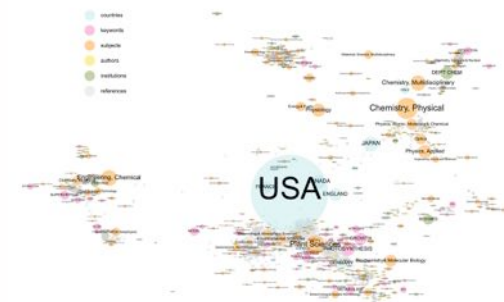
	1st generation	2nd generation	3rd generation
Concept of social	Society/(ies)	Opinion(s)	Vibration(s)
Type of inscription	Registers/Inquiries	Audience/Polls	Traces/Vibrations
Validation principle	Exhaustiveness	Representativeness	Traceability
Major players	States	The mass media	Brands
Operational Actors	National Institutes	Polling organisations	Web platforms
Authors	Durkheim	Gallup Lazarsfeld	Callon, Latour, Law

1. Partiality of digital inscriptions  
 Tracing is translating

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[an actor-network] is distinguished from a simple network because its elements are both heterogeneous and are mutually defined in the course of their association.

Callon, M. (1986). The Sociology of an Actor-Network: The Case of the Electric Vehicle. In M. Callon, J. Law, & A. Rip (Eds.), *Mapping the dynamics of science and technology* (pp. 19–34). London: Macmillan.



2. Heterogeneity of nodes and edges  
 heterogeneous nodes and parallel edges

40

<http://www.contropedia.net/demo>

Borra E., Weltevrede E., Ciuccarelli P., Kaltenbrunner A. ... Venturini T. (2015)  
**Societal Controversies in Wikipedia Articles.**  
*Proceedings of the 33rd Annual ACM Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*

2. Heterogeneity of nodes and edges  
 negative connections

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To try to follow an actor-network is a bit like defining a wave-corpuscle in the 1930s: any entity can be seized either as an actor (a corpuscle) or as a network (a wave). It is in this complete reversibility—an actor is nothing but a network, except that a network is nothing but actors—that resides the main originality of this theory

Latour, B. (2010). Networks, Societies, Spheres: Reflections of an Actor-Network Theorist. In International Seminar On Network Theory: Network Multidimensionality In The Digital Age. Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism, Los Angeles, United States

3. Reversibility of nodes and networks  
 Ego-networks VS global networks

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3. Reversibility of nodes and networks  
 actors VS infrastructures

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**Reality is a process.** Like a chemical body it passes through successive states

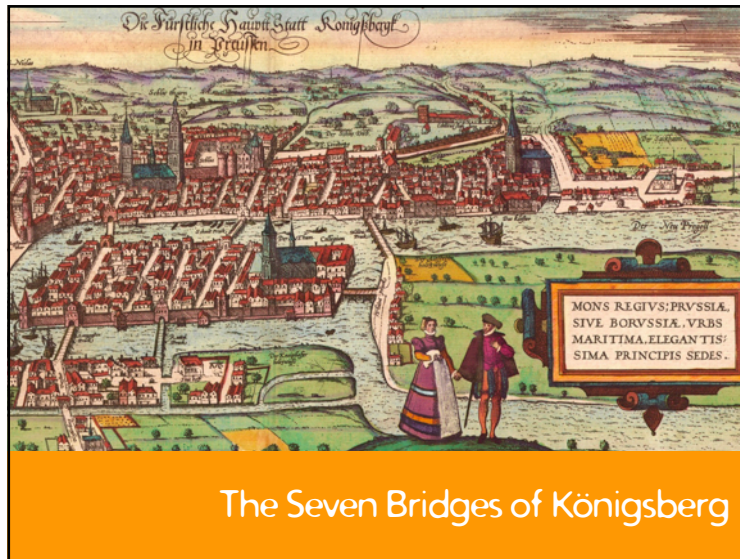
Callon, M. (1986b). Some elements of a sociology of translation: domestication of the scallops and the fishermen of St Brieuc Bay. In J. Law (Ed.), Power, action and belief: a new sociology of knowledge? (pp. 196–223). London: Routledge.

