

# The Few-Get-Richer: A Surprising Consequence of Popularity-Based Rankings

**Fabrizio Germano, Vicenç Gomez, Gaël Le Mens**  
**Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona**

## The Problem

Ranking algorithms systematically affect the information people access

## Motivation

Address theoretical gap



## Theoretical Gap

Interaction of ranking algorithms and what people access as a result  
still poorly understood

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**Universitat  
Pompeu Fabra  
Barcelona**

**Barcelona  
GSE** Graduate  
School of  
Economics



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Gaël Le Mens: Funding for 2-3 postdocs (3.5 years)



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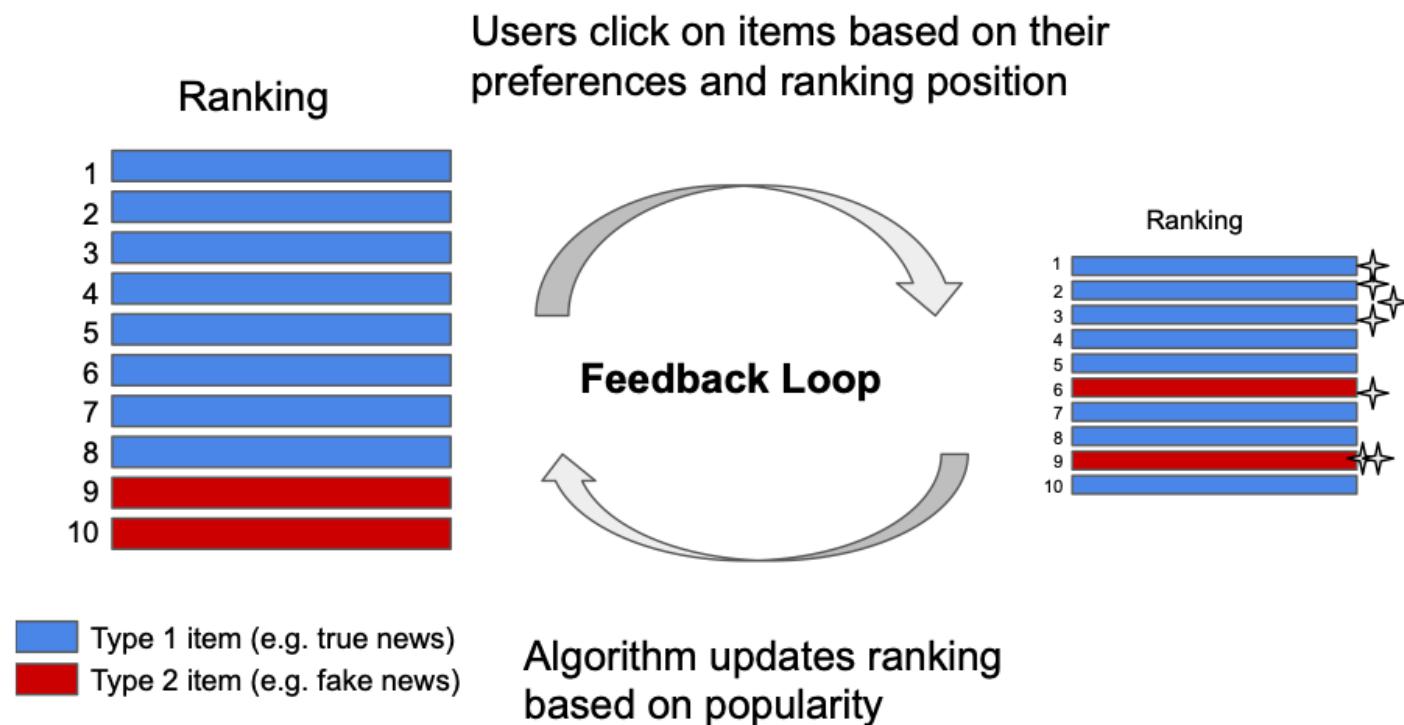
Graduate  
School of  
Economics



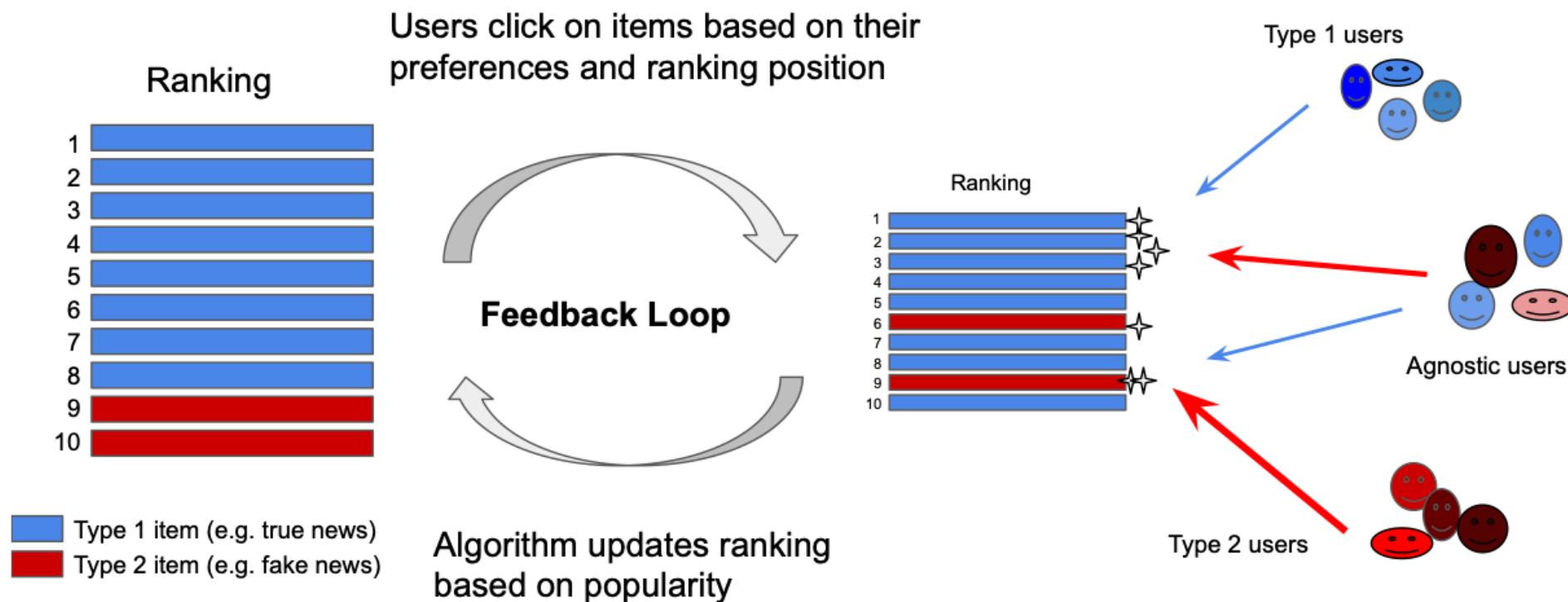
MINISTERIO  
DE ECONOMÍA  
Y EMPRESA

# **The Setting**

1. **Search query** (e.g., “should I vaccinate my child...”)
2. Two **classes of items** (“yes, vaccinate”, “no, don’t vaccinate”)



1. **Search query** (e.g., “should I vaccinate my child...”)
2. Two **classes of items** (“**yes, vaccinate**”, “**no, don’t vaccinate**”)
3. Items are **ranked** based on their **popularity** (number of clicks)
4. **Users** search sequentially, they:
  - have **heterogeneous** preferences for (visible) classes of items
  - are more likely to click on **higher-ranked** items.

