

Social Contagion – An Empirical Comparison of Seeding Strategies for Viral Marketing

Oliver Hinz (* *corresponding author*)
Professor of Electronic Markets
Technische Universität Darmstadt
64289 Darmstadt, Germany
+49 6151 16 75220
hinz@wi.tu-darmstadt.de

Bernd Skiera
Chaired Professor of Electronic Commerce
Goethe-University of Frankfurt
60323 Frankfurt am Main, Germany
+49 69 798 34649
skiera@wiwi.uni-frankfurt.de

Christian Barrot
Assistant Professor of Marketing and Innovation
Kühne Logistics University
20457 Hamburg, Germany
+49 40 328 7070
christian.barrot@the-klu.org

Jan U. Becker
Assistant Professor of Marketing and Service Management
Kühne Logistics University
20457 Hamburg, Germany
+49 40 328 7070
jan.becker@the-klu.org

Social Contagion – An Empirical Comparison of Seeding Strategies for Viral Marketing

Seeding strategies have a major influence on the success of viral marketing campaigns, but previous studies using computer simulations and analytical models produced conflicting recommendations about the optimal seeding strategy. We therefore compare four different seeding strategies in two complementary small-scale field experiments as well as in one real-life viral marketing campaign that involved more than 200,000 customers of a mobile phone service provider. Our empirical results show that the best seeding strategies can be up to eight times more successful than other seeding strategies. Seeding to well-connected individuals is most successful. They are attractive seeding points for viral marketing campaigns because they are more likely participate, which contradicts a commonly made assumption in other studies. Well-connected individuals also actively make use of their higher reach but they do not do not have more influence on their peers than less-connected individuals.

Keywords: viral marketing, seeding strategy, word-of-mouth, social contagion, targeting

Introduction

The future of traditional mass media advertising is uncertain in today's environment of increasingly prevalent digital video recorders and spam filters. Marketers must bear in mind that 65% of consumers are overwhelmed with too many advertising messages, and nearly 60% feel that advertising is not relevant to them (Porter and Golan 2006). In fact, information overload is likely and may even cause consumers to defer the purchase decision altogether (Iyengar and Lepper 2000). In other words, there is strong evidence supporting the existence of marketing avoidance with respect to traditional marketing instruments (Hann et al. 2008).

Empirical evidence reveals that consumers increasingly rely on advice from individuals in their personal or professional networks for guidance in making purchase decisions (Hill, Provost and Volinsky 2006, Iyengar, Van den Bulte, and Valente 2011). Interpersonal communication gains importance in such situations and online communication is particularly important, with websites containing user-generated content, such as blogs, video- and photo sharing sites, and online social networking platforms, such as Facebook and LinkedIn, growing tremendously. Companies have followed this trend by shifting budgets from "above-the-line" (mass media) to "below-the-line" (e.g., promotions, direct mail, and viral) marketing activities.

Not surprisingly, viral marketing is currently a hot topic. The term "viral marketing" describes the phenomenon of individuals mutually sharing and spreading marketing-relevant information that was initially deliberately sent out by marketers with the intent to stimulate and capitalize on word-of-mouth (WOM) (Van der Lans et al. 2010). Such stimuli in form of e-mails are usually unsolicited (De Bruyn and Lilien 2008) and easily forwarded to multiple recipients at once. These characteristics are quite similar to those of infectious diseases, so that many ideas of viral marketing build upon findings from epidemiology (see Watts and

Peretti 2007).

Because viral marketing campaigns leave the dispersion of marketing messages up to individuals, they are also supposed to be more cost efficient than traditional mass-media advertising. For example, one of the first successful viral campaigns conducted by Hotmail generated twelve million subscribers in just 18 months with a marketing budget of only \$50,000. Google's Gmail captured a significant share of the mail provider market even though the only way to sign up for the service was via referral. A recent viral advertisement by Tipp-Ex ("A hunter shoots a bear!") triggered nearly 10 million clicks within four weeks.

The existing literature distinguishes among four critical factors for viral marketing success: (i) content, i.e., the attractiveness of a message that makes it memorable (Gladwell 2002; Porter and Golan 2006), (ii) structure of the social network (Bampo et al. 2008), (iii) behavioral characteristics of the recipients and their incentives for sharing the message themselves (Arndt 1967), and (iv) seeding strategy, i.e., the initial set of individuals targeted by the initiator of the viral marketing campaign (Kalish, Mahajan, and Muller 1995; Libai, Muller, and Peres 2005; Bampo et al. 2008). The seeding strategy is of particular importance because it is entirely under the control of the initiator and potentially manageable by observable network metrics. Unfortunately, a "need for more sophisticated and targeted seeding experimentation" exists in order to gain "a better understanding of the role of hubs in seeding strategies" (Bampo et al. 2008).

Many people believe in the "influentials hypothesis", which states that targeting opinion leaders and strong connected individuals in social networks, also called hubs, is important for fast diffusion (for a summary of arguments, see Iyengar, van den Bulte and Valente 2011). However, recent findings raise doubts. Van den Bulte and Lilien (2001) show that social contagion does not necessarily influence diffusion. Social contagion means that an individual's adoption behavior is a function of exposure to other individuals' knowledge,

attitude, or behavior regarding the focal innovation (Van den Bulte and Wuyts 2007) and social contagion is thus a basic premise of a successful viral marketing campaign. It frequently arises when people who are close in the social structure use one another to manage the uncertainty of prospective decisions (Granovetter 1985). Watts and Dodds (2007) conducted a computer simulation study to show that well-connected individuals are less important as initiators of large cascades of referrals or as early adopters as usually conjectured. Their finding, summarized by the provocative statement “the tipping point is toast”, has stimulated a heated debate about optimal seeding strategies (Thompson 2008). However, an extensive empirical comparison of seeding strategies is still missing. Consequently, Van den Bulte (2010) urges empirical comparisons of seeding strategies that use socio-metric metrics, i.e., metrics that capture the social position of individuals.

This article empirically compares the success of different seeding strategies for viral marketing campaigns and identifies the reasons for these differences. Thus, we answer the important questions of whether companies should care about the seeding of their viral marketing campaigns and why. More specifically, we study whether well-connected individuals are really harder to activate, really participate more actively in these campaigns, and whether they really have more influence on each of their peers than less-connected individuals. In contrast to previous studies, which rely on analytical models or computer simulations, we derive our results from field experiments as well as from a real viral marketing campaign.

The remainder of this article is structured as follows: We start by presenting the related literature on viral marketing and outlining social contagion theory. We introduce our theoretical framework that disentangles the determinants of social contagion and present four different seeding strategies. Next, we empirically compare the success of these seeding strategies in two complementary field experiments (Study 1 and Study 2) that aim at

spreading information and at attitudinal changes. Then, we analyze a real-life viral marketing campaign (Study 3) that aims at increasing sales as an economic measure of success. Then, we identify the determinants for the differences in their success. The article concludes with a discussion of our research contribution, its managerial implications, and its limitations.

Theoretical Framework

Whenever information on the underlying social network is available, seeding based on such information, typically captured by socio-metric data, seems promising (Van den Bulte 2010). It allows for distinguishing between three types of individuals: *Hubs* who represent well-connected individuals with a high number of connections to other individuals, and *fringes* who are individuals who are poorly connected. The socio-metric measure *degree centrality* captures an individual's connectedness within his/her local environment (see Appendix for details). Thus, high values for degree centrality characterize hubs and low values characterize fringes. The third type is *bridges*: individuals who connect two otherwise unconnected parts of the network. The socio-metric measure *betweenness centrality* describes the extent to which an individual acts as a network intermediary by calculating the share of shortest communication paths that pass through that individual (see Appendix for details). Thus, high values for betweenness centrality characterize bridges.

Determinants of Social Contagion

Based on Van der Lans et al. (2010), we propose a four-determinant model of social contagion that allows for determining the success of viral marketing campaigns: First, individual i receives a viral message from a sender s , who can either be a friend or the initiator of the campaign, and thereby i becomes aware and informed of the message with the information probability I_i . Individual i then becomes active and decides to participate in the

campaign with participation probability P_i . Given the participation, individual i passes the message on to a set of recipients J_i , with n_i being the number of recipients ($|J_i| = n_i$) and mirroring its used reach. The number of expected referrals R_i of individual i is then given by the product of the information probability (I_i , i.e., being aware of the message), the probability to participate (P_i) and the used reach (n_i): $R_i = I_i \cdot P_i \cdot n_i$.

The conversion rate $w_{i,j}$ linearly influences the number of expected successful referrals SR_i of individual i on recipients j ($j \in J_i$), which is then given by

$$(1) \quad SR_i = I_i \cdot P_i \cdot n_i \cdot \sum_{j=1}^{n_i} \frac{w_{i,j}}{n_i}.$$

If we further assume that a sender i has the same conversion rate for all recipients, i.e., $w_{i,j} = w_i \forall j \in J_i$, then the number of expected successful referrals can also be rewritten as

$$(2) \quad SR_i = I_i \cdot P_i \cdot n_i \cdot w_i.$$

All determinants are a function of i 's social position and can also be influenced by as well as the characteristics of the sender s and his conversion rate w_s . While optimal seeding strategies for viral marketing campaigns have not been empirically compared, a number of studies in marketing, sociology, and epidemiology analyzed the influence of the social position (captured by socio-metric measures) on different determinants and examined, for example, whether hubs have a higher likelihood to persuade their peers than others. Table 1 summarizes these findings on the basis of the determinants *information* probability I_i , *participation* probability P_i , *used reach* n_i , and *conversion rate* w_i .