Latour, B., Mauguin, P., & Teijl, G. (1992). A Note on Socio-technical Graphs. *Social Studies of Science*.

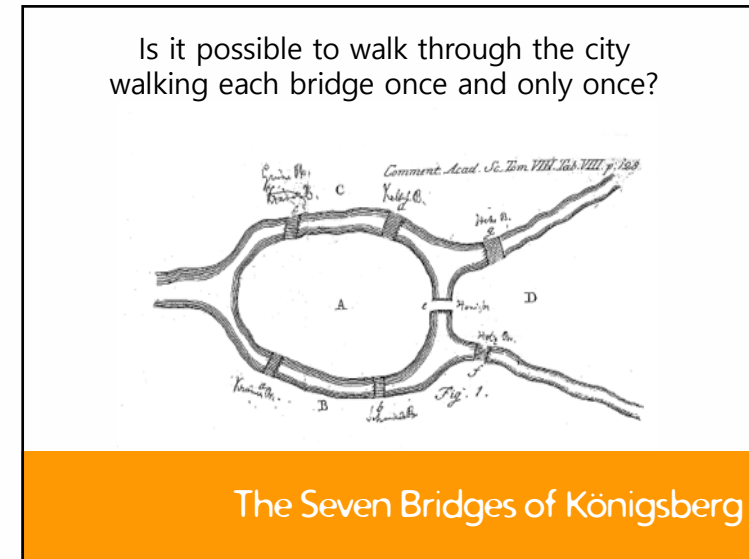
4. Dynamic of relational change  
 The puzzle of network dynamics

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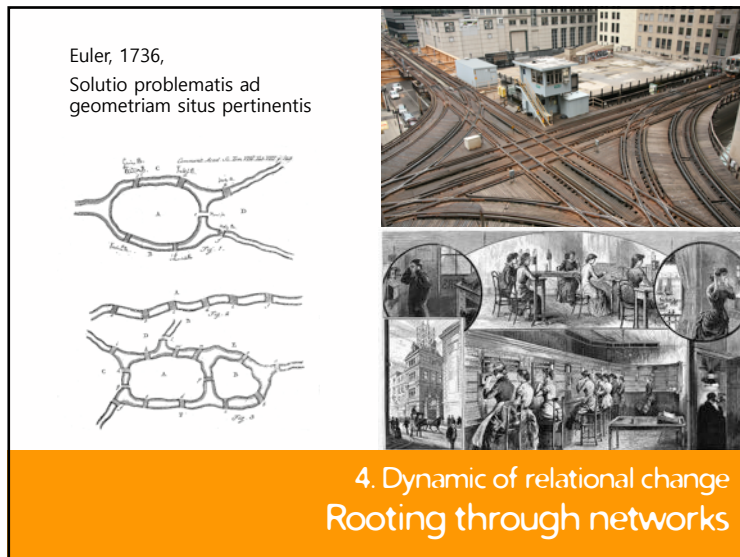




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Venturini, T., Munk, A., & Jacomy, M. (2016). Actor-Network VS Network Analysis VS Digital Networks Are We Talking About the Same Networks? In D. Ribes & J. Vertesi (Eds.), DigitalSTS: A Handbook and Fieldguide (forthcoming).

Venturini, T. (2012). Great expectations: méthodes qualitative et analyse des réseaux sociaux. In J.-P. Fourmentaux (Ed.), *L'Ère Post-Media. Humanités digitales et Cultures numériques* (Vol. 104, pp. 39–51). Paris: Hermann.

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Part 3:  
becoming sensitive to  
the density of association

(maybe we are talking about  
the same networks after all)

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Both of these approaches reject a priori reifications such as 'the social' or 'society'... Both of these approaches consider the production of meaning as an activity of connecting/disconnecting and analyse how actors come to be created through collaborations of other actors in different contexts... For both approaches, the ties precede the nodes. (p. 878).

Mutzel, S. (2009). Networks as Culturally Constituted Processes: A Comparison of Relational Sociology and Actor-network Theory. *Current Sociology*, 57, pp. 871–887.

