

Spontaneous emergence of social influence in online systems

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Edited by H. Eugene Stanley, Boston University, Boston, MA, and approved September 9, 2010 (received for review December 17, 2009)

Social influence drives both offline and online human behavior. It pervades cultural markets, and manifests itself in the adoption of scientific and technical innovations as well as the spread of social practices. Prior empirical work on the diffusion of innovations in spatial regions or social networks has largely focused on the spread of one particular technology among a subset of all potential adopters. Here we choose an online context that allows us to study social influence processes by tracking the popularity of a complete set of applications installed by the user population of a social networking site, thus capturing the behavior of all individuals who can influence each other in this context. By extending standard fluctuation scaling methods, we analyze the collective behavior induced by 100 million application installations, and show that two distinct regimes of behavior emerge in the system. Once applications cross a particular threshold of popularity, social influence processes induce highly correlated adoption behavior among the users, which propels some of the applications to extraordinary levels of popularity. Below this threshold, the collective effect of social influence appears to vanish almost entirely, in a manner that has not been observed in the offline world. Our results demonstrate that even when external signals are absent, social influence can spontaneously assume an on-off nature in a digital environment. It remains to be seen whether a similar outcome could be observed in the offline world if equivalent experimental conditions could be replicated.

collective behavior | social networks | fluctuation scaling

Social influence captures the ways in which people affect each others' beliefs, feelings, and behaviors. It has traditionally been within the domain of social psychology with a particular focus on microlevel processes among individuals (1), but it also plays a prominent role across the social sciences, for example in the study of contagion in sociology (2), herding behavior in economics (3), speculative bubbles in financial markets (4), voting behavior (5), and interpersonal health (6). Social influence plays an especially important role in cultural markets (7), for products such as books and music, and generally pervades any arena of life where the attitudes and tastes of individuals are influenced by others.

It is often useful to distinguish between local and global sources of influence, which typically are identified with an individual's interpersonal environment and the mass media, respectively (8). The overall social influence arises from a mixture of local and global influences, which themselves emerge from different signals. The fact that these two processes operate at very different scales poses considerable challenges for the empirical study of social influence. For the purposes of our study, we define (i) *local signal* as information on the behavior of individuals who are friends or acquaintances of ego, the person whose behavior is being analyzed, and (ii) *global signal* as information on the aggregate behavior of the population. Note that these definitions rely on the potentially observable behaviors of others as opposed to the nonobservable ones, such as their intentions or feelings. This framework incorporating local and global signals is very generic, and possible behaviors range from the consumption of cultural products to making lifestyle choices.

The structures of social influence are most naturally addressed from the perspective of social network analysis (9). The notion of local influence presupposes that individuals are embedded in a social network that channels and directs how behaviors spread. Examples of such behaviors include innovation adoption among physicians (10), as well as other empirical and theoretical studies of diffusion (11–15). The notion of global influence, on the other hand, presupposes that individuals have information on the aggregate popularity of products and behaviors. Although a given social network can be used as a proxy for communicating any behavioral signals, one should ideally have access to a network that accurately represents the potential communication channels for a specific local signal as these channels may vary across behaviors. In addition, individuals are often selective as to what information they choose to disclose to their friends, resulting in the local signal being necessarily incomplete, biased, or misrepresented (16). Similarly, whereas accurate population-level statistics exist for popular items, it is much harder to find statistics for more marginal products and behaviors.

A novel opportunity to study human behavior in a setting that overcomes these methodological limitations is provided by certain online environments. These systems have the advantage of allowing access to complete subpopulations of agents. When combined with appropriate tools of analysis, they enable the direct study of collective macrolevel social behavior in very large social systems without sampling. We study a complete online social system with well-defined local and global signals by harnessing data from Facebook, a hugely popular social networking site, which at the time of data collection had ≈ 50 million active users worldwide. In addition to the current popular interest in social networks, scholars have recognized the potential of these and other social websites for research (17–22), reflecting the current move to using rich large-scale datasets on human behavior and communication (23, 24). Facebook users, in line with other social networking sites, can construct a public or semipublic profile within a bounded system, articulate a list of other users, “Facebook friends,” with whom they share a connection, and view and traverse their own connections and those made by others within the system (25).

Facebook users can also install (and uninstall) applications (Fig. 1A) that enable them, for instance, to play poker and compare their taste in movies with their friends. Users who are friends can see all of each other's applications simply by visiting the respective profile. In addition, whenever a user adopts a new application, her friends are automatically notified by the system. (This applied at the time the data were collected, but Facebook

Author contributions: J.-P.O. and F.R.-T. designed research; J.-P.O. coded and ran the simulations; J.-P.O. and F.R.-T. analyzed data; and J.-P.O. and F.R.-T. wrote the paper.

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

This article is a PNAS Direct Submission.