-- Insert Table 1 about here --

Effect of Social Position on Information and Participation Probability

The idea of a viral marketing campaign is to inform some individuals about the viral marketing message, who should then participate in the campaign by sending the marketing

message to other individuals. Regarding the impact of social position on information probability, Goldenberg et al. (2009) show that hubs are on average better informed than others because they are exposed to innovations earlier, as a result of their multiple social links. In his reanalysis of Coleman, Katz, and Menzel's (1966) "Medical Innovation" study, Burt (1987) describes that some actors experience discomfort when peers whose approval they value adopt an innovation they themselves have not yet adopted; in this case, social contagion, reflected in a higher probability to participate, is caused by normative pressure and status considerations. This mechanism could explain findings of Coleman, Katz, and Menzel (1966) that highly integrated actors (such as hubs) are more likely to adopt an innovation at an early stage than more isolated actors.

However, in some special cases, hubs are not more likely to adopt innovations first (Becker 1970). When an innovation does not suit with a hub's opinion, he or she is likely to reject the product, which is then adopted first by individuals at the fringes of the network (Iyengar, Van den Bulte, and Valente 2011). Another potential reason for the hubs' lower probability to participate is information overload. Because hubs are exposed to a high number of contacts and thus a large amount of information due to their central position, they might be harder to activate (Simmel 1950, Porter and Donthu 2008) and might therefore be less likely to participate in viral marketing campaigns. Overall, information and participation probabilities are hard to disentangle and we therefore assume throughout this article that all receivers of viral marketing messages are aware of them. This assumption is likely to hold in each of our three empirical studies. The motivation for this assumption is that disentangling the two determinants is otherwise extremely difficult. Note that our main findings still hold if that assumption is not satisfied. The only difference would be that the participation probability would also capture the probability that an individual is informed (and thus aware) of the viral marketing campaign.

Effect of Social Position on Used Reach

Studies in epidemiology find that hub constellations foster the spread of diseases (Anderson and May 1991; Kemper 1980), which suggests that hubs are also more attractive for the seeding of viral marketing campaigns, although it is unclear whether hubs actively and purposefully make use of their potential reach. While this deliberate use of reach is a common assumption, only Leskovec, Adamic, and Huberman (2007) show that hubs indeed send out more messages. However, their definition of hub is based on the messaging behavior itself, and therefore it cannot serve as generalizable evidence for the assumption that hubs actively make use of their higher reach potential.

Individual *i*'s used reach (*first generation*) plus the used reach of successive generations originating from *i*'s initial direct reach (*second and further generations*), which we call *i*'s *influence domain* (Lin 1976), also depends on the number of individuals who have already received the message. Bridges are then advantageous because they can forward the message to different parts of the network (Granovetter 1973) that have not yet been infected.

Effect of Social Position on Conversion Rate

The social position might impact the degree of influence that is measured by the conversion rate, i.e., the share of referrals that lead to successful referrals. Iyengar, Van den Bulte, and Valente (2011) find that hubs are more likely to be heavy users and therefore influence more effectively because they act in accordance to their own recommendation, e.g., by making heavy use of the innovation. Leskovec, Adamic, and Huberman (2007) find that the success rate per recommendation declines with the number of recommendations that are made. This result indicates that individuals have influence over a limited number of their friends, but not over everybody they know. This result indicates that the conversion rate is lower for hubs if they make use of their full reach potential. Yet, it does not preclude that hubs might also select a more relevant subset of recipients from their peers and could thus

have a higher conversion rate. The effect of social position on the conversion rate thus remains unclear. Still, Goldenberg et al. (2009) make the—in their eyes—conservative assumption that hubs are not more persuasive than other people, but do not provide empirical support for this assumption.

Seeding Strategies

Table 1 summarizes the conclusions that can be drawn for recommendation about the optimal seeding strategy (see the column “recommendation for optimal seeding strategy”). It illustrates that there is little consent. Four studies recommend seeding hubs, three recommend fringes, and one recommends bridges.

If at least one of the determinants I_i , P_i , n_i , or w_i is increasing with a higher connectivity of the sender i , and the remaining determinants are not correlated with higher connectivity, then hubs should be the subject of initial seeding efforts because they best spread the viral information. This conclusion is also offered as a conjecture by Hanaki et al. (2007) and Van den Bulte and Joshi (2007) and a simulation study by Kiss and Bichler (2008). We subsequently refer to addressing hubs as initial seeding points as a “*high-degree seeding*” strategy.

In contrast, Watts and Dodds (2007) conduct a series of computer simulations to analyze interpersonal influence and find that the targeting of well-connected individuals to maximize the spread of information only works under certain conditions that appear to be the exception rather than the rule. Generally, a critical mass of influenceable individuals, rather than particularly influential individuals, drives large cascades of influence. In particular, the impact of influentials on triggering critical mass is not even proportional to the number of people that they directly influence. Dodds and Watts (2004) claim that the individuals most easily influenced have the highest impact on social contagion. If hubs truly suffer from

information overload because of their central position in a social network (Simmel 1950; Porter and Donthu 2008), these particularly well-connected individuals must filter or validate a potentially overwhelming amount of information via trustworthy sources and therefore may indeed be less susceptible to information received from outside of their trusted network.

In their analytical model, Galeotti and Goyal (2009) proposes to target the low-degree individuals, i.e., the fringe of the network, when the probability of adopting a product increases with the absolute number of adopting neighbors. Based on similar ideas, Sundararajan (2006) suggests seeding the fringes rather than the hubs, which we subsequently refer to as a “*low-degree seeding*” strategy.

If the analyses focus on the influence domain, hence referrals beyond the first generation, it becomes necessary to consider concepts of centrality that are not restricted to the local environment. “Bridges”, which are individuals who connect otherwise unconnected sub-networks, have large influence domains. Thus, seeding bridges bears the advantage that the information diffuses into different parts of the network and prevents the viral message from simply circulating in already infected, highly clustered sub-networks. Accordingly, Rayport (1996) recommends exploiting “the strength of weak ties” (i.e., the bridges, see Granovetter 1973) to ignite a marketing virus. Analogously, Watts (2004) recommends focusing on eliminating bridges and intermediaries to prevent epidemics. We subsequently refer to the idea of seeding to those who bridge otherwise unconnected sub-networks as a “*high-betweenness seeding*” strategy.

If no correlation exists between social position and the different determinants I_i , P_i , n_i , and w_i , or if opposing influences of the determinants nullify each other, then there should be no differences between the proposed strategies and a random targeting of individuals. We also test this “*random seeding*” strategy, which additionally serves as benchmark because it describes a situation in which no information on the social network is available.

Methodology

In the following section, we present three studies that empirically compare the success of seeding strategies and identify which of the determinants are influenced by the individuals' social position. Our three studies cover the two kinds of settings that are particularly relevant for viral marketing. The first type of viral marketing campaigns primarily aims at spreading information, typically to create awareness and to improve the perception of the brand, which represent non-economic measure of success. The second type of viral marketing campaigns aims at increasing sales as an economic measure of success. It encourages the mutual information exchange of adopters and prospective adopters, and thereby triggers belief updating (e.g., Hotmail).

These reasons for social contagion map nicely into the classification by Van den Bulte and Wuyts (2007), who identify five reasons for the occurrence of social contagion. The first two of them are especially relevant for viral marketing and the two types of campaigns that we consider. First, people may become aware of the existence of an innovation through word-of-mouth from previous adopters by simple information transfer. Second, people may update their beliefs about the benefits and costs of a product or service. Third, social contagion may occur through normative pressure, and individuals might experience discomfort when they do not comply with the expectations of their peer group. Fourth, social contagion is based on status considerations and competitive concerns, which are responsible for the level of competitiveness between two individuals. Fifth, complementary network effects can cause social contagion. In this case, the benefit of using a product or service increases with the number of users.

To examine both types of viral marketing campaigns, we conduct two experimental studies, Study 1 and Study 2, that simulate viral marketing campaigns where the social

contagion process mainly consists of simple information transfers and results in an increase of awareness as a non-economic measure of success. The aim is to compare the success of different seeding strategies. In Study 3, we examine a viral marketing campaign where social contagion is caused by belief updating, which results in sales as an economic success measure. In this study, a mobile phone service provider stimulates referrals (by sending out text messages) to attract new customers. As the providers tracks all referrals, we can compare the economic success of different seeding strategies and analyze the influence of the corresponding socio-metric measures on all determinants of social contagion (see Table 1). Table 2 summarizes the complementary setup of the three studies that helps to overcome individual limitations of each of the three studies.

-- Insert Table 2 about here --

Experimental Comparison of Seeding Strategies

In both experimental studies, we compare the success of our four seeding strategies under different conditions, which allows us to analyze the robustness of results in rather different settings. The necessity to conduct such experiments has just recently been pointed out by Trusov, Bodapati, and Bucklin (2010): By analyzing data from one of the major social networking sites, they found that only about one-fifth of a user's friends actually influence the user's activity on the site. However, it remains unclear how responsive the identified "top influencers" are and, thus, whether and how marketers should use information on underlying social networks to better seed their viral marketing campaigns. In light of this limitation with respect to managerial implications, they propose further research to conduct "straightforward (and small-scale) field experiments." We agree that such experiments can help to identify best-practice strategies and, therefore, compare the four seeding strategies two in small-scale

field experiments.