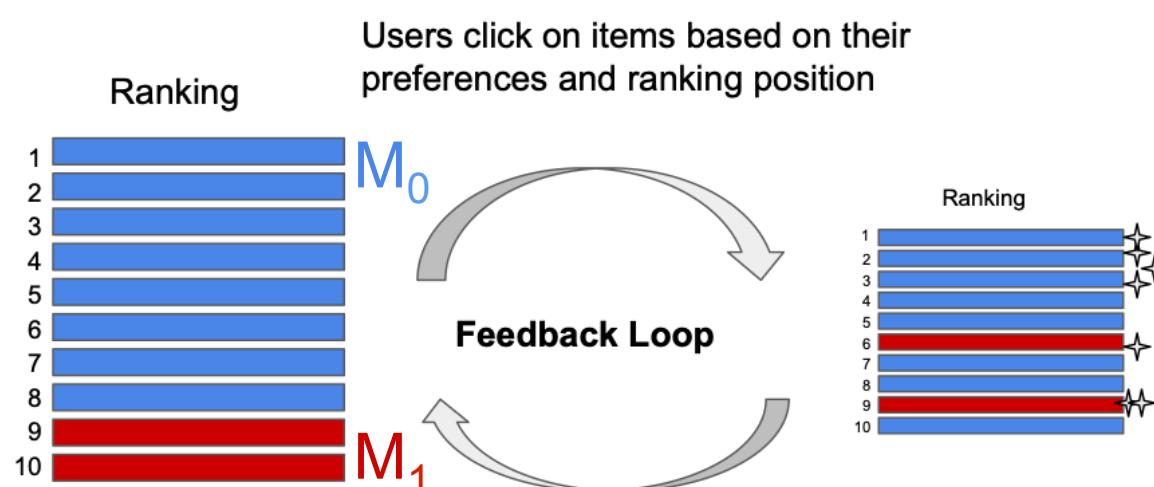


A surprising consequence of popularity-based rankings:

**The fewer the items of a given class,  
the greater the share of the overall traffic  
they collectively attract.**

# **The Model**

- ▶ The **search environment** consists of a **ranking algorithm** that ranks  $M$  **items** of two types  $k \in \{0, 1\}$  that get accessed by  $N$  **users** who sequentially use the ranking to decide which item to click on.
- ▶  $r_{n,m} \in \{1, \dots, M\}$  is the rank of item  $m$  observed by user  $n \in \{1, \dots, N\}$ , which depends on the **number of clicks** received.



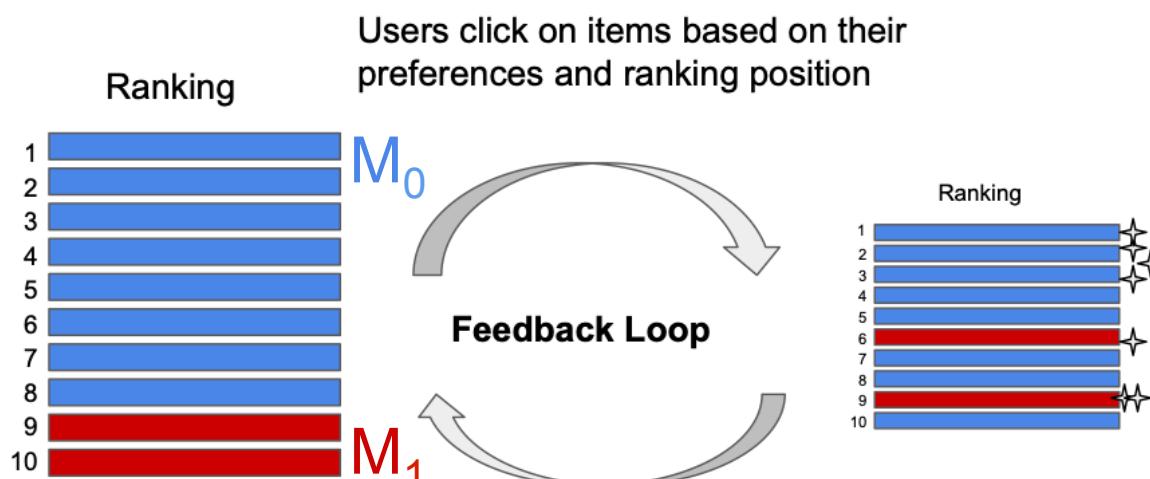
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- ▶ **Propensities:** user  $n$  with  $\gamma_n \in \{0, \frac{1}{2}, 1\}$  has propensity  $\varphi_{n,m}$  of clicking on item  $m$ :

$$\varphi_{n,m} = \begin{cases} \frac{\gamma_n}{M_0} & \text{if } m \in M_0 \\ \frac{1-\gamma_n}{M_1} & \text{if } m \in M_1. \end{cases} \quad (1)$$

$\gamma_n = 0$  **Prefers  $M_1$**  (i.e., chooses  $M_0$  with prob. 0)

$\gamma_n = 1/2$  Indifferent between  $M_0$  and  $M_1$  (Agnostic)

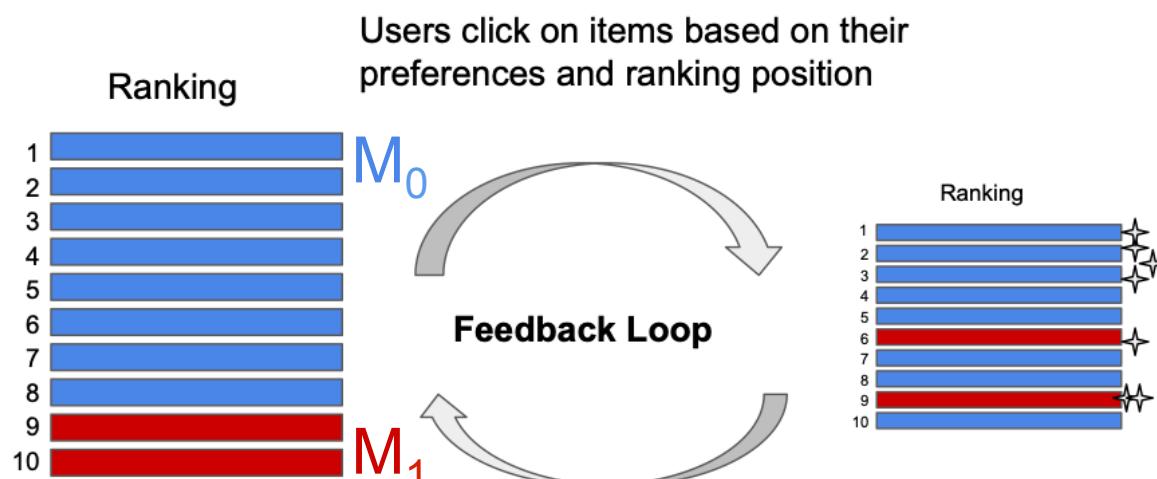
$\gamma_n = 1$  **Prefers  $M_0$**  (i.e., chooses  $M_0$  with prob. 1)



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Users enter sequentially with  $\gamma_n$  drawn randomly and independently:  $\gamma_n = 0$ ,  $\gamma_n = 1$  each with probability  $0 < p < \frac{1}{2}$  and  $\gamma_n = \frac{1}{2}$  with (remaining) probability  $0 < 1 - 2p < 1$ .



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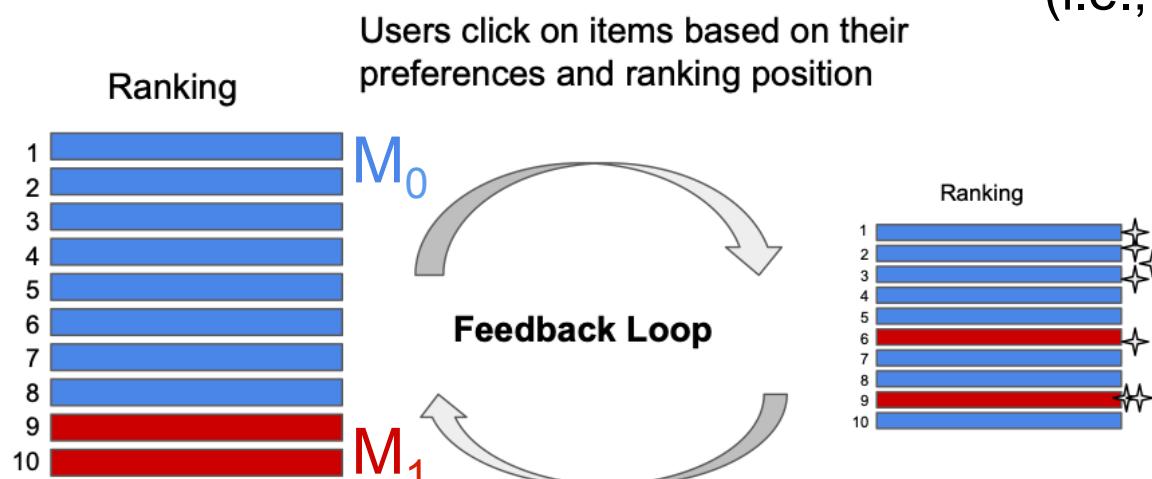
Agnostic

