

An Experimental Study of Search in Global Social Networks

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We report on a global social-search experiment in which more than 60,000 e-mail users attempted to reach one of 18 target persons in 13 countries by forwarding messages to acquaintances. We find that successful social search is conducted primarily through intermediate to weak strength ties, does not require highly connected "hubs" to succeed, and, in contrast to unsuccessful social search, disproportionately relies on professional relationships. By accounting for the attrition of message chains, we estimate that social searches can reach their targets in a median of five to seven steps, depending on the separation of source and target, although small variations in chain lengths and participation rates generate large differences in target reachability. We conclude that although global social networks are, in principle, searchable, actual success depends sensitively on individual incentives.

It has become commonplace to assert that any individual in the world can reach any other individual through a short chain of social ties (1, 2). Early experimental work by Travers and Milgram (3) suggested that the average length of such chains is roughly six, and recent theoretical (4) and empirical (4–9) work has generalized the claim to a wide range of nonsocial networks. However, much about this "small world" hypothesis is poorly understood and empirically unsubstantiated. In particular, individuals in real social networks have only limited, local information about the global social network and, therefore, finding short paths represents a non-trivial search effort (10–12). Moreover, and contrary to accepted wisdom, experimental evidence for short global chain lengths is extremely limited (13–15). For example, Travers and Milgram report 96 message chains (of which 18 were completed) initiated by randomly selected individuals from a city other than the target's (3). Almost all other empirical studies of large-scale networks (4–9, 16–19) have focused either on nonsocial networks or on crude proxies of social interaction such as scientific collaboration, and studies specific to e-mail networks have so far been limited to within single institutions (20).

We have addressed these issues by conducting a global, Internet-based social search experiment (21). Participants registered online (<http://smallworld.sociology.columbia.edu>) and were randomly allocated one of 18 target persons from 13 countries (table S1).

Targets included a professor at an Ivy League university, an archival inspector in Estonia, a technology consultant in India, a policeman in Australia, and a veterinarian in the Norwegian army. Participants were informed that their task was to help relay a message to their allocated target by passing the message to a social acquaintance whom they considered "closer" than themselves to the target. Of the 98,847 individuals who registered, about 25% provided their personal information and initiated message chains. Because subsequent senders were effectively recruited by their own acquaintances, the participation rate after the first step increased to an average of 37%. Including initial and subsequent senders, data were recorded on 61,168 individuals from 166 countries, constituting 24,163 distinct message chains (table S2). More than half of all participants resided in North America and were middle class, professional, college educated, and Christian, reflecting commonly held notions of the Internet-using population (22).

In addition to providing his or her chosen contact's name and e-mail address, each sender was also required to describe how he or she had come to know the person, along with the type and strength of the resulting relationship. Table 1 lists the frequencies with which different types of relationships—classified by type, origin, and strength—were

invoked by our population of 61,168 active senders. When passing messages, senders typically used friendships in preference to business or family ties; however, almost half of these friendships were formed through either work or school affiliations. Furthermore, successful chains in comparison with incomplete chains disproportionately involved professional ties (33.9 versus 13.2%) rather than friendship and familial relationships (59.8 versus 83.4%) (table S3). Successful chains were also more likely to entail links that originated through work or higher education (65.1 versus 39.6%) (table S4). Men passed messages more frequently to other men (57%), and women to other women (61%), and this tendency to pass to a same-sex contact was strengthened by about 3% if the target was the same gender as the sender and similarly weakened in the opposite case. Individuals in both successful and unsuccessful chains typically used ties to acquaintances they deemed to be "fairly close." However, in successful chains "casual" and "not close" ties were chosen 15.7 and 5.9% more frequently than in unsuccessful chains (table S5), thus adding support, and some resolution, to the longstanding claim that "weak" ties are disproportionately responsible for social connectivity (23).

