

The Cultural Dimension of Tightness-Looseness: Some Recent Applications



University of Tartu, founded in 1632



Anu Realo

Department of Psychology
University of Tartu

Public lecture at the HSE, Moscow, September 21, 2011

Overview of the Talk

1. Development of the concept of tightness-looseness
2. Differences between tight and loose cultures: A 33-nation study
3. A within-culture analysis: The case of Estonia
4. An analysis of situational constraint in Estonia and Greece

1. Development of the Concept of Tightness-Looseness

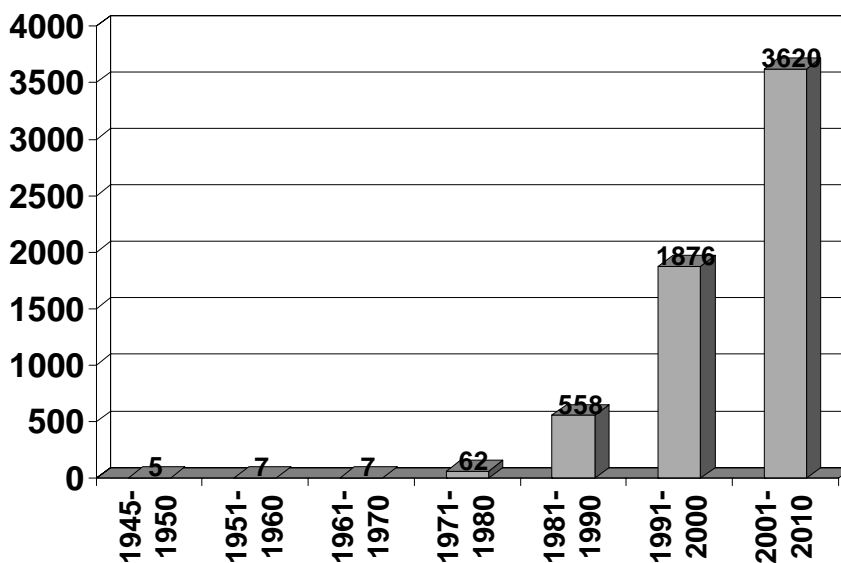
The Use of Cultural Dimensions to 'Unpack' the Concept of Culture

- There have been valuable contributions in the study of culture to identify its main characteristic attributes focusing either on
 - *social relations* (Fiske, 1991, 1992),
 - *cultural syndromes* (Triandis, 1993; 1995),
 - *values* (Hofstede, 1980, 2001; Inglehart & Baker, 2000; Schwartz, 1994) or
 - *social axioms* (Leung & Bond, 2004).

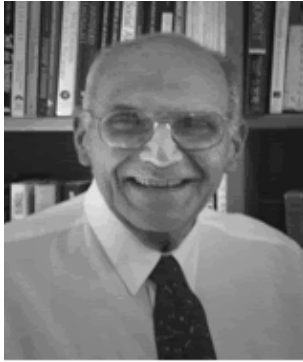
Individualism-Collectivism

- It has been argued that the concepts of individualism and collectivism are largely responsible for the growth of cross-cultural psychology over the past three decades.
- Although already the 1980s were called *the decade of individualism-collectivism in cross-cultural psychology*, the research on the two constructs continued to thrive through the 1990s and shows no signs of ceasing in 2011.

Frequency of “Individualism” or “Collectivism” in ISI Web of Science



Individualism-Collectivism ...



Harry C. Triandis

- ... perhaps the most important **dimension of cultural differences in social behavior** (Triandis, 1988, p. 60)
- ... one of the **most useful and actively researched constructs** to emerge from cultural social psychology ... (Vandello & Cohen, 1999, p. 279).

Problems with Individualism-Collectivism

- Despite the huge popularity of the constructs in psychology, cross-cultural researchers have not been able to agree upon the nature or number of attributes that are essential for defining and measuring individualism and collectivism (see Realo, 2003; Realo & Allik, 2009).
- Besides the differences in definitions of individualism and collectivism, a conceptual leap exists between the theoretical descriptions of the concepts and the specific empirical indicators that are used to measure them.
- Different conceptualizations and research programs often rely on non-identical sets of measures and indicators, whose congruence with each other has not always been established. To paraphrase what a well-known personality psychologist Oliver John once said about personality research, **cross-cultural psychologists never reached a consensus on the best model of individualism-collectivism which would have transformed the present Babel of concepts and measurement scales into a community that speaks a common language** (John, 1990).

The Aim of Today's Talk

- The goal of today's talk is to provide theoretical and empirical evidence for another cultural dimension, *tightness-looseness (T-L)*.
- As Chan and colleagues (1996) argued, tightness-looseness may be relevant to even a broader range of situations than individualism-collectivism because the last is based mainly on the ingroup-outgroup distinction but the first on the rules and norms that are held by the society in general.
- **NB! The tightness-looseness dimension is not meant to replace any existing dimension (incl individualism-collectivism) but to complement them!**

Development of the Concept of T-L (1)

- An anthropologist **Pertti J. Pelto (1968)** was probably the first to suggest that tightness-looseness is an important cultural dimension that could be used for comparing different societies. For about 30 years, as Pelto argued in 1968, anthropologists had been extensively classifying societies as "tight" or "loose" but had used quite different criteria for assigning these descriptive labels.
- He examined a set of 30 societies and, leaving aside criteria that seemed to be too vague (e.g., "deviant behavior is easily tolerated"), focused on concrete structural features of the social order, namely:
 - the communal ownership of economic resources,
 - the corporacy of kin groups (i.e., whether the group operates as a single social body, or as a collection of individuals), and
 - the community hierarchy of religious and civil authority.

Pelto, P. J. (1968). The differences between "tight" and "loose" societies. *Transaction*, April, 37-40.

- Since Pelto was not able to find necessary information about the all 30 societies, he focused on more recent ethnographic reports from 21 societies.



- The Hutterite (a communal branch of Anabaptists) and the Hano communities (Tewa Indian village in Arizona) ranked tightest and Kung bushmen of South Africa and Skolt Lapps of Finland loosest.

