1 CHAPTER 8

² Evolution, Social Influence,

³ and Sex Ratio

4 VLADAS GRISKEVICIUS, JEFFRY A. SIMPSON, KRISTINA

5 M. DURANTE, JOHN S. KIM, AND STEPHANIE M. CANTU

ne of Bob Cialdini's lasting contributions to science and practice is his
identification of the principles of influence. One of these principles—
scarcity—states that opportunities and objects are more desirable when
they are scarce or dwindling in availability. From "only one minute remaining!" to "a maximum of four per person!," the scarcity principle has been
applied to many products, services, or other wares peddled by merchants.

In this chapter, we examine a different dimension of the scarcity princi-12 ple by considering how scarcity applies to people. Specifically, we explore 13 how behavior is influenced when there is a "scarcity" of men or women. 14 Although the ratio of men to women in human populations tends to be 15 roughly equal (James, 1987), the question of what happens when one 16 sex becomes scarce is much more than academic. Sex ratio has begun to 17 deviate markedly from equality (50% men and 50% women) in many 18 populous countries (Guilmoto, 2009; Zhu, Li, & Hesketh, 2009). In the 19 most striking case, China will soon have many millions of surplus males, 20 producing an adult sex ratio of over 120 males to 100 females (Hesketh, 21 2009). In addition to global demographic shifts, sex ratios can also differ 22 within a given region. For example, in the United States, the ratio of men to 23 24 women is 116 to 100 in Las Vegas, but only 88 to 100 in Birmingham, Alabama (Kruger, 2009). 25

This chapter addresses how the ratio of males to females within a population—a concept studied extensively in evolutionary biological

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approaches to animal behavior-impacts human behavior. Although the 1 2 human mind is believed to use sex ratio information as a cue to adjust mating behavior and family life (Guttentag & Secord, 1983; Hesketh & 3 Zhu, 2006), we consider how the ratio of men relative to women might 4 affect assorted human behaviors, ranging from economic decisions to career 5 choices. When aggregated in large populations, these effects could have sig-6 nificant societal and economic consequences. We also consider links 7 between psychology and physiology, discussing possible hormonal mecha-8 nisms that might regulate behaviors governed by sex ratio differences. 9

The scarcity of men and women—an inherently *social* aspect of the environment—also has important implications for social influence. Because sex ratios can differ in workplaces, classrooms, negotiation rooms, juries, and other settings where important decisions are made, a consideration of sex ratio introduces new directions for the study of social influence.

15 EXISTING RESEARCH ON SEX RATIO

Sex ratio tends to exert the strongest effects on behavior when an imbalance
exists in reproductive-aged males and females (James, 1987). This specific
sex ratio is called the *operational sex ratio*, which is the ratio of reproductively available males to females in a population (Emlen & Oring, 1977;
Fossett & Kiecolt, 1991).

Animal research shows that changes in sex ratio influence mating effort, 21 which includes mate search, courtship, and intrasexual competition 22 (Kvarnemo & Ahnesjö, 1996; Taylor & Bulmer, 1980). For example, as sex 23 ratio shifts from being female-biased (relatively more females) to male-24 biased (relatively more males), male gray mouse lemurs spend more effort 25 on mate search (Eberle & Kappeler, 2004), and male European bitterlings 26 intensify intrasexual competition over mates (Mills & Reynolds, 2003). 27 Similarly, in the two-spotted goby, male-male competition increases as the 28 sex ratio moves from female-biased to male-biased across the mating season 29 (Forsgren, Amundsen, Borg, & Bjelvenmark, 2004). 30

Much correlational research also suggests that sex ratio is systematically 31 related to human mating patterns (e.g., Barber, 2001; Licher, Kephart, 32 McLaughlin, & Landry, 1992; Pollet & Nettle, 2008; Schmitt, 2005; Stone, 33 Shackelford, & Buss, 2007). Most of this work has focused on how sex ratio 34 relates to marriage and family outcomes, supporting predictions derived 35 from evolutionary biology, social psychology, and mating economics 36 (Baumeister & Vohs, 2004; Gangestad & Simpson, 2000; Kenrick & Luce, 37 2000; Pederson, 1991). For example, whereas female-biased sex ratios 38 (relatively more women) are historically associated with lower marriage 39

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rates, more out-of-wedlock births, and lower paternal investment, malebiased sex ratios are associated with the reverse patterns (Guttentag &
Secord, 1983; South & Trent, 1988). Sex ratio also appears to affect intrasexual competition in humans. As members of one sex become scarce,
members of the more abundant sex should become more intrasexually
competitive. Indeed, male aggression and violence tend to increase as populations becomes more male-biased (Barber, 2003).