Senders were also asked why they considered their nominated acquaintance a suitable recipient (Table 2). Two reasons—geographical proximity of the acquaintance to the target and similarity of occupation—accounted for at least half of all choices, in general agreement with previous findings (24, 25). Geography clearly dominated the early stages of a chain (when senders were geographically distant) but after the third step was cited less frequently than other characteristics, of which occupation was the most often cited. In contrast with previous claims (3, 12), the presence of highly connected individuals (hubs) appears to have limited relevance to the kind of social search embodied by our experiment (social search with large associated costs/rewards or otherwise modified individual incentives may behave differently). Participants relatively rarely nominated an acquaintance primarily because he or she had many friends (Table 2, "Friends"), and individuals in successful

Table 1. Type, origin, and strength of social ties used to direct messages. Only the top five categories in the first two columns have been listed. The most useful category of social tie is medium-strength friendships that originate in the workplace.

Type of relationship	%	Origin of relationship	%	Strength of relationship	%
Friend	67	Work	25	Extremely close	18
Relatives	10	School/university	22	Very close	23
Co-worker	9	Family/relation	19	Fairly close	33
Sibling	5	Mutual friend	9	Casual	22
Significant other	3	Internet	6	Not close	4

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chains were far less likely than those in incomplete chains to send messages to hubs (1.6 versus 8.2%) (table S6). We also find no evidence of message “funneling” (3, 9) through a single acquaintance of the target: At most 5% of messages passed through a single acquaintance of any target, and 95% of all chains were completed through individuals who delivered at most three messages. We conclude that social search appears to be largely an egalitarian exercise, not one whose success depends on a small minority of exceptional individuals.

Although the average participation rate (about 37%) was high relative to those reported in most e-mail-based surveys (26), the compounding effects of attrition over multiple links resulted in exponential attenuation of chains as a function of their length and therefore an extremely low chain completion rate (384 of 24,163 chains reached their targets). Chains may have terminated (i) randomly, because of individual apathy or disinclination to participate (3, 27); (ii) preferentially at longer chain lengths, corresponding to the claim that chains get “lost” or are otherwise unable to reach their targets (13); or (iii) preferentially at short chain lengths, because, for example, individuals nearer the target are more likely to continue the chain.

Our findings support the random-failure hypothesis for two reasons. First, with the exception of the first step (which is special because senders register rather than receive a message from an acquaintance), the attrition rate remains almost constant for all chain lengths at which we have a sufficiently large N ; hence small confidence intervals (Fig. 1A). Second, senders who did not forward their messages after one week were asked why they had not participated. Less than 0.3% of those contacted claimed that they could not think of an appropriate recipient, suggesting that lack of interest or incentive, not difficulty, was the main reason for chain termination.

To estimate the reachability of all targets, we first aggregate the 384 completed chains across targets (Fig. 1B), finding the average chain length to be $\langle L \rangle = 4.05$. However, this number is misleading because it represents an average only over the completed chains, and shorter chains are more likely to be completed. An “ideal” frequency distribution of chain lengths $n'(L)$ (i.e., the chain lengths that would be observed in the hypothetical limit of zero attrition) may be estimated by accounting for observed attrition as follows: $n'(L) = n(L) / \prod_{i=0}^{L-1} (1-r_i)$ (Fig. 1C, bars), where $n(L)$ is the observed number

of chains completed after L steps (Fig. 1B) and r_L is the maximum-likelihood attrition rate from step L to step $L + 1$ (Fig. 1A, circles). Using the observed values of r_L , we have reconstructed the most likely ideal distribution $n'(L)$ (Fig. 1C, bars) under our assumption of random attrition. Because the tail of the distribution is poorly specified (owing to the small number of observed chains at large, L), we measure its median L_* rather than its mean. We find $L_* = 7$, and this can be thought of as the typical ideal chain length for a hypothetical average individual. By repeating the above procedure for chains that started and ended in the same country ($L_* = 5$) or in different countries ($L_* = 7$), we can disentangle to some extent the different underlying distributions of chains, yielding an estimated range of typical chain lengths $5 \leq L_* \leq 7$, depending on the geographical separation of source and target.

Although the range of L_* and the variation in attrition rates across targets do not appear great, the compounding effects of attrition over the length of a message chain can nevertheless generate large differences in message completion rates. For example, a decrease of 15% in attrition rates, when compounded over the same ideal distribution with $L_* = 6$, can generate an 800% increase in completion rate. The same attrition rates [e.g., $r_0 = 0.75$, $r_L = 0.63$ ($L \geq 1$)], when applied over chains with $L_* = 5$ and 7, respectively, can lead to completion rates that vary by up to a factor of three.

