## CHAPTER 8

# Evolution, Social Influence, and Sex Ratio 

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

This chapter addresses how the ratio of males to females within a population-a concept studied extensively in evolutionary biological
approaches to animal behavior-impacts human behavior. Although the human mind is believed to use sex ratio information as a cue to adjust mating behavior and family life (Guttentag \& Secord, 1983; Hesketh \& Zhu, 2006), we consider how the ratio of men relative to women might affect assorted human behaviors, ranging from economic decisions to career choices. When aggregated in large populations, these effects could have significant societal and economic consequences. We also consider links between psychology and physiology, discussing possible hormonal mechanisms that might regulate behaviors governed by sex ratio differences.

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.

## 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, which includes mate search, courtship, and intrasexual competition (Kvarnemo \& Ahnesjö, 1996; Taylor \& Bulmer, 1980). For example, as sex ratio shifts from being female-biased (relatively more females) to malebiased (relatively more males), male gray mouse lemurs spend more effort on mate search (Eberle \& Kappeler, 2004), and male European bitterlings intensify intrasexual competition over mates (Mills \& Reynolds, 2003). Similarly, in the two-spotted goby, male-male competition increases as the sex ratio moves from female-biased to male-biased across the mating season (Forsgren, Amundsen, Borg, \& Bjelvenmark, 2004).

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

## EMERGING RESEARCH ON SEX RATIO

Given the lack of causal evidence regarding whether sex ratio influences human behavior (Hesketh \& Zhu, 2006), we have begun conducting experiments to test whether perceived sex ratio actually changes psychology and behavior. Because sex ratio is most directly relevant to mating concerns, we began by examining whether manipulating perceived sex ratio influences relationships (Kim, Griskevicius, \& Simpson, 2010). Individuals in committed relationships first read news articles describing the local population as either male-biased or female-biased. Afterward, people indicated how satisfied they were in their current relationship. We found that, when individuals in relationships perceive that there are fewer opposite-sex individuals in their local environment, both men and women become more satisfied with their relationships and feel psychologically closer to their partners. However, when individuals in relationships perceive that their partners have more romantic alternatives, men and women use different tactics to prevent their partners from leaving the relationship. In particular, when there is a scarcity of women, men in relationships become more vigilant and intrusive, attempting to prevent their partners from engaging in activities that might threaten the relationship. In contrast, when there is a scarcity of men, women in relationships become less intrusive and give their partners greater freedom, overlooking potential transgressions.

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

## Influence of Sex Ratio Beyond Romantic Relationships

Sex ratio might also impact many other areas of life. To begin examining this possibility, we tested how perceived sex ratios affect financial decisions, preferences, and expectations regarding saving, borrowing, and spending (Griskevicius, Tybur, Ackerman, Delton, \& Robertson, 2010). In one experiment, participants viewed photo arrays indicative of the local population that were either male-biased or female-biased. Participants then made financial choices related to the time-value of money. For example, people 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) financial choices, whereby male-biased sex ratios led men to opt for smaller, more immediate gains. This finding is consistent with the idea that, as sex ratio becomes more male-biased, men invest more in current mating effort and intrasexual competition.

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

Consideration of how sex ratio influences financial decisions suggests that the male-biased demographic shifts currently occurring in many parts of the world (e.g., China) could have large economic consequences. Consider the fate of an aging generation of men who, as younger adults, spent and borrowed money instead of saving it. Caring for such populations will require increasing government expenditures. This problem will be exacerbated if there are fewer younger workers to support this large population of pensioners. But our findings may also have important practical implications. Many contemporary economic and social problems have been caused by excessive financial risk-taking that has prioritized
short-term rewards over long-term stability (e.g., investing in subprime mortgages, drilling for oil in delicate environments). When sex ratios become more male-biased, problems associated with financial risk-taking could become even more prevalent. Our studies, however, suggest reasons for optimism. We have found that men's preferences shift toward less impulsive and more prudent financial choices merely by presenting them with visual images or written depictions of purported local female-biased sex ratios. This suggests that managers might be able to use sex ratio cues to create environments that facilitate more judicious financial decisionmaking. For example, office spaces might be assigned strategically to create a female-biased ratio of employees in a particular location of the office where risk-aversion is desired.