8 EMERGING RESEARCH ON SEX RATIO

Given the lack of causal evidence regarding whether sex ratio influences 9 human behavior (Hesketh & Zhu, 2006), we have begun conducting exper-10 iments to test whether perceived sex ratio actually changes psychology 11 and behavior. Because sex ratio is most directly relevant to mating concerns, 12 we began by examining whether manipulating perceived sex ratio influ-13 ences relationships (Kim, Griskevicius, & Simpson, 2010). Individuals in 14 15 committed relationships first read news articles describing the local population as either male-biased or female-biased. Afterward, people indicated 16 how satisfied they were in their current relationship. We found that, when 17 individuals in relationships perceive that there are fewer opposite-sex indi-18 viduals in their local environment, both men and women become more 19 satisfied with their relationships and feel psychologically closer to their 20 partners. However, when individuals in relationships perceive that their 21 partners have more romantic alternatives, men and women use different 22 tactics to prevent their partners from leaving the relationship. In particular, 23 when there is a scarcity of women, men in relationships become more vigi-24 lant and intrusive, attempting to prevent their partners from engaging 25 in activities that might threaten the relationship. In contrast, when there is 26 a scarcity of men, women in relationships become less intrusive and give 27 their partners greater freedom, overlooking potential transgressions. 28

29 These experimental findings have interesting implications for how sex ratio might influence relationships, such as by creating biases in mate 30 perception (Haselton & Nettle, 2006). For example, female-biased ratios 31 might lead women to develop positive illusions of their male partners, per-32 ceiving their current mates as being better than they really are. Such posi-33 tive illusions could, in turn, motivate women to retain their mates. Because 34 sex ratios can differ widely within different regions, these imbalances may 35 36 have interesting implications for relationships in different geographical regions. For example, given that Las Vegas has one of the most male-biased 37 populations in the United States, professional gamblers living near the strip 38 might actually be *more* committed husbands. 39

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1 Influence of Sex Ratio Beyond Romantic Relationships

Sex ratio might also impact many other areas of life. To begin examining 2 this possibility, we tested how perceived sex ratios affect financial decisions, 3 preferences, and expectations regarding saving, borrowing, and spending 4 (Griskevicius, Tybur, Ackerman, Delton, & Robertson, 2010). In one 5 experiment, participants viewed photo arrays indicative of the local popula-6 tion that were either male-biased or female-biased. Participants then made 7 financial choices related to the time-value of money. For example, people 8 9 chose between actually receiving \$37 tomorrow versus receiving \$54 in 33 days. Sex ratio had a significant effect on men's (but not women's) finan-10 cial choices, whereby male-biased sex ratios led men to opt for smaller, 11 more immediate gains. This finding is consistent with the idea that, as sex 12 ratio becomes more male-biased, men invest more in *current* mating effort 13 and intrasexual competition. 14

Consistent with the notion that a scarcity of women leads men to prefer 15 immediate monetary gains, a second study found that male-biased sex 16 ratios led men to both save less money from a paycheck and be more willing 17 to borrow money for immediate purchases (Griskevicius et al., 2010). 18 Specifically, male-biased sex ratios led men to cut their monthly savings 19 by an average of 44.7%, and to almost double the amount of money they 20 wanted to borrow each month. Supporting the idea that this money should 21 be spent on mating effort, a final study found that male-biased sex ratios 22 led both women and men to expect men to spend more money on mating-23 related products. When there were relatively more men, men were expected 24 to spend an average of \$6.01 more for a Valentine's Day gift, \$1.51 more 25 on an entrée on a dinner date, and \$278 more for an engagement ring. These 26 male-specific findings are consistent with other research indicating that 27 men's mating success is linked to financial resources in many cultures (Buss, 28 1989 and that mammalian females become choosier when exposed to male-29 biased sex ratios (Balshine-Earn, 1996; Kvarnemo & Forsgren, 2000). 30

