

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:00:00 Today's episode of Hidden Forces is made possible by listeners like you. For more information about this week's episode or for easy access to related programming, visit our website at [hiddenforces.io](http://hiddenforces.io) and subscribe to our free email list. If you listen to this show on your Apple Podcast App, remember, you can give us a review. Each review helps more people find the show and join our amazing community. With that, please enjoy this week's episode.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:00:47 What's up, everybody? My episode today is with Michele Gelfand. Michele is a cross-cultural psychologist and a professor of psychology at the University of Maryland, College Park. She's also the author of a recently published book titled "Rule Makers, Rule Breakers," which looks at cultures from the perspective of how tightly or loosely members of that culture adhere to their own social norms, how readily they deviate from them, how significant or insignificant norm violations are within a particular culture and also looking at what types of distributions along the spectrum of tightness are optimal or ideal both for promoting particular outcomes within a culture, but also for the stability, the macrostability of the culture itself, the society which adopts the norms of that culture.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:01:46 We've already done a few episodes dealing with similar subjects. Our episode with Safi Bahcall on phase transitions comes most readily to mind, but also our episodes with Jonathan Haidt and Robby Soave are, in a sense, predicated on the existence of cultural norms and how human beings cope with changes in what is considered appropriate or inappropriate behavior. It seems to me that this is becoming increasingly relevant today.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:02:21 By this, I mean this landscape of changing social norms within national boundaries. A lot of it seems to be, if not driven by, then certainly complicated by these new mediums of communications and the values that are enforced by many of these large Silicon Valley tech companies that mediate so much of the national conversation around gun rights, women's rights issues, white supremacy, nationalism, trade, immigration. You name it. Many people in the country, myself included, feel increasingly at odds with each other on issues that we either previously agreed upon or in which we could at least find common ground.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:03:05 To that effect, I've invited two great writers onto the program. One for The New Yorker, Andrew Marantz, and the other for the Financial Times, Rana Foroohar, both of whom who will be out with new books this month and early next dealing with exactly

this issue. Andrew more from the social, cultural side and Rana from the side of surveillance capitalism to discuss different aspects of this phenomenon. So, I'm very excited to have those conversations and to share them with you as well.

- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:03:39 Before I hand it off, I want to thank those of you who signed up to one of our three subscription tiers last week and who are now supporting us through Patreon. I'm deeply appreciative of your support. This podcast remains one of the few ad-free programs of its kind in the space today. We need your support to keep the podcast ad-free going forward. I've put links at the bottom of the description to this episode directing you to our Patreon page where you can sign up and support the show. There's no forward commitment. You can cancel at any time. Any amount of support is appreciated, even if you aren't in a place where you can afford the paid content. You can still make a donation of as little as a dollar a month. That means a lot. It means a lot to me and it means a lot to the people who helped make this program possible because many people have a hand in shaping the final product that you all get to hear every week. With that, please enjoy my conversation with cultural psychologist and author, Michele Gelfand.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:04:58 Michele Gelfand, welcome to Hidden Forces.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:05:01 Great to be here.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:05:02 Yeah. You got here and I didn't even have to run you over to get you in the seat. We were talking for a little bit before we started. Well, you're originally from New York but you live here?
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:05:12 No. I live in Washington DC just outside of DC.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:05:14 Right, so you teach down in Maryland?
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:05:15 University of Maryland, that's right.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:05:17 That's right. That's right. How long you been down there for?
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:05:18 About 23 years. I taught at NYU before I went down to Maryland. Then, I've been "DC-ite" since then.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:05:24 How do you like DC?
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:05:25 I love DC. It's kind of a great balance between having a lot of options but feeling like you know it and it's not too overwhelming in terms of the choices you have.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:05:33 That's interesting. I lived in DC for a short period of time about two years between 2011, 2013. Talking about culture! A very different culture than New York, right?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:05:43 Oh, yeah. It's very much focused on power versus finance and it's-

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:05:46 And who you know. And who you know.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:05:47 And who you know. And it's also really mobile city, which has its benefits and its detriments and people coming, going, all the time, so there's a real sense of openness.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:05:53 Very transient.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:05:54 Yeah. A sense of openness, like you don't have this kind of neighborhoods that have existed with people there like Boston or New York so you have a lot of openness but then you also have the mobility.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:06:03 Yeah. The transience is ... I mean, because New York's also impermanent. It's changing constantly. Businesses are shutting and opening, but DC has its transience I think is more of a permanent feature of the city and it also hits you so hard because of the election cycle, right?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:06:21 That's right and you have a totally different population coming into town.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:06:25 Also, it's really a lot of academia. It's a lot of government. There's not a ton of industries and you can't build above the Washington Monument so it has a really beautiful skyline and a sense of elegance. Almost European-like.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:06:39 Mm-hmm (affirmative). Yeah. It is romantic in a sense. I mean, especially those long walks around the Washington Monument at night.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:06:47 But the other thing about DC that's super interesting is that I used to describe it this way because in New York, whatever you want, you can get it whenever you want.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:06:54 That's right.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:06:55 In DC, it just felt like there was an overwhelming amount of demand and insufficient supply, right?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:07:00 Yeah. Especially on the weekends. That's right. Things kind of closed down in DC.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:07:03 Also, the great thing about DC is that most things are free like the museums and the zoo. I mean, when I go to Philadelphia, I always can't believe I have to pay \$100 to go to the zoo and see nice, little animals. So, it really is a phenomenal place, it's a great place to raise kids and it's great to be close to New York because I come here all the time.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:07:19 Now, these are coming to me now that we're talking but it wasn't intended, but it just really strikes me thinking about DC because DC, it has its own culture, right?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:07:28 Yeah.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:07:28 It has its people that are native people from DC. But those people have really clashed big time, especially since September 11th, when the government grew substantially and so many more people came to DC, right?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:07:38 Yeah. Although, I have to say that rarely do I meet people who are from DC. I think it's just a really mobile place.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:07:45 Yeah. Yeah. So, let's figure out how you got into this mess. How did you get started in your career?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:07:53 So, I'm a cross-cultural psychologist, which just is a way of saying that I get to study human behavior all around the world and within our country. Though was not always interested in culture. I was pre-med. I went to Colgate University, and I had that kind of classic New Yorker view of the world where there's New York. We acknowledge there's New Jersey. That's a big deal but there's a bunch of rocks and the rest of the world. And I had that view for a very long time as a kid from Long Island.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:08:18 Then, I took a semester trip to London and I just remember being totally full of lots of culture shock from the food, the jokes, how you drive on the street and even I was perplexed by people just going from London to Paris for the weekend or the Netherlands. I remember calling my father, who's from Brooklyn, and he said something really important to me. He said, "Well, imagine like it's going from New York to Pennsylvania."

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:08:41 Is that how your dad talks?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:08:42 Yeah. "New York to Pennsylvania." I said, "Wow, dad. That's an awesome metaphor." This is a true story. The next day, I booked a trip to Egypt. My dad wasn't too happy and I'm like, "Dad. That's like going from here to California. Don't worry about it." That's how I really started in my adventures and journey in understanding culture because I felt like I really know nothing about it and I was really pretty shocked how much culture affects so many things and it's so omnipresent but invisible.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:09:07 It's funny, when you were talking about New Jersey and everything else, connecting that with your time at NYU, I mentioned that I was a student at NYU from 2000 to 2004. I remember in our first day when we had ... I don't know what is it called, like orientation.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:09:23 Orientation.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:09:23 Yeah. And the president of the school. What was his name then?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:09:26 I'm not sure.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:09:26 He was a guy that came and turned around and spent a lot of money. He said that New Jersey's like a parking lot for New York City,-

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:09:33 I'm sure that did not set well.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:09:35 ... which is even worse.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:09:35 And actually, New Jersey, being from Long Island, I have to say I think it's actually much nicer but as a kid, you're always having this big rivalry.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:09:41 Yeah. It depends also where you are. I mean, it sounds like you grew up in a nice area of Long Island from what you were telling me before.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:09:46 So, you went to London. Interesting place. Speaks the same language but very culturally different. So, I mean, before you even decided to fly from New York to California, the equivalent in-

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:09:58 To Egypt.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:09:59 Which is going to Africa, what was your experience like of the English?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:10:04 Yeah. I thought, it just seemed, to me, everything seemed different. I think when you go to another culture and you never been abroad and you have that New Yorker view of the world, you're just shocked that you have not even thought about not just kind of the culture and norms and values of another country but also, it starts making you think, "Whoa. I had no idea how much my own culture has affected by behavior." That was really the turning point for me to think about, "Can I make a career out of this. Can I study culture systematically using the tools of science?"