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This article contains supporting information online at www.pnas.org/lookup/suppl/doi:10.1073/pnas.0914572107/-DCSupplemental.

applications that spread successfully, as tends to be done in most studies on social influence (29). Successful products in cultural markets have been found to be orders of magnitude more popular than the average cultural product (7). This finding is also manifest in the case of Facebook applications. The number of users at the end of the time horizon, $n_i(T)$, sorted in descending order is shown in Fig. 1C. For the 10 most popular applications, these numbers vary between $n_{(1)}(T) \approx 12$ million and $n_{(10)}(T) \approx 4.6$ million, whereas $n_{(100)}(T) \approx 180,000$ and $n_{(1,000)}(T) \approx 1,300$. The probability density distribution for the number of application installations (Fig. 1D) has a very fat tail and decays so slowly that even its mean value diverges in the limit of infinite system size.

Each new installation, in addition to increasing the overall user base of the application and thus its global signal, also generates a local signal, through which the adopter may in turn influence the future behavior of his friends. Each installation thus acts as a microscopic social stimulus and creates a form of positive feedback in the system. Note that the observable behavior which generates patterns of social influence in this case is restricted to the adoption of an application, rather than its use. Given that the users are part of a very large social network, the consequences of adopting an application are not limited to a user's immediate neighborhood, but may percolate further in the network. This underlines the importance of having data that reflect the behavior of the entire system even if the underlying microscopic data are not available. Whereas the impact of a single installation is admittedly minute, the superposition of the observed 104 million application installations leaves behind a detectable footprint.

To study the effect of social influence, that is, the extent to which the behavior of an individual (his installing an application) is related to the behavior of others (their installing the same application), we turn to the method of fluctuation scaling (FS). This allows us to extract a key signature of the system's behavior purely on the basis of the above aggregate data. FS has been applied successfully to a number of complex systems whose interacting elements participate in some dynamic process. Examples of application domains range from fluctuations in population sizes in ecology to fluctuations in stock-trading activity in financial markets (30–32). Here we outline how FS can be used in the current problem, and refer the reader to *SI Text* for details. For a given application i , the act of individual j regarding installation of the application is encoded by the random variable $S_{i,j}(t)$, where $S_{i,j}(t) = 1$ corresponds to him installing the application at time t , and $S_{i,j}(t) = 0$ corresponds to him doing nothing. From the stochastic process point of view, one can think of each individual tossing coins at every time step, one per application, to decide whether he will install the given application. In terms of this analogy, each individual has several coins, one per application. The probability of individual j installing application i , that is, the probability to obtain $S_{i,j} = 1$ per time step, incorporates many sources of uncertainty, including his disposition and the properties of the application. The probability of obtaining $S_{i,j} = 1$ therefore varies not only from person to person but also from application to application. Social influence, operating through local and global signals, is likely to render the coin tosses dependent for any given application (Fig. 2A and B). To measure the strength of social influence, we define *net activity* $f_i(t)$ of application i at time t as

$$f_i(t) \equiv n_i(t) - n_i(t-1) = \sum_{j=1}^N S_{i,j}(t) - \sum_{k=1}^{N-n_i(t)} S_{i,j_k}(t), \quad [1]$$

which corresponds to the net increase in the number of installations for application i between times $t-1$ and t . It can be expressed in terms of the individual constituent variables as shown, where the first sum is taken over all N individuals whereas the latter sum is taken over potential new installers, with the subset of indices $j_1, j_2, \dots, j_{N-n_i(t)} \in \{1, 2, \dots, N\}$ such

that $S_{i,j_k}(\tau) = 0$ for $\tau < t$. In terms of the above analogy, once a user has installed a given application, he stops tossing the particular coin corresponding to that application.

According to FS, the temporal average and SD of $f_i(t)$ are related through the relationship $\sigma_i \sim \mu_i^\alpha$. This motivates us to identify a region in which the relationship between $\log \mu_k$ and $\log \sigma_k$ for different values of k is linear. The value of the *fluctuation scaling exponent* α is given by the slope of the line. Although α lies in the rather narrow range $[1/2, 1]$, its value is crucial as an indicator of statistical coupling in the system (Fig. 2A and B). If the behavior of a user is independent of the behavior of others, one would expect $\alpha = 1/2$, whereas if her behavior is fully correlated with others one would expect $\alpha = 1$ for all applications. We estimate the mean and SD of the entire activity time series using $\langle f_i \rangle \equiv \mu_i = \frac{1}{T_i} \sum_{t=1}^{T_i} f_i(t)$ and $\sigma_i = \left(\frac{1}{T_i-1} \sum_{t=1}^{T_i} [f_i(t) - \langle f_i \rangle]^2 \right)^{1/2}$, where T_i is the application-specific time series length reflecting the fact that different applications were introduced at different times.