Taken together, this evidence suggests a mixed picture of search in global social networks. On the one hand, all targets may in fact be reachable from random initial senders in only a few steps, with surprisingly little variation across targets in different countries and professions. On the other hand, small differences in either participation rates or the underlying chain lengths can have a dramatic impact on the apparent reachability of different targets. Target 5 (a professor at a prominent U.S. university) stands out in this respect. Because 85% of senders were college educated and more than half were American, participants may have anticipated little difficulty in reaching him, thus accounting for his chains' attrition rate (54%) being much lower than that of any other target (60 to 68%). Target 5 received a notable 44% of all completed chains, yet this result is consistent with his “true” reachability being little different from that of other targets; his allocated senders may simply have been more confident of success.

Our results therefore suggest that if individuals searching for remote targets do not have sufficient incentives to proceed, the small-world hypothesis will not appear to hold (13), but that even a slight increase in incentives can render social searches success-

Table 2. Reason for choosing next recipient. All quantities are percentages. Location, recipient is geographically closer; Travel, recipient has traveled to target's region; Family, recipient's family originates from target's region; Work, recipient has occupation similar to target; Education, recipient has similar educational background to target; Friends, recipient has many friends; Cooperative, recipient is considered likely to continue the chain; Other, includes recipient as the target.

L	N	Location	Travel	Family	Work	Education	Friends	Cooperative	Other
1	19,718	33	16	11	16	3	9	9	3
2	7,414	40	11	11	19	4	6	7	2
3	2,834	37	8	10	26	6	6	4	3
4	1,014	33	6	7	31	8	5	5	5
5	349	27	3	6	38	12	6	3	5
6	117	21	3	5	42	15	4	5	5
7	37	16	3	3	46	19	8	5	0

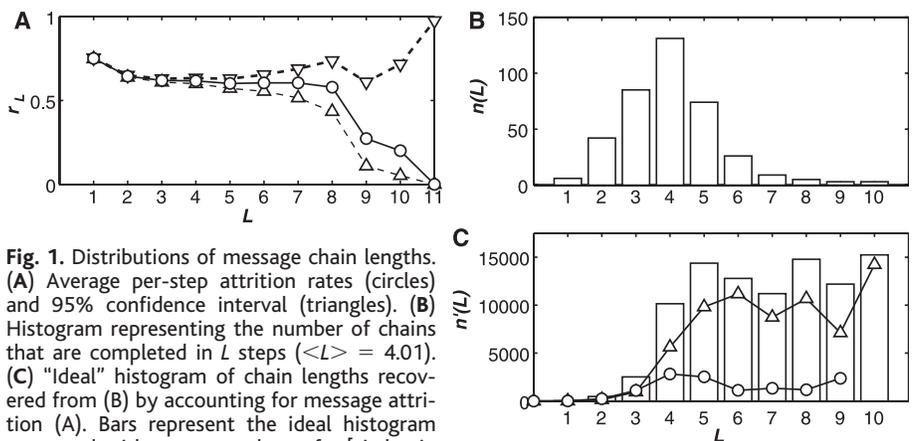


Fig. 1. Distributions of message chain lengths. (A) Average per-step attrition rates (circles) and 95% confidence interval (triangles). (B) Histogram representing the number of chains that are completed in L steps ($\langle L \rangle = 4.01$). (C) “Ideal” histogram of chain lengths recovered from (B) by accounting for message attrition (A). Bars represent the ideal histogram recovered with average values of r [circles in (A)] for the histogram in (B); lines represent a decomposition of the complete data into chains that start in the same country as the target (circles) and those that start in a different country (triangles).

ful under broad conditions. More generally, the experimental approach adopted here suggests that empirically observed network structure can only be meaningfully interpreted in light of the actions, strategies, and even perceptions of the individuals embedded in the network: Network structure alone is not everything.

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Supporting Online Material

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Methods

Tables S1 to S6

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Phylogenetics and the Cohesion of Bacterial Genomes

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Gene acquisition is an ongoing process in many bacterial genomes, contributing to adaptation and ecological diversification. Lateral gene transfer is considered the primary explanation for discordance among gene phylogenies and as an obstacle to reconstructing the tree of life. We measured the extent of phylogenetic conflict and alien-gene acquisition within quartets of sequenced genomes. Although comparisons of complete gene inventories indicate appreciable gain and loss of genes, orthologs available for phylogenetic reconstruction are consistent with a single tree.

