Cultural differences between the Dutch and Greeks at work

Author: Anna Eganović

University of Twente

P.O. Box 217, 7500AE Enschede

The Netherlands

Graduation Committee:

1st Supervisor: Dr. A. H. Enklaar

2nd Supervisor: Dr. L. Carminati

Faculty: Behavioural, Management & Social Sciences

Department: MSc Business Administration

Specialization: International Management & Consultancy

Acknowledgement

First, I would like to start by thanking my first and second supervisor, A. Enklaar and L. Carminati. My first supervisor, A. Enklaar, has guided me through the entire process of creating this Master thesis, by always giving constructive feedback and having good discussions, for which I am very thankful. Also L. Carminati, second supervisor, knew how to give feedback that would trigger me to go that last extra mile.

I would also like to thank all the participants in this study and my fellow Greek students who helped me to connect to the Dutch expatriates in Greece. Without the people who took part in this study, this research would not have been possible, thus, thank you for taking the time and sharing your beautiful stories with me.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family. My family has supported me through my entire University of Twente journey. In the years where I learned so much on an academical level and beyond. Without the support from home, it would have been a much tougher journey, so thank you.

Anna Eganović,
Enschede, June 28 2024

Abstract

Nowadays, people move from every country to all over the world to work and live. In Europe people used to move from South- and South-East Europe to West-Europe to work, due to unfavorable circumstances in their home countries, these people were called guestworkers. Nowadays, people move from every country to all over the world to work and live. These workers are not called guest workers anymore, but expatriates. Greece is a country with a long history of work emigrants. However, today not only Greeks move from Greece to West-Europe to work, but also people from West-Europe to Greece. Among the people who work as expatriates in Greece are also the Dutch. Working together with different cultural backgrounds can bring up some problems in different areas. Therefore, the aim of this research is to get a better understanding of the cultural differences between the Netherlands and Greece, not by only capturing the attitudes and behaviors, but also the values and meaning behind these attitudes and behaviors. The research question for this thesis is therefore: *"Which cultural differences are perceived by Dutch expatriates working in Greece?"*

To answer this research question, an inductive qualitative research approach was used. For this study sixteen interviews with Dutch expatriates who worked and lived in Greece for at least six months was conducted. The interviewees answered questions in which the clashes between the Greek and Dutch cultures were uncovered. Using the Critical Incident Technique, where critical incidents are the incidents where two cultures clash. The critical incidents were analyzed using the Thematic Analysis and in turn, structured by using the Gioia method. Eventually, fifteen Greek cultural standards were uncovered.

The fifteen Greek cultural standards were coupled to five underlying values: Philotimo, Kairos, Sinaisthimatikos, E kai ti na kanoume, and Androkrateia. The fifteen cultural standards together with the five underlying values gives a thick description of the Greek culture, from the Dutch point of view. A thick description can be used to help understand, explain and predict Greek behavior, which can help to prevent clashes on the work floor between the Dutch and Greeks.

Keywords: Cultural standards, Cultural values, Greek culture, Dutch culture, Greek cultural standards, Dutch cultural standards, Crictical incidents

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

In the European Union the labor market has changed over the years due to free movement of workers. As a result, labor migrants and expats have become a widespread phenomenon in the EU, and as the EU grows the options for labor migrants and expats do so too. The open EU labor market makes that the labor migrants gain knowledge, can compare salaries, can develop job search strategies that go over country borders, and experience the working atmosphere and conditions in different countries and locations (Andrijasevic & Sachetto, 2016).

The countries across Europe have different cultures to which an individual migrant might have to adjust when he wants to work there. This means that the incoming workers, need to adjust to different norms and values and adjust their own behavior to the standards of that particular country. The new way of behaving can conflict with the way in which these persons behave in their home country, which can cause a culture shock. Without adjustment to local culture, critical incidents can occur in the workplace (Arthur, 2001). These critical incidents can cause friction and irritation between employees. Therefore, it is useful to study the differences between workers with different cultural backgrounds in order to create understanding, facilitate adjustment and develop a better atmosphere on the work floor, that works most efficiently and effectively (Caganova et al., 2010).