Development of the Concept of T-L (2)



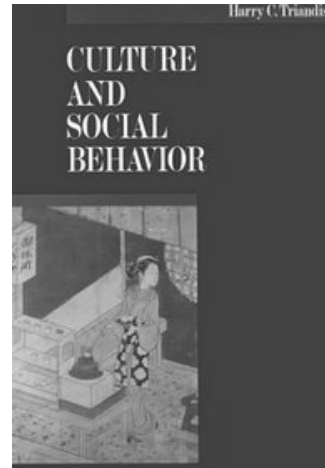
John W Berry

- Witkin and Berry (1975) treated sociocultural “tightness” alongside with three other main antecedent variables such as socialization, ecological adaptation, and biological effects. They viewed it as **“the degree of hierarchical structure among sociocultural elements in a society”** (p. 15).
- Witkin & Berry (1975) concluded that societies with a tight social structure, where socialization practices emphasize conformity (obedience to authority and responsibility), and where relatively low protein intake prevails, exhibit lower levels of differentiation than do societies with loose structure where socialization emphasizes personal autonomy (self-reliance, achievement) and where relatively high protein intake is prevalent.

Witkin, H. A., & Berry, J. W. (1975). Psychological differentiation in cross-cultural perspective. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 6, 4-87.

Development of the Concept of T-L (3)

- T-L is one of the **three cultural syndromes** (the other two being individualism-collectivism and complexity, respectively), that is, is *a pattern of shared attitudes, beliefs, categorizations, self-definitions, norms, role definitions, and values that are organized around a theme that can be identified among those who speak a particular language and live together in a given historical period in a given geographical region* (Triandis, 1993, 1995).
- By "tight" Triandis and colleagues (1993, 1995; Chan et al., 1996) referred to cultures in which norms are clearly defined and where is little tolerance for deviance from norms. By contrast, "loose" cultures are those in which norms are not clearly defined, and where is tolerance for deviance from norms.



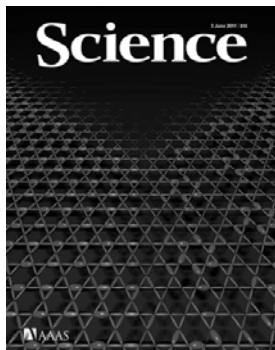
1994

2. Differences between tight and loose cultures: A 33-nation study



Differences Between Tight and Loose Cultures: A 33-Nation Study

Michele J. Gelfand,^{1*} Jana L. Raver,² Lisa Nishi,³ Lisa M. Leslie,⁴ Janetta Lun,¹ Beng Chong Lim,⁵ Lili Duan,⁶ Assaf Almaliach,⁷ Soon Ang,⁸ Jakobina Arnadottir,⁹ Zeynep Aycan,¹⁰ Klaus Boehnke,¹¹ Pawel Boski,¹² Rosa Cabecinhas,¹³ Darius Chan,¹⁴ Jagdeep Chhokar,¹⁵ Alessia D'Amato,¹⁶ Montse Ferrer,¹⁷ Iris C. Fischlmayr,¹⁸ Ronald Fischer,¹⁹ Marta Fülöp,²⁰ James Georgas,²¹ Emiko S. Kashima,²² Yoshishima Kashima,²³ Kibum Kim,²⁴ Alain Lempereur,²⁵ Patricia Marquez,²⁶ Rozhan Othman,²⁷ Bert Overlaet,²⁸ Penny Panagiotopoulou,²⁹ Karl Peltzer,³⁰ Lorena R. Perez-Florizno,³¹ Larisa Ponomarenko,³² Anu Realo,³³ Vidar Schei,³⁴ Manfred Schmitt,³⁵ Peter B. Smith,³⁶ Nazar Soomro,³⁷ Erna Szabo,¹⁸ Naline Taveesin,³⁸ Midori Toyama,³⁹ Evert Van de Vliert,⁴⁰ Naharika Vohra,⁴¹ Colleen Ward,⁴² Susumu Yamaguchi⁴³

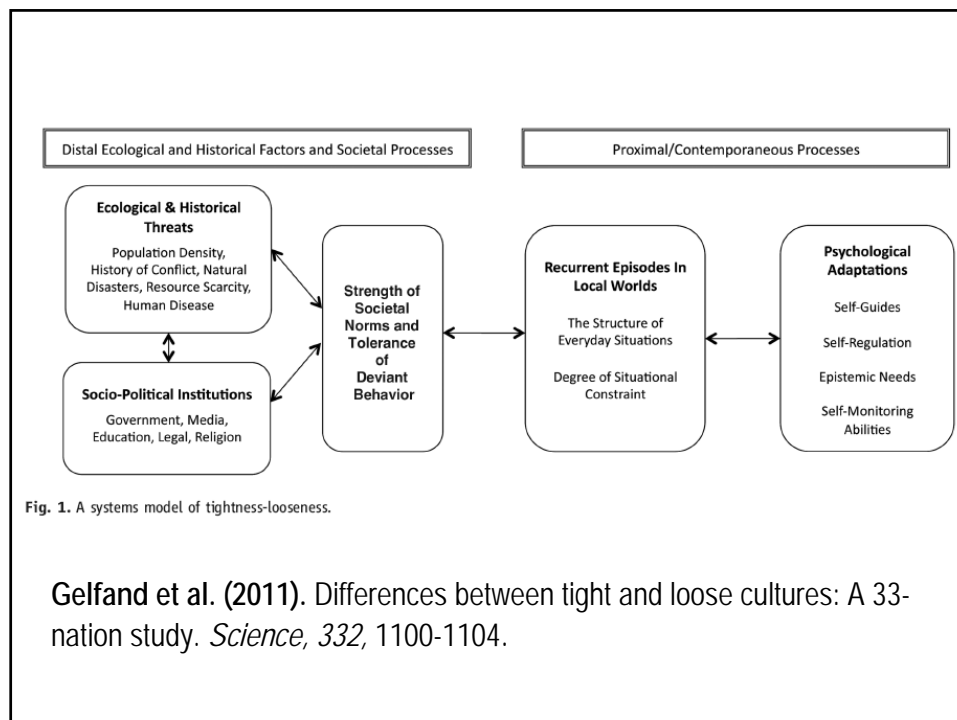


With data from 33 nations, we illustrate the differences between cultures that are tight (have many strong norms and a low tolerance of deviant behavior) versus loose (have weak social norms and a high tolerance of deviant behavior). Tightness-looseness is part of a complex, loosely integrated multilevel system that comprises distal ecological and historical threats (e.g., high population density, resource scarcity, a history of territorial conflict, and disease and environmental threats), broad versus narrow socialization in societal institutions (e.g., autocracy, media regulations), the strength of everyday recurring situations, and micro-level psychological affordances (e.g., prevention self-guides, high regulatory strength, need for structure). This research advances knowledge that can foster cross-cultural understanding in a world of increasing global interdependence and has implications for modeling cultural change.