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Prefers  $M_0$  (1)

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- ▶ They also have an **attention bias**  $\beta$  ( $> 1$ ), whereby an item ranked exactly one position higher is  $\beta$  times more likely to be clicked.
  - ▶ **Stochastic choice rule:** user  $n$  chooses ranked item  $m$  according to

$$\begin{aligned}
 \rho_{n,m} &= \frac{1}{Z} \underbrace{\beta^{(M-r_{n,m})}}_{\text{attention bias}} \cdot \underbrace{\varphi_{n,m}}_{\text{click propensity}} \\
 &\quad \underbrace{\qquad\qquad\qquad}_{\text{Prob(user } n \text{ clicks on item } m)} \\
 Z &= \sum_{m' \in M} \beta^{(M-r_{n,m'})} \varphi_{n,m'}.
 \end{aligned} \tag{2}
 \quad \underbrace{\qquad\qquad\qquad}_{\text{normalization constant}}$$

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$$\rho_{n,m} = \underbrace{\frac{\beta^{(M-r_{n,m})} \varphi_{n,m}}{\sum_{m' \in M} \beta^{(M-r_{n,m'})} \varphi_{n,m'}}}_{\text{Prob(user } n \text{ clicks on item } m\text{)}}. \quad (2)$$

## The Few-Get-Richer Effect

*Keeping the total number of ranked items  $M$  constant, decreasing the number of items in one of the two classes can dramatically increase the total traffic to that class: having **few** items in the ranking can **increase** total number of clicks on those (few) items.*

# **Simulations I**

## **Trajectories**

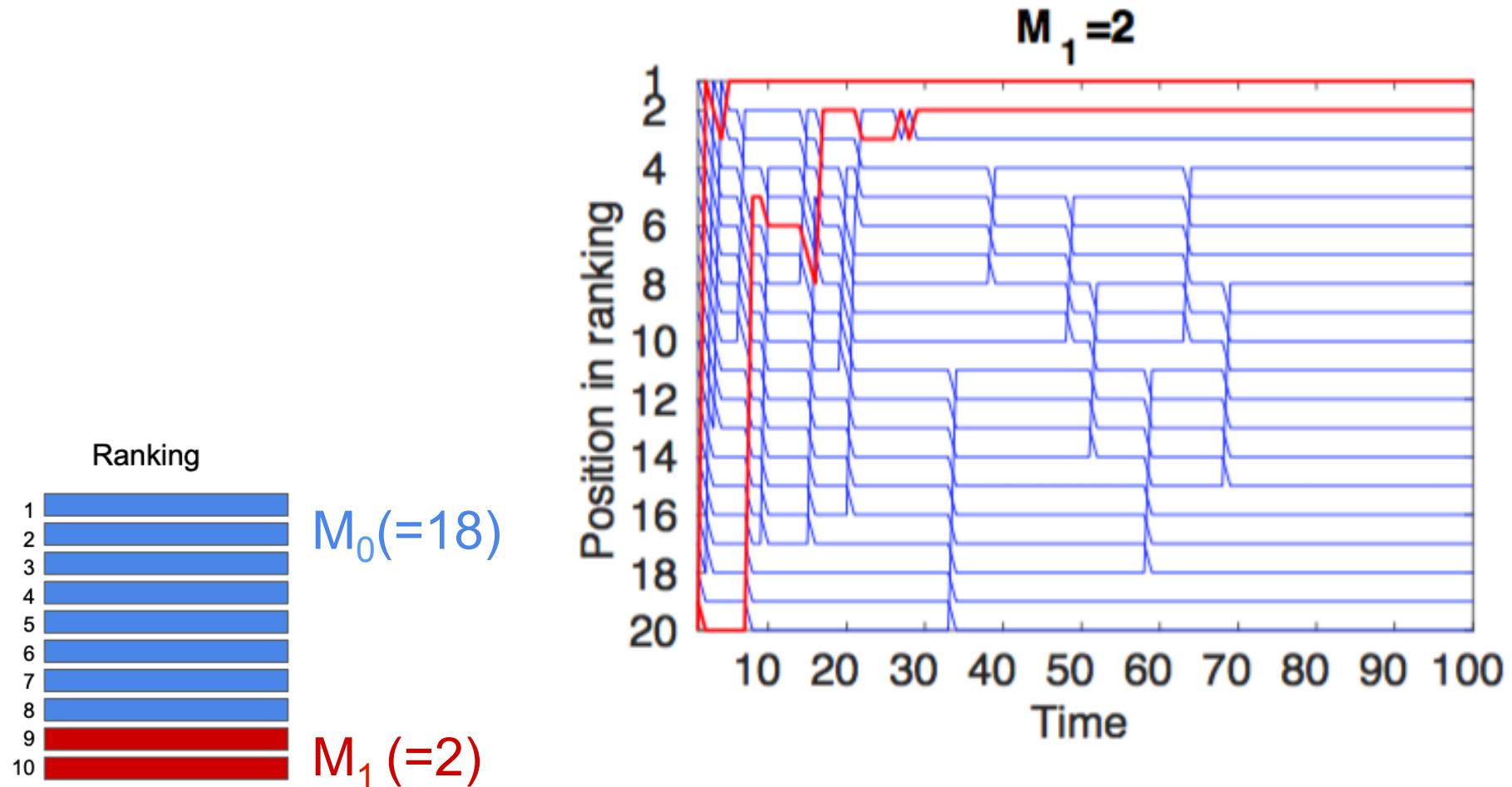
- $M = 20$  items and  $N = 100$  users, and  $M_1$  items are **initially at the bottom**.
- Proportion of users of different types:  $p_0$  and  $p_1$ . Agnostic users:  $p_2 = 1 - p_0 - p_1$ .
- Uniform initialization, with all items having one click.