Results

As shown in Fig. 2C, applications with $\log(\mu_i) > \log(\mu_x)$ define the *collective regime* governed by $\alpha_C \approx 0.85$, which indicates strong correlations among the constituent variables, that is, the underlying “coin tosses.” Application installations above this point are influenced by the behavior of others. Unexpectedly and contrary to previous empirical studies of other systems (32), breakpoint analysis (*SI Text*) shows that the system exhibits another qualitatively different regime for the less popular applications. This *individual regime* with $\log(\mu_i) < \log(\mu_x)$ has $\alpha_I \approx 0.55$, which is very close to the limiting case of $\alpha = 1/2$, meaning that application installations are nearly uncorrelated and social influence is negligible. The transition between the two regimes takes place at approximately $\log(\mu_x) = 0.36$, which translates into an average daily activity of $24 \times 10^{0.36} \approx 55$ new installations a day. We emphasize that theoretical considerations guided our choice to fit a linear function to the data in Fig. 2C as opposed to, say, trying to find the best fit among a class of curvilinear functions. Although it would be interesting to also resolve the precise location and nature of the transition (sharp or continuous), we are unable to make this distinction on the basis of the empirical data. However, the central finding on the existence of two different regimes remains unaffected.

The interpretation of FS exponents in terms of correlations assumes that the underlying stochastic process is stationary (32). However, the fact that $n_i(t)$ increases over time demonstrates that the system cannot be stationary. Phrased in terms of the earlier analogy with coin tossing, the number of coins being tossed per round decreases as those who have adopted an application stop tossing the coin. The question then becomes whether the system is sufficiently close to stationarity so that the fluctuation scaling exponents can be given the above interpretation, that is, whether the number of coins that are being tossed remains approximately constant. Let us impose the stringent condition that the system is sufficiently close to stationarity when at most 1% of users have the application installed (meaning that 99% of users continue tossing the coins, leaving the stochastic process almost unaltered). We show in *SI Text* that even under this strict condition, 98% of the time series are stationary. This also means that the scaling in Fig. 2C holds for over two orders of magnitude *above* the cross-over point. We conclude that the system is sufficiently stationary so that the temporal fluctuations may indeed be given the above interpretation.

As a simple explanatory hypothesis for the observed behavior, one might suggest that the different scaling properties result from applications having different lifetimes. To test this, we divide the applications into three distinct groups based on their time of introduction such that each group covers an equally long

of the choices available, leaving a large majority of books and films exposed to endogenously generated social influence. Social influence may then emerge spontaneously in a wide range of online environments over and above purely endogenous systems. Whether it becomes discretized in these systems as well remains to be seen.

Materials and Methods

Synthetic Time Series. We construct rank-order-preserving synthetic time series from the empirical time series to isolate the effects of popularity from other factors in the log σ , log μ plots. This process is deterministic (apart from ties), and essentially it cuts the empirical time series into pieces and then recombines the pieces using a rank-based rule (Fig. 4). Let us denote the global ranking of application k at time t with $r_k(t) \in 1, \dots, M$ such that $n_{(k-1)}(t) \geq n_{(k)}(t) \geq n_{(k+1)}(t)$. We define $\tilde{n}_i(t) = \tilde{n}_i(t-1) + \tilde{f}_i(t)$ analogously to what we had before, but now $\tilde{f}_i(t) = n_k(t) - n_k(t-1)$ such that $r_k(t-1) = i$. Here $\tilde{f}_i(t)$ is the number of new installations over a single time step for an application that at time $t-1$ had ranking i . The series are seeded by setting $\tilde{n}_i(1) = n_{(i)}(1)$ for all $i = 1, \dots, M$ and are constructed using the above recursive relation for $t > 1$.

The synthetic time series $\tilde{n}_i(t)$ by construction has a constant relative popularity as measured by the global rank order of $\tilde{n}_i(t)$ and, consequently,

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the future popularity of the synthetic time series is systematically driven only by its current popularity (rank). In the absence of rank crossings of applications, the synthetic data would behave like empirical data. The increments $\tilde{f}_i(t)$ of the synthetic data result from a combined effect of both local and global signals. The impact of the global signal remains constant (in terms of rank) because the synthetic time series $\tilde{n}_i(t)$ always holds rank i on the global best-seller list. A single synthetic time series $\tilde{n}_i(t)$ is typically a combination of several empirical time series and, therefore, the local signal in the synthetic time series corresponds to a mean-field approximation of the local signals of the applications that make up the synthetic time series $\tilde{n}_i(t)$.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS. We thank S. Gourley for help with data acquisition; D. Barron, N. A. Christakis, J. Denrell, Z. Eisler, J. Fowler, P. Hedström, N. Jones, G. Kossinets, E. Lopez, A. Motter, M. A. Porter, S. Saavedra, M. Salganik, G. Szabo, and B. Uzzi for their comments on earlier versions of the manuscript; and the workshop participants at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the University of Oxford, Northwestern, Northeastern, and Harvard University. J.-P.O. is supported by Wolfson College, University of Oxford, the Fulbright Program, and acknowledges the support of grant P01 AG-031093 from the National Institute on Aging. F.R.-T. acknowledges the support of the UK Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council Grant EP/E056997/1 and the European Commission FP7 Future and Emerging Technologies Open Scheme Project ICTeCollective (Contract 238597).