Consideration of how sex ratio influences financial decisions suggests 31 that the male-biased demographic shifts currently occurring in many parts 32 of the world (e.g., China) could have large economic consequences. 33 Consider the fate of an aging generation of men who, as younger adults, 34 spent and borrowed money instead of saving it. Caring for such popula-35 tions will require increasing government expenditures. This problem will 36 be exacerbated if there are fewer younger workers to support this large 37 population of pensioners. But our findings may also have important practi-38 cal implications. Many contemporary economic and social problems 39 have been caused by excessive financial risk-taking that has prioritized 40

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short-term rewards over long-term stability (e.g., investing in subprime 1 mortgages, drilling for oil in delicate environments). When sex ratios 2 become more male-biased, problems associated with financial risk-taking 3 could become even more prevalent. Our studies, however, suggest reasons 4 for optimism. We have found that men's preferences shift toward less impul-5 sive and more prudent financial choices merely by presenting them with 6 visual images or written depictions of purported local female-biased sex 7 ratios. This suggests that managers might be able to use sex ratio cues 8 to create environments that facilitate more judicious financial decision-9 making. For example, office spaces might be assigned strategically to create 10 a female-biased ratio of employees in a particular location of the office 11 where risk-aversion is desired. 12

We have also begun examining how sex ratio impacts men's and women's 13 desire to pursue a career. Consider how the number of men and women 14 in the local environment might affect choices between investing in one's 15 career (e.g., climbing the corporate ladder) versus settling down and 16 starting a family. We have found that when sex ratios are female-biased, 17 women prioritize their careers over starting a family (Durante, Griskevicius, 18 Cantu, & Simpson, 2010). This suggests that perceptions of the availabil-19 ity of mates can have dramatic consequences for whether women choose 20 a briefcase over a baby. Indeed, male-biased sex ratios led women to opt-21 out of the workplace and desire to start a family instead. Men's motivations 22 for careers show similar patterns, whereby male-biased sex ratios lead men 23 to invest more heavily in their careers, consistent with the notion that 24 a scarcity of females motivates males to intensify intrasexual competition. 25 These findings have important implications for how the availability of mates 26 might also impact educational attainment, such as whether people spend 27 many years earning a postgraduate degree or forgo college altogether. 28

Recent research also suggests that the salience of same-sex rivals, one 29 component of sex ratio, can even influence religious beliefs (Li, Cohen, 30 Weeden, & Kenrick, 2010). After individuals viewed dating profiles of 31 attractive same-sex people, they became more religious and more sup-32 portive of stricter social mores. These findings are consistent with the prem-33 ise that religiosity might serve as a strategic component of one's mating 34 strategy (Weeden, Cohen, & Kenrick, 2008). Because greater religiosity 35 is typically associated with enforcing monogamy and relationship com-36 mitment, it makes adaptive sense to become more religious (and more 37 enforcing of relationship commitment) when there is an abundance of 38 39 suitors vying for one's current romantic partner. Religiosity, however, is malleable. When men viewed dating profiles of attractive women, men 40 became less religious. 41

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1 Implications for Future Research

Sex ratio is likely to have important effects on many areas of life, including 2 person perception, aggression, consumer behavior, and friendship. Con-3 sider, for example, whether a scarcity of women should lead men to behave 4 more cooperatively or more competitively toward other men. Although 5 male-biased sex ratios tend to amplify intrasexual competition, this does not 6 necessarily mean that men will blindly act more competitively. One possi-7 bility is that a scarcity of women will lead men to tighten coalitional bonds 8 9 with male allies, similar to the way in which middle-ranking chimpanzees form coalitions to topple troop leaders (de Waal, 2000). If so, male-biased 10 sex ratios might lead men to be more competitive with strangers, but more 11 cooperative with individuals from their own coalition (see Van Vugt, De 12 Cremer, & Janssen, 2007). Women might behave similarly in response to 13 female-biased sex ratios, but future research is needed to clarify the similari-14 ties and differences in men's and women's evolved affiliation psychologies. 15