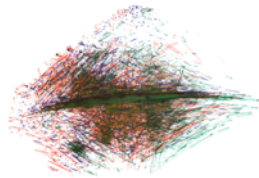
The ties precede  
the node and the network

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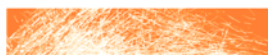


Munster, A. (2013). *An Aesthesia of Networks*.  
Cambridge Mass: MIT Press

An Aesthesia of Networks  
Conjunctive Experience in Art and Technology



Anna Munster

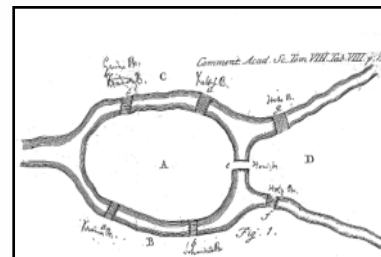


A diagram of a network, then, does not look like a network but maintain the same qualities of relations – proximities, degrees of separation, and so forth – that a network also requires in order to form.

Resemblance should here be considered a resonating rather than a hierarchy (p. 24).

Resonance not resemblance

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Euler, 1736,  
*Solutio problematis ad  
geometriam situs pertinentis*

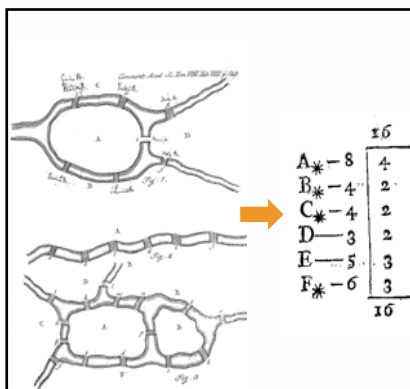
« Hoc porro modo si operatio ad finem perducatur, multa inveniuntur, quae non erant in quaestione; in quo procul dubio tantae difficultatis causa consistit »

"If, in this way, the work could be brought to a conclusion, many irrelevant factors would arise; therein without doubt lies the reason for the difficulty"

(translation in Fleischner, H. 1990. Eulerian Graphs and Related Topics. Amsterdam: Elsevier)

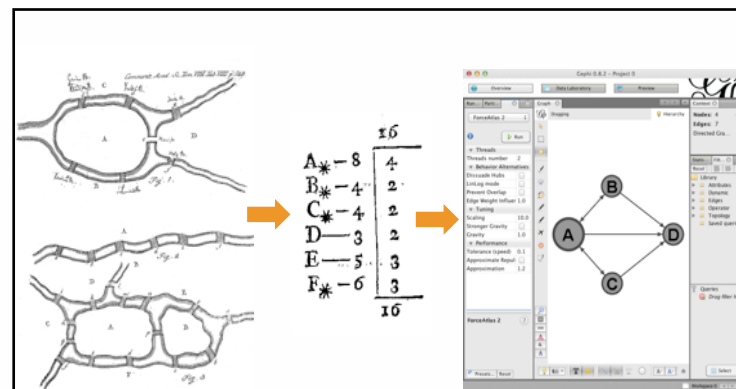
The Seven Bridges of Königsberg

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From map to math

55



and from graph to graphic

56

"the expression of an individual position can be better visualised through a sociogram than through a sociometric equation"

Moreno, Jacob. 1934. *Who Shall Survive?*  
Washington, DC: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing.

"If we ever get to the point of charting a whole city or a whole nation, we would have an intricate maze of psychological reactions which would present a picture of a vast solar system of intangible structures powerfully influencing conduct, as gravitation does bodies in space. Such an invisible structure underlies society and has in influence in determining the conduct of society as a whole"

Moreno, Jacob, April 3, 1933, *The New York Times*

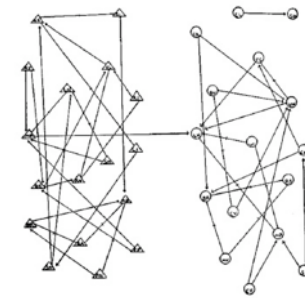
## Networks as maps

(Jacob L. Moreno, April 3, 1933, *The New York Times*)

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## EMOTIONS MAPPED BY NEW GEOGRAPHY

Charts Seek to Portray the  
Psychological Currents of  
Human Relationships.