Gelfand et al. (2011). Differences between tight and loose cultures: A 33-nation study. *Science*, 332, 1100-1104.

Multilevel Theory of T-L

- Tightness-looseness refers to “differences between nations that are **tight** (have many strong norms and a low tolerance of deviant behavior) versus **loose** (have weak social norms and a high tolerance of deviant behavior)” (Gelfand et al., 2011, p. 1100).
- “Tightness-looseness is part of a complex, loosely integrated system that involves processes across multiple levels of analysis” (Gelfand et al., p. 1101). Multilevel theory of cultural tightness-looseness builds on the ecological approach that seeks to understand the psychological phenomena linked to culture-level phenomena as history, social structure, and other social-ecological factors. Thus, the creation and maintenance of tight and loose cultures occurs at various levels of analysis.



Gelfand et al.'s (2011) Study

- To assess tightness-looseness, Gelfand et al. (2011) used
 - a scale of generalized tightness-looseness which measured the strength of social norms and sanctions for deviance in nations and
 - a measure of the strength/weakness of everyday situations.
- To support their theory, Gelfand and colleagues (2011) also examined a number of **psychological constructs** such as self-regulation strength, prevention focus, and self-monitoring ability.
- Finally, **data on historical and ecological threats and societal institutions** were collected from different databases in order to examine the external validity of the cultural scores of tightness-looseness.

Table 1. Sample characteristics of the 33 nations. **Total N = 6823**

Nation	Data collection site(s)	Language of survey	Number of participants	Mean age (\pm SD)	Percentage female	Percentage students	Tightness score
Australia	Melbourne	English	230	25.4 \pm 10.0	69.1	63.9	4.4
Austria	Linz	German	194	31.6 \pm 11.8	51.5	41.8	6.8
Belgium	Leuven (Flanders region)	Dutch	138	33.3 \pm 14.3	73.2	50.7	5.6
Brazil	São Paulo	Portuguese	196	27.5 \pm 9.4	72.3	40.3	3.5
Estonia	Tartu	Estonian	188	32.0 \pm 16.8	86.6	52.1	2.6
France	Paris, Cergy	English	111	25.2 \pm 4.1	37.8	67.6	6.3
Germany (former East)	Chemnitz	German	201	31.6 \pm 12.2	66.7	49.3	7.5
Germany (former West)	Rhineland-Palatine/Frankfurt	German	312	32.5 \pm 14.5	63.8	51.6	6.5
Greece	Athens	Greek	275	30.9 \pm 11.3	56.7	45.1	3.9
Hong Kong	Hong Kong	Chinese	197	27.3 \pm 11.7	68.0	53.8	6.3
Hungary	Budapest, Szeged	Hungarian	256	30.8 \pm 10.9	42.2	48.0	2.9
Iceland	Reykjavik	Icelandic	144	36.3 \pm 13.3	67.4	41.7	6.4
India	Ahmedabad, Bhubneswar, Chandigarh, Coimbatore	Hindi	222	27.8 \pm 9.6	54.1	52.3	11.0
Israel	Tel-Aviv, Ramat-Gan, Jerusalem, Petach-Tikva	Hebrew	194	30.2 \pm 10.7	60.3	48.5	3.1
Italy	Padova	Italian	217	29.6 \pm 10.3	40.1	53.0	6.8
Japan	Tokyo, Osaka	Japanese	246	33.2 \pm 14.9	55.7	48.8	8.6
Malaysia	Bandar Baru Bangi	Malay	202	29.5 \pm 9.1	49.5	45.0	11.8
Mexico	Mexico City	Spanish	221	27.7 \pm 11.6	42.1	40.3	7.2
Netherlands	Groningen	Dutch	207	29.8 \pm 11.9	55.6	53.1	3.3
New Zealand	Wellington	English	208	29.9 \pm 13.0	64.4	61.1	3.9
Norway	Bergen	Norwegian	252	31.8 \pm 11.0	56.7	46.0	9.5
Pakistan	Hyderabad	Urdu	190	30.0 \pm 9.8	51.1	52.6	12.3
People's Republic of China	Beijing	Chinese	235	29.4 \pm 11.5	45.9	53.2	7.9
Poland	Warsaw	Polish	210	28.5 \pm 12.4	65.2	51.9	6.0
Portugal	Braga	Portuguese	207	28.5 \pm 11.6	54.6	58.0	7.8
Singapore	Singapore	English	212	26.1 \pm 6.7	59.0	49.1	10.4
South Korea	Seoul	Korean	196	26.2 \pm 7.5	61.2	73.5	10.0
Spain	Valencia	Spanish	172	30.2 \pm 9.6	66.9	40.1	5.4
Turkey	Istanbul	Turkish	195	32.0 \pm 14.4	53.3	45.6	9.2
Ukraine	Odessa	Ukrainian	184	30.8 \pm 12.7	56.5	44.6	1.6
United Kingdom	Brighton	English	185	29.9 \pm 11.5	67.0	51.4	6.9
United States	Washington, DC; Maryland; Virginia	English	199	31.4 \pm 13.7	60.3	48.2	5.1
Venezuela	Caracas	Spanish	227	35.8 \pm 10.0	60.4	1.3	3.7
Totals/means			6823	30.1 \pm 11.3	58.6	49.2	6.5

Ecological and Historical Threats

- **Tight nations have, relative to loose nations ...**
 - higher population density in the year 1500 as well in the year 2000;
 - a higher projected population increase;
 - a dearth of natural resources, including a lower percentage of farmland;
 - higher food deprivation;
 - lower food supply and production;
 - less access to safe water;
 - and lower air quality.
- **Tight nations** face more disasters such as floods, tropical cyclones, and droughts and have had more territorial threats from their neighbors during the period 1918–2001.

Socio-Political Institutions

- **Tight nations are more likely to have**
 - autocratic rule that suppresses dissent;
 - less open media overall, more laws and regulations and political pressures and controls for media and
 - less access to and use of new communication technologies.
- **Tight nations also have**
 - fewer political rights and civil liberties;
 - lower percentage of people participating in collective actions (e.g., signing petitions, attending demonstrations);
 - yet more police per capita, stricter punishments (i.e., retention of the death penalty) and lower murder rates and burglary rates and overall volume of crime.
- Tight nations are more religious, with more people attending religious services per week and believing in the importance of god in life.