$$\beta = 1.1, \Gamma = \{0.9, 0.1, 0.5\}, p_0 = p_1 = 0.4$$



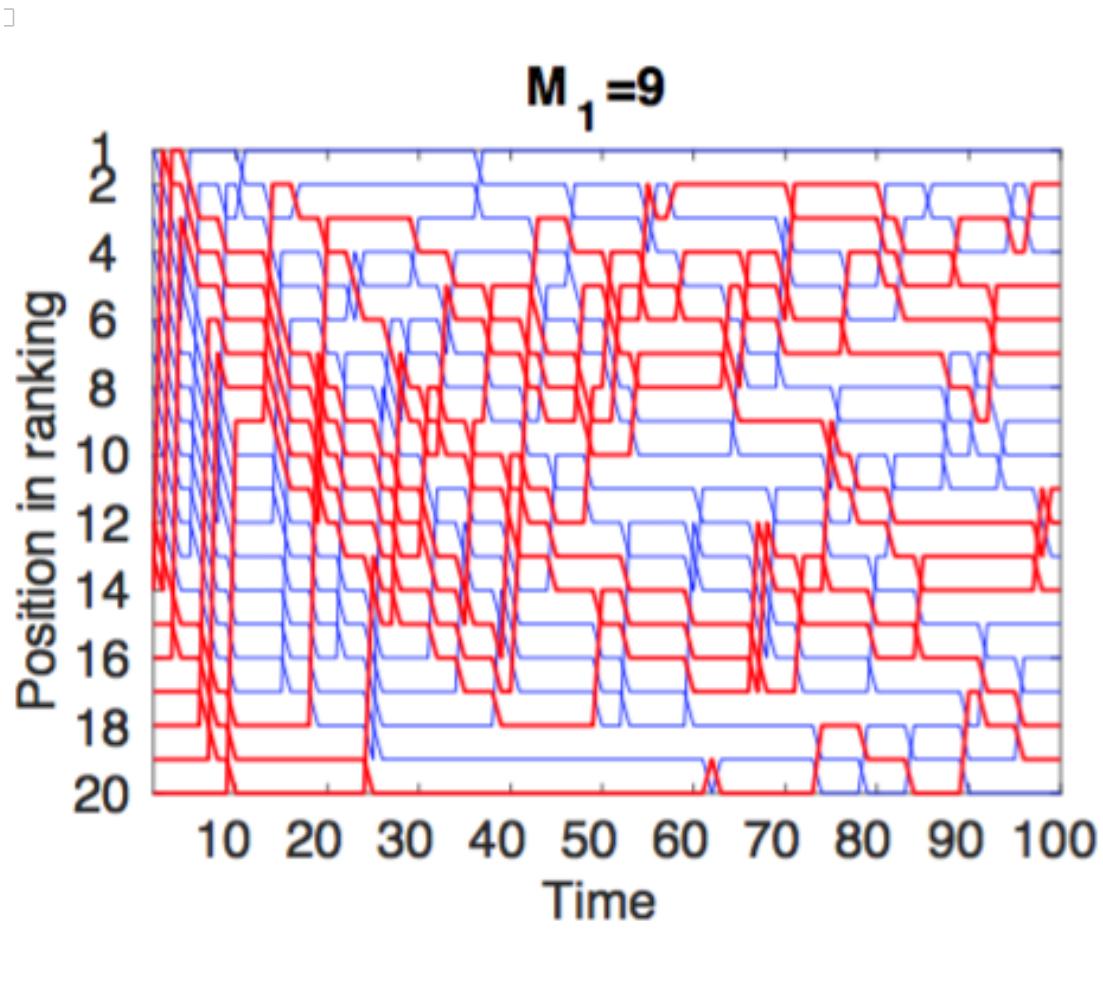
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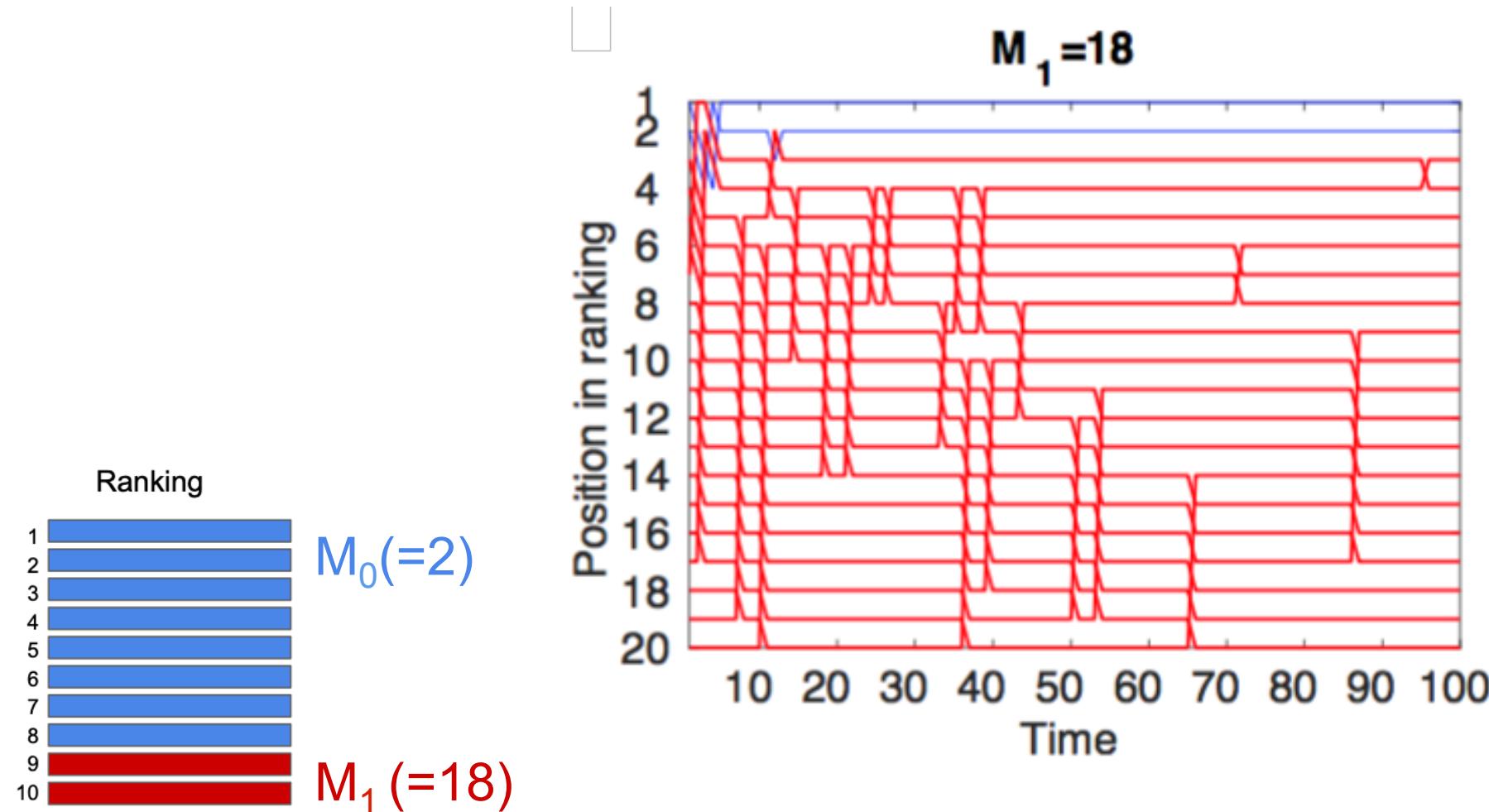


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**More formally...**

## The Few-Get-Richer Effect

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## More formally...

Fix two popularity-based search environments  $\mathcal{E}$  and  $\mathcal{E}'$  that differ only in the number of items of class 1 ( $M_1$  and  $M'_1$  respectively). Suppose  $M_1 < \frac{M}{1+\beta} < \frac{\beta M}{1+\beta} < M'_1$ , then there exists  $\bar{N}$  such that, for any  $N \geq \bar{N}$ , the total clicking probability  $(\rho_{N,M_1})$  by individual  $N$  on an item in  $M_1$  in environment  $\mathcal{E}$  is strictly greater than the total clicking probability  $(\rho_{N,M'_1})$  by individual  $N$  on an item in  $M'_1$  in environment  $\mathcal{E}'$ , provided  $p > 0$  is sufficiently small.

## The Few-Get-Richer Effect

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### Attention bias

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Not too few 'agnostic' users

The proof is in three steps.

1. we characterize a limit ranking ( $r_\infty$ ) of the process  $\rho_n$  (popularities) and show it constitutes a (stable) limit.
2. we show it is the unique such limit ranking.

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1. we characterize a limit ranking ( $r_\infty$ ) of the process  $\rho_n$  (popularities) and show it constitutes a (stable) limit.
2. we show it is the unique such limit ranking.
3. we compute total traffic on all items in  $M_1$  at the limit and show it is over half of total traffic when  $M_1 < \frac{M}{1+\beta}$ , and hence greater than total traffic on all items in  $M'_1$  for  $M'_1 > \frac{\beta M}{1+\beta}$ .