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:10:34 That's really what I did. I went back to Colgate. I took a human development class that was about culture. I was astonished to learn that even things like visual illusions that we become victim to are really culturally variable, like basic visual perception. I lucked out because I was trying to figure out what to do with this. I was looking into anthropology, international relations, psychology. I had this fortuitous conversation with a cross-cultural trainer. He said, "Look. If you can get into work with Harry Triandis, who's founded this field of cross-cultural ecology, then go work in Champaign-Urbana with him."

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:11:06 That's what I did. I packed my bags for the Twin Cities of Champaign-Urbana to work with Harry Triandis, fellow Greek. Awesome guy. Harry had great advice for his students, tripartite advice. One was be passionate about what you do, which is easy for many of us. The other is don't be afraid to be controversial. A little bit harder, but the third thing-

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:11:25 Mm-hmm (affirmative). Especially today.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:11:26 Yeah. That's right.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:11:26 Especially today.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:11:27 That's right. And the third thing, which is even more hard, is not to take yourself too seriously. And that was his advice. I try to really practice that with my life and my students and my kids.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:11:39 Three makes two a lot easier, especially in this world today.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:11:42 That's right. Not attachment. It's a Buddhist philosophy.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:11:45 So, that's super interesting. So, you were in London in the 80s?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:11:47 Yeah. Mid 80s.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:11:48 What's really interesting about that, when did Margaret Thatcher leave?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:11:52 I'm not sure but it-

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:11:53 Was she in office when you were there?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:11:55 That's a good question.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:11:56 What's really interesting about the transatlantic relationship is in terms of politically, if you compare the 80s with you have similar types of movements happening, right?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:12:04 Yeah.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:12:04 Pro-free market movements in both the United States under Reagan-

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:12:08 And Thatcher.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:12:09 ... and in England under Thatcher. Now, you have something very similar with Boris Johnson and Donald Trump, right?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:12:16 Yeah. It's kind of strange mimicry, right?

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:12:17 Yeah. It's interesting. It's also interesting to compare the differences, you know what I mean?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:12:20 Yeah.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:12:21 So, sticking with Europe a little bit, another thing that I was thinking about when I was reading your book and actually, this story, I don't even think is in your book, is it or have you mentioned it a lot of times in interviews. I can't remember where I read it or heard it. The story about going to Egypt. You talk about it. Okay.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:12:35 It's in the end of my book, actually, where I thank people.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:12:39 Right, right, right. But I'm Greek, I mentioned. I'm a native Greek speaker. I'm a Greek citizen but I'm also an American citizen. I also lived in Italy. I always found that Europeans to be more culturally intelligent than Americans because of the fact that they live ... Now, I think that's kind of changed with the European Union and the fact that globalization is kind of ...

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:13:02 Backfiring.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:13:03 Yeah, well, that's true but what I'm trying to capture is the fact-

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:13:06 [inaudible 00:13:06]. Yeah.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:13:06 ... that it has homogenized. So, talk to me a little bit about that. I'm curious what role you think globalization has had on this and has that made us less culturally intelligent?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:13:15 Yeah. This is a great question. By the way, just FYI, cultural intelligence is actually a construct that psychologists investigate. We can measure cultural intelligence. It's different than IQ. It's different from emotional intelligence or EQ. I've done research that shows, in intercultural negotiations, that it's CQ or cultural intelligence that really predicts effectiveness, and in fact, I-

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:13:35 Like diplomacy or something?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:13:36 Yeah. I mean, in this case laboratory experiments of negotiation, which is what I do, but when I got into this field, I was really kind of losing sleep thinking about Americans going and negotiating in the Middle East or elsewhere without this kind of cultural intelligence.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:13:49 So, I remember there was a story about Baker and Aziz, who were negotiating during the Kuwaiti situation.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:13:56 Jim Baker.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:13:57 Yeah. Jim Baker. Apparently, Baker went in very kind of stoic. He had a certain communication style, which was, "We're very serious. We will invade you if you do this."

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:14:04 The word on the cross-cultural psychology street was that Aziz went back to Hussein and said, "They're not serious, these Americans, because if they were, they would be slamming their hands on the table and ..." I mean that's not, obviously, what caused the whole breakdown in communication and the war but it's one element. Culture's a really important element that's ignored in foreign policy and in diplomacy.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:14:22 So, I went to Champaign-Urbana to work with Harry to study but not only how can you define and measure different aspects of culture like you could for personality but also how does it affect things like negotiation conflict, revenge, forgiveness, these kinds of basic things that we need to do across cultures?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:14:38 So, but anyway, your question about globalization's really super interesting. I want to mention that Herodotus, your great, -

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:14:45 My great-grandfather.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:14:45 ... awesome historian who wrote the-

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:14:48 I'm pretty sure we've talked about him before, yeah.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:14:50 ... histories, which is the first cross-cultural psychology text, in my opinion. He argued that all humans are ethnocentric. That just means that not just view the world through our lens but we think it's correct.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:15:02 I think that I would say that many people around the world, whether they're in Europe or US, that's just how they think about the world, that they might recognize that there are cultural differences but they still think they're correct. It's people who get over that are much more culturally intelligent who understand why do cultural difference evolve in the first place? Why might they make sense?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:15:19 That's what I studied. That's why I wrote this book on rule makers, rule breakers to just talk about why we should, in understanding cultures, think about what are the origins of cultural differences. Not every difference makes sense but some of them evolve for good reasons, and tight and loose, how strictly we adhere to social norms, certainly has some evolutionary basis. Once we can understand why cultures evolve the way they do, we can be less ethnocentric and we can actually hopefully get along a little bit better because we start realizing we have some limitations in our own culture that maybe are offset in others and vice versa.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:15:51 Mm-hmm (affirmative). Was it Herodotus who wrote about the cannibalism of dead family members?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:15:58 Yeah. He was arguing that people in his ... By the way, he has been also accused of being ethnocentric. It's a big controversy over him, too, but he saw people just really, very just disgusted by other people's traditions.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:16:11 The more modern version of this is Rick Shweder, who was really did some excellent work in India. He asked people in India, he said to some Brahman Hindu populations, he asked them about widows eating fish. Then, he said, "Is this wrong?" They said, "Yes, it's definitely wrong." He said, "Is it immoral?"

They said, "Yes, it's immoral." Americans allow their widows to eat fish. They change their practice. They said, "Absolutely. That's terrible." He said, "What if everyone in India wanted to change the practice?" They said, "No. They can't do that." Americans, when asked the same question went like, "What? Why can't widows eat fish? The world would be a better place."

- Michele Gelfand:** 00:16:44 Turns out this is the rationale for this that fish is an aphrodisiac apparently, but I didn't know that. Don't your whole audience don't start eating a lot of fish. The ideology was that if your widow starts eating a lot of fish, she might be tempted to break the eternal bond with their husband.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:17:01 That's so interesting.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:17:02 And so the point is that we can step back and think, "Why do people think this way and why does it make sense on their cultural turf that can help us become less ethnocentric?"
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:17:13 Mm-hmm (affirmative). So, how do you measure this stuff?
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:17:15 Yeah. I started kind of just observing around the world differences in the strictness of rules. Singapore, known as the fine country, where you can get fined for chewing gum or not flushing toilets in public settings, which obviously is not a problem in New York.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:17:29 You can get a bunch of lashes for-
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:17:30 Yeah. Get a bunch of lashes for graffiti like in the Michael Fay case. Then, you go to New Zealand, you see people walking barefoot in banks and you see them lighting couches on fire in campuses. Other kind of really puzzling differences in Germany, for example, many people do still stay put on the street corners even though there's no cars around, even late at night but in New York City, they go-
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:17:53 What do they do on the street corners?
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:17:53 They wait patiently, even though there's no cars around.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:17:54 You're saying, waiting to cross the street.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:17:56 Yeah. To cross the street.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:17:56 That's 100% true. Yeah.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:17:57 Yeah. In New York, people jaywalk all the time.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:18:00 So, anecdotally, it seemed to be some differences around the world but I wanted to measure this. One of the things I really thought was fascinating is that norms are these unwritten rules of behavior that sometimes become more formalized in laws. We could talk about later. They're really invisible but they're critical for us as human beings. All groups need norms. You can't imagine a world without norms. We would never be able to predict each other's behavior or coordinate. So, we come here. I'm wearing clothes and so are you. I'm just letting your audience know. We drive on the right or the left depending on where we live.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:18:31 I do these naked normally, but I didn't want to upset you because usually we have men in the studio.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:18:36 Yeah. I mean, these are things that we just take for granted. We walk into elevators and we stand forwards. We don't face backwards. Try doing that sometimes. Go into an elevator and just face backwards. See how people react to you. We constantly follow norms but what I started to-