Degree of Situational Constraint

- There is much higher **constraint across everyday situations**—including the bank, public park, library, restaurant, bus, workplace, party, classroom, and the like—in tight nations, and much lower constraint across such everyday situations in loose nations

Psychological Adaptations

- Higher levels of situational constraint are significantly related to
 - greater prevention self-guides, i.e., higher cautiousness and higher dutifulness but also
 - greater self-regulation strength, i.e., higher impulse control; higher needs for structure and higher self-monitoring.
- This suggests that societal members' psychological characteristics are attuned to and supportive of the degree of constraint versus latitude in the larger cultural context.

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Tightest!

Loosest!

Further Research Questions

- How representative of the general population are the samples used in the Gelfand et al's (2011) study?
- How does tightness-looseness vary within nations?

3. A Within-Culture Analysis: The Case of Estonia

A Few Facts about Estonia

- Area: 45,227 km² (slightly bigger than Holland)
- Total Population: 1.34 million people (11 times less than in Holland)
- Population Density: 33.2 persons per km²
- Religion: only about 30% of the Estonian population claim to be of certain faith/religion with the dominant religious groups being Lutherans (13.6%) and Orthodox (12.8%); 20% of the population considers religion as "rather or very important in their life."
- Main ethnic group: Estonians (67%)



Estonia: The safest country in the world



By Nadine Bells | Good News – Mon, 28 Mar, 2011

Tavsiye et 17 Bin Tweet 83 Email Print

If you're looking to escape the possibility of disaster, it might be time to move to Estonia.

In the wake of recent natural disasters in Japan and New Zealand and recalling as far back as Haiti and New Orleans, statistics gathered by EM-DAT are suddenly very important to people wondering if it's possible to escape the earthquakes, tornadoes and hurricanes.



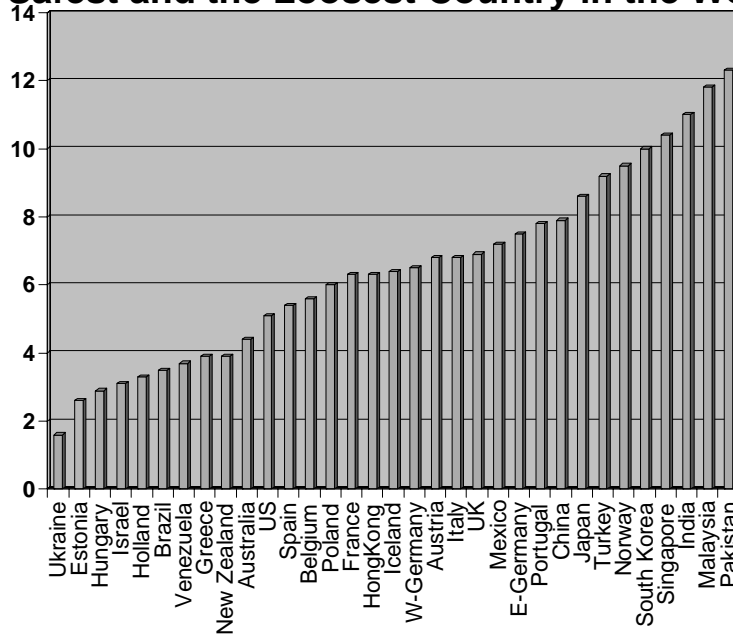
The EM-DAT database, established in 1988, is run by Belgium's Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disaster and includes records of over 11,000 major natural disasters.

EM-DAT's records have no mention of any fatal floods, droughts, earthquakes or severe storms in the following countries between the years of 1900 and 2009:

- Estonia
- Qatar
- Bahrain
- United Arab Emirates
- Andorra

It should be noted that some man-contributing disasters (famine, wildfires, cholera, epidemics) are also included in the database, skewing natural-disaster-risk stats.

Estonia: The Safest and the Looset Country in the World?



Sample

- **The Estonian Survey of Culture and Personality.** The data set included **1753 Estonian respondents** (993 females and 760 males), with a mean age of 43.8 years ($SD = 17.5$), ranging from 15 to 74 years. 83% of the respondents completed the questionnaire in Estonian.
- The sample was randomly selected from the National Census and was representative of the Estonian population in terms of ethnicity, place of residence, age, gender, and educational level. The survey was carried out in 2002 by *TNS Emor*, the leading marketing research and consulting company in Estonia.

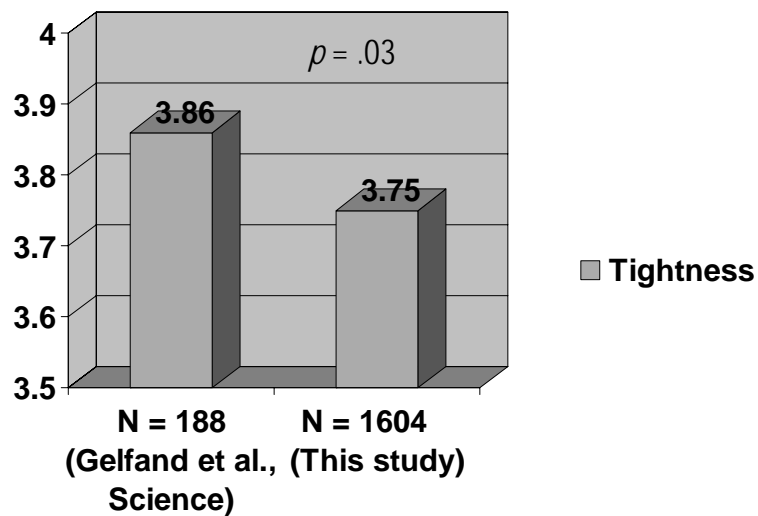
Realo, A. (2011). *The cultural dimension of tightness-looseness: A within-nation study*. Manuscript in preparation.