Jacob L. Moreno, April 3, 1933, *The New York Times*

## Networks as maps

(Jacob L. Moreno, April 3, 1933, *The New York Times*)

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## Geographical maps

(space is a condition of elements' position)

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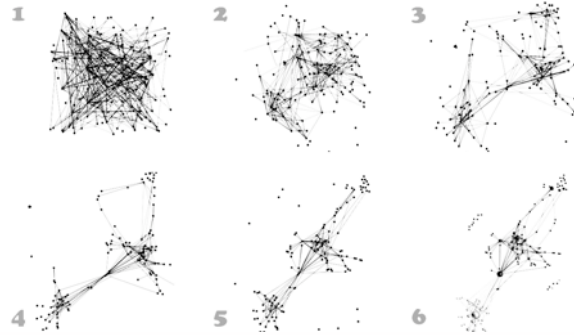


## Network maps

(space is a consequence of elements' position)

60

Jacomy, M., Venturini, T., Heymann, S., & Bastian, M. (2014).  
 ForceAtlas2, a Continuous Graph Layout Algorithm for Handy Network  
 Visualization Designed for the Gephi Software *PLoS One*

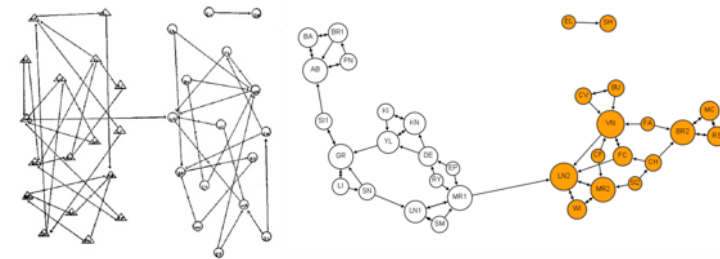


Force-Directed Spatialisation

61

Grandjean, Martin (2015).

Social network analysis and visualization: Moreno's Sociograms revisited  
[www.martingrandjean.ch/social-network-analysis-visualization-morenos-sociograms-revisited/](http://www.martingrandjean.ch/social-network-analysis-visualization-morenos-sociograms-revisited/)



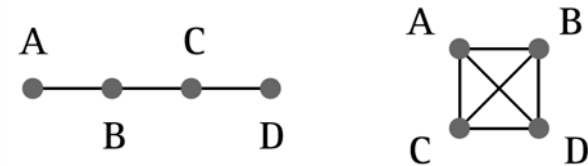
Reading networks as maps

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But which type of maps?

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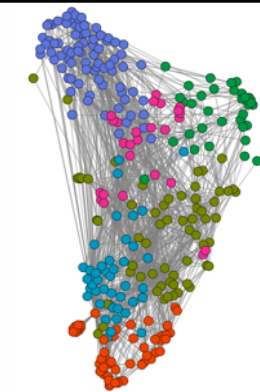
A multi-dimensional object  
 in a two-dimensional space

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"As representations for the community structure of networks, layouts subsume clusterings, thus quality measures for layouts subsume quality measures for clusterings, and in fact prominent existing quality measures for layouts – namely, energy models based on the pairwise attraction and repulsion of vertices – subsume a prominent existing quality measure for clusterings – namely, the modularity measure of Newman and Girvan"

Noack, Andreas. 2009. "Modularity Clustering Is Force-Directed Layout." *Physical Review E* 79(2).



(c-elegans neural network colour by modularity classes)

Modularity clustering is force-directed layout

65

Drucker, J. (2011). *Humanities Approaches to Graphical Display*. *Digital Humanities Quarterly*, 5(1), 1–20.