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:18:52 It's like a Monty Python skit.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:18:53 I mean, listen. Once you start thinking about norms, you can't stop thinking about them and you want to violate them. I was in Germany and I just kind of wanted to ask someone, "Can I just have some of your food on your plate," in a restaurant but that sounds like my Jewish New York family, just stealing food off each other's plates.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:19:06 People that you know, not random strangers, right?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:19:08 No. I wanted to do it with random strangers. I mean, again, we're just following these rules.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:19:10 Oh, you were just messing around.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:19:10 Just messing around.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:19:12 That's interesting. Do you have a police escort with you, just in case?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:19:16 I mean, it's interesting. I mean, I did a study also where I asked my students to go back to their home countries, of 20 countries wearing fake facial warts on their face or wearing tattoos and

nose rings, like looking pretty deviant. I was looking to see how much help they got on city streets. We talk about this later, loose cultures are really open to people who are very deviant and tight cultures are much more disturbed by people who are threatening the social order. But what was fascinating in this study is that, one by one, the tightest of the countries that I had in this study were dropping out of the study because they just couldn't bring themselves to where these ridiculous warts or-

- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:19:50 Interesting.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:19:50 ... facial things in public, even though it was legal but in any event.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:19:54 That's so interesting. I wouldn't want to wear a wart in public.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:19:58 Yeah, but in any rate, so you can sort of step back and look at your world every day and imagine a world without social norms. We really need social norms to predict [inaudible 00:20:05] behavior but what I started out to look at was, just like you can look at different personality dimensions like extroversion/introversion, neuroticism, all the dimensions, can we also place countries on a metric and states on a metric and even organizations and social class or our own household on how strictly people abide by social norms? That's what we measure. We publish the results of this study in science journal, into different journal, and we were able to classify countries based on survey measures that we had that we validated.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:20:32 We saw, for example, that Japan and Singapore, to some extent, Germany, Austria veered tighter, even though all cultures have tight and loose domains. Places like Greece in our data, Brazil, the Netherlands, the US to some extent but we can talk about the variation in US, too, veered looser.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:20:48 The important thing for our point of view is that that this was distinct from GDP, it was distinct from other cultural dimensions like collectivism, individualism. Also, we wanted to know why do these differences evolve and what consequences do they confer to human groups. So, that was the first entry into this research area.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:21:04 Mm-hmm (affirmative). And what advantages perhaps do they confer disadvantages?
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:21:09 I'm curious because I did see that list. Where did Argentina fall on that list?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:21:12 Well, we didn't have data from Argentina.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:21:13 Because Argentina's super loose and what a mess. I mean, like I said, I'm Greek. When I went to Argentina, I never felt more at home. You want to talk about not following protocol.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:21:22 Yeah. Actually, in our data, though, Venezuela, we had data from Venezuela and they came out in our data as extraordinarily loose when we collected this data.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:21:31 Interesting.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:21:32 Yeah. There's a continuum like super loose, almost unpredictable. Moderately loose, moderately tight, and super tight. We could talk about this later. It turns out the extremes have a lot of problems because when you're having an extremely loose context, it's really chaotic and it's really disorderly and you can't predict each other's behavior. Same with organizations. Organizations that get too loose or households that get too loose have a lot of problems. On the flip side, really super tight cultures that are really repressive also have a lot of problems.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:22:01 We showed this in a research study we published that the extremes in our data was predicting suicide, blood pressure, unhappiness, and a lot of unrest. So, we have to really think about these extremes because the big picture is that when you're in a really super loose context, like extraordinarily loose, people start craving a lot of order. It's just a natural human tendency. This happened in Egypt after Mubarak was taken out.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:22:27 So, you can imagine that these things go through pendulum shifts. So, when people say to me, "Which is better, tight or loose?" I mean, I can say, "Look. They definitely each have advantages in terms of order versus openness," but it's really critical to realize that the extremes become really problematic.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:22:43 Mm-hmm (affirmative). That's so interesting. Two things come to mind. One, staying with Argentina. Argentina's a country not only of extreme weather but of extreme politics and so they go through these extreme political cycles, right?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:22:55 That's right.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:22:55 Of right wing to left wing and they swing back and forth, which I think is super interesting. I'm curious if you have any further thoughts about that.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:23:02 Then, Italy, I mentioned, I lived in Italy and one of the things that I found fascinating was I could always tell where I was in Italy, how far north or how far south, based on how punctual the buses were. We used to joke around that if you went south enough, the 4:00 would come before the 3:30.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:23:18 It's like Amtrak today when I was coming from DC.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:23:22 It's interesting that, well, you just intuited one of the big strengths of tightness, which is order and synchrony. Just as a sort of building on that in some of my work, I looked at how similar clocks are on city streets. You can measure clocks in city streets all around the world and see how much are they aligned. In tight cultures, they say almost identical time. In loose cultures, you're not entirely sure what time it is, because the clocks actually say something totally different.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:23:48 Even now with global positioning?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:23:50 I was just in Italy, actually,-

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:23:51 That's so fascinating.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:23:52 ... and I was having a hard time figuring out and also in terms of trains. There's also much more uniformity in tight cultures. We measured the cars that people drive, in terms of their make and color. You start seeing a lot of uniformity. Cars, you start thinking, "I'm getting into a tighter environment," or the close that people wear.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:24:06 In Japan, it's remarkable the kind of subtleties in differences in what people wear. They also have a lot more self-control type cultures, meaning that people are worried about punishments so they're regulating their behavior more. There's less debt, there's less alcoholism, less recreational drug abuse, there's even less obesity, controlling for lots of factors in tight cultures.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:24:27 Actually, when I researched for the book, I found out that 60% of dogs in the US are overweight including my own beloved Portuguese Water Dog, Pepper. So, loose cultures, they struggle with order but they have the market on openness. That's what I mentioned earlier. Loose cultures have less synchrony, less coordination, less uniformity and they also have a host of self-regulation failures but they are much more tolerant of people from all sorts of races, religions, immigrant, stigmatized individuals and they're more creative and they're more open-

minded to change. Those are the kinds of criterion that tight cultures struggle with.

- Michele Gelfand:** 00:25:01 So that's kind of the big picture. We looked at that at the national level, at the state level. You can see the same exact differences, when we rank order the US 50 states on tight/loose. You see the same signature even in the brain when we publish work using neuroscience techniques looking at how people react to norm violations.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:25:17 So that's just the kind of general big picture following up on your really interesting observation around synchrony in buses.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:25:24 I'm frantically scribbling. I have thoughts that I'm trying to make-
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:25:28 Organize that.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:25:30 So, a couple other thoughts. I'm going to do them in pairs and see how many we can get. One had to do with this observation you made it and I thought about it, which has to do with authoritarian societies and self-censorship, right?
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:25:41 That's right.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:25:42 And then I matched that, I correlated that with your data from Eastern European countries being looser. I wonder, is there some correlation between countries that used to be under repressive authoritarian regimes but then opened up and let's say there was a swing of the pendulum in the other direction.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:25:58 Then, the other thing I wanted to ... Actually, let's talk about that first and then we'll go to the other one.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:26:03 Okay. You got it. So, I mean, it's a really interesting observation that some of the countries that were extraordinarily loose in our data that were collected in the early 2000s like Ukraine or Poland or Hungary where countries that were under very serious repression and had the pendulum shift to extreme looseness. So that's one predictor in our data.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:26:24 Another really strong predictor of tightness and looseness, it's interesting. There's no common tradition or religion or language that unites tight cultures and loose cultures, but one thing that I was putting my money on or actually National Science Foundation's money on was one pretty simple idea, which is that cultures that have a lot of threat, whether it's from Mother

Nature, things like constant natural disasters like Japan's where you're tending with their famine or whether it's from human nature. Over the last 100 years how many times has your country been potentially invaded by its neighbors? Actually, my daughter, when she was five asked me, "Are we worried about Canada and Mexico invading us?" Now, some people think that.

- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:26:58 Who thinks that?
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:26:59 But it's-
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:27:00 That's crazy.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:27:01 ... a really remarkable fact that the United States, as a young nation, we have threats in different areas of our country and we certainly had our own share of conflict but we're separated by two oceans from other-
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:27:10 Ridiculous.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:27:11 ... continents. We have that sense.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:27:13 The idea is this and we showed this with some data in various different studies that when you have a lot of threat that's collective threat, you can't handle this on your own. You need strong rules to coordinate to survive. That's really what we found. We found that both at the national level, at the state level, we develop artificial models. We work with evolutionary game theorists to show that threat actually relates to as threat increases, it affects the need for cooperation and punishment.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:27:37 So that's kind of one simple principle. There're other predictors of tight/loose also that we can get into including diversity, mobility, and other factors. It's not a one-to-one relationship. There're certainly countries that are loose that have a lot of threat. Israel is a good example of that.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:27:51 That is an interesting-
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:27:52 And I can tell you of my hypothesis.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:27:53 That is interesting. Yeah.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:27:54 But also, there's countries that are tight mainly because they're highly religious. When you think about religiosity, religion is another form of monitoring and accountability that keeps you behaving themselves. Whether it's god or government, when

you have people watching you, it makes you behave better. This is what my colleague, Ira Norenzayan said, "Watched people are good people," in the sense that they're abiding by norms."

- Michele Gelfand:** 00:28:16 So, that's to say that in any study, it's not a one-to-one relationship but we can try to figure out are there any kind of commonalities between these countries.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:28:24 Singapore's a really good example, by the way. Lee Kuan Yew, very top-down form of tightness. I read his autobiography and the dude was basically a cross-cultural psychologist even though he was never trained in it because he kind of looked at Singapore, very tiny, little place, extremely high population density, like 20,000 people per square mile, compared to New Zealand that has 50 people per square mile and more sheep per capita than people. It's a couple of different ethnic groups there, a lot of potential conflict. They have not a lot of arable land clearly. Lots of threats.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:28:52 He said, "Guys, we got to have a lot of rules here." And that includes chewing gum. Americans look at this idea that you can't bring in gum into the country as it's totally preposterous but apparently, in the late 80s, people are chewing gum. I don't chew gum but a lot of people chew gum and they put it on the street. It was causing this massive problem in Singapore because it was clogging up sensors by metros and elevators.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:29:13 So, Lee Kuan Yew said, "Guys, we're just going to have to, in this land where there's so many mouths per capita, we're going to have to ban this tasty treat." I think, for a little while, probably people were not too happy about it but when you're in a context with a threat, you're willing to sacrifice liberty for security. You literally just have your own individual rights for having collective order. We, as Americans, don't always get that. And again, we're coming from a quasi-
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:29:38 Frontier country. Frontier country.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:29:38 ... low-threat context that we don't quite understand that some countries need strong rules and, again, Goldilocks is operative here. We're getting two extreme directions of problem but all groups evolve to be tight or loose for reasonable factors.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:29:53 So, we need to kind of start looking at this when we're informing foreign policy, when we're trying to understand these bizarre events around the world. I think the lens of tight/loose can help. There's other lens, of course, as well but it's one of

several that can help us understand culture and become less ethnocentric.

- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:30:10 It feels like there's also something about being loose, which is compatible with making mistakes. You're free to make mistakes versus if you're in an environment that's very threatening, you can't afford to make mistakes so you got to keep your shit together.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:30:23 There's also something else that I was thinking about when you were talking about tight and loose because you were tightening up and then you were loosening up, like your arms, right?
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:30:31 Yeah.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:30:31 And I was just thinking about how very much it is tied to a physical sensation.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:30:36 Yeah. Interesting. Yeah. We haven't actually looked at that. I mean, I think that this study of sort of culture-
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:30:40 People have tight asses. There are people that are tight. You know what I mean? We call them tight asses because they're so uptight.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:30:43 Yeah. Yeah. Well, as an example of this, when we did some cultural neuroscience work, which is looking at the brain across different cultures. We asked people to just respond how appropriate, inappropriate are certain behaviors. Michele is in the library, she's shouting or Michele is in the library and she's studying. That's normal. Michele is in the museum and she's dancing. That's weird, except if you're here in New York.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:31:04 We simply measured brain activity, to your point about physiology and what's happening in your body. It was really clear that in all cultures people notice these things. They're incongruencies when you kind of violating norms but in China, the frontal area, which is really evolved later and it's about punishment and theory of mind was really, really strongly activated. We can see very big differences-
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:31:26 When, what? What was happening?
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:31:27 ... when they're witnessing norm violations.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:31:27 Oh, really?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:31:28 Yeah. So, really super hyper brain activity.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:31:31 Wow!

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:31:31 And this is published in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Science. We were showing that, when people really notice norm violations, they have more self-control but they are also less creative. So, we give them these tasks in the lab where we ask them to come up with ideas for a paper clip or a brick. You can't imagine the weird responses you get but these are kind of tasks we use. And people who notice things really very acutely in the brain when they're witnessing people violate norms tend to not want to go outside the box on other tasks like creativity tasks.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:31:57 Just one other example of this crazy kind of stuff that we do. We also recently did a study that was published in a journal called SCAN where we are activating threat among two people. We're giving people newspaper articles to read about, this is in China, about Japan as a threat or, in another condition, they were reading about Ethiopia and Eritrea and the threat there. Same exact article but just switching the names. Another condition, it was just about China but no threat. Then, we actually were measuring with hyper EEG, two EEG caps, how quickly people became synchronized when they're trying to coordinate their behavior and the brain synchrony that they had on really waves of fear, this is called gamma synchrony in the brain.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:32:35 So, we cannot just look at physiological reactions inside the brain. We can look at what's happening across people when they're under threat. It turns out when people feel under threat, especially in group threat, they're able to coordinate their actions more because they are synchronized more on brain waves of fear.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:32:50 So, at any rate, that's just long answer to your question that there is some evidence that there's some physiologic reactions. I'm going to mention one thing that I haven't measured yet but I'm real excited to do this, which is handwriting.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:33:01 So, I veer moderately loose. My husband, he's a lawyer. He has to be veer tighter. He's in a context where there's a lot of accountability and where you can't screw up, like you were saying, and his handwriting is impeccable, absolutely gorgeous.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:33:12 He chooses his words very carefully.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:33:13 Yeah. He constantly rips on me for mixing metaphors. I said, "Don't bite the bird who feeds you." He's like, "Do you really want to say that?" My handwriting is so bad that when my kids go to high school and bring a note from me, they're like, "Did you forge this note?" They're like, "No. My mom just has really bad handwriting."

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:33:29 That's so cute.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:33:31 I want to try to analyze this because I think it also affects lots of things in our daily life including our physiology but also how we kind of communicate with the world.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:33:41 So, we were talking about clock synchronization. I don't want to talk about this yet, the stock synchronization but I do so I want to just throw it out there.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:33:48 Go for it.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:33:48 Because, again, like I said, scribbling furiously here. The other thing I'm thinking about is in our politics. I mean, in your study, you rank the United States as being a loose country.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:33:58 Moderately loose.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:33:59 Yeah, moderate. But we're a very large country so there are parts where they're tighter than others but I also think and maybe you can help us with this, that we often think about tight as being Republican and loose as being Democrat.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:34:12 What I have observed, I think, is that, in fact, what we're seeing is tightness across both spectrums. We clearly have a framework for understanding what tightness means on the right but I think that one area where we're clearly seeing that on the left and we don't really have a framework for it has to do with this norm violation sensitivity on the left when it comes to people violating ... They're intolerant of diverse opinions on the left. The left is far more intolerant of diverse opinions. The right seems to be more intolerant, let's say, of individual differences, let's say.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:34:48 Actually, it's a really interesting observation. I mean, I wanted to mention that clearly, there's an overlap in the US at least between conservative and tight but they're really at different levels of analysis. One is about your attitude toward change and your political orientation. The other's about the level of social reality, the strength of the norms in your context, so you can