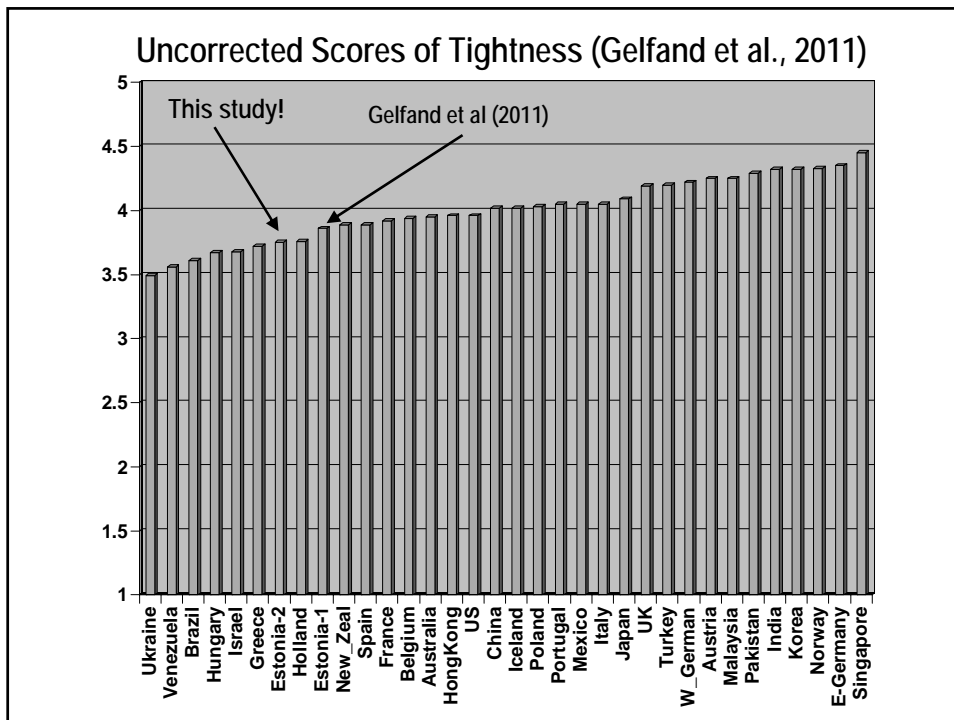
Method

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

1. There are many social norms that people are supposed to abide by in this country.
2. In this country, there are very clear expectations for how people should act in most situations.
3. People agree upon what behaviors are appropriate versus inappropriate in most situations this country.
4. People in this country have a great deal of freedom in deciding how they want to behave in most situations. (Reverse coded)
5. In this country, if someone acts in an inappropriate way, others will strongly disapprove.
6. People in this country almost always comply with social norms.

Gelfand et al (2011) vs Current Study (Uncorrected Means)





Method

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

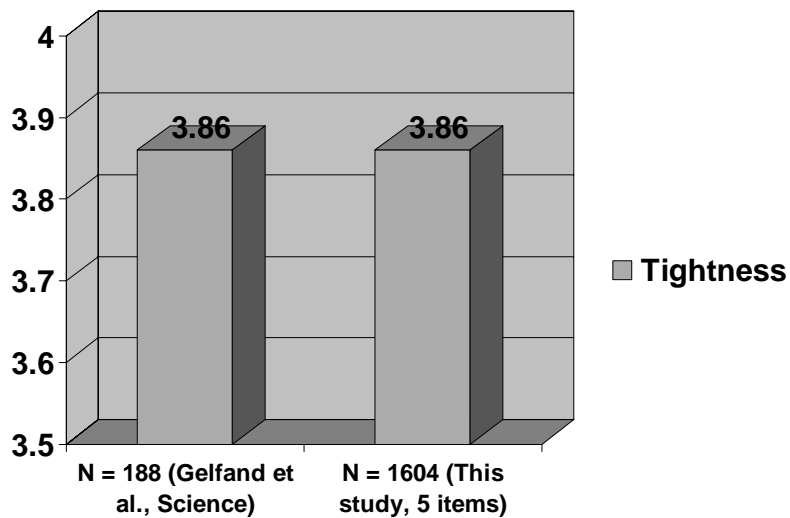
1. There are many social norms that people are supposed to abide by in this country.
2. In this country, there are very clear expectations for how people should act in most situations.
3. People agree upon what behaviors are appropriate versus inappropriate in most situations this country. **Alpha = .47 !!!**
4. People in this country have a great deal of freedom in deciding how they want to behave in most situations. (Reverse coded)
5. In this country, if someone acts in an inappropriate way, others will strongly disapprove.
6. People in this country almost always comply with social norms.

Method

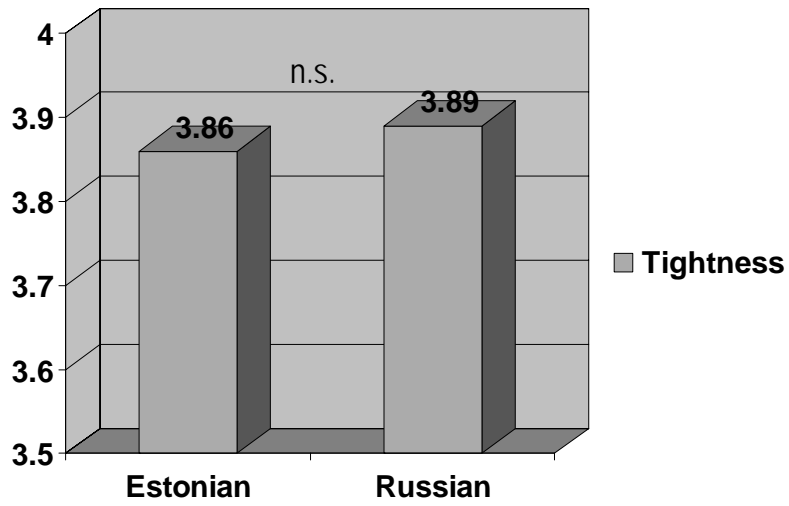
1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

1. There are many social norms that people are supposed to abide by in this country.
2. In this country, there are very clear expectations for how people should act in most situations.
3. People agree upon what behaviors are appropriate versus inappropriate in most situations this country. **Alpha = .61**
- ~~4. People in this country have a great deal of freedom in deciding how they want to behave in most situations. (Reverse coded)~~
5. In this country, if someone acts in an inappropriate way, others will strongly disapprove.
6. People in this country almost always comply with social norms.