Study 1: Comparison of Seeding Strategies in a Controlled Setting

The first experiment was conducted in a controlled setup to ensure internal validity and to better control for the willingness to actively participate P_i (see Table 1). We recruited 120 students at a German university. The recruitment and commitment processes ensured relatively similar individuals in terms of communication activity across treatments, because all individuals were personally addressed and expressed their willingness to actively contribute. In this setting, we expect a lower variation in activity levels as compared to a study without awareness of participation and without direct contact with the experimenter. The prerequisite for participation was having an account on the specified major online social networking platform (similar to Facebook). Using proprietary software, we automatically gathered each individual's friends list from the social networking platform. We applied an event-based approach as boundary specification strategy and discarded all links to friends who did not participate in the experiment. We then used the software Pajek to calculate the socio-metric measures (degree centrality and betweenness centrality, see Appendix for more details) for each individual.

In detail, the social network generated consisted of 120 nodes (i.e., individuals) with 270 edges (i.e., friendship relations). The calculated degree centrality ranged from 1 to 17, with a mean of 4.463 and a standard deviation of 3.362. In other words, there was an average of slightly more than four friends per individual in the considered social network. Interestingly, the correlation of .592 ($p < .01$) between the degree centrality of this small network created by our rather artificial boundary specification strategy (using the criteria "participation in experiment") and the entire network captured by this social networking platform (6.2 million unique users in November 2009) is striking. This high correlation supports the work by Costenbader and Valente (2003), who find that centrality metrics are relatively robust across

different network boundaries. Thus, our results reveal that the applied boundary in this experiment does not systematically bias centrality metrics such as degree centrality, even when the subsample is as small as .002% of the entire online social network platform. Betweenness centrality ranged from 0 to .320, with a standard deviation of .053.

We used these two socio-metric measures to implement our four seeding strategies. The seeding was done by using the message function of the social networking platform to send out unique tokens of information to a varying subset of participants (while the total population remained unchanged throughout this experiment) and to trace the contagion process. These tokens were to be shared by the initial recipients with their friends, who, in turn, were asked to spread them further. All receivers were asked to enter the tokens on a website that we created for this purpose, along with information from whom it was received (called the "referrer"). Because each individual was provided with login information for this website, we were able to observe the number of successful referrals SR_i (in terms of tokens entered on the website) of each individual i for each of the seeding strategies. Furthermore, we were able to distinguish whether the recipient received the tokens directly from the experimenter ("Seeded by Experimenter") or via viral spreading from friends. We prohibited the use of forums or mailing lists for spreading tokens and did not observed such an activity.

The experiment was conducted as a 4 x 2 x 2 full factorial design: According to the strategies presented before, we varied the seeding strategies and seeded the tokens every few days to hubs (high-degree seeding), to fringes (low-degree seeding), to bridges (high-betweenness seeding), or to a random set of participants. We varied the number of initial seeds such that the tokens were sent to either 12 (10%) or 24 (20%) of the 120 individuals. Furthermore, we varied the payments for successful referrals to account for the effects of extrinsic motivation (incentive for sharing yes/no). Under the condition "no incentive for sharing," individuals were remunerated only for correctly entering a secret token. Under the

condition "incentives for sharing," individuals received a monetary reward when they were named as a referrer.

In sum, we created $4 \times 2 \times 2 = 16$ different treatments, which were systematically varied with 2 replications per treatment. Due to limitations of the social networking platform messaging system, we were unable to replicate four treatments and thus obtained $n = 28$ experimental settings (with two replications per treatment, the potential maximum would have been $4 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2 = 32$ experimental settings). Although treatments were systematically varied, we timed the "low incentive for sharing" settings before the "high incentive for sharing" settings to avoid confusing individuals with different incentive instructions. We always seeded one token and captured all responses within two weeks after seeding.

Overall, 55% of the individuals actively spread or entered unique tokens, resulting in a total of 1,155 responses. We observed an average of 41.25 spread tokens per experimental setting and a standard deviation of 19.21. To compare the success of the strategies, we used a random effects logistic regression analysis that accounts for individual behavioral differences of participants with each participant's responsiveness (token entered yes=1, no=0) in each of the experimental settings as a dependent variable. Thus, we had $120 \text{ (participants)} \times 28 \text{ (experimental settings)} = 3,360$ observations. As independent variables, we included dummy-coded treatment variables that reflect our full factorial design. We present the results in Table 3.

-- Insert Table 3 about here --

The model reaches a Pseudo- R^2 of 15.5%. The proportion of unexplained variance that is accounted for by subject-specific differences due to unobserved influences, labeled as ρ , is more than 90%. Compared to random seeding, we found the high-degree seeding strategy to yield a much higher likelihood of response (odds ratio=1.53)—somewhat similar to the high-

betweenness seeding strategy (odds ratio=1.39). On the other hand, the low-degree seeding strategy dramatically decreases the likelihood to respond (odds ratio=.19).

Our treatment variable *high seeding* (dummy coded with 0="12 seeds"; 1="24 seeds") positively influences the likelihood to respond. Furthermore, we found that the type of incentive offered seems to be a major driver behind reaching the highest odds-ratio estimate. This high value could possibly explain why extrinsic motivation via monetary incentives is frequently used for viral marketing (e.g., recruit-a-friend campaigns offering rewards for the referrer, such as price discounts or redeemable coupons for successful spreading; Biyalogorsky, Gerstner, and Libai 2001). Finally, we found that individuals who received the token from the experimenter ("seeded by experimenter") had a higher likelihood to respond which is not surprising because the information probability is 1.

To directly compare the various seeding strategies, we varied the contrast specifications while leaving the remaining model unchanged and obtained the conditional odds ratio matrix presented in Table 4.

-- Insert Table 4 about here --

Table 4 indicates that both high-degree and high-betweenness seeding increase the likelihood to respond in contrast to the random seeding strategy by +39-53%. When considering the low-degree seeding strategy (see second column of Table 4), all other seeding strategies are 5-8 times more successful than the low-degree seeding strategy. A comparison of the two most successful seeding strategies, i.e., high-betweenness and high-degree seeding, does not yield significant differences. This result is very interesting and might be very useful for marketing practice because degree centrality as a local measure for centrality is much easier computable than betweenness centrality which requires information on the structure of the entire network.

In summary, our results show that *i*) the low-degree seeding strategy is inferior to the other three seeding strategies, and *ii*) both high-betweenness and high-degree seeding strategies clearly outperform the random seeding strategy and yield comparable results.

Yet, the setup of this experiment cannot avoid sequential effects, which might limit the validity of separately analyzing each experiment setting. The reason is that the behavior of an individual in one experimental setting might also be influenced by the experience that this individual made earlier in other experimental settings. This problem is driven by the limited number of individuals in our experiment. To address this problem, we conducted a second experiment with more individuals that avoids sequential effects by simultaneously implementing four different seeding strategies.

Study 2: Comparison of Seeding Strategies in a Field Setting

In the second field experiment, we focused on the entire online social network of all students that are enrolled in the MBA program at the same university as in Study 1. Thus, the network boundary is defined by the individuals' participation in this program. We collected the contact information of 1,380 students (1,380 nodes with 4,052 edges) by crawling the same social networking platform, collecting information on the individuals' friendships and calculated the socio-metric measures likewise in Study 1.

We found a mean degree (standard deviation) of 5.872 (7.318). Study 2 also displays a very high and significant correlation between individuals' degree centrality in the bounded network (1,380 MBA students at the particular university) and their degree centrality in the entire network of the social networking platform (6.2 million unique users in November 2009). With a Pearson correlation of .824 ($p < .001$), the number of friends reported (open to everybody) is a very good indicator for degree centrality in the bounded network. It suggests that the overall network socio-metric measures approximate those of more bounded networks very well.

In addition, we used the time since the last profile update as a proxy for the level of activity. We acquired information for 849 update timestamps—531 were missing because of privacy restrictions set by the users. On average, the users had updated their profile 25.7 (Median = 15.0) weeks ago, and we observed a weak but significant correlation between the degree centrality and the time (coded as weeks) since the last profile update ($r = -.192$, $p < .01$). We also observed a correlation between betweenness centrality and time since the last profile update ($r = -.154$, $p < .01$). The negative correlation implies that individuals who updated their profiles more recently (and most likely update them more frequently) are also more central in the social network. In other words, activity correlates with centrality and may therefore be an additional determinant of the viral spread of information in this setting. Furthermore, we observed that male individuals (805 male, 569 female, and 6 missing observations) were more central because average female individuals had .92 fewer connections than average male individuals ($p < .05$). However, this gender difference becomes insignificant if we also control for activity.

We changed the experimental setup as follows: First, the four treatment groups (each consisting of hubs, bridges, fringes, or a random sample) were all seeded on the same day. Second, any variation of the incentive was eliminated. To complement Study 1, we did not use extrinsic monetary incentives to stimulate participation. Third, we did not vary the seeding size, and a reminder was sent out to the initial seeds seven days after the initial seeding. Seeding was conducted using 95 individuals in each of the four treatments (70 individuals on Day 1, 25 individuals on Day 2), which represented seven percent of the total network (which is in line with Jain, Mahajan, and Muller 1995). We seeded a message that contained a unique URL to a website with a funny video about the participants' university (the landing page and the video were identical for all treatments). By producing a new video specifically for this second field experiment, we ensured that the viral marketing stimulus

(i.e., content) was unknown to all participants. Furthermore, we conjectured that the seeded link to the video website would be preferentially distributed to fellow students of the university (from which we obtained the mutual online social network relationships), rather than outside the university's social network. In other words, we considered the social network for Study 2 to represent a coherent, self-contained social community.

One MBA student served as the initiator to seed the message to the individuals according to the respective seeding strategy. The message included the link to the particular entry page and the information that the addressees would find a funny video about the university that had just been created by the initiator.

We subsequently tracked the website visits for the entry pages and video download pages of these four sites for 19 days. Figure 1 compares the success of the four seeding strategies.