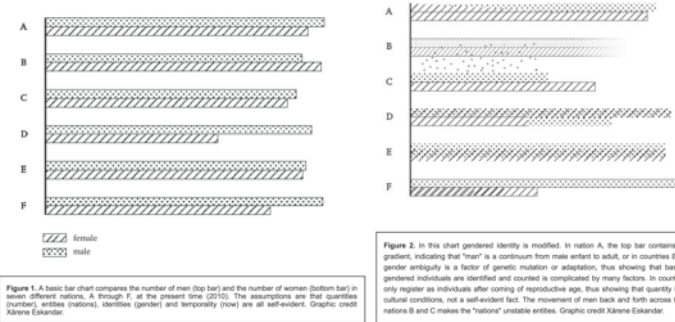


Figure 1. A basic bar chart compares the number of men (top bar) and the number of women (bottom bar) in seven different nations. A through F, at the present time (2010). The assumptions are that quantiles (number), entities (nations), identities (gender) and temporality (now) are all self-evident. Graphic credit: Xénia Eskander.

Figure 2. In this chart gendered identity is modified. In nation A, the top bar contains a changing gradient, indicating that "man" is a continuum from male infant to adult, or in countries E and F, that gender ambiguity is a factor of genetic mutation or adaptation, thus showing that basis on which gendered individuals are identified and counted is complicated by many factors. In country F women only register as individuals after coming of reproductive age, thus showing that quantity is a effect of cultural conditions, not a self-evident fact. The movement of men back and forth across the border of nations B and C makes the "nations" unstable entities. Graphic credit: Xénia Eskander.

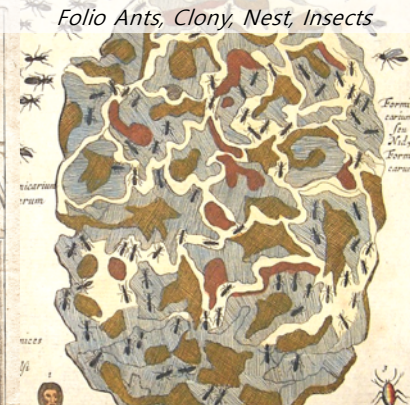
The value of ambiguity for social and human sciences

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Thomas Hobbes, 1651  
*The Leviathan*



Merian & Jonston, 1718  
*Folio Ants, Clony, Nest, Insects*



Beyond micro/macro divide

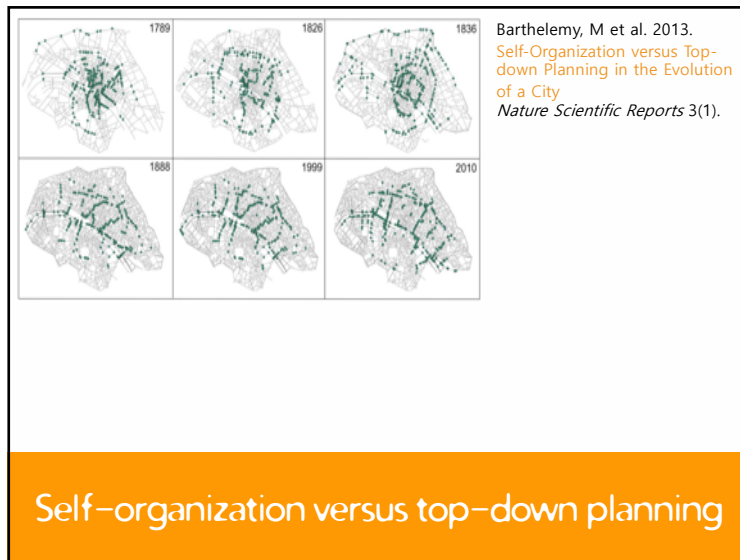
Michel Callon and Bruno Latour. 1981. "Unscrewing the Big Leviathans How Do Actors Macrostructure Reality?"