In all but the most reduced bacterial genomes, there is a substantial fraction of genes whose distributions and compositional features indicate that they originated by lateral gene transfer (LGT) (1). There is also clear evidence of LGT between distantly related organisms based on phylogenetic studies involving large taxonomic samples (2). Given these findings, incompatibility of phylogenies within and among bacterial phyla based on different genes has routinely been ascribed to LGT (3–10). However, building molecular phylogenies for distantly related species is often a difficult task, and choice of phylogenetic methods, genes, or taxa can yield different results. For example, there is still no consensus on the monophyly of rodents (11, 12) or the branching order of amniotes (13, 14), and these groups are young compared to bacterial phyla. In addition, distinguishing between orthologous genes (sequences that trace their divergence to the splitting of organismal lin-

eages) and paralogous (duplicated) genes becomes increasingly difficult when considering more distantly related taxa.

The effects of LGT have been extended from the deepest to the shallowest levels of bacterial relationships. Indeed, the similarities in gene sequence and gene content that define widely accepted bacterial taxa have been proposed to reflect boundaries to gene transfer, rather than vertical transmission and common organismal ancestry (10). Thus, LGT may overwhelm attempts to reconstruct the relationships among bacterial taxa. The claim that the history of bacteria might be more faithfully depicted as a net than as a tree (7) relies upon the postulate that the substantial incidence of acquired DNA within genomes is the basis for findings of phylogenetic incongruence among genes. However, the genes detected as recently transferred are, by and large, different from those used to build species phylogenies. The former are disproportionately A+T-rich, have restricted phylogenetic distributions, and usually encode accessory functions. In contrast, species phylogenies are based on genes with wide taxonomic distributions and having key roles

in cellular processes. However, such differences are often ignored when considering the impact of LGT on bacterial relationships. Although the incidence of recently acquired DNA in bacterial genomes is the most direct indication of extensive LGT among species (1), the question of whether the incongruence in gene phylogenies is linked to the amount of new DNA in a genome has not been addressed.

To investigate the relation between DNA acquisition and phylogenetic incongruence, we selected quartets of related, sequenced genomes whose phylogenetic relationships, based on small subunit ribosomal RNA (SSU rRNA) sequences, display the branching topology shown in Fig. 1. For each quartet, we inferred both the number of recently acquired and lost genes (based on their phylogenetic distributions) and the proportion of ortholog phylogenies supporting lateral transfers. We applied a conservative method for identifying orthologs by including only those genes having a single significant match per genome, thus minimizing the risks of including hidden paralogs descending from within-genome duplication events. This contrasts with the commonly used “reciprocal best-hit method” (15) to infer orthology, which can yield misleading results (16), especially when paralogs experience different evolutionary rates. We retained all quartets of species for which >25% of the genes from the smallest genome were recovered as orthologs. We then tested which of the three possible trees was significantly supported for each ortholog family, using the Shimodaira-Hasegawa (SH) (17) test implemented in Tree-puzzle 5.1 (18) at the 5% level of significance (19). This method tests if an alignment significantly supports a tree by estimating the confidence limits of the likelihood estimates of the topologies.

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An experimental study of search in global social networks: Supplementary Online Material

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Methods

The data reported in this paper were collected between December 19, 2001 and March 6, 2003. The experiment is ongoing and can be visited at

<http://smallworld.sociology.columbia.edu>.

Selection of targets: The first six targets were acquaintances of members in the authors' research group (three targets in the U.S., three outside of the U.S.). The remaining twelve were solicited through the experiment's website and chosen by the authors from approximately 4,000 candidates to provide a broad variation of target characteristics. In total, five targets resided in the United States and the rest were distributed throughout Europe, Asia, Australia/New Zealand, and South America (Table S1).

Participants in the experiment were provided with a target's full name, city and country of residence, current occupation, and level and institution of highest educational qualification. In some cases, age and previous work were also supplied. Participants were allowed to initiate a single chain for each target.