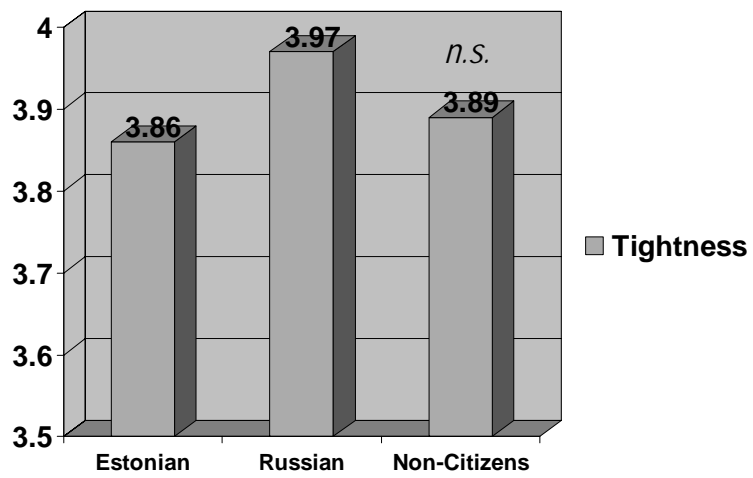
Gelfand et al (2011) vs Current Study (Uncorrected Means)

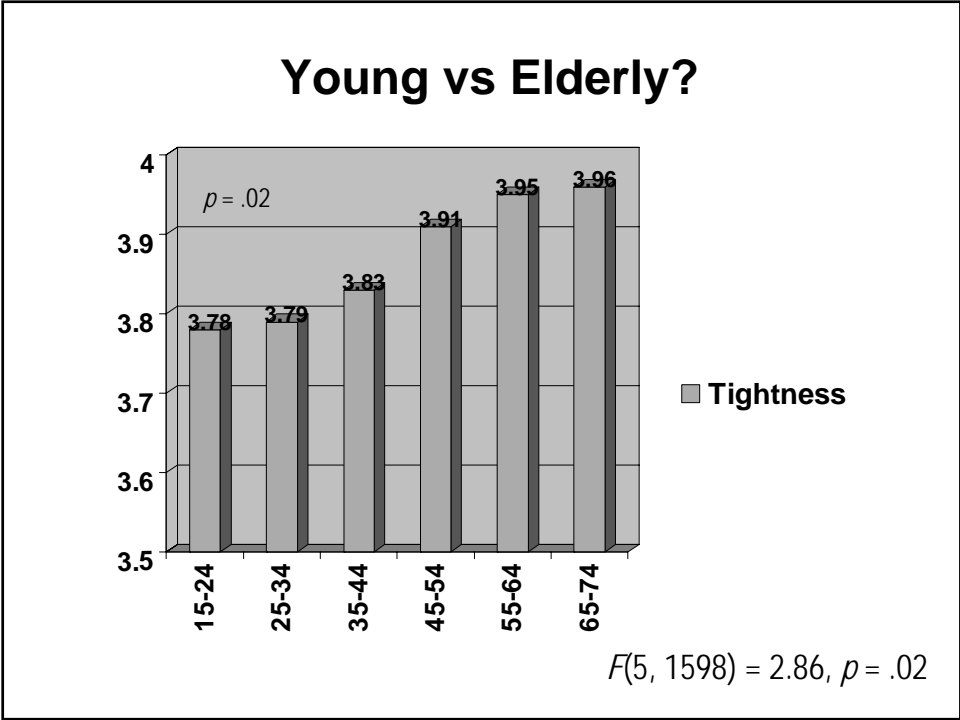
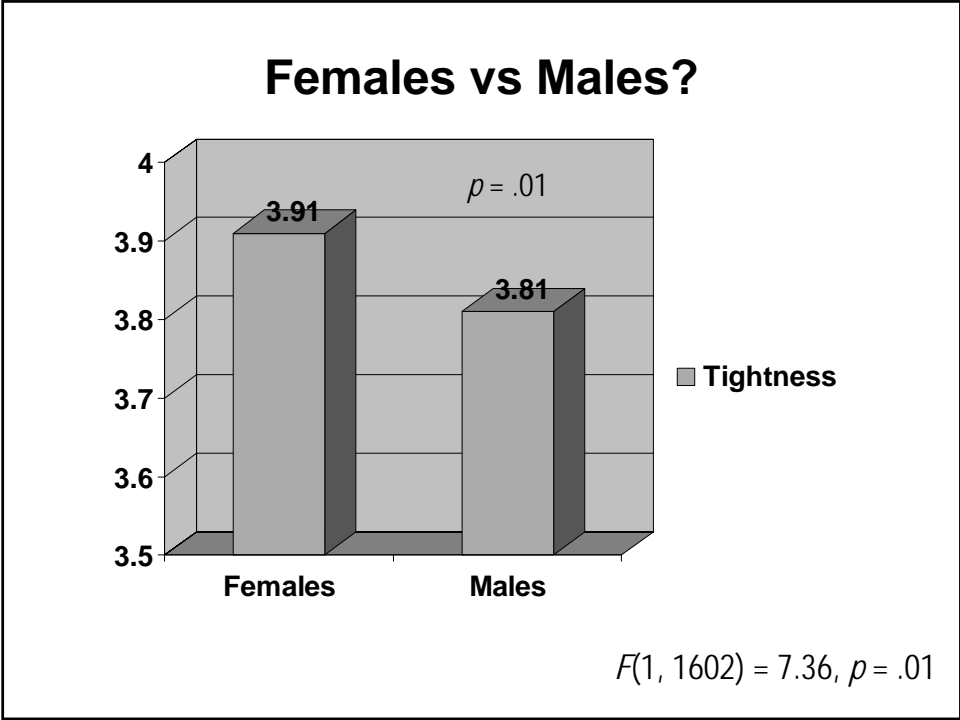


Estonian vs Russian-speakers?