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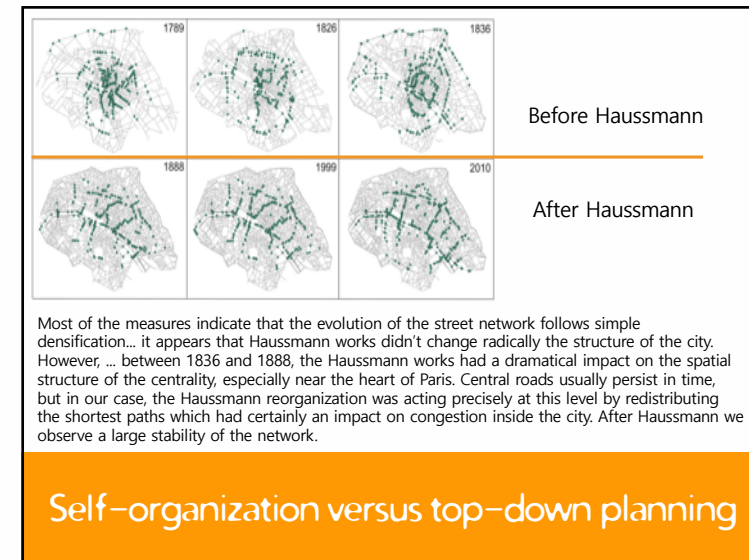


Inside / Outside (Armin Linke)

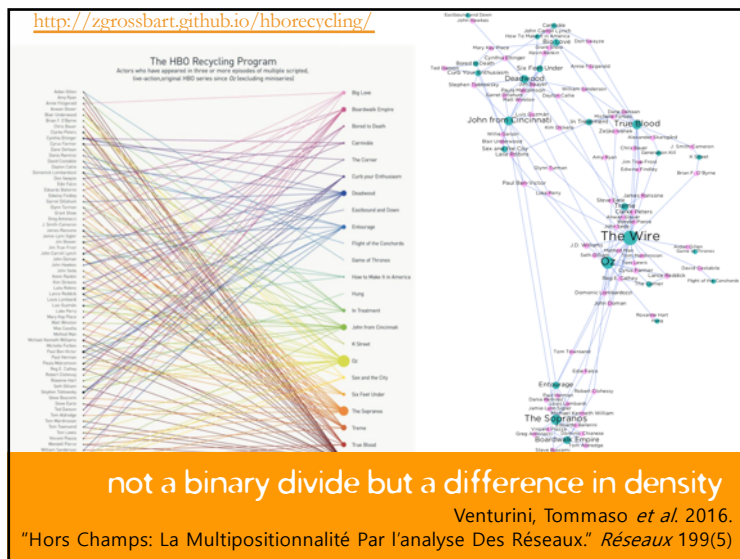
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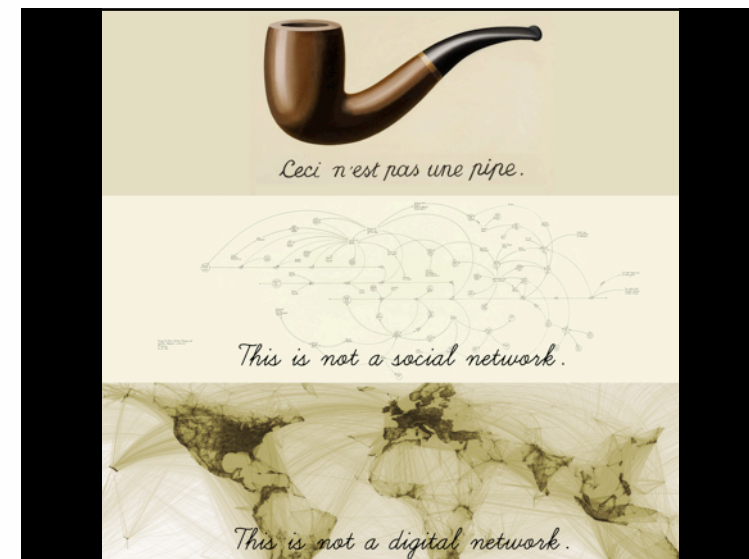
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Professor — you should not confuse the network that is drawn by the description and the network that is used to make the description.

Student — ...?

Professor — But yes! Surely you'd agree that drawing with a pencil is not the same thing as drawing the shape of a pencil. It's the same with this ambiguous word, network.

Latour, Bruno. 2003. "On Using ANT for Studying Information Systems: A (Somewhat) Socratic Dialogue." In *The Social Study of Information and Communication Study*, eds. C. Avgerou, C. Ciborra, and F.F. Land. Oxford: University Press, pp. 62–76.

## Networks as maps

(Jacob L. Moreno, April 3, 1933, *The New York Times*)

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