Sex ratio may also have important consequences in smaller settings, such 16 as when the ratio of men to women differs in an office, classroom, business 17 negotiation, or on a jury. For example, men often vie for status by intention-18 ally disagreeing with other men (Griskevicius et al., 2006). To the extent 19 that intrasexual competition intensifies under male-biased sex ratios, court-20 room juries, which are composed of twelve strangers, might be less likely 21 to reach consensus when there are more men than women. Sex ratio differ-22 ences might also have dramatic consequences for businesses. Most con-23 sumer products, for example, are first tested extensively in focus groups, 24 which are used by companies to decide whether a product idea should 25 be pushed forward or abandoned. Sex ratio could affect the degree to which 26 focus groups judge products, not on their inherent qualities but on extrane-27 ous factors such as the number of same-sex individuals in a focus group. 28 For example, a scarcity of women in a mixed-sex group is likely to make 29 men more competitive, leading them worry more about their own status 30 than the accuracy of their judgments. By understanding how the mere 31 number of men and women in a setting affects attitudes and behavior, real 32 or perceived sex ratios could be arranged strategically to facilitate desired 33 influence outcomes. 34

35 INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES AND SEX RATIO

Thus far, we have discussed how a skew in sex ratio can produce similar types of responding by most people. However, sex ratio might sometimes exert different effects on different individuals. Recent animal research,

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for example, shows that male-biased sex ratios lead different males to adopt
alternate mating tactics (Magellan & Magurran, 2007; Weir, Grant, &
Hutchings, 2010). These findings are consistent with the notion that
psychological adaptations, such as those that are sensitive to sex ratio cues,
are designed to be sensitive not only to external factors (i.e., situations),
but also to internal factors (i.e., individual differences).

Which individual differences are likely to be most important? Consider 7 the mating tactics of scorpionflies (Thornhill, 1980), which use two mating 8 tactics: a chivalrous tactic of providing a prospective mate with a gift 9 (a tasty and nutritious dead insect), or a vulgar tactic that forces copulation 10 without a gift. Although the gift tactic is much more effective at leading to 11 a successful mating, it is difficult and time-consuming to find desirable gifts. 12 In contrast, whereas the forced mating tactic is much less effective at pro-13 ducing a mating, it does not require looking for any gifts. The specific tactic 14 adopted by a male depends on the environment (e.g., the level of intrasex-15 ual competition) and the male's *competitive ability*. 16

In environments that contain many rivals (e.g., those with male-biased 17 sex ratios), male scorpionflies that have high competitive ability use the gift 18 tactic. But the same rival-heavy environment leads males that have low 19 competitive ability to use the forced mating tactic. This divergent pattern 20 makes adaptive sense when one considers that the costs associated with the 21 gift tactic are not identical for all males. When there are many rivals com-22 peting for mates, only the most capable males can find and secure scarce 23 gifts. Thus, even though the gift tactic is effective for males who are best 24 able to secure gifts, it is ineffective for less capable males, leaving them with 25 few opportunities to mate. Accordingly, it makes adaptive sense for less 26 capable males to switch to a different tactic, especially when intrasexual 27 competition is high. 28

29 Recent Findings Highlighting Individual Differences

We have started to examine whether sex ratio might produce different out-30 comes depending on an individual's mate value. Mate value reflects a per-31 son's general desirability as a mate, as perceived by similar-aged opposite-sex 32 people. Mate value correlates with a person's ability to compete for mates 33 because higher mate-value individuals can attract and retain higher-quality 34 and/or more mates. We predicted that a scarcity of mates should lead those 35 36 who have higher versus lower mate values to use different tactics to cope with increased competition. 37

Earlier, we noted that a scarcity of the opposite sex led people to invest more in their careers. But whereas some careers provide excellent job