## More formally...

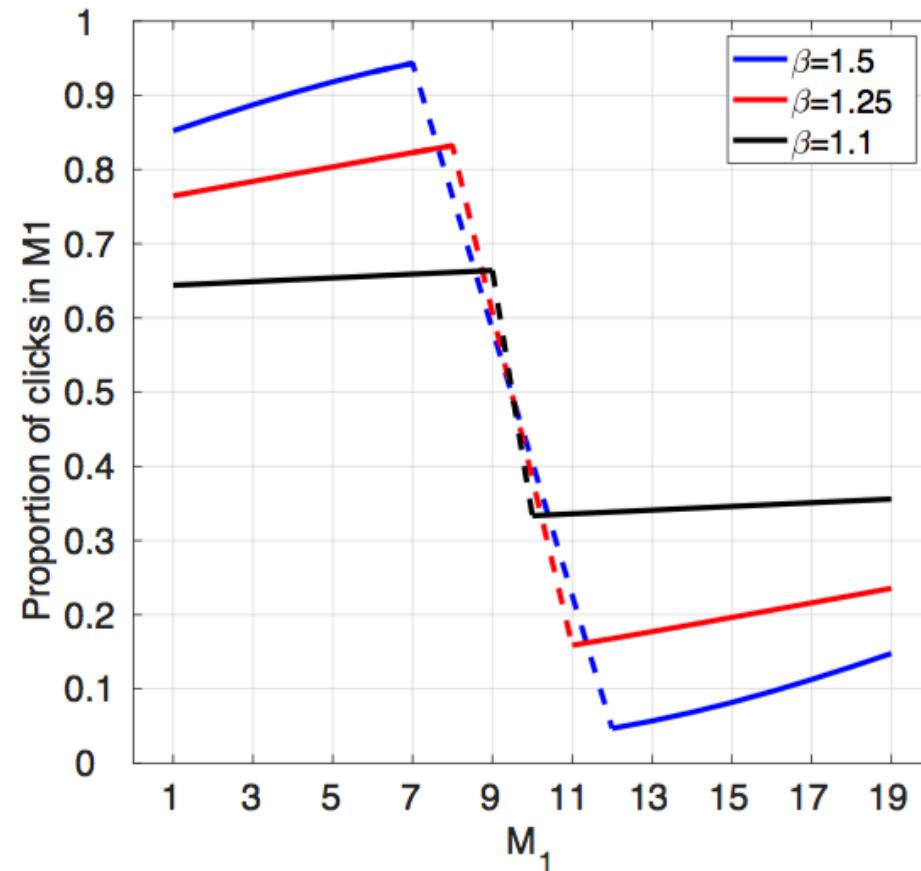
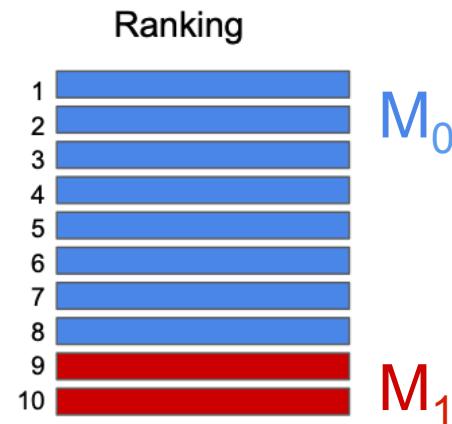
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Not too few 'agnostic' users

- $M = 20$  items
- Proportion of users of different types:  $p_0$  and  $p_1$ . Agnostic users:  $p_2 = 1 - p_0 - p_1$ .
- $\Gamma = \{0.8, 0.2, 0.5\}$      $p_0 = p_1 = 0.4$ .

► Analytical curves for **infinite** users:



# **Simulations II**

## **Comparative Statics**

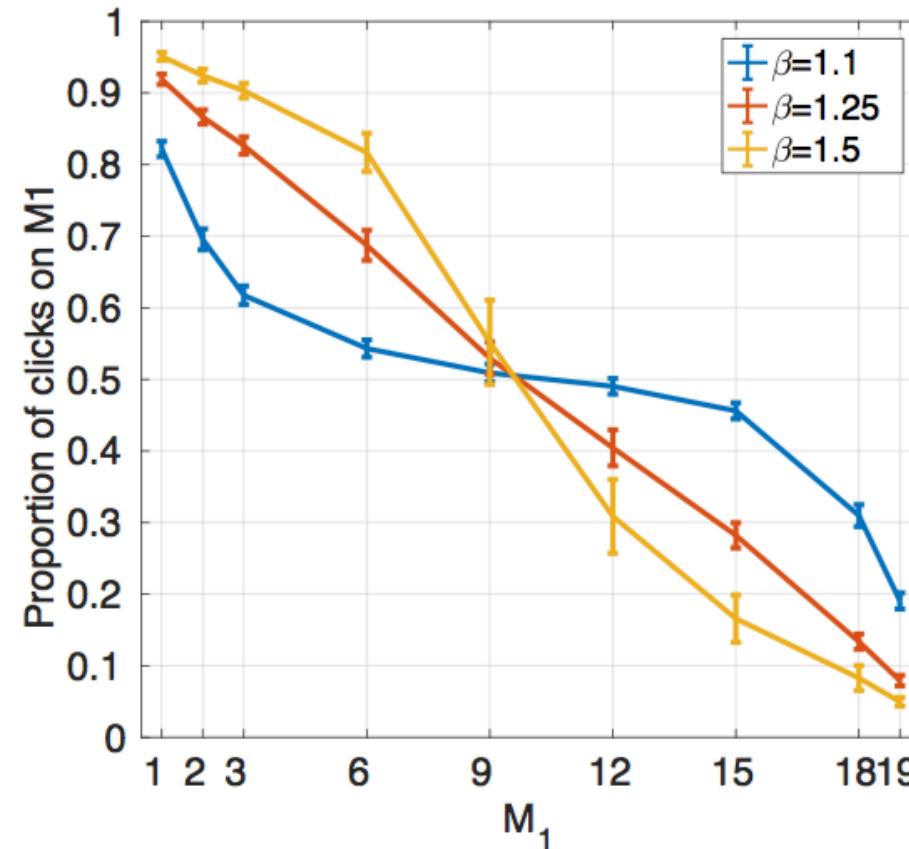
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- Uniform initialization, with all items having one click.

$$\beta = 1.1, \Gamma = \{0.9, 0.1, 0.5\}, p_0 = p_1 = 0.4$$

**Higher attention bias (effect of ranking on choice) → Stronger effect**



► Dependence on attention bias  $\beta$ :



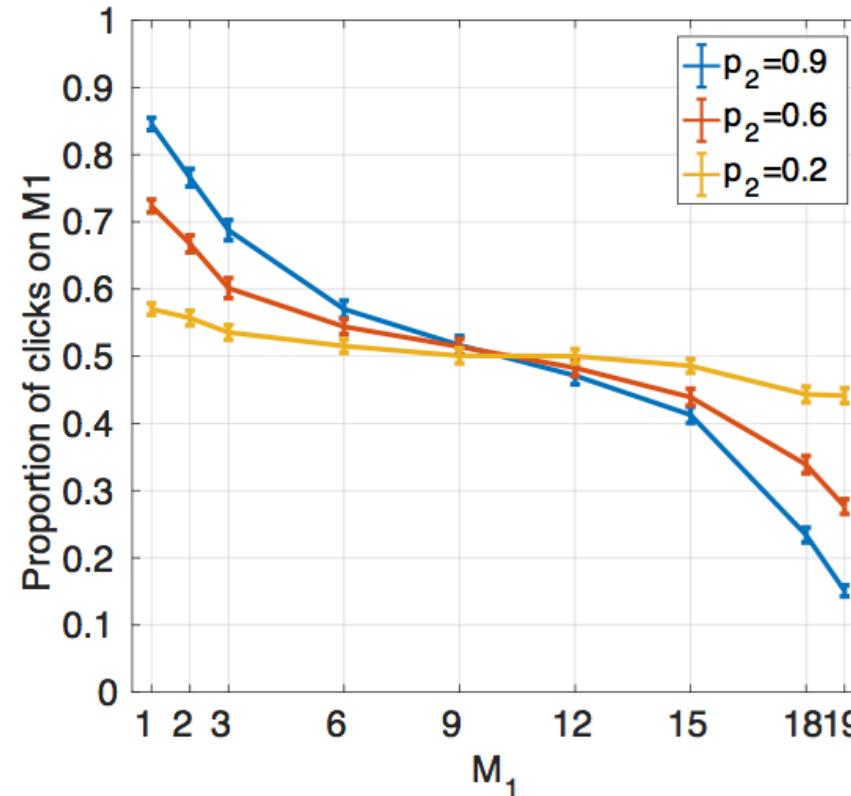
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**Higher proportion of 'agnostic' users ( $p_2$ ) → Stronger effect**

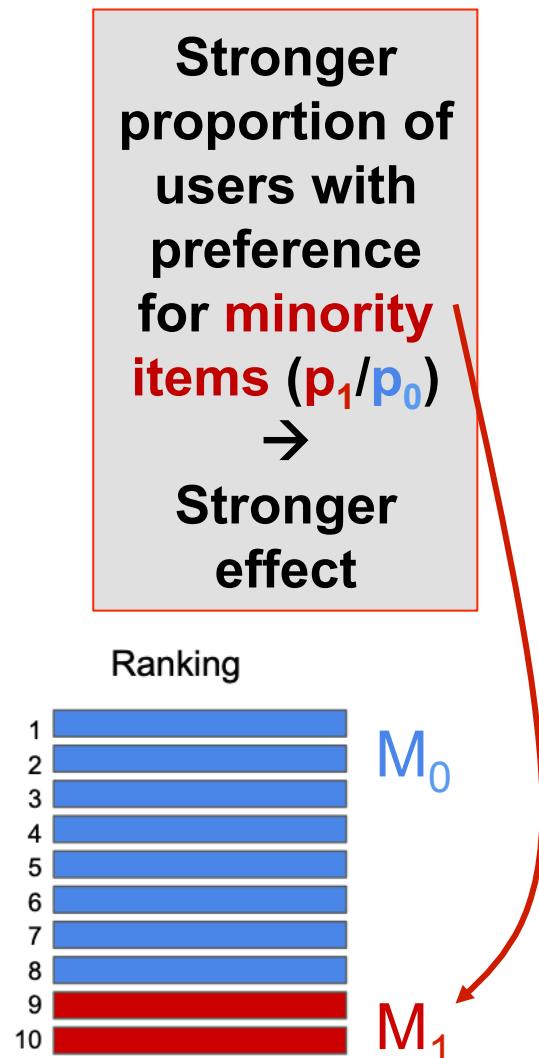


- Dependence on proportion of agnostic users  $p_2$ :