Greece is a country with a long history of work emigrants. Greeks have been guest workers themselves since the mid-sixties, when they would move temporarily to a country like Germany or The Netherlands to find work, due to the unfavorable economic and political conditions in Greece. When Greece became part of the European Union, migration became easier since free movement of professionals was one of the goals of the European Union. Nowadays, still people move away from Greece to work in West-Europe (Tseligka, 2021). These workers are not called guest workers anymore, but expatriates since they comprise not any more unskilled laborers but instead mainly highly educated professionals. However, today not only Greeks move from Greece to West-Europe to work, but also people from West-Europe to Greece (Tseligka, 2021).

Among the people who work as expatriates in Greece are also the Dutch. Greece and the Netherlands lie almost on the complete opposite sides of Europe, which raises the question whether their culture also lie on opposite sides. Various studies have treated the culture of Greece and the culture of the Netherlands, both with an etic and emic approach. However, hardly any studies have compared the two cultures, when it comes to cultural differences on the work floor. Some compared Greece and the Netherlands when it comes to for instance communication (Nagtegaal et al. 2015), and politeness (Sifianou 1992), which are all aspects of a culture, but not the complete culture itself. Most of these

studies are from some time ago and thus could be outdated. On top of that, no studies have been done looking at the Greek culture from the perspective of a Dutch expatriate.

The aim of this research is to get a better understanding of the cultural differences between the Netherlands and Greece, by studying how Dutch expatriates experience Greek culture. The goal is to make a thick description, not only capturing the attitudes and behaviors, but also the values and meaning behind these attitudes and behaviors. Understanding these can be of great value to enhance business relationships between the Netherlands and Greece and improve mutual communication.

1.1 Central research question

This thesis aims at looking into the before mentioned gap by answering the following research question:

"Which cultural differences are perceived by Dutch expatriates working in Greece?"

1.2 Sub questions

This central research question is broken down into sub-questions:

1. *What are the Greek cultural standards according to Dutch expatriates?*
2. *What is the cultural logic behind the Greek cultural standards?*
3. *How do the Dutch handle the perceived differences?*

1.3 Academic & practical relevance

The literature about the cultural differences is dominated by quantitative studies, such as the models of Hofstede and Meyer. They describe cultures by a number of dimensions representing attitudes and how high they score on these, but do not really explain the cultural logic from which these attitudes originated. A qualitative study, on the other hand can describe a culture in much more detail and give richer information, such as historical backgrounds, to get a true understanding of the entire culture. Very little academical research has been done on cultural differences between different countries within Europe. Since Greece and the Netherlands lie on opposite sides of Europe and have had a very different history and development, a comparison of the two countries can give insights in how far cultural differences within Europe go and what these differences consist of. This thesis aims at filling this research gap.

This study is of practical relevance to Dutch people who work in Greece to get a better understanding of the Greek work environment as well as for Greeks working in the Netherlands, such as university students and teachers. Also, will this study be useful to HR-managers in The Netherlands, to get a better understanding of their expat workers from Greece. Further, Greek and Dutch representatives and diplomats working together in the EU may benefit from this study.

1.4 Outline of the thesis

First, in Chapter 2 the theoretical foundation is given, where all relevant literature is discussed. In Chapter 3 the methodology of this study is discussed, where the data collection is explained. After, the results are presented and discussed in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5, Discussion, the results are compared to the theoretical foundation, the practical and theoretical contributions are given, and the limitations of this study are discussed. Finally, Chapter 6, Conclusion, draws the conclusion and gives an answer to the research question.

2. Theoretical foundation

In this chapter, first national culture is dealt with. The quantitative etic approach is illustrated with the examples of the Hofstede and Meyer model, comparing the cultures of Greece and The Netherlands. Afterwards, the qualitative emic approach is explained, as well as why there is chosen to use Thomas' qualitative approach. Lastly, the existing literature on Greek and Dutch culture will be discussed individually.

2.1 Culture

Culture is a concept that can be looked at from different points of view and at different levels. In this research the focus lies on the culture on a country level, also called the national culture.

2.1.1 National culture

The national culture refers to the norms, values, and beliefs that sets one nation apart from another nation. The national culture is also characterized by a shared language, habits, traditions, and history. All these shared characteristics, norms, values, and believes, bind the people in the nation, providing a national identity. These shared characteristics and views, shape the mindset of individuals create trust and predictability on how people will react to certain events. This process, which Enfield (2000, p.35) described as "people collectively using effectively identical assumptions in interpreting each other's actions -i.e., hypothesizing as to each other's motivations and intentions", is also called cultural logic. The cultural logic relies on stereotypes and uses this as a model to predict and explain certain actions and the train of thought behind it. Culture can only appear in a collective way, since it is based on individuals in groups, culture is a concept that does not exist on a purely individual level (Maseland & Hoorn, 2017).