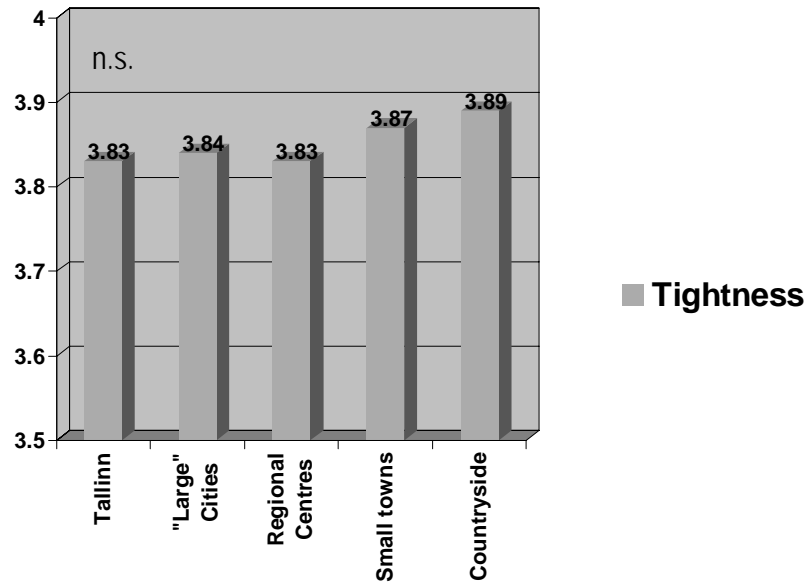


Estonian vs Russian citizens

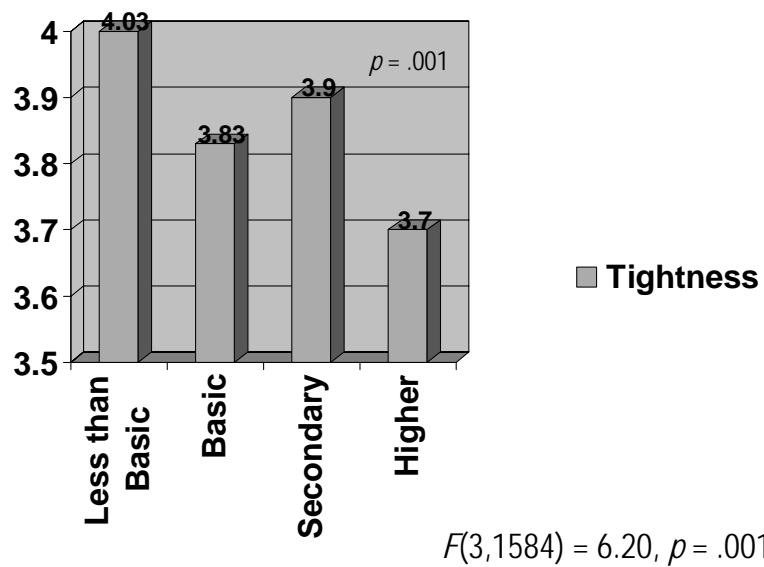




Urban vs Rural Areas?



More Educated vs Less Educated?



Tightness vs Individualism-Collectivism?

Collectivism ¹	<i>r</i>	Individualism ²	<i>r</i>
<i>Familism</i>	.23***	<i>Autonomy</i>	.21***
<i>Companionship</i>	.14***	<i>Mature self-Responsibility</i>	-.03
<i>Patriotism</i>	.27***	<i>Uniqueness</i>	.00

¹ Realo, Allik, & Vadi (1997)

² Realo, Koido, Allik, & Ceulemans (2002)

4. An Analysis of Situational Constraint in Estonia and Greece

Degree of Situational Constraint

- There is much higher **constraint across everyday situations**—including the bank, public park, library, restaurant, bus, workplace, party, classroom, and the like—in tight nations, and much lower constraint across such everyday situations in loose nations.
- While discussing the situation-specific nature of the dimension, Triandis (1996) has proposed that there are certain domains within all cultures which are tight, and other domains which are loose. For example, the United States is rather loose in marital arrangements but tight in banking. Across different domains and situations, however, there exist general tendencies towards one or another pole of the dimension in each culture.

Aim of the Current Study

- The main aim of the study was to examine the situational constraint in Greece and Estonia, that is how the cultural dimension of tightness-looseness is manifested in a variety of everyday behaviors and situations.
- Are behavioral constraints stronger in certain situations in Greece but in other situations in Estonia? Are there certain domains or situations that are tight or loose in both Estonia and Greece?

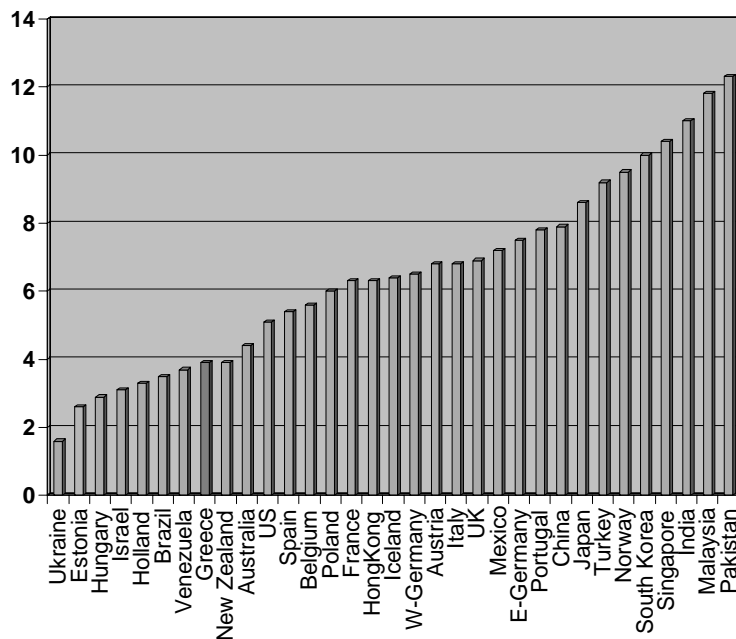
Realo, A., Linnamägi, K., & Gelfand, M. (2011). *The Cultural Dimension of Tightness-Looseness: An Analysis of Situational Constraint in Greece and Estonia*. Manuscript submitted for publication.

A Few Facts about Greece

- Area: 131,940 km²
- Total Population: 11.3 million people (10 times more than in Estonia)
- Population Density: 82.9 persons per km²
- Religion: 97% of the population belongs to the Greek Orthodox Church; 69% of the population considers religion as "rather or very important in their life."
- Main ethnic group: Greeks (94%)



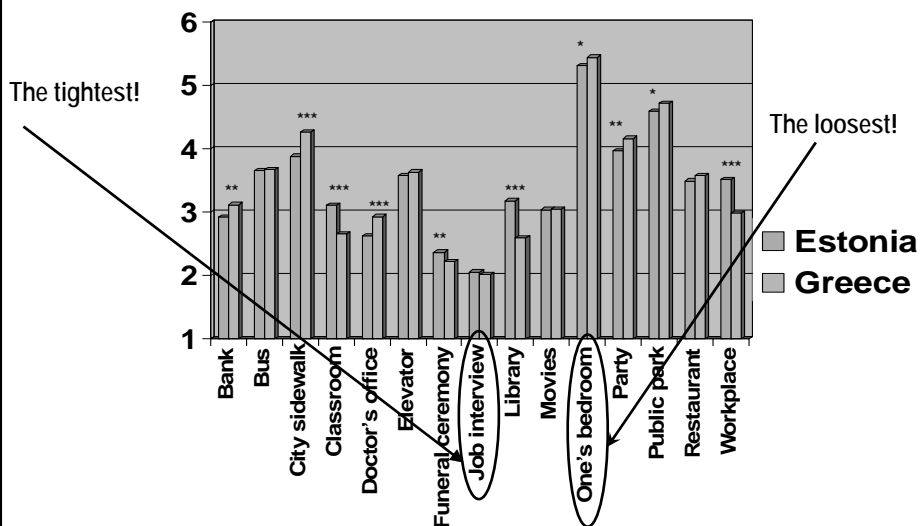
Estonia vs Greece



The Situational Constraint Measure

- The measure is adapted from Price and Bouffard (1974) (see also Gelfand et al., 2011) and developed to assess cross-cultural differences in T-L operationalized as a “situational constraint.”
- Respondents were engaged in a paired comparison task, wherein they judged the appropriateness of 15 different everyday behaviors in 15 specific behavior settings (situations).
 - **Behaviors:** *argue, bargain* (exchange goods, services, or privileges), *blow nose, burp/belch, cry* (shed tears), *curse/swear* (use a foul language), *eat, flirt, kiss* (on the mouth), *laugh out loud, listen to the music on headphones, read a newspaper, sing, sleep* and *talk* (have a conversation).
 - **Situations:** *bank, bus, classroom, doctor's office, elevator, funeral ceremony, job interview, library, movies, one's bedroom, party, public park, restaurant, sidewalk and workplace.*