have Republicans in loose states. You can have Democrats in tight states and so forth. That's an interesting mismatch.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:35:09 Also, in the US, just before I get into that brilliant observation, we see the same pattern. The tight states, which tend to be in the South and the Midwest, parts of the Midwest have a lot more threat. They have more natural disasters. They have more pathogens.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:35:21 Also, in the book, I have a whole chapter on the founding people in different areas of the US. They brought a lot of their cultural norms from different places that set the stage for tight and loose in the US many, many years ago, including diversity. As early as the mid-1800s, New York and parts of the East Coast and the West Coast were really super diverse. Having diversity makes it hard to agree on any one particular norm and fosters a lot of tolerance.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:35:46 Now, with that said, what I think was interesting about your observation is that every culture has tight and loose elements. The question is what domains evolve to be tight? I think even in loose cultures that the domains that are really important become highly normatized. So, for example, the idea that we want to be tolerant becomes really strict.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:36:07 Jesus! I know. It's crazy. What a paradox.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:36:09 It's a paradox. I don't think the same punishments are applied in that context than in Saudi Arabia, where in a tight domain but I think they're qualitatively different.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:36:17 But within the United States, I mean, I'd have to sit and think about it a bit more but there has clearly developed a wide range of behaviors by people who are critical of others who hold views that are not illegal but they're views. Maybe if you were to do something with those views, maybe but even if you did something with those views where the backlash against holding those views is so strong that it scared the crap out of a lot of the population. I think it's impacted the politics as well.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:36:47 Yeah. I have to say that I think it's also another lens on this is that Democratic Party has gotten so loose and disorganized that it feels a lot of threat, understandably in this content, because of the Trump administration and because of what shocked everyone. It was a total shock that election.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:37:04 Mm-hmm (affirmative). I think for, let's say, maybe folks like you and me who live-

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:37:07 Yeah. That's right.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:37:08 But I know a lot of people that were not shocked whatsoever.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:37:10 Yeah. I mean, I think that in general, though, there's been a lot of kind of, just ... Even for example with the Women's March, it was really so many different opinions that the thing almost didn't happen in Washington because there were just so many opinion and such diversity that- Yeah.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:37:23 The freaking Oscars decided not to have a host next year because they freaked out by making the wrong decision, which I think, just to say, just to really bring it back to that point about the fear of messing up. You can't afford to screw anything up. That, to me, is extremely tight.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:37:39 I think that arguably, because Democratic Party feels so threatened, that also started to tighten up in that sense, so that's a perfectly reasonable hypotheses. But it is important to recognize that even in countries like, let's say, New Zealand that's super loose, they have domains where they're pretty tight.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:37:54 One example of this how, it's a very egalitarian country. So, if you try to stand out, you get shot down. It's a strong norm not to seem like you're better than other people. That's not an American thing. We're very vertical in our individualism. So, in New Zealand, it's just super loose place. People doing all sorts of crazy things. The range of variation is really wide but there's some domains that are held to be so important like egalitarianism that those become the strong norms around them. So, it's exciting to find those contexts where you start seeing tightness.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:38:24 Every culture, even Japan it's super tight, has domains where they let go and vice versa. So, it's important to kind of zoom into a context. Israel's a great example also. Israel's pretty loose in our data. There's a whole bunch of reasons I can say for why I think that's the case, although there's areas that are tighter, but one domain that's super tight in Israel is having large families.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:38:47 Mm-hmm (affirmative). Still.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:38:47 Still, and it's butting against sustainability, as Alon Tal talked about in his book This Land is Full. I just met with him and had a workshop with him in Israel last year. What's fascinating is that this is a norm that developed for good reasons but now it's really butting heads with the population density and with sustainability. My understanding is, if you don't have kids in Israel, it's really a stigma. It's not like in many other places where you choose whether you want to have kids and when you have kids. So, that's a tight domain and makes sense. We can start analyzing, Okay, you can see Israel has a lot of loose norms but there's certainly context that evolved to be tight.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:39:24 I want to talk a little bit more about Israel to really understand how it is that a country that is under so much physical external threat has such loose norms.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:39:32 Mm-hmm (affirmative). I can nominate three Family Feud reasons why that's the case, for those of you that remember the Family Feud.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:39:37 Go ahead. Yeah, yeah, yeah.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:39:39 And one is, I mean, by the way, there's only data on one of these three but I'm just going to say them anyway but one is that my colleagues would say that Jews learn not to follow the rules for good reasons after the Holocaust, that there's a real questioning of rules given the historical context.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:39:55 The other, which has a little bit more data on it, is that Israel is very diverse as a culture. Diversity, as I mentioned, pushes groups towards looseness but the one that I would nominate as a top Family Feud reason, being a Jew myself, is that Judaism is a religion of debate and dissent. There's this idea that there's three Jews in the room, there's 10 opinions.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:40:16 When you're in any Jewish holiday, there's so much debate about even one word in the Torah or in the Talmud. Actually, as an example of this, my daughter, who's bat mitzvahed recently was reading her speech but her Torah portion. I didn't have anything to do with this. She starts disagreeing with it. I said, "Sweetie, why are you disagreeing with the Torah portion?" She said, "Well, mom. The Rabbi told me to." You're trained to really think outside of the box. I think that, to me, is one of the ways in which threat becomes overridden by diversity.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:40:47 And they're more entrepreneurial. They're also probably suffer on the macro level, I guess the same issues that, let's say, start-ups face when they try to transition to corporate.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:40:57 That's right. Precisely. In the Start-up Nation, which is a fantastic book, they also talk about Israel is super creative, like this is the benefit of diversity and of looseness. But innovation and this is work that we're doing more recently, involves both creativity, coming up with new ideas, but you have to be able to together up in order to implement them. You got to be able to actually have a lot of coordination.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:41:17 So, the nations and the organizations that are the most innovative are able to balance tight and loose. That's a whole other chapter in the book where I talk about this. Singapore's a good example of a place that really can scale up. They argue about this in the Start-up Nation but it doesn't necessarily always have, like Israel, these incredibly awesome innovative ideas.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:41:35 Actually, when I was interviewing people for the book that start-uppers, they were telling me that when they get bought out, which is the goal, they often can't deal with the increases in regulation and tightness that goes along with the coordination needs of a large organization. So, they wind up leaving and they become serial start-uppers.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:41:53 Something else that ... Definitely the diversity observation resonates. What also resonates is I think there's also a lot of similarities. I've met a lot of Israelis on vacation in Greece on the islands, especially in the early 2000s when I would go party a bit more.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:42:08 In Mykonos?

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:42:09 Sure. Yeah. Mykonos, Ios, a lot of Israelis would go to Ios and party after they got out of the military. I saw how much we had in common. I wondered how much of that really was the fact that we straddled the line between the Judeo-Christian world and the Islamic world, -

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:42:26 Interesting.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:42:27 ... between the European and the Orient. And Arab/Middle Eastern cultures have a very ... You can feel a lot of that in Israeli Jews. A lot of that is in them. Greeks had that much more before their integration to Europe. Greeks are not really

European. I know that even the word Europe comes from Greek mythology but Greeks are Greek. They're kind of very different. In some sense, Jews in Israel are very different, you know what I mean?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:42:54

Yeah.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:42:55

They're not Arabs. They're not Europeans and they're not ...

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:42:57

That's right.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:42:58

I think that has a lot to do with it.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:42:59

But I want to go back to America for a second because you're talking and I'm just thinking about how screwed up we are. I mean that in part to be funny but I also mean it because I feel like in America and I think we have ... An example of this is the food fads. Gary Taubes I think wrote about this in his book Good Calories, Bad Calories. We don't have a kind of food culture the way a lot of other societies do. I think in that sense, it creates a struggle and I think in general, America, because it's so interesting. America I think was the first victim of consumerism, of global consumer culture, this leviathan that now has gone into places like Greece and infected their cultures and really taken a lot away. I think maybe there's a propensity for America to exhibit symptoms that derive from not having strong enough norms.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:43:47

Yeah. I think that it's a trade-off. Like I said. I mean, I actually just published a paper that looked at the loosening of American norms over the last 200 or so years. We can develop linguistic measures to look at this in newspapers and books and so forth. We can clearly see a trend with some exceptions when tightness was increasing. What we see is that it has the same trade-off. When you're loosening up, you can become more creative, think outside of the box, have more patents, more trademarks. People become more unique. There're more unique baby names out there.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:44:17

Israel has, the number of patents there are off the charts, right?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:44:19

Oh, Yeah.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:44:21

It's like some record.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:44:22

Yeah. This is kind of a bastion of looseness, but what you see when you start loosening up as the trade-off on order, that we

have much more debt. We have more teenage pregnancy. We have other indications that people are losing self-control.

- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:44:35 Right. We were on the frontier of using credit cards, plastic.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:44:37 That's right. That's right. It's fascinating to look at context where people still use cash. Debt is really associated with looseness. Actually, I remember back when the Euro crisis was happening, when Greece was being basically reprimanded by Germany, that it was almost like this, "Hey, we're the tight ones." Merkel would come in. There was a big backlash in Greece because Greece has its own advantages. There was this struggle between order and openness in that context I think. That's a good example of a culture clash around this issue.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:45:09 It's so interesting because Greece is a really interesting example because their issue, of occurs, is not private sector debt like it was, let's say, in some other countries. The issue was public sector debt. So, much of that had to do with the results of entering Europe and then have the interest rates drop on your bonds and your ability to borrow but you couldn't print the money because the Greeks couldn't print the money.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:45:27 But talk about culture, norm clashes. Europe! Europe is ground zero for this?
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:45:33 That's right.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:45:33 And the shit just hit the fan-
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:45:35 In Brexit.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:45:36 ... In Brexit, right, with Boris Johnson?
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:45:37 Yeah. Well, I want to say that I think a lot of times, we look at these trends and we're kind of puzzled by them and we think they're kind of unique to this time or these personalities and they're really not. I talk a lot about the kind of shifting axis of tight/loose in terms of rural manufacturing areas like you see in the UK and the cosmopolitan cities are very diverse. The same in the US that actually people, in those context, in those rural manufacturing areas arguably feel really threatened and they are really threatened. They're threatened by AI. Their lifestyles, their communities that are really collapsing.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:46:09 Absolutely.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:46:09 In the US, we don't actually necessarily help out those communities as much as in other countries like in Germany where there's more of a safety net for the working class. I talk about this in the book.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:46:18 So, people are feeling really threatened. In our research, we could see that people who feel threatened before the Trump election, before the Le Pen election, they felt the place was too disorderly and loose. That's what was in part driving their vote for Trump or La Pen or in this case, a Brexit, I would say the same thing. Until we deal with these threats, until we try to help those, some of them are real and some of them are imagined. I'm not going to say it's all real throughout but there's certainly a component of it that's really real.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:46:43 Absolutely.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:46:44 And there's some of it that's imagined. In some recent research that we've been doing, we could see that people have these dramatic misperceptions of immigration, about legal immigration and people who really misestimate this are really in large support of Trump. They feel the US is loosening too much. Part of it is calibrating a threat we feel around the world and getting facts. We all know that the collapse of facts and the collapse of expertise is a real issue that we're dealing with.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:47:11 But my broader point is that some of these trends in Brexit or in Poland, these leaders, this is not a modern phenomenon. For centuries, leaders use the psychology of tightness to get elected. They target groups that are really threatened and they amplify those threats.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:47:25 Most of the Democrats are doing that, also, right?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:47:27 Well, I think it's still- Yeah.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:47:29 They're doing it for what they consider to be marginalized groups. What's really funny about the Democrats is they're doing it right now to immigrants. I'm not a political expert so this is, I'm kind of talking out of both sides of my mouth, but they seem to think that they can get immigrants to vote for them by basically saying, "Donald Trump's a racist."

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:47:45 What they don't get is a lot of these immigrants come to this country is they're trying to get away from a lot of politicians been trying to tell them that they want to raise their taxes or they want to regulate this or they want to regulate that. A lot of

immigrants coming from South America are like, "Oh, I just want to work, put my head down. I don't want to get involved in any of this garbage." If I-

- Michele Gelfand:** 00:48:01 Yeah. Many come from, tell you-
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:48:02 I know a lot of Muslims have voted for Donald Trump. This is a lot of what I learned after the election. Muslims and-
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:48:10 Religious Latinas.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:48:10 I'm not surprised at all that there are many Latino. I'm not surprised about that at all.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:48:13 Yeah. I think that many immigrants are actually more rule-abiding than locals.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:48:17 Yeah. Conservative, too.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:48:18 Actually know that. Exactly. So, I think the key that we're-
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:48:20 Sorry. Just one more thing.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:48:20 Yeah. Sure.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:48:20 I mean, to make it in America as an immigrant, you got to have your shit together.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:48:27 Yeah. Well, that's right.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:48:28 And you teach your kids that. You tell them, "I remember when I was a kid."
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:48:32 Yeah. "You live in a tighter world," is how I would say it.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:48:34 A much tighter world. One of the criticisms that my teachers gave my mother was that he needs to learn how to have fun.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:48:39 No. I think it's fascinating. We know from our work that low-power groups, whether they're women, minorities, immigrants, live in tighter worlds and they are subject to stronger punishments for the same kind of behavior. We know this for example that, if you ask bank managers and research we publish about Latisha or Jamaal doing something versus Lauren or Brad, it's when you looking at women and minorities and they're doing certain deviant behaviors, they're judged much more strictly and it's sort of the white majority that lets other

white majority off the hook. This is a classic kind of finding that we have.

- Michele Gelfand:** 00:49:10 It's, like to your point. Immigrants, their parents are trying to figure out how can I get my kid to be successful here and following rules is one of the-
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:49:18 He's got so many obstacles to overcome already.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:49:19 It's a smart strategy.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:49:21 He can't afford to screw up.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:49:22 That's right. This is a-
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:49:22 Can't afford to make a mistake.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:49:23 By the way, the working class in our data show the same pattern. The working class are worried about falling into hard living or poverty. They're worried about their kids getting injured in occupations and I'm worried about their kids being safe in the neighborhood. So, rules are really important in this context.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:49:36 Inner city kids, so many of them talk about having really strong mothers who kept them-
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:49:42 That's right. That's right.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:49:43 ... in line. Right. Isn't that fascinating?
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:49:44 They need to and it's interesting.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:49:44 "They need discipline," as Arnold Schwarzenegger said in Kindergarten Cop.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:49:50 In one study, we looked at this with three year old's. So, we brought three year old's into our laboratory from the working class or the upper class. You can't exactly ask three year old's, "What do you think of rules?" But what we did was we used Michael Tomasello developmental psychologist methods, a cruel method. You're bringing them in. You're playing with a puppet and they're learning new rules of this game and are hanging out with this puppet.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:50:09 Yeah. What was the name of that puppet again?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:50:10 Max. Max the puppet.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:50:11 Max the norm-violating puppet.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:50:12 Well, he becomes a norm-violating puppet. The dude's just breaking all the rules in the middle of the experiment.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:50:16 Sounds like something dirty.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:50:18 And we just simply videotaped the kids and see how they react to max the norm violator. What's fascinating is by age three, the working-class kids are much more likely to berate Max. "Stop that. Don't do that." Rules are functional in this context and it's the upper-class kids kind of laughing there. They still think Max is weird but they let him off the hook a little bit more. So, these definitely just come up, to your point about when you were a kid early.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:50:40 So it is true that rich kids play by a different set of rules.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:50:43 Well, I have to say that there's some cool data out of UC Berkeley where they had their RAs hiding in bushes.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:50:50 The resident assistants in college?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:50:52 Yeah. They're research assistants.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:50:53 Oh, research. I see.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:50:54 And they were hiding in bushes and they were measuring whether cars basically violating traffic rules and where they were cutting off pedestrians. It was the BMWs and the upper-class cars that were doing this much more than the plumber vans.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:51:06 It's so interesting.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:51:07 So, the fact is that I would say that obviously, there's also differences when you get to the super rich, like Victorian era was really tight. And also the super poor, I would argue, like really inner city deep poverty poor is very loose, almost anomie, Durkheim would call it, normlessness. That's what the working class is avoiding becoming.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:51:27 So, it's kind of non-linear. We don't have data to support those extremes but I can say that clearly there are data with the working and upper class that we see the differences.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:51:36 The other thing I was thinking about while reading your book and preparing for the interview then while we were in this conversation and I mentioned it right before we started the work of E. O. Wilson, the eugenics movement in the United States and in Europe and in Germany, the backlash as a result of that eugenics movement in the United States.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:51:54 That's right.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:51:55 And the rise of post-modernism and relativism and the shunning of biological explanations for outcomes, right?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:52:05 Yeah. And I'll add to that. Even anthropology went through a huge crisis in can we even compare countries and cultures in groups? I've run conferences with anthropologists and psychologists where it's really a mess because the idea is that no, that's really ethnocentric to even just characterize cultures on certain dimensions. I disagree with that, of course. So, it's not just even the biology of it. It's also even the labeling of groups and that's really become problematic in some disciplines, where power politics and so forth is much more focused.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:52:36 Mm-hmm (affirmative). Yeah. And so I think I was actually reflecting upon this while I was writing the answer to my why do I care question. Is a funny back story that maybe we can get to the overtime miscommunication, but I was thinking about how your book sort of feels kind of not out of place but in a sense out of place but not in a negative way. Sort of at least in the world that I've been focusing on, I veg out sometimes on guys like Joe Rogan. I've experienced that backlash against the left and against what I felt to be policing and political correctness of language and deplatforming and all that kind of stuff we talked about with Jonathan Haidt. I have been focusing much more on that kind of biological explanations, not because I'm particularly care but it just kind of is more the junk food that I consume. I just thought, "You know, at least in my new bubble, I don't talk much about culture." So that sort of stuck out to me.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:53:29 Yeah. There's a huge-