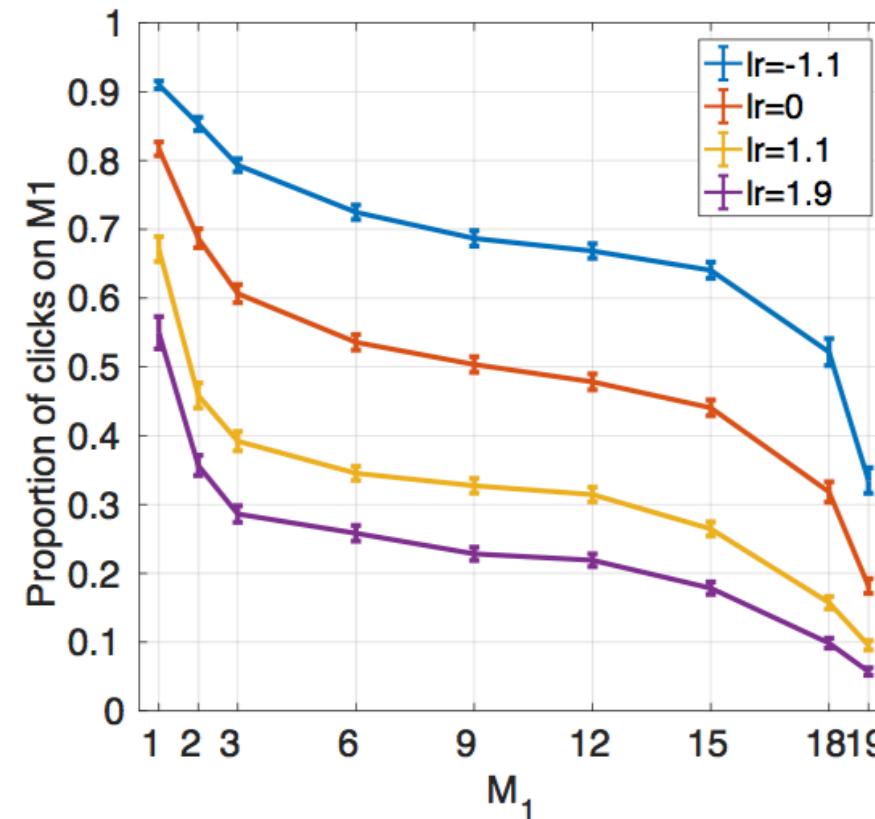


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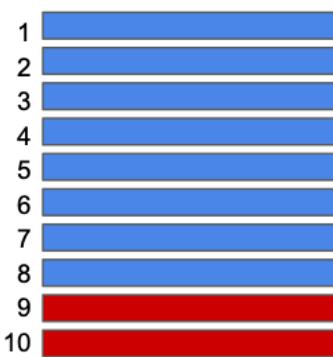
► Dependence on the ratio  $lr = \log \frac{p_0}{p_1}$ :



# **Experiment**

- ▶ Amazon Turk : 786 participants.
- ▶  $M = 20$  ranked items of 2 types:  
 $M_0$  **Cat Pictures**,  $M_1$  **Dog Pictures**.

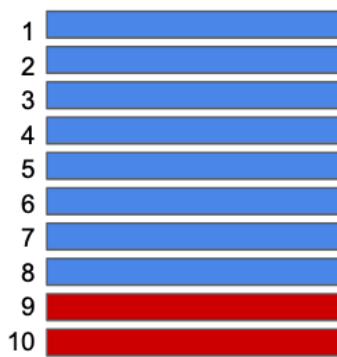
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$M_0$ : Cat Pictures

$M_1$ : Dog Pictures

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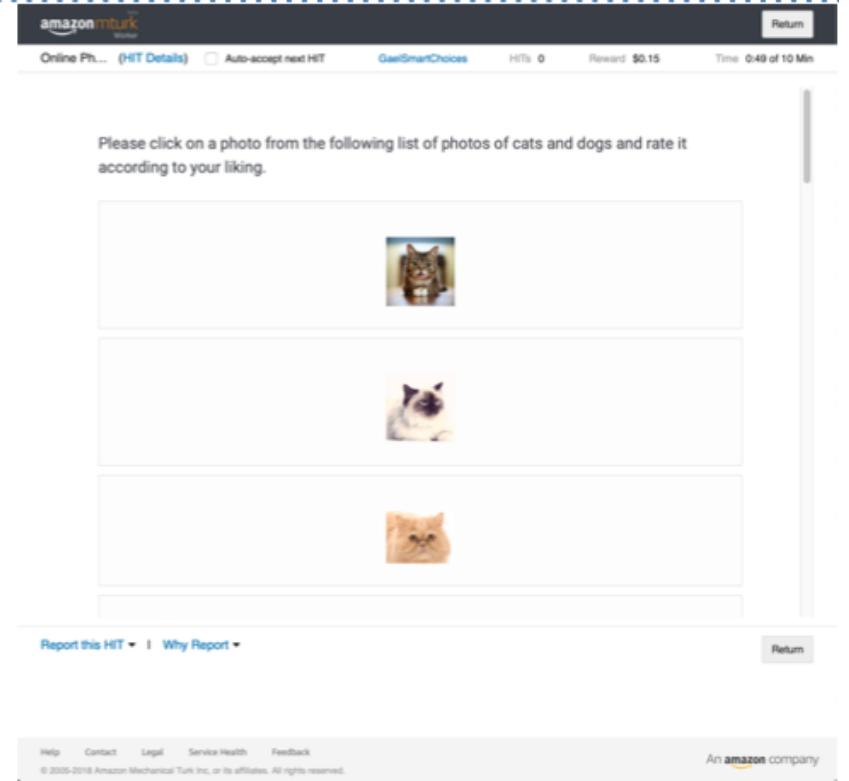
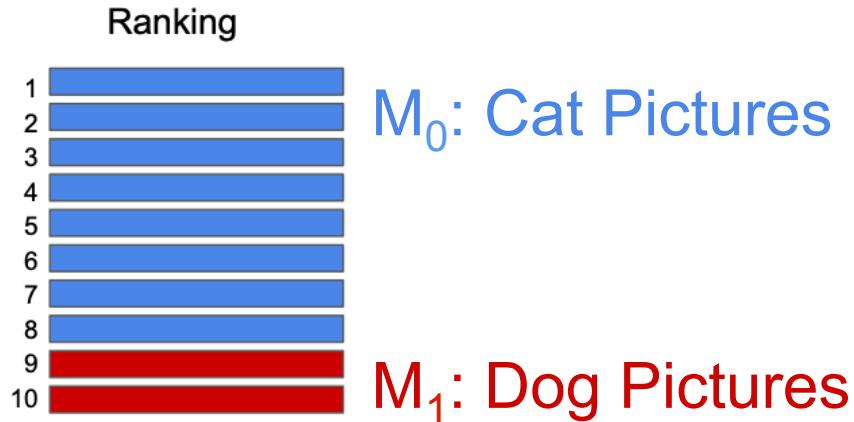


$M_0$ : Cat Pictures

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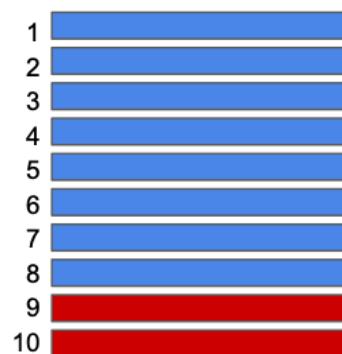
- ▶ Uniform initialization, with all pictures having one click.
- ▶ User types: ‘**cat person**’, ‘**dog person**’, or ‘**neither a cat nor a dog person**’.