Mean Scores of the Constrainedness of 15 Situations across 15 Behaviors



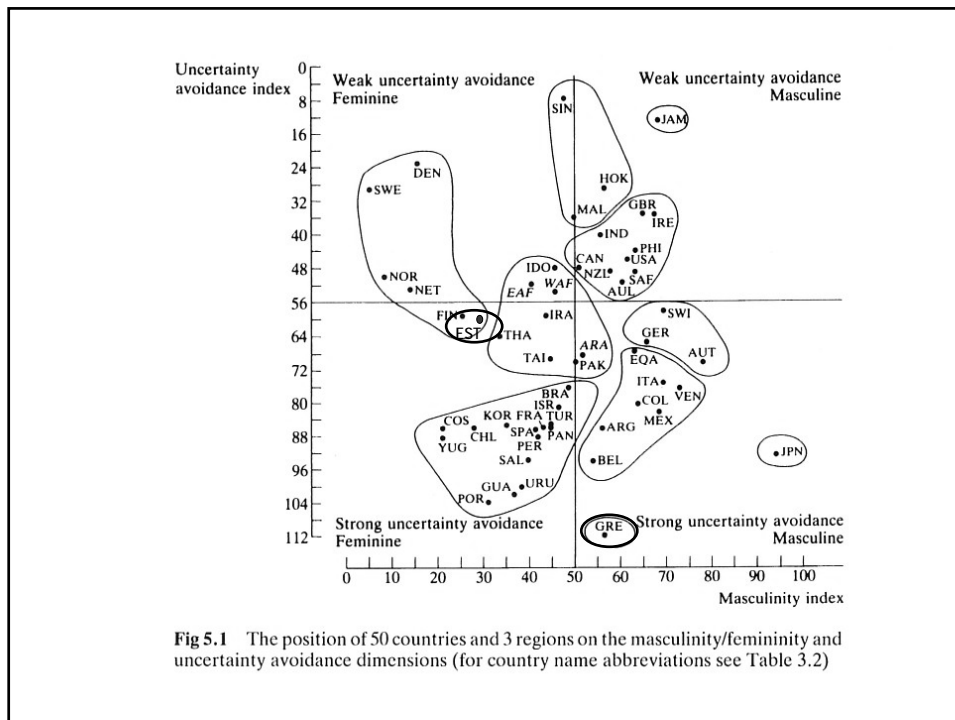
Higher scores indicate less behavioral constraints in a certain setting!
The scores have been corrected for sample differences in scale use.

The Strongest and Weakest Situations

- Among both cultural groups, *job interview* and *funeral ceremony* were considered the tightest or strongest situations having more limited number of behaviors acceptable and appropriate and *one's bedroom* and *public park* as the loosest behavior settings or weakest situations with a less behavioral constraints.
- *Job interview* appeared to be the tightest situation among others as could be expected in numerous reasons. Besides being formal, it is also the situation which result is personally important and depends on impression one makes of himself/herself.
- *Funeral ceremony* is also special event that requires reserved behavior. Besides that, it carries in itself core cultural values via long traditions demanding clear rules and rituals to be implemented.

Formal vs Informal Settings

- Relatively formal settings such as *classroom*, *funeral ceremony*, *library* and *workplace*, appear to include stricter social norms in Greece than in Estonia, whereas more informal or public settings such as *city sidewalk*, *party* and *public park*, for example, allow less behavioral freedom in Estonia than in Greece.
- Greece scores higher than Estonia on the cultural dimensions of **Uncertainty Avoidance and Mastery** (Hofstede, 2001; Schwartz, 1994). As people in high uncertainty avoidance cultures look for order and structure in their organizations and institutions, one could expect that they also regard formal settings with more constraints for behavior.
- It seems that Greeks counterbalance their more restricted behavior in formal settings with more freedom in public and looser settings (e.g. *sidewalk*, *public park*) compared to Estonians for whom these behavior settings are not distinguished so clearly.



Conclusions (1)

- T-L appears to be a useful dimension for describing cultural differences. **Tight cultures** have many strong norms and a low tolerance of deviant behavior whereas **loose cultures** have weak social norms and a high tolerance of deviant behavior.
- T-L is manifested not only in distal ecological, historical, and institutional contexts but also in everyday situations in local worlds (e.g., at home, in restaurants, classrooms, public parks, libraries, the workplace) that individuals inhabit.
- There is a close connection between the strength (versus weakness) of everyday situations and the chronic psychological processes of individuals within nations.

Conclusions (2)

- The Estonian sample used in the Gelfand et al's (2011) study represents well the general Estonian population.
- Within-country variation in tightness-looseness **is relatively small in terms of regional and ethnic differences**--the strength of social norms and tolerance of deviance seems to be a shared collective construct.
- However, **females, elderly, and less educated people** perceive their nation as having slightly stronger norms and lower tolerance of deviant behavior than do males, younger, and more educated people.

Conclusions (3)

- There are certain domains within cultures which are tight, and other domains which are loose. For instance, ***job interview and funeral ceremony*** were considered the tightest or strongest situations having more limited number of behaviors acceptable and appropriate and ***one's bedroom and public park*** as the loosest behavior settings or weakest situations with a less behavioral constraints both in Estonia and in Greece.
- In relatively formal situations (e.g., classroom, workplace etc.), there appear to be more rigid social norms in Greece than in Estonia. In more informal and looser settings (e.g., city sidewalk, party, public park), however, there are less behavioral constraints in Greece than in Estonia.
- **All in all, T-L appears to be a useful dimension for describing and explaining cultural differences!**