Due to the fact that these groups behave and think in a certain collective and predictable way, makes that a cultural standard is developed. A cultural standard is called what is considered as 'normal' within a cultural group when it comes to behaving, thinking, responding, and judging. When a person from either within or outside the cultural group acts in a certain way, this will be judged and acted upon in the same way by the cultural group due to this cultural standard. The cultural standard is also used to explain critical incidents that can appear in situations of intercultural communication (Fink et al., 2005). Critical incidents are situations where conflicts or misunderstandings come up, due to differences in culture and the cultural standards of the parties included (Apedille & Schill, 2008). The Critical Incident Technique is a method to analyze critical incidents and identify the two different cultural standards that were involved.

The cultural standards derived from critical incidents are however insufficient to make up a thick description (Geertz, 1973). Geertz qualifies such easily observed behavior as reductionist representations, decontextualized, and often oriented towards disciplinary and demographic categories, as 'thin representation'. He aims at a 'thick representation', which is characterized by dynamic, contextualized, interpretive accounts and their social worlds, describing not only concrete behaviors but also the underlying cultural logic.

2.2 Etic approaches

Quantitative etic approach in cross-cultural studies is an approach that focuses on generalizations. This approach is often used to compare cultures of two or more countries. In this chapter two quantitative models will be discussed that compare the Dutch and Greek culture.

2.2.1 Hofstede: Greece vs. the Netherlands

Hofstede developed a quantitative model based on surveys among employees of IBM. The first model consisted of four dimensions, however, later it was extended to a six-dimension model (Shi & Wang, 2010). Since it is a survey-based model, it is focused on the attitudes of people within a society and does not give a deeper explanation why people have the attitudes they have. However, it is still a much-used model, since due to the scores per dimension it is easy to compare different societies and their attitudes towards certain aspects (Shi & Wang, 2010). The characteristics of the Greeks and Dutch are scored according to the six cultural dimensions as visible in table 1.

Dimension	Greece	Netherlands
Power distance	60	38
Individualism	35	80
Masculinity	57	14
Uncertainty avoidance	100	53
Long term orientation	45	67
Indulgence	50	68

Table 1. Hofstede scores of Greece and the Netherlands (Hofstede, 2022)

In table 1 the scores of Greece and The Netherlands are shown. Greece scores much higher on the power distance dimension. This indicates that the Greek society has more respect for authority, the elderly, and when it comes to a working environment, there is usually one person in charge for to whom one should show respect. The Netherlands scores much lower on this dimension. This implies that in the Netherlands power is not situated in one place but decentralized, which for instance means that managers do not take the power only into their own hands but lean on their team's experience and their opinions are included in taking decisions. Strict control is not appreciated, and communication is very informal and direct. Hofstede describes based on his observation the "Dutch style" as follows: hierarchy is used only when convenient, equal rights are of high importance, being independent is valued, superiors are accessible, and leaders behave in a coaching way (Hofstede insights, 2022).

On the dimension of individualism Greece scores relatively low, meaning that the Greek culture is rather collectivistic. Greeks tend to look at things from a group perspective, instead of an individualistic perspective. This also includes that family is one of the most important things to have and cherish, and that the older, more respected, generation helps the younger generation to get higher up in society. When it comes to business, Greeks are in favor of long-term relationships and therefore will first get to know a person generally before getting to business. The Netherlands however, scores very high on individualism. This means that in the Dutch culture it is expected of someone to take care of themselves mainly and their direct, close family, which was already seen in the historical pillar society (*verzuilde maatschappij*) of the Dutch, where different religions in the Netherlands lived 'separately', with their own papers, sports clubs, and schools. Furthermore, breaches of law or rules in individualistic societies cause a feeling of guilt and it will lower a person's self-esteem. When it comes to management, it is the management of individuals, also promotions and the process of hiring is based on someone's skills and not any sort of relationship, and all business-related agreements are based on contracts with mutual advantages (Hofstede insights, 2022).