Senders: Initially, senders were solicited directly using a commercially obtained list of e-mail addresses. Such active solicitation proved extremely ineffective as a recruitment strategy (less than 0.5% response rate), but led to considerable global media coverage, which in turn enabled the current passive recruitment strategy (registration at a web site) to succeed. By design, we did not control for the characteristics of the sending population. Senders were asked to provide information about their own geographical location and gender and optionally age, occupation, rank, annual income, race, religion, and highest educational level. A breakdown of this information is provided in Table S2.

E-mails were forwarded through the experiment's website to allow for precise recording of chains and participant's data. Senders were given two weeks to select and contact the next person in the chain. A reminder was sent out after one week. If a chain was not continued within two weeks, the current holder of the message was terminated from the experiment and the previous sender in that chain was contacted and asked to choose again. Chains were permitted to "backtrack" in this manner only one step. Recipients of e-mails (including the targets) were required to verify their relationship with the sender, where a failure to do so resulted in the chain being halted and the previous sender asked to choose another acquaintance. In this manner, spurious chain completions (e.g. a stranger to a target completing a chain by locating the latter's e-mail address with a search engine) were prevented.

Comparison with Milgram's original mail experiment:

Travers and Milgram's experiment was carried out in the late 60's at a time when junk mail was much less prevalent than it is today. As a result, it is unlikely that Travers and Milgram's response rate of roughly 75% at each step of their letter chains could be reproduced today when typical response rates for mail surveys are as low as 1% to 2% (see <http://www.surveywriter.com/site/news/Shoestring.htm>). Correspondingly, the modern prevalence of junk e-mail (spam) is a considerable problem for any experiment involving e-mail. Spam is estimated at present to be 40% of all e-mail (see <http://zdnet.com.com/2100-1106-977809.html> for example). We have anecdotal evidence of automated spam filters blocking the experiment's e-mails and otherwise willing individuals mistaking the e-mail for commercial spam. Nevertheless, the average participation rate at each link after the first was around 37%, which exceeds the typical response rate for e-mail surveys. As we point out in the paper, the low chain completion rate (0.4%) results from the exponential attenuation of message chains that is an unavoidable feature of the experimental protocol. To clarify this point, consider the effect of increasing our per-link response rate (37%) to that obtained by Travers and Milgram (75%): over a chain of length 6, the corresponding chain completion rate would increase by a factor of roughly $2^6 = 64$.

Data:

Anonymized data for the experiment is available on request from the authors, on the condition that it not be shared subsequently or used for commercial purposes (please send requests via e-mail to datarequest@smallworld.sociology.columbia.edu).

Table S1

<i>Target</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>N_c (%)</i>	<i>r (r₀)</i>	<i><L></i>
1	Novosibirsk	Russia	PhD student	F	8234	20(0.24)	64 (76)	4.05
2	New York	USA	Writer	F	6044	31 (0.51)	65 (73)	3.61
3	Bandung	Indonesia	Unemployed	M	8151	0	66 (76)	n/a
4	New York	USA	Journalist	F	5690	44 (0.77)	60 (72)	3.9
5	Ithaca	USA	Professor	M	5855	168 (2.87)	54 (71)	3.84
6	Melbourne	Australia	Travel Consultant	F	5597	20 (0.36)	60 (71)	5.2
7	Bardufoss	Norway	Army veterinarian	M	4343	16 (0.37)	63 (76)	4.25
8	Perth	Australia	Police Officer	M	4485	4 (0.09)	64 (75)	4.5
9	Omaha	USA	Life Insurance Agent	F	4562	2 (0.04)	66 (79)	4.5
10	Welwyn Garden City	UK	Retired	M	6593	1 (0.02)	68 (74)	4
11	Paris	France	Librarian	F	4198	3 (0.07)	65 (75)	5
12	Tallinn	Estonia	Archival Inspector	M	4530	8 (0.18)	63(79)	4
13	Munich	Germany	Journalist	M	4350	32 (0.74)	62 (74)	4.66
14	Split	Croatia	Student	M	6629	0	63 (77)	n/a
15	Gurgaon	India	Technology Consultant	M	4510	12 (0.27)	67 (78)	3.67
16	Managua	Nicaragua	Computer analyst	M	6547	2 (0.03)	68 (78)	5.5
17	Katikati	New Zealand	Potter	M	4091	12 (0.3)	62 (74)	4.33
18	Elderton	USA	Lutheran Pastor	M	4438	9 (0.21)	68 (76)	4.33
Totals					98,847	384 (0.4)	63 (75)	4.05

Personal data for the 18 targets. N is the number of individuals who were assigned the corresponding target, N_c is number of chains that completed, r_0 is the fraction of individuals who registered at the website but did not subsequently forward messages, r is the average fraction of incomplete chains that were not forwarded at each step after the first, and $\langle L \rangle$ is the mean path length of completed chains.