-- Insert Figure 1 about here --

The rank order of the seeding strategies with respect to their success for both dependent variables is consistent with the results from our first experiment. We find that high-degree seeding and high-betweenness seeding clearly outperform both low-degree seeding and random seeding. For instance, in terms of videos watched, the high-degree seeding strategy yielded more than twice the number of responses of random seeding. In other words, information about social position made it possible to more than double the number of responses.

To more precisely assess these findings, we estimated two random effects models (one for the entry page and one for the video page) where each of the 19 days is treated as a unit of observation for which we have four observations. We included the seeding and re-seeding (reminder) days as dummy variables and added another dummy variable to account for weekend days. The seeding strategies are coded as dummy variables. Table 5 illustrates the

results.

-- Insert Table 5 about here --

Both models for the entry and video pages are highly significant, with explained overall variances (adjusted R^2) of about 47.5% and 43.6%. The results shown in Figure 1 confirm our previous observations, the high-degree and high-betweenness seeding yield again comparable results and are three times more successful than low-degree seeding and 60% more successful than random seeding. Days with seeding or re-seeding activities yield a higher number of unique visits. The responsiveness was reduced on weekends (albeit insignificantly), presumably due to an overall higher level of online activity on weekdays.

In summary, the results of Study 2 support our findings that seeding to hubs and bridges outperforms seeding to fringes. Yet there could be interactions between the activities of the four seeding strategies in Study 2. For example, a participant might have watched the video after receiving the message from seeding strategy A and then, after receiving a nearly identical message from seeding strategy B, might not click on the link because he correctly assumes that he has already watched the video. In this case, seeding strategies that foster a faster diffusion may have an advantage that could bias the result. The success of high-degree and high-betweenness seeding in contrast to random and low-degree seeding might be slightly overestimated. However, the results from Study 1 (were such crossings were not possible due to the sequential timing) were confirmed in this complementary experimental setting.

Other limitations of Study 1 and Study 2 are that we are not able to identify reasons for the superiority of some seeding strategies and cannot distinguish between first- and second-generation referrals. We will address these shortcomings in Study 3.

Comparison of the Effect of Seeding Strategies on the Determinants of Social Contagion in a Real-life Viral Marketing Campaign (Study 3)

In contrast to Study 1 and 2, Study 3 compares the economic success of different seeding strategies in a real-life viral marketing campaign and identifies reasons for these differences. More precisely, Study 3 allows for decomposing the effect of the different determinants that drive the social contagion process as introduced in Table 1, namely the effects of participation probability P_i , the used reach n_i , the mean conversion rate w_i of all referrals made by i on the expected number of referrals R_i , and the expected number of successful referrals SR_i . To investigate the influence of an individual's social position and viral marketing success, we used empirical data from a viral marketing campaign of a mobile phone service provider. In the campaign, a text message was sent to the entire customer base ($n = 208,829$ customers) promising a higher reward (by 50%) than the regular €10 worth of airtime for each new customer referred within the next month. In total, 4,549 customers participated in the campaign, initiating 6,392 first-generation referrals, reflecting a 50% increase compared to the average number of referrals. In this empirical setting, we expect that social contagion works through belief updating as prospective customers talk to adopters about this product. According to the classification in Becker (1970), the product can be classified as a low-risk product (e.g., compared to the trial of untested drugs, see Becker 1970).

To analyze the social contagion process, we used a rich data set: Every referral activity was logged through the online referral system of the company, as customers had to initiate referral messages to their friends online. Successful referrals were then confirmed during the registration process of the new customers, who had to validate their respective referrer to trigger the payout of the referral premium. More specifically, we used the information on whether customers acted on the stimulus of the referral campaign captured by the variable

program participation P_i as well as the number of referrals R_i and the number of successful referrals SR_i . The mean conversion rate per referrer w_i can be inferred from a comparison of R_i and SR_i . We used individual-level communication data, as well as the number of text messages to other individuals to calculate (external) degree centrality (in total, we evaluated more than 100 million connections).¹ We assumed that any telephone call or SMS, between individuals (independent of the direction) reflected social ties to other individuals. Thus, the *degree centrality* of an individual equals her total number of such unique communication relationships. Because the service can only be referred to non-customers, our degree centrality metric accounts only for ties that customers had to individuals outside the service network at the beginning of the viral marketing campaign and, thus, represents the *external degree centrality*. As we had no information about all the relationships of individuals who were currently not customers of the provider, we could not measure betweenness centrality and, thus, could not test a high-betweenness seeding strategy in Study 3.

Furthermore, we used the following customer characteristics as covariates: demographic information such as *age* (in years) and *gender* (1 = female; 0 = male), service-specific characteristics such as the *customer tenure* (i.e., length of the relationship with the company, measured in months) and the *tariff plan*. The tariff plan was operationalized with a dichotomous variable indicating whether the customer chose a community tariff (=1, which included a reduced minute-price for calls within the network) or a one-price tariff (=0). Furthermore, we included two measures that provide information on the customers' trust in the service: here, the *payment type* (dichotomous variable: automatic (=1) or manual (=0) payment) and the *refill policy* (dichotomous variable: automatic (=1) or manual (=0) refill). In the case of the automatic payment and refill options, customers needed to provide their credit

¹ Note that all individual-level data were anonymized through a multi-stage encryption process by the firm prior to our analysis. Thus, at no stage of our analysis was sensitive customer information such as names or telephone numbers, etc., disclosed.

card details to the service provider. Also, we included information on the acquisition channel of the customer (1 = offline / retail; 0 = online).

Our model reflects the two-stage process of each individual who first decides whether to participate (P_i) and then chooses to which extent to participate (n_i). A specific characteristic of the first stage is the relatively large share of zeros (non-participants). At the same time, observed values for the second stage are of count nature and highly left-skewed. This data structure required the application of specific two-stage regression models: either inflation models, such as the zero-inflated Poisson regression (ZIP) (Lambert 1992), or hurdle models, such as the Poisson-Logit Hurdle Regression model (PLHR) (Mullahy 1986). We chose a PLHR, i.e., a combination of a logit model to account for the participation decision and a zero-truncated Poisson regression to analyze the actual outcomes of participation (such as number of (successful) referrals).² In our PLHR specification, the binary variable P_i indicates whether individual i participates in the referral program or not (*hurdle* or *logit model*). Additionally, *Used Reach* n_i indicates how many referrals the individual i initiates, conditional on the decision to participate ($P_i = 1$). As an extension, *Converted Reach* $CR = (n_i \cdot w_i)$ indicates how many *successful* referrals the individual i initiates, again, conditional on the decision to participate. Note that *Used Reach* n_i and *Converted Reach* CR_i are equivalent to *Referrals* R_i and *Successful Referrals* SR_i , respectively, but conditional on a program participation probability $P_i = 1$. Both variables are used as dependent variables in the Poisson regression of our PLHR specification.

Hence, let P_i^* be the latent variable related to P_i , n_i^* be the censored variable related to n_i , and $CR^* = (n_i^* \cdot w_i)^*$ be the censored variable related to $CR = (n_i \cdot w_i)$. Together with the explanatory variable (external) degree centrality as well as the covariates (i.e., age, gender,

² We chose PLHR over ZIP because the logit stage of the former is directed to determine the effects that lead to participation (i.e., identifying the referrers, in which we are interested), while the inflation stage of ZIP tries to detect “sure zeros” (i.e., non-participants).

payment type, refill policy, acquisition channel, and customer tenure), our PLHR is specified as follows:

$$(4) \quad P_i = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } P_i^* > 0 \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}, \text{ where } P_i^* = \beta_{P0i} + \beta_{Pij} \cdot X_{Pij} + \varepsilon_{Pi},$$

$$(5) \quad n_i = \begin{cases} n_i^* & \text{if } P_i^* > 0 \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}, \text{ where } n_i^* = \beta_{UR0i} + \beta_{URij} \cdot X_{URij} + \varepsilon_{URi},$$

$$(6) \quad CR = (n_i \cdot w_i) = \begin{cases} (n_i \cdot w_i)^* & \text{if } n_i^* > 0 \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}, \text{ where } (n_i \cdot w_i)^* = \beta_{CR0i} + \beta_{CRij} \cdot X_{CRij} + \varepsilon_{CRi}.$$

X_{ij} contains the explanatory variables j (i.e., degree centrality and the covariates) and error terms ε_{Pi} , ε_{URi} , and ε_{CRi} that represent unobserved influences on individuals' participation probability, their used reach, and the number of successful referrals

Seeding Strategies in First-Generation Models

In the first step, we restricted our analysis to a first-generation model; i.e., we only considered referrals that were directly initiated by customers who have received the seeding stimulus during the viral marketing campaign.

-- Insert Table 6 about here --

Table 6 presents the parameter estimates of the PHLR model. The results can be interpreted in two stages: first, what drives the participation of seeded customers in the viral marketing campaign (logit component = LC), and second, for participants, what influences the number of referrals and successful referrals, respectively (poisson component = PC). With regard to the covariates' impact on program participation, we found significant effects of the demographic variables gender ($\beta_{2n*}^{LC} = -.2171$; $p < .01$) and age ($\beta_{3n*}^{LC} = -.0209$; $p < .01$), indicating that male and older customers are more likely to participate as well as customers

with short customer tenure, i.e., customers who have just recently adopted the service ($\beta_{8n*}^{LC} = -.0016; p < .01$). The latter finding is in line with the cognitive dissonance theory that assumes that customers communicate shortly after their purchase decision to reduce positive or negative dissonance (Festinger 1957). Furthermore, we found that customers who were acquired online are more strongly engaged in the (online-based) referral program than customer who were acquired in the retail channel ($\beta_{6n*}^{LC} = -.9843; p < .01$). Concerning the tariff plan choice, the one-price tariff seems to be easier to communicate, as seeded customers with that tariff option are also more likely to participate in the referral program ($\beta_{7n*}^{LC} = -.1433; p < .01$). The influence of most covariates is comparable between the logit and the Poisson regression stage, except for acquisition channel: Retail customers are less likely to participate in the program—but if they do, they show a significantly higher activity than online customers ($\beta_{6n*}^{PC} = .7388; p < .01$).