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stability (e.g., teacher, government administrator), other careers provide 1 better opportunities for financial rewards (e.g., stock broker, inventor). 2 In our research, we have found that, for higher mate-value men, increased 3 competition due to male-biased sex ratios leads these men to desire careers 4 in which they could become rich; conversely, for lower mate-value men, 5 male-biased sex ratios lead them to want careers that provide more stability 6 (Durante et al., 2010). Because most women value as long-term mates 7 those men who have the ability to acquire resources (Buss, 1989), men who 8 can compete for mates appear to be more motivated to obtain financial 9 status under conditions of increased competition. Conversely, a volatile 10 career path might be too risky for men who have lower mate value, espe-11 cially when mate competition is steep. Meanwhile, women in our studies 12 showed the reverse pattern. Among higher mate-value women, increased 13 competition (i.e., female-biased sex ratio) led them to desire careers that 14 would provide stability, whereas for lower mate-value women, female-15 biased sex ratios lead them to want careers that could result in financial 16 wealth. These results suggest that women who can secure a mate more easily 17 might forgo a high-investment career trajectory, whereas women who are 18 less able to compete for mates allocate effort to careers with more financial 19 rewards. 20

21 Implications for Future Research

Sex ratio and the moderating effects of certain individual differences have 22 intriguing implications for voting patterns, advertising, and business prac-23 tices. Each year, for example, many lawsuits are filed against companies 24 for using unfair or discriminatory pricing. "Fairness," however, is a subjec-25 tive concept. Many businesses use two types of pricing strategies: fixed 26 pricing or variable pricing (Heyman & Mellers, 2008). In fixed pricing, 27 prices remain constant regardless of when a purchase is made, who makes 28 it, or how much of the good is purchased (e.g., grocery store items, televi-29 sion sets). In variable pricing, the price of the product can vary dramatically 30 (e.g., an airplane ticket, a movie ticket, car insurance). Sex ratio may alter 31 perceptions of fairness. Sometimes fairness might imply that everyone 32 has equal access to a product and pays the same price; at other times, fair-33 ness might mean that prices ought to differ (e.g., that people who have more 34 money should pay more, that people who plan ahead should get a discount). 35 This suggests that when ratios are male-biased, men high in competitive 36 ability might perceive variable pricing as fair, whereas men lower in com-37 petitive ability might perceive fixed pricing as fair. Future research is poised 38 to examine how sex ratio might influence various behaviors as a function of 39

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1 individual differences relevant to competitive ability, such as mate value,

2 intelligence, health, strength, socioeconomic status, and other differences.

3 SEX RATIO AND HORMONES

4 Certain hormones may be pivotal mediators or moderators of links
5 between sex ratio and how individuals behave, especially in situations that
6 evoke concerns about competition (Mehta & Josephs, 2010). We now dis7 cuss the roles that three hormones—testosterone, estradiol, and cortisol—
8 might play in these processes.

9 Testosterone, Estradiol, and Cortisol

Testosterone (T) is a hormone responsible for producing and maintaining 10 masculine secondary sexual characteristics. In many species, T levels are 11 positively related to social rank and dominance (Sapolsky, 1991), decreas-12 ing when an individual's social status declines and increasing when it rises 13 (Mazur & Booth, 1998). In humans, individuals who have higher basal 14 T are more aggressive and dominant, more vigilant to dominance cues, 15 and less aware of others' submission cues (e.g., Archer, 2006; Wirth & 16 Schultheiss, 2006). Moreover, being in a committed relationship, marriage, 17 or parenthood suppress T in men and women (e.g., Burnham et al., 2003). 18

Several studies have examined the role of T when an individual's status 19 is experimentally manipulated. When men who have higher T lose status, 20 they pay more attention to status cues, become less happy, and perform 21 more poorly on cognitive tasks (Josephs, Sellers, Newman, & Mehta, 22 2006). Higher T individuals also experience increases in cortisol (a marker 23 of anxiety) after losing status, but decreases in cortisol after gaining it 24 (Mehta, Jones, & Josephs, 2008). These findings suggest that high T moti-25 vates people to increase and maintain their social status. Once status is 26 achieved, high T individuals relax and function well. Low T individuals, by 27 comparison, are less reactive to gains or losses in status, but they become 28 upset when they achieve higher status (Mehta & Josephs, 2010). Thus, 29 lower T individuals may prefer and feel more comfortable in lower status 30 positions, perhaps because they cannot compete effectively in higher-status 31 roles. 32

Estrogen (estradiol; E) is a female hormone responsible for female fertility, sexual behavior, and motivation. Basal E correlates positively with basal T, and it has effects for women that parallel those of T in men (Faruzzi, Solomon, Demas, & Huhman, 2005). Women with higher E have