Table S2

<i>Country</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Income level</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Education level</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Religion</i>	<i>%</i>
US and Canada	59	< \$2k	6	Elementary School	1	Education/Science	23	18-29	38	Christianity	56
United Kingdom	11	\$2k - \$24k	22	High School	14	IT/Telecom	14	30-39	29	None	25
Europe	16	\$25k - \$50k	35	College/ University	51	Arts / Media	13	40-49	16	Judaism	6
Australia and NZ	7	\$50k - \$100k	26	Graduate School	34	Government/Business	12	50-59	12	Hindu	2
All others	7	>\$100k	11			All others	38	above 60	5	All others	11

Personal data for 61,168 participants. To maximize participation, some questions were voluntary.

Response rates for these questions were as follows: Income (64 %); Education (79%); Occupation (86 %);

Age (87 %); Religion (69 %).

Table S3

Nature of relationship	N_i	N_c	f_i	f_c	E_i	E_c	Δ	δ	rank
Friend	22358	700	64.7	50.7	+0.8	-20.9	-13.9	-21.5	9
Relatives	3457	64	10.0	4.6	+2.1	-52.6	-5.4	-53.6	11
Sibling	1774	28	5.1	2.0	+2.4	-59.5	-3.1	-60.4	12
Spouse/Significant other	1238	33	3.6	2.4	+1.3	-32.3	-1.2	-33.2	10
Customer	79	8	0.2	0.6	-5.6	+139.6	+0.4	+153.8	3
Service provider	145	12	0.4	0.9	-4.0	+99.2	+0.5	+107.4	6
Business partner	234	20	0.7	1.4	-4.2	+105.2	+0.8	+114.2	5
Client	137	17	0.4	1.2	-7.5	+187.7	+0.8	+211.0	2
Junior	336	26	1.0	1.9	-3.5	+87.2	+0.9	+93.9	7
Other	1179	87	3.4	6.3	-3.2	+79.1	+2.9	+84.9	8
Senior	543	86	1.6	6.2	-10.2	+256.3	+4.7	+296.9	1
Co-worker	3103	299	9.0	21.7	-5.1	+129.0	+12.7	+141.5	4

Responses of participants to the question “What is the nature of your relationship? This person is my...” The quantity subscripts c and i correspond to complete and incomplete chains. N is the frequency of each category; f is the relative frequency of each category; E is the difference between the normalized frequencies of one type of chain and those of all chains (e.g., $E_i = f_{i,x} - (N_{i,x} + N_{c,x}) / \Omega_x (N_{i,x} - N_{c,x})$ where x indexes category); $\Delta = f_{c,x} - f_{i,x}$ is the absolute difference in relative frequencies between complete and incomplete chains; $\delta = 100 (f_{c,x} - f_{i,x}) / f_{i,x}$ is the corresponding relative difference; and *rank* orders the categories by decreasing $|\delta|$ (i.e. rank 1 corresponds to highest value of δ). All quantities apart from N are recorded as percentages. Categories are listed in order of increasing Δ . The discrepancy between categories used by participants in complete and incomplete chains was highly significant ($p < 10^{-10}$, standard Chi squared test). Professional ties were disproportionately favored over familial and friendship ties in successful chains

although friendship ties were the most prevalent tie used in both complete and incomplete chains.