The influence of (external) degree centrality varies between the two stages of the model: In the logit regression stage, degree centrality has a positive and significant influence on the likelihood to participate P_i in the referral program ($\beta_{1n*}^{LC} = .0032; p < .01$). Confirming the results of Study 1 and Study 2, this result shows that customers with high degree centrality are more likely to participate than those with low degree centrality (average degree of participants = 45.3 versus non-participants = 36.5). However, in the Poisson regression stage that analyzes only the group of active referrers the effect of degree centrality is mixed: We find a positive, significant effect on used reach ($\beta_{1n*}^{PC} = .0012; p < .01$), i.e., customers with high-degree centrality are not only more likely to participate, but also more active when participating in the viral marketing campaign. However, we find no significant effect of degree centrality on the referral success of active referrers ($\beta_{1CR}^{PC} = -.00019; \text{n.s.}$).

-- Insert Table 7 about here --

This result is further confirmed by analyzing the mean conversion rate of referrals per referrer $w_i = \frac{CR_i}{n_i}$ (see Table 7)³: Again, we do not find a significant effect of degree centrality for active referrers ($\beta_{1w} = .0001$; *n.s.*). Thus, our results show no support for the assumption that participating central customers are more persuasive referrers or better in selecting potential referrals targets.

Considering that viral marketing campaigns can be costly, it is beneficial to identify those customers who are most likely to participate and generate (successful) referrals. We use the estimated participation probability calculated from the results of the selection model (see Table 6, Logit Component) to group the full customer base into cohorts. We then compare these cohorts according to their observed participation / referral / conversion rates and degree centrality (see Table 8). The *Top 5,000* cohort corresponds to a high-degree and the *Bottom 5,000* cohort to a low-degree seeding strategy, and the results reported in the *Average* column correspond to a random seeding strategy.

-- Insert Table 8 about here --

The results in Table 8 clearly confirm the positive correlation between degree centrality and the success of viral marketing: As the estimated participation probability increases, observed participation, referral, and conversion rates (i.e., total number of participants / referrals / successful referrals divided by number of seeded customers in the cohort) and degree centrality go up. More specifically, the participation rate of the Top 5,000 cohort is a multiple of that of the Bottom 5,000 cohort (4.4% vs. .5%) with a much higher average degree centrality (70.8 vs. 18.0). Thus, a high-degree seeding would be nearly nine times

³ We thank an anonymous reviewer for suggesting this additional analysis.

more successful than a low-degree seeding. Compared to the average value (i.e., the success of a random strategy), the Top 5,000 cohort participation rate and degree centrality is twice as high; therefore, targeting the hubs would double the performance compared to random seeding of a sample of the same size.

Study 3 clearly shows the positive and significant effect of degree centrality on viral marketing participation and activity and thus provides strong support for a “high-degree” seeding strategy. However, as the results of the Poisson regression model show, we do not observe a higher referral success of hubs within the group of active referrers.

Seeding Strategies in Multiple-Generation Models

In the second step of our empirical analysis, we extended the measurement of success of our viral marketing campaign. To account for the complete effects of the seeding efforts, we include more than one generation of referrals, as first-generation referrals are expected to start a viral process that optimally continues through further generations of referral dyads. The extent of this viral branching may differ between seeding strategies because of their ability to reach different parts of the social network. Thus, the inclusion of multiple generations could change the optimal seeding strategy.

To capture success beyond the first generation of referrals, we measured all subsequent referral generations that originated from a first-generation referral during the campaign. We limited the observation period to 12 months after the end of the campaign, as the company repeated the referral campaign 13 months later. During our observation period, the company did not engage in further promotions that directly focused on the referral program. Furthermore, we could not observe any anomalies (such as drastic increases or reductions) with regard to company-owned or competitive marketing spending during this period.

Within the first year after the campaign, 20.8% of all first-generation referrals became active referrers themselves, 5.8% even multiple times. We observed viral referral chains with

a maximum length of 29 generations; on average, every first-generation referral during the campaign led to .48 additional referrals.

-- Insert Figure 2 about here --

We define the dependent variable as the *influence domain* of all successful referrals of a specific first-generation customer, i.e., the number of successful first-generation referrals, plus the number of successful referrals of successive generations originating from these successful first-generation referrals within the subsequent 12 months.⁴ For example, Figure 2 illustrates the influence domain of a referral customer X that spans over 22 additional successful referrals in 7 generations.

Table 6 presents the parameter estimates of the PLHR model for this multiple-generation model in the right-hand column. Note that the dependent variable influence domain ID_i^T is, again, conditional on program participation ($P_i = 1$). Comparing the resulting regression model parameters across the different dependent variables, we find similar results for *Influence Domain* ID_i^T and *Used Reach* n_i . However, we observe one important difference: Our focal variable, *degree centrality*, is negative ($\beta_{ID}^{PC} = -.00205$; $p < .01$) in the Poisson regression model, i.e., among the participants of the campaign, the more central customers have a smaller influence domain. We find indications in the observed network structure of the referral processes that help to explain this surprising result. For hubs, we mostly observe short referral chains (if at all). However, fringe customers participating in the campaign demonstrate significantly longer referral chains, as illustrated in Figure 2: Non-central customer X reacts to the campaign and refers the service. Within two generations, this referral reaches the actor Y, who initiates a total of 15 additional referrals, thus increasing the

⁴ Note that, by definition, there is no overlap of influence domains between two different origins, as every referred customer has an in-degree of 1; i.e., only one specific referrer is rewarded for every new customer.

influence domain of the original referrer X to 22.

-- Insert Table 9 about here --

Because we find a positive effect of high degree in the selection model and a negative effect in the regression model, the overall effect of degree centrality remains unclear. As a simple test, we performed both, an OLS and a simple Poisson regression (PR), with unconditional *Influence Domain* ID_i^R as dependent variable for the complete sample of customers, i.e., we included all 208,829 customers who received the viral marketing campaign stimulus. Table 9 presents the results: For both approaches, the standardized beta for *degree centrality* is positive and significant ($\beta_{ID}^{OLS} = .010$; $\beta_{ID}^{PR} = .002$, $p < .001$), thus indicating that the overall effect of high degree centrality as a selection criterion for seeding a viral marketing campaign is positive. This result, in turn, means that high-degree seeding remains the more successful strategy, even when accounting for the full extent of a multiple-generation viral process.

Robustness Checks

To check for the robustness of our findings, we also analyzed our data with a whole set of alternative approaches, such as a Poisson-based (such as Zero-Inflated Poisson Regression (ZIP)) and probit-OLS combinations (such as Tobit Type II models).⁵ Our core results regarding the influence of degree centrality, positive influence on the selection stage determining the likelihood of participation as well as negative effect on the influence domain on the regression stage, hold for all tested models. Furthermore, these results remain unchanged when incorporating additional individual-level covariates, such as airtime volume, number of text messages or monthly mobile telephone charges that represent the

⁵ A confidentiality agreement prevents us from reporting the details of the results in the paper, but these results were available to the reviewers.

attractiveness of a customer for the provider.

Unlike Studies 1 and 2, Study 3 does not allow for assessing the causal effect of seeding strategy on referral success unambiguously. It reflects however a real-world marketing application and is based on detailed firm data and illustrates strikingly the power of network information.

General Discussion

Research Contribution

Inspired by the conflicting recommendations of previous studies regarding optimal seeding strategies for viral marketing campaigns, the objectives of this study were to empirically compare the performance of various proposed strategies, examine the magnitude of differences, and identify the determinants that are responsible for the superiority of the best seeding strategy. To our knowledge, the experimental comparison of seeding strategies is unprecedented, as previous literature is solely based on mathematical models and computer simulations. Hence, our real-life application helps to answer the controversially discussed questions whether hubs are harder to convince to participate, whether they make use of their reach, and whether they are indeed more persuasive.

We found that marketers can reach the highest number of referrals across various settings if they seed the message to hubs (“high-degree seeding”) or bridges (“high-betweenness seeding”). These two strategies yield comparable results but clearly outperform both the random strategy (+52%) and are up to 8 times more successful than seeding to fringes (“low-degree seeding”). The superiority of high-degree seeding does not rest on a higher conversion rate due to a higher persuasiveness of hubs, but mainly on the higher activity of hubs, which supports previous findings (e.g., Scott 2000; Iyengar, Van den Bulte, and Valente 2011).

The stream of research favoring the low-degree seeding strategy is based on the central

assumption that highly connected individuals are not easily influenced towards spreading viral messages because they themselves are subject to the influence of too many other individuals (e.g., Watts and Dodds 2007). Our results from Studies 1 and 3 show that this assumption does not hold. In fact, we find that hubs have a higher probability of participating in viral marketing campaigns. The distinction made by Becker (1970) seems to be important: Hubs are more likely to engage because viral marketing works mostly through awareness caused by information transfer from previous adopters and through belief updating, in particular for low-risk products. Due to the low perceived risk, hubs do not hesitate to participate. The fact that social contagion occurs mostly at the awareness stage also implies that there is no disproportionate persuasiveness of hubs on their peers' probability of forwarding messages or adopting the product.