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stronger implicit power motives, which are highest in single, unmated 1 women (e.g., Stanton & Schultheiss, 2007). Women who have stronger 2 power motivation also experience larger increases in E after gaining status 3 4 and larger decreases after losing it (Stanton & Schultheiss, 2007). With regard to mating, higher E women are more attracted to masculine traits 5 in men (Roney & Simmons, 2008), and basal E predicts the amount of 6 mating effort that women exhibit (Durante & Li, 2009). E, therefore, plays 7 a significant role in mating, status-seeking, and cooperation in women. 8

Cortisol (C), a hormone released during physical activity or psycho-9 logical stress, prepares the body, so that challenges or problems that must 10 be resolved immediately can be dealt with. In humans, higher basal C is 11 associated with greater anxiety and defensiveness (Brown et al., 1996), 12 whereas lower C is linked to stronger social approach tendencies and 13 aggression (Shoal, Giancola, & Kirillova, 2003). C, therefore, is believed to 14 serve a behavioral inhibition function. Indeed, lower C is associated with 15 lower harm avoidance, less self-control, and more aggression (Shoal et al., 16 2003). When presented with a mating opportunity, lower mate-value men 17 experience increases in C (van der Meij, Buunk, & Salvador, in press), 18 reflecting a stress reaction. In sum, higher levels of C are associated with 19 social inhibition/avoidance, whereas lower levels are related to social 20 approach (Mehta & Josephs, 2010). 21

22 T × C Interactions and Sex Ratio

Different hormones most likely operate together in guiding social behav-23 ior, especially in status-relevant situations. This may be especially true 24 of interactions between T and C in response to social threats (Hermans, 25 Ramsey, & van Honk, 2008). For instance, individuals who have higher 26 T and lower C are most likely to behave aggressively (Dabbs, Jurkovic, 27 & Frady, 1991). In lab tasks, high T/low C men tend to "rechallenge" oppo-28 nents following a defeat, whereas higher C men avoid rechallenges (Mehta 29 & Josephs, 2010). C, therefore, may modulate status-seeking behav-30 ior. When status is threatened (e.g., following a loss) and C is low, status-31 seeking motivation fueled by higher T should be expressed as direct 32 behavioral approach (fight). However, when status is threatened and C is 33 higher, status-seeking motivation ought to be curtailed, and individuals 34 should display behavioral avoidance (flight). Mehta and Josephs (2010) 35 suggest that high T/high C individuals may view social stressors as threats 36 (and thus avoid/flee from such situations), whereas high T/low C individ-37 uals might view them as *challenges* (and thus fight/compete). 38

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How might sex ratio interface with T/E and C to affect behavior? When 1 sex ratios are male-biased, high T/low C men should be more motivated to 2 directly engage and vigorously compete with other men, viewing them as 3 challenges to be overcome. In contrast, high C men and especially low T/ 4 high C men should avoid, withdraw, or compete poorly in this context, 5 viewing "too many men" as daunting threats to be averted. When sex ratios 6 are female-biased, high E/low C women ought to directly engage and com-7 pete with other women, perceiving them as challenges that can be dealt 8 with effectively. The opposite pattern should be found for high C women 9 and especially for low E/high C women, who should perceive "too many 10 11 women" as threats to be sidestepped.

12 CONCLUSION

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The principles of influence identified by Bob Cialdini have powerful effects 13 on behavior. These principles often steer behavior unconsciously, in part 14 because all of them have evolutionary underpinnings (Sundie, Cialdini, 15 Griskevicius, & Kenrick, 2006). In this chapter, we considered the principle 16 of scarcity from an evolutionary perspective. We focused on how people's 17 behavior might be affected by a novel dimension of scarcity-the scar-18 city of men in relation to women. Bridging a concept studied in evolu-19 tionary biological approaches to animal behavior with human outcomes, 20 we showed that sex ratio also has theoretically consistent effects on human 21 behavior. These effects, however, are not limited to mating or parenting 22 outcomes; they extend to other important domains, such as financial deci-23 sion-making and career choices. Questions of how and why sex ratio influ-24 ences different types of behavior have myriad implications, especially for 25 social influence—an indispensable area of the social sciences to which Bob 26 Cialdini devoted his illustrious career. 27

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