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:53:31 Do you feel like you're one of the only people talking about culture right now?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:53:34 Not at all. Not at all.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:53:35 Oh, interesting.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:53:35 I think that actually, my field is a huge revolution of cultural science. Psychology's gone through its own crisis, both replication crisis but also, we know for many, many years,-

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:53:45 That's a big deal.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:53:46 ... that our whole discipline is based on Americans. How can you actually look at a ... You can look at a textbook on psychology-

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:53:52 College students, too, right?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:53:52 ... and college students.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:53:52 And college students.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:53:54 As cross-cultural psychologist for 25 years, I've been complaining about this. I'm kind of nuisance factor in psychology because I know that human behavior's much broader than that and our job as psychologists is to test what's universal, what's culture-specific, how do we get ideas from other cultures that we've been ignoring because we don't have the variation in our culture? That's the kind of work we do. We try to actually expand the science of psychology by having global perspectives. That's what my work is but I think that there's a ton of work going on now.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:54:21 In fact, we just started a new society for the study of cultural evolution and it involves not just psychologists and some anthropologists but also biologists. It involves computer scientists. It involves evolutionary psychologists. It's incredibly broad. The question in the society is how do we understand the evolution of culture and its consequences and then how do we use that knowledge to help build a better world? You can argue that social norms. I mean, it's such a profound, important point in evolution of culture that we have norms. So, in my view to ignore the science of culture and worry about the distinctions you were talking about is throwing a lot out.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:54:58 That's not to say that we shouldn't be sensitive. I try to say, "Look. I'm not saying that there's not tight or loose domains in all cultures and individuals also adapt to social norms all the time." But you can measure these things and you can look at the consequences and their evolutionary pressures.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:55:10 There's a huge field, I just ran a workshop in Tennessee on just the inter-perspectives on social norms. It's a humongous field that we're just trying to bring together people from different

disciplines. That's really the best of science because, I mean, it's just so exciting place to be.

- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:55:25 I think you might have mentioned Jared Diamond in your book. Did you?
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:55:28 Yeah. And also The Revenge of Geography is another really interesting ...
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:55:31 Interesting.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:55:32 Actually, Greece was featured in that book.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:55:34 The Revenge of Geography?
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:55:36 Geography and it was all about ... Actually, some of the examples had to do with Greece like Greece was not ... Iraq by comparison with Greece was the kind of place where many groups that passed through.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:55:44 Oh, 100%. Yeah.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:55:45 Greece was kind of left alone for a while, relatively speaking. The Revenge of Geography was not exactly about what I study of how do you kind of understand and test theories around the evolution of culture but it was trying to say, "Geography matters a lot." And it's just what we try to do is try to unpack that. What about the geography, and, in my case, this has to do with threat.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:56:05 But, in any event, I'm a generalist and I think becoming too extreme in one's view is a problem. So, there's room for all those perspectives that you were talking about in the world of intellectual study of the world.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:56:18 I'm writing again furiously here, Michele. I mentioned Jared Diamond. I do want to ask you about him because Guns, Germs and Steel was a formative book for me though I'm sure it got many things wrong but I wanted to ask about him and about something in that book in particular.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:56:31 But something else came into my mind now, which is how is Sam Huntington's work viewed in your field? No. I mean, maybe you can tell our audience what ...
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:56:40 I think psychologists don't necessarily ... I mean it's a ... Yeah.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:56:42 His theory about the clash of civilizations was a popular thesis after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:56:47 That's right. That's right. I mean, I disagree with a bunch of stuff with Huntington, but one thing he did do was debunk this idea that we're all becoming so similar because the argument is that, wait, aren't we all just becoming all Western and we see people wearing jeans and eating Big Macs and drinking Starbucks around the world?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:57:02 Actually, what people misperceive about that and he talked about the Magna Mac versus the Magna Carta and these kind of deeper levels of culture that we misunderstand that we might look more similar or we might have more access to interact with people through the internet but that doesn't mean that we don't have deep-seated cultural values that we want to basically hold onto. In fact, Huntington made the prediction that, as cultures become more interdependent, that there'll be kind of a backlash, like I want to hold onto my culture. That's what we're seeing all around the world.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:57:27 So, he did actually have a lot of interesting insight into cultural dynamics that is studied in my field.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:57:35 Well, we kind of touched on this a little bit when we're talking about Iraq and that anecdote you put out there. And I remember the second Iraq invasion. You were talking about the First Persian Gulf War but the Second Gulf War, 2003, there was obviously a huge cultural gap, not surprising. It's quite shocking that a lot of people didn't seem to see that but that was during a time where I was reading the work of Edward Said and comparing his work to, I think the other guy's name was Bernays, can't remember now. He was another Middle Eastern scholar. Said was, he wrote the book Orientalism. He was actually a Palestinian versus Bernays, who was an American.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:58:13 Yeah. And Said spent some time in the US and was just disgusted by what I would say is looseness.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:58:18 Who? Said?

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:58:18 Yeah.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 00:58:19 Yeah, he was over at Columbia.

**Michele Gelfand:** 00:58:21 Yeah. I think when you read his stuff, you can see that he thinks that the place is just morally corrupt. It's interesting because we

all have really extreme stereotypes of each other. What I've done some research that's coming out in a journal.

- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:58:33 Well, let me just actually clarify what I mean, though. The reason that I mention that is because I think and I try not to do this. You mentioned our coverage on Hong Kong. I sort of went out of my way trying to find people that were from there, whether it was Ho-Fung Hung or whether it was Joshua Wong from ... Or even David Webb, who's half-Hong Kong by blood and half-English because I feel like a lot of, and this was something that I learned from the experience of the Second Gulf War in the early 2000s. I found that all these experts. America is the biggest culprit in this regard. Americans are so ethnocentric. I mean, you've traveled abroad. This was true for a long time. I'm not sure how true it is anymore but Americans used to be the most oblivious tourists in the world. They just assume that everyone spoke English and that everyone was going to understand them. They presupposed that sort of stuff.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:59:25 One of the things that I think we suffered from during that period when we were actively engaged in nation building is that we would parade all these American experts around the media telling us all about the Middle East.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 00:59:37 So, that was my point about bringing up Said versus Bernays, which is that I try, you know how they say, "Believe half of what you hear," whatever it is? I really don't take much seriously from people that aren't representatives of particular cultures.
- Michele Gelfand:** 00:59:51 Yeah. I think this is a great point. We have to listen to the voices about people from other cultures. Often we have kind of an arrogance and also an impatience to really learn about other cultures. de Tocqueville argues Americans are really patient centuries ago.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 01:00:03 Tocqueville?
- Michele Gelfand:** 01:00:04 Also, all cultures are victim to this. We meet in the media. A good example of this is some research we did in Pakistan and the US where Pakistanis, they feel Americans, our interviewed showed us, being not just loose but half-naked all the time. They just assume we're waking up drinking beer and-
- Demetri Kofinas:** 01:00:19 They must be really conservative in Pakistan.
- Michele Gelfand:** 01:00:20 ... calling police on our parents. They just see this in the media. They don't have any cultural experts telling them that, "No,

Americans are kind of serious in a lot of cases." But on the flip side, Americans, if they know where Pakistan is, they don't imagine Pakistanis playing sports or reading poetry. They think they're locked in mosques all the time. And what we did in this recent study is we just said and this is to your point about getting to know other people's perspectives, we gather daily diaries from Americans and Pakistanis every day for seven days. We ask them what are you doing now five times across the day? Then, we basically randomly assign people in Pakistan for a week to read every day an American diary unedited, so they're still waking up with their girlfriends and doing all sorts of weird stuff but they were also in a lot of situations that were really serious and they were with their parents and they were expressing their emotions, their anxieties.