The analysis of a viral marketing campaign of a mobile phone service provider reveals that hubs make slightly more use of their reach potential. Furthermore, for the group of participating customers, we even found a negative influence of higher connectivity on the resulting influence domains. Although epidemiology documents that infectious diseases spread through hubs, we found that well-connected individuals are not using their higher reach potential efficiently. A likely reason is that spreading information is costly both in terms of time invested and capturing peers' attention. Furthermore, hubs may be less likely to reach other previously unaffected central actors, and are therefore limited in their overall influence domain. These results show that a substantial number of findings from sociology and epidemiology may have been incorrectly transferred to targeting strategies such as optimal seeding in viral marketing.

Nevertheless, we maintain that the social network is a crucial determinant of the optimal seeding strategies for viral marketing in practice because *i*) the social structure is much easier to observe and to measure than the communication intensity, quality, or frequency, and *ii*) the

result was robust even when we controlled for the level of communication activity.

Therefore, we conclude that companies should utilize social network information about mutual friendship relationships for spreading their viral marketing.

Managerial Implications

Our results show that viral marketing is not necessarily more of an art than a science, as marketers can increase the performance of their campaigns by pursuing a seeding strategy based on information pertaining to the structure of a social network. All studies in this article document that information about the social structure is valuable for seeding. Seeding to the “right” individuals yields up to 8 times more referrals than seeding to the “wrong” individuals. This difference highlights the importance of the chosen seeding strategy for marketing practice. In contrast to random seeding, seeding to hubs and bridges can still easily increase the number of successful referrals by more than +50%. These results emphasize that it is essential for marketers to follow the right seeding strategy and that the use of socio-metric data allows for significantly increasing profit. We conclude that adding metrics about social positions to CRM databases can substantially improve targeting models.

Many companies already have implicit information on social ties that can be used to calculate explicit socio-metric measures. Telecommunication providers can exploit connection data (see Study 3), banks have data on money transfers, mail providers can analyze mail exchange or companies can evaluate behavior in company-owned forums. Many companies also have indirect access to information on social networks, such as eBay through Skype or Google through its Google mail service and start to use information obtained this way (Hill, Provost and Volinsky 2006). Such network information is further available in the form of friendship-choice data in online social communities such as Facebook, LinkedIn, or the like (see, e.g., Hinz and Spann 2008).

Somewhat surprisingly, we found that in order to target a particular sub-network (e.g., all students of a particular university as in Study 2) with a viral marketing message, use of the respective sub-network's socio-metric measures is not necessarily required to implement the desired seeding strategies. Instead, because the socio-metric measures of sub-network and total network are highly correlated, marketers can utilize the socio-metric measures of the total network and do not need to bother with the complex task of determining exact network boundary specifications. This result is appealing because it also allows marketers to infer the connectivity of an individual in an overall network rather reliably from information on the connectivity in a natural sub-network. Because betweenness centrality requires knowledge about the structure of the entire network, and the computation is complex and time-consuming, degree centrality seems to be the best socio-metric measure for marketing practice. This supports the simulative results from Kiss and Bichler (2008).

Based on these insights, marketers should pick highly-connected individuals as initial seeding points. This strategy yields the best results for viral marketing campaigns that aim to generate awareness and for viral marketing campaigns that encourage transactions. Although our results imply that hubs are not more persuasive, they are more likely to participate and therefore promise a higher spreading of the viral message. Additionally, our results show that monetary incentives strongly increase the spread of viral marketing messages, but such incentives could also make viral marketing more costly than is commonly assumed.

Our results further show that expertise in the domain of social networks is valuable for seeding purposes. Based on this finding, online communities such as Facebook might begin offering information on individuals' social positions to third parties for marketing activities, or offer services like seeding to a specific target group based on socio-metric measures. Accordingly, specialized service providers might adopt this idea to tailor their offerings with respect to optimal seeding activities. Business models might consist of collecting or

constructing social network information out of communication relationships or domain expertise in certain subject domains, then targeting the most highly connected or intermediary individuals with specific marketing information to maximize the success of viral marketing campaigns. Today, Procter and Gamble's subsidiaries, Vocalpoint and Tremor, already successfully utilize social network information for the introduction of new products and have shown a doubling of sales in test locations.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

Although we designed our experiments carefully, some shortcomings might limit the validity of the results: In Study 1, order effects may exist because the sets of participants in the different experimental settings are not disjunct. Therefore, Study 2 was designed to avoid such an overlap but due to the parallel timing, there could be interrelations between the different seeding lines, e.g., a participant might have watched the video after receiving the message from seeding strategy A and then, after receiving a nearly identical message from seeding strategy B, might not click on the link because this participant correctly assumes that he has already watched the video. In this case, seeding strategies that foster a faster diffusion may have an advantage that could bias results.

The student sample and the artificial information content of the experiments are further limitations of the experimental studies, although these shortcomings do not systematically favor one strategy over another. It would, however, be interesting to conduct similar experiments with a different sample and real marketing content such as advertising spots.

In our real-life application, we were limited to comparing high-degree and low-degree seeding strategies with a random seeding strategy. Although we did not differentiate referrals with regard to profit of the referred customers (see Schmitt, Skiera and van den Bulte (2011) for an analysis on the value of customers acquired through referral programs), our robustness

checks incorporating monthly telephone charges do not show any significant regression stage effects of these additional covariates on converted reach or influence domain. Our results regarding the effects of degree centrality remain unchanged throughout the robustness checks.

Finally, most current research, including this article, focuses on individual choices and treats the choices of partners (within the social network) as exogenous; these studies assume that the network in question remains fixed for the duration of the study and remains unaffected by it. We postulate that this is a strong assumption and conjecture that incorporating the dynamics that are immanent to real-life social networks into marketing response models would be an interesting avenue for future research. Also, a further extension could be the incorporation of information on the dyadic level, such as tie strength. This incorporation would be very helpful when trying to differentiate the success of referrals from a specific customer.

The combination of the two experimental studies and the ex-post analysis of a real viral marketing campaign provide strong arguments that hubs and bridges are important for the diffusion of viral marketing campaigns. We cannot confirm recent findings in different disciplines questioning the exposed role of hubs for the success of viral marketing campaigns. In contrast, our analysis of the different determinants in Study 3 yields additional explanations regarding why hubs are more attractive seeding points. These findings could be used as input to create more realistic computer simulations and analytical models.

References

- Amemiya, Takeshi (1984), "Tobit Models: A Survey," *Journal of Econometrics*, 24 (1), 3-61.
- Anderson, Roy M. and Robert M. May (1991), *Infectious Diseases of Humans: Dynamics and Control*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.

- Arndt, Johan (1967), "Role of Product-Related Conversations in the Diffusion of a New Product," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 4(3), 291–295.
- Bampo, Mauro, Michael T. Ewing, Dineli R. Mather, David Stewart, and Mark Wallace (2008), "The Effects of the Social Structure of Digital Networks on Viral Marketing Performance," *Information Systems Research*, 19(3), 273–290.
- Becker, Marshall H. (1970), "Sociometric Location and Innovativeness: Reformulation and Extension of the Diffusion Model," *American Sociological Review*, 35(2), 267–282.
- Biyalogorsky, Eyal, Eitan Gerstner, and Barak Libai (2001), "Customer Referral Management: Optimal Reward Programs," *Marketing Science*, 20 (1), 82-95.
- Coleman, James S., Elihu Katz, and Herbert Menzel (1966), *Medical Innovation: A Diffusion Study*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co.
- Costenbader, Elizabeth and Thomas W. Valente (2003), "The Stability of Centrality Measures when Networks are Sampled," *Social Networks*, 25(4), 283–307.
- De Bruyn, Arnaud and Gary L. Lilien (2008), "A Multi-Stage Model of Word-of-Mouth Influence Through Viral Marketing," *International Journal of Research in Marketing*, 25(3), 151–163.
- Dodds, Peter S. and Duncan J. Watts (2004), "Universal Behavior in a Generalized Model of Contagion," *Physical Review Letters*, 92(21), 218701.
- Festinger, Leon (1957), *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Galeotti, Andrea and Sanjeev Goyal (2009), "Influencing the Influencers: A Theory of Strategic Diffusion," *RAND Journal of Economics*, 40(3), 509–532.
- Gladwell, Malcolm (2002), *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference*. Boston: Back Bay Books.
- Granovetter, Mark S. (1973), "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(6), 1360–1380.
- (1985), "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness," *American*

- Journal of Sociology*, 91(3), 481–510.
- Goldenberg, Jacob, Sangman Han, Donald R. Lehmann, and Jae Weon Hong (2009), “The Role of Hubs in the Adoption Process,” *Journal of Marketing*, 73(2), 1–13.
- Hanaki, Nobuyuki, Alexander Peterhansl, Peter S. Dodds, and Duncan J. Watts (2007), "Cooperation in Evolving Social Networks," *Management Science*, 53(7), 1036–1050.
- Hann, Il-Horn, Kai-Lung Hui, Sang-Yong T. Lee, and Ivan P. L. Png (2008), “Consumer Privacy and Marketing Avoidance: A Static Model,” *Management Science*, 54(6), 1094–1103.
- Hill, Shawndra, Foster Provost, and Chris Volinsky (2006), “Network-Based Marketing: Identifying Likely Adopters via Consumer Networks,” *Statistical Science*, 21(2), 256–276.
- Hinz, Oliver and Martin Spann (2008), “The Impact of Information Diffusion on Bidding Behavior in Secret Reserve Price Auctions,” *Information Systems Research*, 19(3), 351–368.
- Iyengar, Raghuram, Christophe Van den Bulte, and Thomas W. Valente (2011), “Opinion Leadership and Social Contagion in New Product Diffusion,” *Marketing Science*, forthcoming.
- Iyengar, Sheena S. and Mark Lepper (2000), “When Choice is Demotivating: Can One Desire Too Much of a Good Thing?” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 76(6), 995–1006.
- Jain, Dipak, Vijay Mahajan, and Eitan Muller (1995), “An Approach for Determining Optimal Product Sampling for the Diffusion of a New Product,” *Journal of Product Innovation Management*, 12(2), 124–135.
- Kalish, Shlomo, Vijay Mahajan, and Eitan Muller (1995), "Waterfall and Sprinkler New-Product Strategies in Competitive Global Markets," *International Journal of Research in Marketing*, 12(2), 105–119.
- Katz, Elihu and Paul F. Lazarsfeld (1955), *Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications*. New York: Free Press.
- Kemper, John T. (1980), “On the Identification of Superspreaders for Infectious Disease,” *Mathematical Biosciences*, 48 (1-2), 111–127.