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

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

## Implications for Future Research

Sex ratio is likely to have important effects on many areas of life, including person perception, aggression, consumer behavior, and friendship. Consider, for example, whether a scarcity of women should lead men to behave more cooperatively or more competitively toward other men. Although male-biased sex ratios tend to amplify intrasexual competition, this does not necessarily mean that men will blindly act more competitively. One possibility is that a scarcity of women will lead men to tighten coalitional bonds 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 sex ratios might lead men to be more competitive with strangers, but more cooperative with individuals from their own coalition (see Van Vugt, De Cremer, \& Janssen, 2007). Women might behave similarly in response to female-biased sex ratios, but future research is needed to clarify the similarities and differences in men's and women's evolved affiliation psychologies.

Sex ratio may also have important consequences in smaller settings, such as when the ratio of men to women differs in an office, classroom, business negotiation, or on a jury. For example, men often vie for status by intentionally disagreeing with other men (Griskevicius et al., 2006). To the extent that intrasexual competition intensifies under male-biased sex ratios, courtroom juries, which are composed of twelve strangers, might be less likely to reach consensus when there are more men than women. Sex ratio differences might also have dramatic consequences for businesses. Most consumer products, for example, are first tested extensively in focus groups, which are used by companies to decide whether a product idea should be pushed forward or abandoned. Sex ratio could affect the degree to which focus groups judge products, not on their inherent qualities but on extraneous factors such as the number of same-sex individuals in a focus group. For example, a scarcity of women in a mixed-sex group is likely to make men more competitive, leading them worry more about their own status than the accuracy of their judgments. By understanding how the mere number of men and women in a setting affects attitudes and behavior, real or perceived sex ratios could be arranged strategically to facilitate desired influence outcomes.

## 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,
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 the mating tactics of scorpionflies (Thornhill, 1980), which use two mating tactics: a chivalrous tactic of providing a prospective mate with a gift (a tasty and nutritious dead insect), or a vulgar tactic that forces copulation without a gift. Although the gift tactic is much more effective at leading to a successful mating, it is difficult and time-consuming to find desirable gifts. In contrast, whereas the forced mating tactic is much less effective at producing a mating, it does not require looking for any gifts. The specific tactic adopted by a male depends on the environment (e.g., the level of intrasexual competition) and the male's competitive ability.

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

## Recent Findings Highlighting Individual Differences

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

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

## Implications for Future Research

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

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individual differences relevant to competitive ability, such as mate value, intelligence, health, strength, socioeconomic status, and other differences.

## SEX RATIO AND HORMONES

Certain hormones may be pivotal mediators or moderators of links between sex ratio and how individuals behave, especially in situations that evoke concerns about competition (Mehta \& Josephs, 2010). We now discuss the roles that three hormones - testosterone, estradiol, and cortisolmight play in these processes.

## Testosterone, Estradiol, and Cortisol

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

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

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

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

## $\mathrm{T} \times \mathrm{C}$ Interactions and Sex Ratio

Different hormones most likely operate together in guiding social behavior, especially in status-relevant situations. This may be especially true of interactions between T and C in response to social threats (Hermans, Ramsey, \& van Honk, 2008). For instance, individuals who have higher T and lower C are most likely to behave aggressively (Dabbs, Jurkovic, \& Frady, 1991). In lab tasks, high T/low C men tend to "rechallenge" opponents following a defeat, whereas higher C men avoid rechallenges (Mehta \& Josephs, 2010). C, therefore, may modulate status-seeking behavior. When status is threatened (e.g., following a loss) and C is low, statusseeking motivation fueled by higher T should be expressed as direct behavioral approach (fight). However, when status is threatened and C is higher, status-seeking motivation ought to be curtailed, and individuals should display behavioral avoidance (flight). Mehta and Josephs (2010) suggest that high $\mathrm{T} /$ high C individuals may view social stressors as threats (and thus avoid/flee from such situations), whereas high T/low C individuals might view them as challenges (and thus fight/compete).

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

## CONCLUSION

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