- “Are you more of a cat person or a dog person?”
- “I am a cat person”
  - “I am neither a cat person nor a dog person”
  - “I am a dog person.”

- ▶ Amazon Turk : 786 participants.
- ▶  $M = 20$  ranked items of 2 types:  
 $M_0$  **Cat Pictures**,  $M_1$  **Dog Pictures**.
- ▶ 4 treatments with  $M_1 = 3, 8, 12$  or  $17$  dogs,  
initially ranked at the bottom.
- ▶ 2 sets of ranking conditions
  - Static**: dog pictures stay at the bottom. “Control” condition
  - Dynamic**: items go up as they are clicked. “Treatment” condition
- ▶ Uniform initialization, with all pictures having  
one click.
- ▶ User types: ‘**cat person**’, ‘**dog person**’, or ‘**neither a cat nor a dog person**’.

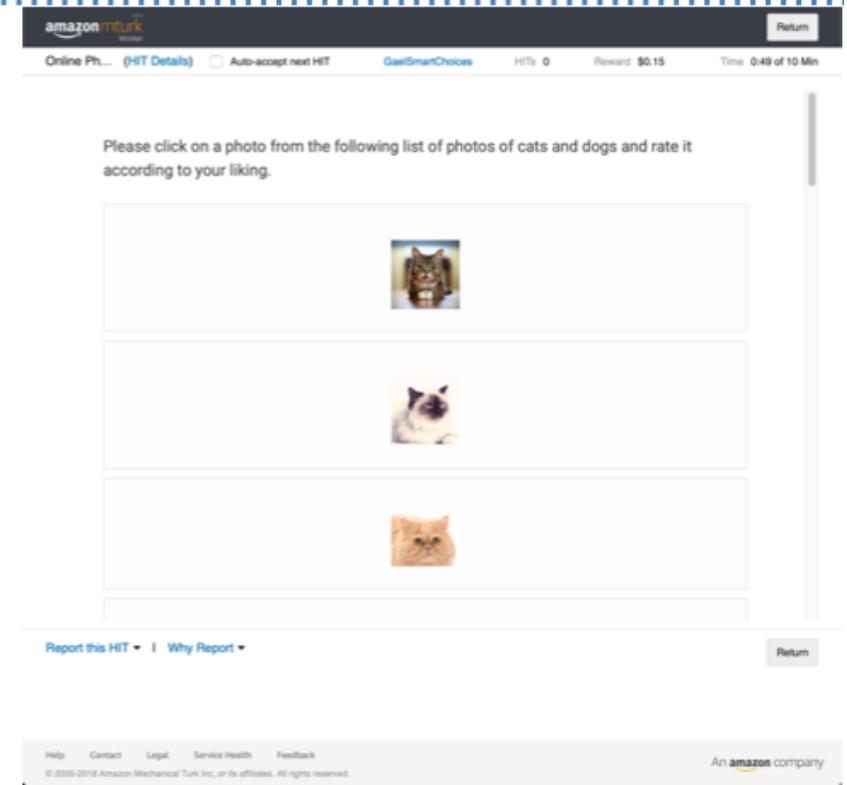
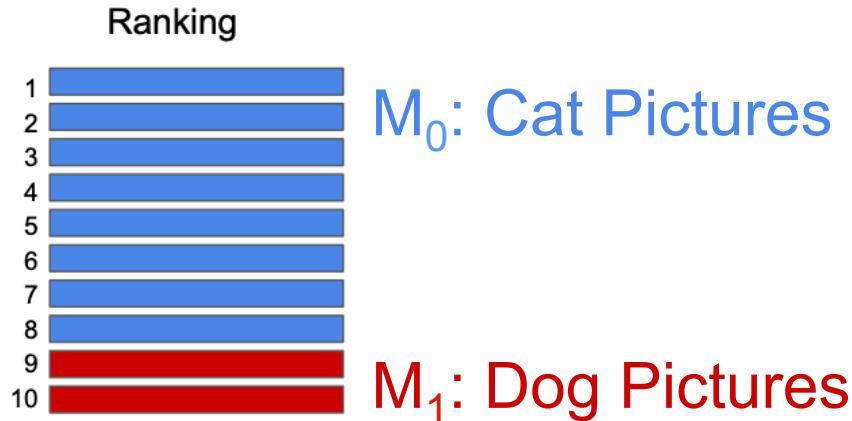
Ranking



$M_0$ : Cat Pictures

$M_1$ : Dog Pictures

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- ▶ Uniform initialization, with all pictures having one click.
- ▶ User types: ‘**cat person**’, ‘**dog person**’, or ‘**neither a cat nor a dog person**’



**Main finding:** Total #clicks attracted by dog pictures is larger when there are few dog pictures (3/20) than when there are many dog pictures (17/20) in the *Dynamic* setting but not in the *Static* setting.

# Cats ( $M_0$ )	3	8	12	17
# Dogs ( $M_1$ )	17	12	8	3
Dynamic				
Condition	D1   D2   D3   D4			
# participants	96	102	99	101
# participants	Cat person			
in each	Neither			
type	Dog person			
Dog	Experiment			
traffic	Sim1			
share	Sim2			
Static				
Condition	S1	S2	S3	S4
# participants	96	101	95	96
# participants	Cat person			
in each	Neither			
type	Dog person			
Dog	Experiment			
traffic	Sim1			
share	Sim2			

# Cats ( $M_0$ )	3	8	12	17	
# Dogs ( $M_1$ )	17	12	8	3	
Dynamic					
Condition	D1 D2 D3 D4				
# participants	96	102	99	101	
# participants	Cat person	34	30	24	29
in each	Neither	9	21	11	16
type	Dog person	53	51	64	56
Dog	Experiment				
traffic	Sim1				
share	Sim2				
Static					
Condition	S1 S2 S3 S4				
# participants	96	101	95	96	
# participants	Cat person	34	30	25	33
in each	Neither	13	19	9	15
type	Dog person	49	52	61	48
Dog	Experiment				
traffic	Sim1				
share	Sim2				

“Are you more of a cat person or a dog person?”

- “I am a cat person”
- “I am neither a cat person nor a dog person”
- “I am a dog person.”

# Cats ( $M_0$ )	3	8	12	17	
# Dogs ( $M_1$ )	17	12	8	3	
Dynamic					
Condition	D1	D2	D3	D4	
# participants	96	102	99	101	
# participants	Cat person	34	30	24	29
in each	Neither	9	21	11	16
type	Dog person	53	51	64	56
Dog	Experiment				
traffic	Sim1				
share	Sim2				
Static					
Condition	S1	S2	S3	S4	
# participants	96	101	95	96	
# participants	Cat person	34	30	25	33
in each	Neither	13	19	9	15
type	Dog person	49	52	61	48
Dog	Experiment				
traffic	Sim1				
share	Sim2				

“Are you more of a cat person or a dog person?”

- “I am a cat person”
- “I am neither a cat person nor a dog person”
- “I am a dog person.”

Notice: Not exactly constant.

# Cats ( $M_0$ )	3		17	
# Dogs ( $M_1$ )	17		3	
Dynamic				
Condition				
# participants				
# participants	Cat person			
in each	Neither			
type	Dog person			
Dog	Experiment			
traffic	Sim1			
share	Sim2			
Static				
Condition				
# participants				
# participants	Cat person			
in each	Neither			
type	Dog person			
Dog	Experiment	.44	.37	.40
traffic	Sim1			.27
share	Sim2			

## Static case:

Dog traffic: <50%

Fewer dog pictures  
**→ lower** dog traffic

(no surprise)

# Cats ( $M_0$ )	3		17
# Dogs ( $M_1$ )	17		3
Dynamic			
Condition			
# participants			
# participants	Cat person		
in each	Neither		
type	Dog person		
Dog traffic	Experiment	.53	.71
share	Sim1		
	Sim2		
Static			
Condition			
# participants			
# participants	Cat person		
in each	Neither		
type	Dog person		
Dog traffic	Experiment	.44	.27
share	Sim1		
	Sim2		

## Dynamic case:

Dog traffic: >50%

Fewer dog pictures  
→ **greater** dog traffic

**Main finding:** Total #clicks attracted by dog pictures is larger when there are few dog pictures (3/20) than when there are many dog pictures (17/20) in the *Dynamic* setting but not in the *Static* setting.