The Greeks score much higher on masculinity than the Dutch and thus have a more masculine society. A masculine society is very success driven and oriented. For Greece this masculine society is combined with a collectivistic society, which often indicates that the men consider it their job and honor to take care of their family and when one of the members in the family is successful, this means to them that there is high social value for every member of their family or in-group. The Netherlands has a score of fourteen on masculinity, which is very low and thus indicates that it is a feminine society. In these types of societies, a high level of quality of life is an achievement. Therefore, the work/life balance is very important. The Dutch are known for long discussions until all parties included have reached an agreement, in feminine societies, consensus is then also of big importance to the people. When it comes to managers, they strive for this same consensus, which means that they

are supportive of their employees. They also work to strive for quality of work life, solidarity, and equality (Hofstede insights, 2022).

With a score of 100 on the dimension uncertainty avoidance, Greeks absolutely do not like uncertainty and will do anything to make situations more predictable. Therefore, in their society laws, rules, and bureaucracy are of high importance to make them feel more comfortable. In Greece the people like their rest and peace and therefore, they also value time with friends or colleagues in a relaxed setting which is very important. Looking at the uncertainty avoidance dimension, The Netherlands scores low and therefore gives less priority to uncertainty avoidance than Greece and are thus more willingly to take risks and less strict rules are in place (Hofstede insights, 2022).

When it comes to long term orientation, Greece scores mediocre, but more on the low side, which means that Greeks focus more on the weekly or sometimes even daily attributes, but do not look too much into the future, therefore, do not pin themselves down and go more with the flow. The Netherlands scores higher. This entails that The Netherlands is a pragmatic society, which means that they are more willing to adapt their traditions to conditions which may have changed over time, since this type of society believes that truth depends on the type of situation, where time and context are of essence (Hofstede insights, 2022).

Lastly, indulgence, on which Greeks score fifty, which means there is no clear preference for restraint or indulgence of their own desires. The Netherlands scores slightly higher on it, but not enough to truly have a different way of acting on it (Hofstede insights, 2022).

2.2.2 Meyer's model: Greece vs. The Netherlands

Another model used to describe cultures and to make it easy to compare two or more different cultures is the Culture map by Meyer. It is an etic but qualitative model, since the results were retrieved through interviews, however, are given through a scale. This model is mapping a culture by its position on eight scales: Communicating, Evaluating, Leading, Deciding, Trusting, Disagreeing, Scheduling, and Persuading (Meyer, 2014). This model is used to get a different point of view on the two cultures in a quantitative manner, to eventually create a broader view. In figure 2 the cultural positions of Greece and The Netherlands are shown; both will be explained in more detail below.
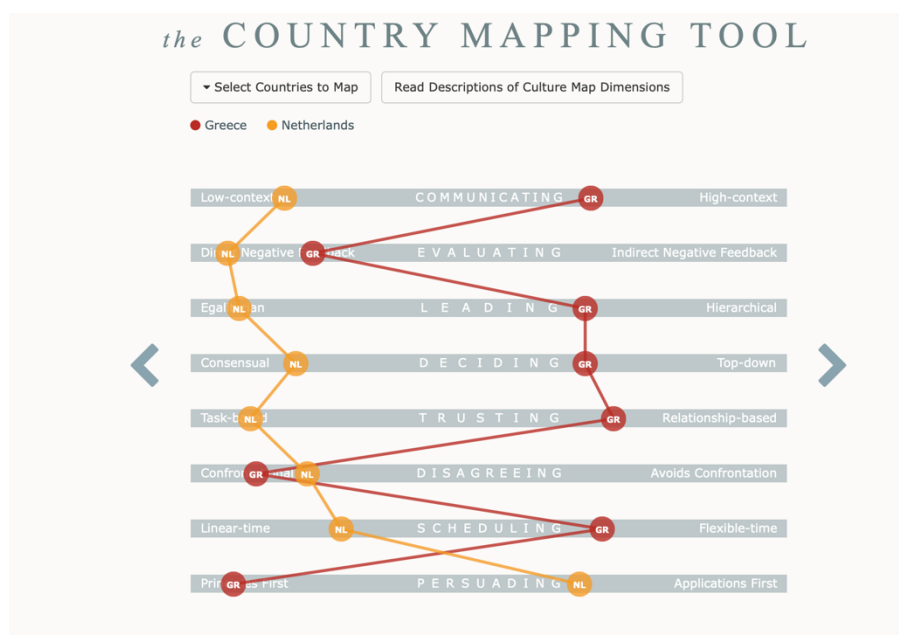
Figure 3. Meyer's Country Map Greece and The Netherlands (Meyer, 2022)