- Michele Gelfand:** 01:01:06 Then, the flip side, Americans were either assigned to Pakistani diaries or American diaries. And it was remarkable the cultural change that we could see with this daily diary technique. They just got this window into each other's lives that they said, "Look. We see we're different. There's no question that one group is tighter and has less, more constraint," but they saw so much more about each other's lives and they changed their attitudes. They reduced their sense of cultural distance dramatically over this week period.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 01:01:31 Did you ever get assigned a pen pal when you were in elementary school?
- Michele Gelfand:** 01:01:34 I don't know if I did but I know that-
- Demetri Kofinas:** 01:01:37 So, I have a really cute story from my friends, Ismaris and Nicola. They've been together since, I guess in high school or earlier, writing each other. I met them when I lived and worked in Italy and we worked together. At least, Ismaris who is now ... They're married and they have a beautiful daughter. She moved to Italy to be with him until he could come to the US and he did his PhD at NYU, I think. He finished his PhD. They were pen pals because the teacher assigned them.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 01:02:09 The first question he asked her was and I won't do it in his accent but it was, "Is it true that there are alligators in the sewers in New York?" Now, isn't that fascinating? He thought that New York City was full of alligators. Another thing that persists to this day among foreigners is that New York is unsafe. Another non-truth.
- Michele Gelfand:** 01:02:29 Yeah. And Washington, too. All that.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 01:02:31 Yeah. And then I'll bring it back to your point about the media. So, I'm sure in Pakistan, the media outlets are taking these stories of kids calling their parents in order to teach the Pakistanis-

**Michele Gelfand:** 01:02:44 What not to do.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 01:02:44 ... what not to do-

**Michele Gelfand:** 01:02:45 Exactly.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 01:02:45 ... to reinforce their norms, right?

**Michele Gelfand:** 01:02:47 That's right.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 01:02:47 And fascinating.

**Michele Gelfand:** 01:02:48 It's totally fascinating because-

**Demetri Kofinas:** 01:02:49 It's just one giant-

**Michele Gelfand:** 01:02:51 Misunderstanding.

**Demetri Kofinas:** 01:02:51 How do you even extract the thread and make sense of this?

**Michele Gelfand:** 01:02:53 Well, that's why what we try to do is actually then try to intervene by giving real diaries with the real people. They were told the purpose of this study is about social memory to figure out how much they can remember. They weren't told this is about intercultural understanding.

**Michele Gelfand:** 01:03:08 But I think this daily diary technique can be really useful to gain a window into someone's actual world whether you're refugees and natives, we're starting to do some studies on this in Germany to try to bridge cultural divides between these groups, between Republicans and Democrats, immigrants and natives. I mean, we need to find a way to have some meaningful contact. It's hard to do that even if we're more connected. We stay in our echo chambers. We know that. So, diaries are one way to get a window into someone's world.

**Michele Gelfand:** 01:03:36 I mean, I had a really strange comment from a reviewer that said, "But, people can use this diary technique and they can make up diaries to try to persuade their population that this group is evil." I said, "Dude, you have a really warped view of the world," but it's true. We wrote a caveat about this. We used real diaries. We targeted real people and there's no question

any technique can be usurped for malevolent reasons but I still think that it's helpful for us because people misunderstand, back to your Huntington question, that we're more connected so therefore we get along better but actually it's not the case because we're connected to people who are very similar to ours and we don't get outside of those eco chambers. So, once we do, we sort of start seeing, "Whoa. We have a lot of similarities."

- Demetri Kofinas:** 01:04:19 You talk about being pre-med. I was pre-med, too. I was pre everything. I went through so many different things. I ended up with two majors and a minor. I minored in psychology and I remember how, when I was trying to do some of these control studies, I'm like, "Man, these subjects are the worst. This is the opposite of working with bacteria."
- Michele Gelfand:** 01:04:36 Yeah. I mean, it's very messy. No question about it.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 01:04:39 So, I'm going to switch us to the overtime. I want to prioritize a separate set of questions, not the Jared Diamond thing, but the point about Jared Diamond and we'll see if we can get to it in the overtime is why do we see these distinctions between north and south and culture? Now, of course, Diamond talked about it in terms of climate differences and things like that, if I remember correctly. Oh, no. Sorry. It wasn't climactic differences from Diamond. It was actually because people that were in the same climate, same sort of habitable zones can share technology.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 01:05:05 Okay. So, what I do want to get to in the overtime, Michele, is I want to talk about business applications in your work. I also want to talk about financial market applications. I mentioned to you by email the lipstick indicator, the hemline indicator. We know that cultures become tighter. I think we know. I say anecdotally.
- Michele Gelfand:** 01:05:25 They do.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 01:05:25 But I'm pretty sure I've seen it with financial indicators. I've seen it in fashion trends. There's a great, beautiful book called Beauty in the Age of Crisis, which is a history of fashion in the 1930s, just connecting stock markets and bull markets to tightness and looseness. I'd be interested to discuss that.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 01:05:44 There's a bunch of other stuff in your book about the differences between tight and loose organizations, startups, I mean loose startups and tight corporations and maybe think a

bit about Safi Bahcall and the episode we did on phase transitions in physics to transitions in culture. I can't believe I'm managing to get all this out. I thought we'd be able to get through everything. We have hardly gotten through anything.

- Michele Gelfand:** 01:06:06 I know. That's the kind of mark of a great podcast organizer like you. Like you're just so broad in your expertise. I think using the lens of tight/loose to understand all these things, to me is useful. That's why I wrote the book because that it's a new vocabulary to think about whether it's populism or organizational mergers and acquisitions. We've recently been looking at organizations through this lens and I guess I could just kind of chime in a little bit on that.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 01:06:31 Well, yeah. No, we'll get into that in the overtime. We'll get into the overtime.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 01:06:34 So, for our regular listeners, you know the drill. If you're new to the program, head over to [Patreon.com/hiddenforces](https://patreon.com/hiddenforces) and you can subscribe to our Audiophile, Autodidact, or Super Nerd tiers. This week's episode is a 13-page gorgeous rundown full of pictures of cannibals, partying hippies at Burning Man and all sorts of charts from Michele's book. It's a great rundown and it'll really be helpful as all the rundowns are for you guys to follow along with the episode. Remember also, I don't take sponsors so this is how I keep the show afloat and I need your support in order to continue to make that happen.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 01:07:14 Michele, thank you so much for coming on the program and stick around. We'll be right back.
- Michele Gelfand:** 01:07:18 Great to be here.
- Demetri Kofinas:** 01:07:21 Today's episode of Hidden Forces was recorded at Creative Media Design studio in New York City. For more information about this week's episode or if you want easy access to related programming, visit our website at [hiddenforces.io](https://hiddenforces.io) and subscribe to our free email list. If you want access to overtime segments, episode transcripts and show rundowns full of links and detailed information related to each and every episode, check out our premium subscription available through the Hidden Forces website or through our Patreon page at [patreon.com/hiddenforces](https://patreon.com/hiddenforces).
- Demetri Kofinas:** 01:08:00 Today's episode was produced by me and edited by Stylianos Nicolaou, For more episodes you can check out our website at [hiddenforces.io](https://hiddenforces.io). Join the conversation at Facebook, Twitter, and

Instagram at [hiddenforcespod](#) or send me an email. As always, thanks for listening. We'll see you next week.