Table S4

How initially met acquaintance	N_i	N_c	f_i	f_c	E_i	E_c	Δ	δ	rank
Immediate Family	4358	80	12.6	5.8	+2.1	-53.0	-6.8	-54.0	13
Internet	2189	44	6.3	3.2	+1.9	-48.6	-3.1	-49.6	11
Extended Family	2043	41	5.9	3.0	+1.9	-48.7	-2.9	-49.7	12
Grew up together	1269	13	3.7	0.9	+2.9	-73.6	-2.7	-74.3	15
School	2077	48	6.0	3.5	+1.6	-41.1	-2.5	-42.1	9
Friend of Family	1593	42	4.6	3.0	+1.3	-33.1	-1.6	-33.9	7
Live(d) in same Neighborhood/Roommate	994	22	2.9	1.6	+1.7	-43.6	-1.3	-44.5	10
Hobby/Club	1197	32	3.5	2.3	+1.3	-32.1	-1.1	-33.0	6
Travel	645	11	1.9	0.8	+2.2	-56.3	-1.1	-57.3	14
Mutual Friend	3173	113	9.2	8.2	+0.4	-10.4	-1.0	-10.7	3
Other	542	14	1.6	1.0	+1.4	-34.4	-0.6	-35.3	8
Place of worship	559	15	1.6	1.1	+1.3	-31.9	-0.5	-32.8	5
Sport	245	7	0.7	0.5	+1.1	-27.6	-0.2	-28.4	4
University/College	5320	321	15.4	23.3	-1.9	+48.3	+7.9	+51.2	2
Work	8381	577	24.2	41.8	-2.7	+67.9	+17.6	+72.5	1

Responses of participants to the question regarding their selected recipient “How did you get to know them?” Categories are ordered according to increasing Δ and all quantities are defined in the captions Tables S3 and S4. The discrepancy between categories used by participants in complete and incomplete chains was highly significant ($p < 10^{-10}$, standard Chi squared test). Participants in successful chains were much more likely to have made their acquaintances in professional and educational settings.

Table S5

Strength	N_i	N_c	f_i	f_c	E_i	E_c	Δ	δ
Extremely close	6628	123	19.2	8.9	+2.1	-52.5	-10.3	-53.5
Very close	7844	177	22.7	12.8	+1.7	-42.5	-9.9	-43.5
Fairly close	11366	433	32.9	31.4	+0.2	-4.4	-1.5	-4.5
Casually	7507	516	21.7	37.4	-2.7	+67.6	+15.7	+72.3
Not close	1239	131	3.6	9.5	-6.0	+149.2	+5.9	+165.0

Comparison of the strengths of relationships within complete and incomplete chains.

The question asked of senders of their chosen recipient was “How well do you know this person?” Completed chains were highly significantly different from incomplete chains ($p < 10^{-10}$, standard Chi squared test) with successful searches disproportionately being comprised of lower strength ties, particularly casual ones. "Fairly close" was the median strength for both complete and incomplete chains.

Table S6

Reason for choosing link	N_i	N_c	f_i	f_c	E_i	E_c	Δ	δ	rank
Geographic	10825	183	35.3	21.1	+1.1	-39.7	-14.3	-40.4	6
Travelled to target's location	4257	38	13.9	4.4	+1.9	-67.9	-9.5	-68.5	7
Continue the chain	2477	6	8.1	0.7	+2.6	-91.2	-7.4	-91.5	9
Lots of friends	2515	14	8.2	1.6	+2.3	-79.9	-6.6	-80.4	8
Family origin	3331	58	10.9	6.7	+1.1	-38.0	-4.2	-38.6	5
Other	839	51	2.7	5.9	-3.1	+107.7	+3.1	+114.3	2
Similar education	1147	65	3.7	7.5	-2.7	+94.4	+3.7	+99.8	3
Work	2791	129	9.1	14.8	-1.7	+60.1	+5.7	+62.9	4
Similar profession	2449	325	8.0	37.4	-9.2	+324.7	+29.4	+367.8	1

Comparison of reasons given by participants in complete and incomplete chains for choosing next individual. Senders were asked “Why did you select this person to receive the message?” Categories are arranged in order of increasing Delta. All quantities are described in the caption of Table S3. See following key for full description of categories. Complete and incomplete chains were highly significantly different ($p < 10^{-10}$, standard Chi squared test).

Key for Table S6

Geographic	He/she lives geographically closer to the target
Traveled to target's location	He/she has traveled to the target's country/geographical region
Continue	He/she is more likely to participate and continue the chain
Lots of friends	He/she has a lot of friends
Family origin	His/her family originates from the target's country/geographical region
Similar education	He/she has an education/training background similar to the target
Work	His/her work brings him/her into contact with people like the target
Similar profession	He/she works in the same/similar profession as the target