- Kiss, Christine and Martin Bichler (2008), "Identification of influencers – Measuring influence in customer networks", *Decision Support Systems*, 46 (1), 233–253.
- Lambert, Diane (1992), "Zero-Inflated Poisson Regression, With an Application to Defects in Manufacturing," *Technometrics*, 34(1), 1-14.
- Leskovec, Jure, Lada A. Adamic and Bernardo A. Huberman (2007), "The Dynamics of Viral Marketing," *ACM Transactions on the Web*, 1, 228 - 237.
- Libai, Barak, Eitan Muller, and Renana Peres (2005), "The Role of Seeding in Multi-Market Entry," *International Journal of Research in Marketing*, 22(4), 375-393.
- Lin, Nan (1976), *Foundations of Social Research*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Mullahy, John (1986), "Specification and Testing of Some Modified Count Data Models," *Journal of Econometrics*, 33(3), 341-365.
- Porter, Constance E. and Naveen Donthu (2008), "Cultivating Trust and Harvesting Value in Virtual Communities," *Management Science*, 54(1), 113–128.
- Porter, Lance and Guy J. Golan (2006), "From Subservient Chickens to Brawny Men: A Comparison of Viral Advertising to Television Advertising," *Journal of Interactive Advertising*, 6(2), 30–38.
- Rayport, Jeffrey (1996), "The Virus of Marketing," (accessed August 12, 2010), [available at <http://www.fastcompany.com/magazine/06/virus.html>].
- Schmitt, Philipp, Bernd Skiera and Christophe van den Bulte (2011), "Referral Programs and Customer Value", *Journal of Marketing*, 75(1), 46-59.
- Scott, John (2000), *Social Network Analysis: A Handbook* (2nd ed.), London: Sage.
- Simmel, Georg (1950), *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*. Compiled and Translated by Kurt Wolff, Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- Sundararajan, Arun (2006), "Network Seeding," Extended Abstract for WISE 2006, NYU Stern School of Business.
- Thompson, Clive (2008), "Is the Tipping Point Toast?" *Fast Company*, 122, 74-105 and (accessed

March 2, 2011), [available at <http://www.fastcompany.com/magazine/122/is-the-tipping-point-toast.html>].

Trusov, Michael, Anand Bodapati and Randolph E. Bucklin (2010), "Determining Influential Users in Internet Social Networks," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 47(4), 643–658.

Van den Bulte, Christophe (2010), "Opportunities and Challenges in Studying Consumer Networks," in *The Connected Customer*, S. Wuyts, M. G. Dekimpe, E. Gijsbrechts, and R. Pieters eds. London: Routledge, 7-35.

———, Christophe and Yogesh V. Joshi (2007), "New Product Diffusion with Influentials and Imitators," *Marketing Science*, 26(3), 400–421.

——— and Gary L. Lilien (2001), "Medical Innovation Revisited: Social Contagion versus Marketing Effort," *American Journal of Sociology*, 106(5), 1409–1435.

——— and Stefan Wuyts (2007), *Social Networks and Marketing*. Cambridge, MA: MSI Relevant Knowledge Series.

Van der Lans, Ralf, Gerrit van Bruggen, Jehoshua Eliashberg and Berend Wierenga (2010), "A Viral Branching Model for Predicting the Spread of Electronic Word-of-Mouth," *Marketing Science*, 29(2), 348–365.

Watts, Duncan J. (2004), "The 'New' Science of Networks," *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30(1), 243–270.

——— and Peter S. Dodds (2007), "Influentials, Networks, and Public Opinion Formation," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 34(4), 441–458.

——— and Jonah Peretti (2007), "Viral Marketing for the Real World," *Harvard Business Review*, 85(5), 22–23.

Tables

TABLE 1
Previous Research

Studies	Context	Reason for Contagion	Social Position has Positive Influence on ...					Recommendation for Optimal Seeding Strategy	Empirically Tested Seeding Strategy
			Participation Prob. P_i	Used Reach n_i	Expected # Referrals R_i	Conversion Rate w_i	Expected # Successful Referrals SR_i		
Coleman et al. (1966)	Product (Low Risk)	<i>A, BU, NP</i>	Hub		Hub			Hub	
Becker (1970)	Product (Low Risk) Product (High Risk)	<i>A, BU, NP</i>	Hub Fringe		Hub Fringe			Hub Fringe	
Simmel (1950) Porter and Donthu (2008)	Messages Messages	<i>A</i> <i>A</i>	Fringe					Fringe	
Watts and Dodds (2007)	-	-	Fringe	Hub	Fringe		Fringe	Fringe	
Leskovec et al. (2007)	Product (Low Risk)	<i>A, BU</i>	Hub	Hub	Hub	Fringe			
Anderson and May (1991) Kemper (1980)	Epidemiology Epidemiology	<i>A</i> <i>A</i>		Hub	Hub		Hub	Hub	
Granovetter (1973) Rayport (1996)	Messages Messages	<i>A</i> <i>A</i>		Bridge	Bridge			Bridge	
Iyengar et al. (2011)	Product (High Risk)	<i>A, BU</i>			Hub	Hub	Hub	Hub	
Study 1	Messages	<i>A</i>	Controlled				✓		Hub, Fringe, Bridge, Random
Study 2	Messages	<i>A</i>					✓		Hub, Fringe, Bridge, Random
Study 3	Product (Low Risk)	<i>A, BU</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		Hub, Fringe, Random

Note: A=Awareness, BU= Belief Updating, NP=Normative Pressure, i = focal individual; Expected number of referrals: $R_i = P_i \cdot n_i$; Successful number of referrals: $SR_i = w_i \cdot R_i$

TABLE 2
Summary of Studies

	Study 1	Study 2	Study 3
<i>Seeding Strategies</i>	Four Seeding Strategies: • High-Degree (HD) • Low-Degree (LD) • High-Betweenness (HB) • Random (Control)	Four Seeding Strategies • High-Degree (HD) • Low-Degree (LD) • High-Betweenness (HB) • Random (Control)	Three Seeding Strategies • High-Degree (HD) • Low-Degree (LD) • Random (Control)
<i>Social Contagion through</i>	Awareness (Advertisement)	Awareness (Advertisement)	Belief Updating (Service Referral)
<i>Motivation</i>	Extrinsic motivation for sharing (Experimental Remuneration)	Intrinsic motivation (Funny Video about University)	Extrinsic motivation for sharing (Additional Airtime for Referral)
<i>Seeding Size</i>	• 10% of network size • 20% of network size	7% of network size	Entire network
<i>Seeding Timing</i>	Sequential	Parallel	-
<i>Social Network</i>	120 nodes (Small network), 270 edges	1,380 nodes (medium-sized network), 4,052 edges	208,829 nodes (very large network), 7,786,019 edges
<i>Number of Treatments</i>	16=4·2·2	4	-
<i>Number of Replications</i>	2 (4 Treatments missing)	1	-
<i>Number of Experimental Settings</i>	28	4	-
<i>Boundary of Network</i>	Artificial	Natural	Natural
<i>Design Strengths</i>	Test of causality, strong control due to experimental setup, identification of individual behavior due to specific IDs	Test of causality, realistic scenario	Large real-world network based on firm data, identification of determinants
<i>Design Weaknesses</i>	Repeated measures due to sequential timing, artificial scenario	Potential interaction between treatments, activity level of individuals not controlled for, individuals cannot be identified	Missing edges between non-customers (HB could not be tested), causality cannot be tested
<i>Specific Finding</i>	HD and HB are comparable and outperform Random by +39-52% and LD by factor 7-8	HD and HB are comparable and outperform Random by +60% and LD by factor 3	HD outperforms Random by factor 2 and LD by factor 8-9

TABLE 3
Individual Probability to Respond
(Random Effects Logit Model, Study 1)

Variable	Odds Ratio	SE
Seeding Strategy		
▪ Low-Degree	.19***	.04
▪ High-Betweenness	1.39*	.28
▪ High-Degree	1.53**	.31
High Seeding	1.89***	.28
High Incentives	38.11***	26.07
Seeded by Experimenter	14.36***	3.74
Random Coefficient: UserId		
$\ln(\delta_u^2)$	3.36	.17
δ_u	5.36	.46
P	.90	.02
R ² (pseudo)	.16	
N	3,360	

Note: * $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$, ^{ns} not significant, two-tailed significance levels;
Reference category: 'Random' seeding strategy, 'low seeding', 'no incentives',
and 'was not seeded by experimenter'.

TABLE 4
Conditional Odds Ratios of Seeding Strategies
(Study 1)

	Low-Degree	Random	High-Betweenness	High-Degree
Low-Degree	—	.19***	.13***	.12***
Random	5.37***	—	.72*	.65**
High-Betweenness	7.47***	1.39*	—	0.91 ^{ns}
High-Degree	8.19***	1.53**	1.10 ^{ns}	—

Note: * $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$, ^{ns} not significant, two-tailed significance levels.