# Cats ( $M_0$ )	3	8	12	17
# Dogs ( $M_1$ )	17	12	8	3
Dynamic				
Condition				
# participants				
# participants		Cat person		
in each		Neither		
type		Dog person		
Dog traffic share	Experiment	.53	.69	.76
	Sim1			
	Sim2			
Static				
Condition				
# participants				
# participants		Cat person		
in each		Neither		
type		Dog person		
Dog traffic share	Experiment	.44	.37	.40
	Sim1			
	Sim2			

**Main finding:** Total #clicks attracted by dog pictures is larger when there are few dog pictures (3/20) than when there are many dog pictures (17/20) in the *Dynamic* setting but not in the *Static* setting.

# Cats ( $M_0$ )	3	8	12	17
# Dogs ( $M_1$ )	17	12	8	3

Dynamic					
	Condition	D1	D2	D3	D4
# participants		96	102	99	101
# participants	Cat person	34	30	24	29
in each	Neither	9	21	11	16
type	Dog person	53	51	64	56
Dog traffic	Experiment	.53	.69	.76	.71
share	Sim1				
	Sim2				
Static					
	Condition	S1	S2	S3	S4
# participants		96	101	95	96
# participants	Cat person	34	30	25	33
in each	Neither	13	19	9	15
type	Dog person	49	52	61	48
Dog traffic	Experiment	.44	.37	.40	.27
share	Sim1				
	Sim2				

More dog lovers in D3 than in D4

**Main finding:** Total #clicks attracted by dog pictures is larger when there are few dog pictures (3/20) than when there are many dog pictures (17/20) in the *Dynamic* setting but not in the *Static* setting.

# **Simulations III**

## **Using Estimated Model Parameters**

## Recall:

- ▶  $r_{n,m} \in \{1, \dots, M\}$  is the rank of item  $m$  observed by user  $n \in \{1, \dots, N\}$ , which depends on the **number of clicks received**.
- ▶ **Propensities:** user  $n$  with  $\gamma_n \in \{0, \frac{1}{2}, 1\}$  has propensity  $\varphi_{n,m}$  of clicking on item  $m$ :

$$\varphi_{n,m} = \begin{cases} \frac{\gamma_n}{M_0} & \text{if } m \in M_0 \\ \frac{1-\gamma_n}{M_1} & \text{if } m \in M_1. \end{cases} \quad (1)$$

Users enter randomly and independently with  $\gamma_n = 0$  and  $\gamma_n = 1$  each with probability  $0 < p < \frac{1}{2}$  and with  $\gamma_n = \frac{1}{2}$  with (remaining) probability  $0 < 1 - 2p < 1$ .

- ▶ They also have an **attention bias**  $\beta (> 1)$ , whereby an item ranked exactly one position higher has  $\beta$  times as much as probability of being clicked.
- ▶ **Stochastic choice rule:** user  $n$  chooses ranked item  $m$  according to

$$\rho_{n,m} = \frac{1}{Z} \underbrace{\beta^{(M-r_{n,m})}}_{\text{attention bias}} \cdot \underbrace{\varphi_{n,m}}_{\text{click propensity}} \quad Z = \sum_{m' \in M} \beta^{(M-r_{n,m'})} \varphi_{n,m'}. \quad (2)$$

**Estimate:**  $\beta = 1.22$ , for ‘cat person’:  $\gamma_n = .74$ .  
 ↴ for ‘dog person’:  $\gamma_n = .08$ .

# Cats ( $M_0$ )	3	8	12	17	
# Dogs ( $M_1$ )	17	12	8	3	
Dynamic	·	·	·	·	
Condition					
# participants					
# participants	Cat person	34	30	24	29
in each	Neither	9	21	11	16
type	Dog person	53	51	64	56
Dog traffic	Experiment	.53	.69	.76	.71
share	Sim1	.46	.56	.73	.76
Sim2	·	·	·	·	
Static	·	·	·	·	
Condition					
# participants					
# participants	Cat person	34	30	25	33
in each	Neither	13	19	9	15
type	Dog person	49	52	61	48
Dog traffic	Experiment	.44	.37	.40	.27
share	Sim1	.41	.37	.39	.28
Sim2	·	·	·	·	

Sim1: average traffic attracted by Dog pictures ( $M_1$ ) over 1000 simulations of the choice model with a setting matching the exact number of participants of each identity type in each condition.

Dynamic setting  
Traffic to dog pictures **increases** when there are **fewer** dog pictures

Static setting  
Traffic to dog pictures (sort of) **decreases** when there are **fewer** dog pictures

# Cats ( $M_0$ )	3	8	12	17	
# Dogs ( $M_1$ )	17	12	8	3	
Dynamic					
Condition					
# participants					
# participants	Cat person	34	30	24	29
in each	Neither	9	21	11	16
type	Dog person	53	51	64	56
Dog traffic	Experiment	.53	.69	.76	.71
share	Sim1	.46	.56	.73	.76
	Sim2				
Static					
Condition					
# participants					
# participants	Cat person	34	30	25	33
in each	Neither	13	19	9	15
type	Dog person	49	52	61	48
Dog traffic	Experiment	.44	.37	.40	.27
share	Sim1	.41	.37	.39	.28
	Sim2				

Sim2: average traffic attracted by Dog pictures ( $M_1$ ) over 1000 simulations of the choice model with 100 users where numbers of users who are a 'dog person', 'neither a dog person nor a cat person' and a 'cat person' are 55, 15 and 30, respectively (same frequencies for all conditions).

# Cats ( $M_0$ )	3	8	12	17	
# Dogs ( $M_1$ )	17	12	8	3	
Dynamic					
Condition					
# participants					
# participants	Cat person	34	30	24	29
in each	Neither	9	21	11	16
type	Dog person	53	51	64	56
Dog traffic	Experiment	.53	.69	.76	.71
	Sim1	.46	.56	.73	.76
share	Sim2	.47	.60	.67	.75
Static					
Condition					
# participants					
# participants	Cat person	34	30	25	33
in each	Neither	13	19	9	15
type	Dog person	49	52	61	48
Dog traffic	Experiment	.44	.37	.40	.27
	Sim1	.41	.37	.39	.28
share	Sim2	.44	.39	.35	.30

Sim2: average traffic attracted by Dog pictures ( $M_1$ ) over 1000 simulations of the choice model with 100 users where numbers of users who are a 'dog person', 'neither a dog person nor a cat person' and a 'cat person' are 55, 15 and 30, respectively (same frequencies for all conditions).

Dynamic setting  
Traffic to dog pictures **increases** when there are **fewer** dog pictures

Static setting  
Traffic to dog pictures **decreases** when there are **fewer** dog pictures

# **Conclusion**

- We used stylized model to **prove** existence of few-get-richer effect.
- Using **simulations**, we showed the few-get-richer effect is robust to some alternative specifications.
- The presence of **attention bias** and of **agnostic users** both play a key role for the size of the effect.
- Results of **online experiment** are consistent with the theory and simulations. It is a proof-of-concept for the few-get-richer effect.

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- Using **simulations**, we showed the few-get-richer effect is robust to some alternative specifications.
- The presence of **attention bias** and of **agnostic users** both play a key role for the size of the effect.
- Results of **online experiment** are consistent with the theory and simulations. It is a proof-of-concept for the few-get-richer effect.
- Implications
  - **Misinformation:** removal of some fake news sources can lead to an *increase* in total traffic attracted by the remaining 'alternative' news sources, resulting in *more exposure* to 'fake news'.
  - **Recommendation systems:** having less items of one class can actually induce *more exploration* on that class.

## What else to do?

- Better experiments; ideally with field data
- Estimate welfare implications for users?
- Devise 'correction' mechanism
- Alternative models
- Optimal ranking algorithms/recommendation systems?

### Some literature:

- Germano, F., Gómez, V. and Le Mens, G., 2019, May. The few-get-richer: a surprising consequence of popularity-based rankings. In *The World Wide Web Conference* (pp. 2764-2770). ACM.
- Germano, F., and Sobrio, F., 2019, July. Opinion dynamics via search engines (and other algorithmic gatekeepers), *in prep..*  
→ Welfare implications, asymptotic learning, also looks at personalization.
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→ Optimal recommendation systems with search engine optimization.

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- Better experiments; ideally with field data
- Estimate welfare implications for users?
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# Thank you!

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