For example, the second column reads as follows. The odds that an individual reacts under the strategy of random seeding is 5.37 times as large as under low-degree seeding, 7.47 times as large under the strategy of high-betweenness seeding as under low-degree seeding, and 8.19 times as large under high-degree seeding as under low-degree seeding.

Conditional Odds Ratio of the two seeding strategies inversely relate to each other. For example, the odd ratios of random and low degree relate to each other as follows: $.19 = 1/5.37$

TABLE 5
Number of Visits per Day
(Random Effects Model, Study 2)

Variable	Entry Page Unique Visits		Video Page Unique Visits	
	Coefficient	SE	Coefficient	SE
High-Degree Seeding	2.263***	.766	1.623***	.547
High-Betweenness Seeding	2.158***	.766	1.211**	.547
Random Seeding	.947 ^{ns}	.766	.263 ^{ns}	.547
Seeding Day or Re-Seeding	7.128***	1.276	4.005***	.727
Weekend	-1.026 ^{ns}	1.569	-.636 ^{ns}	.794
Intercept	-.127 ^{ns}	.911	-.078 ^{ns}	.524
Random Coefficient: Experimental Day				
δ_e	2.375		1.642	
P	.519		.290	
R ² (overall)	.475		.436	

Note: * $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$, ^{ns} not significant, two-tailed significance levels. Reference categories: 'Low-degree seeding' and 'weekdays' and 'No Seeding Day'

TABLE 6
Determinants of Number of Referrals, Number of Successful Referrals, and Influence Domain
(Poisson-Logit Hurdle Regression Models, Study 3)

Model	Variable		Used Reach n^*		Converted Reach $CR = (n^*w)^*$		Conditional Influence Domain ID_i^T	
			Coefficient	SE	Coefficient	SE	Coefficient	SE
<i>Logit Component</i>	Degree centrality	β_1	.0032***	.0003	.0031***	.0003	.0031***	.0003
	Covariates							
	▪ Gender	β_2	-.2171***	.0317	-.2407***	.0337	-.2407***	.0337
	▪ Age	β_3	-.0209***	.0013	-.0197***	.0014	-.0197***	.0014
	▪ Payment type	β_4	.0913**	.0390	.0666 ^{ns}	.0412	.0666 ^{ns}	.0412
	▪ Refill policy	β_5	-.0123 ^{ns}	.0376	.0174 ^{ns}	.0396	.0174 ^{ns}	.0396
	▪ Acquisition channel	β_6	-.9843***	.0506	-1.0529***	.0545	-1.0529***	.0545
	▪ Tariff plan	β_7	-.1433***	.0392	-.1333***	.0417	-.1333***	.0417
	▪ Customer tenure	β_8	-.0016***	.0001	-.0016***	.0001	-.0016***	.0001
	Intercept		-2.3462***	.0722	-2.4942***	.0765	-2.4942***	.0765
<i>Poisson Component</i>	Degree centrality	β_1	.0012**	.0005	-.0019 ^{ns}	.0026	-.0022***	.0006
	Covariates							
	▪ Gender	β_2	-.18241***	.0515	-.1310 ^{ns}	.2187	-.3255***	.0493
	▪ Age	β_3	-.0091***	.0020	-.0105 ^{ns}	.0086	-.0114***	.0019
	▪ Payment type	β_4	-.3967***	.0579	-.1876 ^{ns}	.2486	-.1367**	.0543
	▪ Refill policy	β_5	-.3402***	.0761	-.1374 ^{ns}	.2819	.0024 ^{ns}	.0608
	▪ Acquisition channel	β_6	.7388***	.0559	.5756**	.2589	.6276***	.0547
	▪ Tariff plan	β_7	-1.0805***	.0469	-1.1236***	.2058	-.5273***	.0463
	▪ Customer tenure	β_8	-.0007***	.0002	-.0007 ^{ns}	.0007	-.0013***	.0001
	Intercept		.9629***	.0938	-1.4547***	.4184	1.1045***	.0904
	Log Likelihood Value		-25,189		-19,868		-23,741	
	BIC		50,598		39,957		47,702	
	N				208,829			

Note: * $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$, ^{ns} not significant, two-tailed significance levels.

TABLE 7
Determinants of Conversion Rates, Active Referrers
(Poisson Regression, Study 3)

Variable		Poisson Regression Model Conversion $w=CR/n^*$	
		Coefficient	SE
Degree centrality	β_1	-.0001 ^{ns}	.0004
Covariates			
▪ Gender	β_2	.0788**	.0350
▪ Age	β_3	.0047***	.0015
▪ Payment type	β_4	.1104***	.0431
▪ Refill policy	β_5	.1079***	.0409
▪ Acquisition channel	β_6	-.4951***	.0616
▪ Tariff plan	β_7	.4638***	.0472
▪ Customer tenure	β_8	.0002*	.0001
Intercept		-1.2014***	.0848
Log Likelihood Value		-5,074	
N		4,549	

Note: * $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$, ^{ns} not significant, two-tailed significance levels.
For the Poisson Regression model, $\ln(n)$ was used as offset variable.

TABLE 8
Relationship of Conversion Rates and Degree Centrality, Full Sample
(Study 3)

		Customer Cohort (according to estimated participation probabilities)					Average
		Top 5,000	Top 10,000	Top 20,000	Top 50,000	Bottom 5,000	
Participants	Total Participation	220	378	671	1,385	24	—
	Participation Rate	4.4%	3.8%	3.4%	2.8%	.5%	2.2%
Referrals	Total Referrals	292	489	856	1,783	26	—
	Referral Rate	5.8%	4.9%	4.3%	3.6%	.5%	3.0%
Successful Referrals	Total Conversions	191	330	598	1,233	19	—
	Conversion Rate	3.8%	3.3%	3.0%	2.5%	.4%	2.0%
Avg. Degree Centrality		70.83	60.21	52.13	45.42	18.01	36.48

Note: Top (Bottom) 5,000 / 10,000 / etc. refers to the respective cohort of customers with the highest (lowest) estimated participation probabilities based on the coefficient estimates of the logit component reported in Table 6. Rates are calculated by dividing the total number of participants / referrals / successful referrals by the total number of customers in the respective cohort.

TABLE 9
Determinants of Unconditional Influence Domain
(OLS Model, Study 3)

Variable		OLS Model Unconditional Influence Domain (ID_i^R)		Poisson Regression Model Unconditional Influence Domain (ID_i^R)	
		Std. Coefficient	SE	Coefficient	SE
Degree centrality	β_1	.010***	.000	.002***	.000
Covariates					
▪ Gender	β_2	-.015***	.002	-.358***	.028
▪ Age	β_3	-.024***	.000	-.024***	.001
▪ Payment type	β_4	.001 ^{ns}	.002	.013 ^{ns}	.033
▪ Refill policy	β_5	.000 ^{ns}	.002	.003 ^{ns}	.033
▪ Acquisition channel	β_6	-.025***	.002	-.680***	.039
▪ Tariff plan	β_7	-.016***	.002	-.433***	.030
▪ Customer tenure	β_8	-.031***	.004	-.002***	.000
Intercept		.091***	.004	-1.509***	.058
R ² (pseudo)		.05		.03	
N		208,829		208,829	

Note: * $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$, ^{ns} not significant, two-tailed significance levels.

Figures

FIGURE 1
Development of the Number of Unique Visits Over Time
(Study 2)

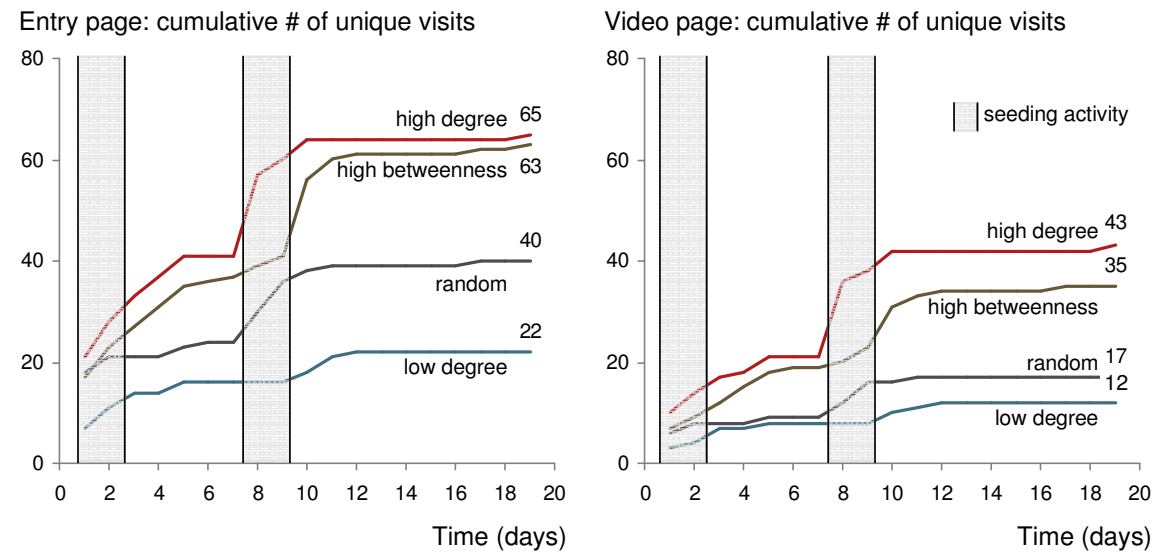


FIGURE 2
Influence Domain of a Referral Campaign Participant
(Study 3)