According to Meyer, Greece leans more towards a high-context communication method. This means that messages are usually given in a way where someone needs to read between the lines, since they try to layer their messages in a way that the message is not instantly in your face, but they beat more often around the bush to get their message across, to keep being sophisticated and to be attentive to the other person's emotions. For The Netherlands this is not the case, since the Dutch are described as low-context communicators. They try to keep their messages simple and clear, where barely any layering is used to come off more sophisticated, but straightforward communication is more used and appreciated in this country (Meyer, 2022).

On the evaluating scale, Greece and the Netherlands come more towards one another, where they both prefer direct negative feedback. In this case, the feedback given is usually blunt and without trying to come across as nice and soft. The feedback is given the way it is, this can be done one on one, but also in a group. No positive feedback is given wrapped around the negative feedback to make the person feel better (Meyer, 2022).

When it comes to leading, Greece and The Netherlands are far apart again, where Greece leans more towards a hierarchical way of leading, The Netherlands uses a very egalitarian way of leading. For Greece this means that there are clear hierarchical layers in the organization, where someone who has more power, like a manager or boss, stands above his subordinates, and distance and respect is expected towards this person. Also, in communication this hierarchy is respected, and status is important. In The Netherlands this is the opposite, where an organization is usually very flat, without layers. Everyone is seen as equals and therefore, the distance between an employee and his superior is very low. Communication in egalitarian organizations also does not follow any layered route but is straight towards the person that needs the message (Meyer, 2022).

Deciding is again a scale where the two countries, Greece and The Netherlands lie far apart. Greece leans towards the top-down approach. This means that the decision process is done by one person, usually the boss, which everyone accepts. In the Netherlands the consensual approach is preferred, where instead of one boss making a decision, a group of people come together to an agreement on a decision (Meyer, 2022).

Trusting people when working with them is also an important factor, but not everyone builds that trust the same way. Greece has a relationship-based process, where it is important to go out for drinks together, get a coffee, share personal information. This process asks for time since it is a deeper trust but will move faster if you have people that the both of you know and confirm that the other person is someone trustworthy. In The Netherlands, this process is very different, where it is not based on a relationship, but task based. The trust that is meant here is purely based on work, and work-related tasks, however, this does not mean trust on private matters. Thus, as soon as the work relationship is over, the entire relationship will end, and trust will disappear (Meyer, 2022).

Greece and The Netherlands are more or less the same when it comes to disagreeing. Both countries are confrontational, which means that confrontation about anything is not seen as something negative, but as something to discuss and talk about openly, which does not have an effect on the relationship (Meyer, 2022).

For scheduling, Greece and The Netherlands drive apart again, where Greece leans more towards flexible time. Flexible time scheduling has a more fluid way of working and approaching tasks, where things will be handled as they come, and interruptions and adaptations are well handled. Whereas, The Netherlands leans more towards linear time scheduling, where they start at the beginning and do one task at a time, do not like interruptions, and have a tight schedule to which they like to stick. In the linear time scheduling case, well organized projects and assignment are preferred over flexibility (Meyer, 2022).

Lastly, also on the scale of persuading Greece and The Netherlands lie further apart from one another. Greece leans towards application first, which entails starting with a fact or statement and afterwards backing up this statement or fact. Also, philosophical discussions about solutions or ideas are not appreciated, as they like to stick to business purely. The Netherlands has a principles first approach, where they like to first get deeper into a theory or explanation, before they state any fact or statement. The underlying thought and theory are sometimes more appreciated than the conclusion and thus important to start with in a presentation or report (Meyer, 2022).

2.2.3 Comparative etic study

As mentioned in the introduction, there are only a few articles that compare specifically the cultures of Greece and the Netherlands, but they deal with a very specific aspect, such as communication, but not with the entire culture, let alone in a business context. In this chapter a comparative etic study is discussed.

The communication that was researched in one of the comparative studies, a quantitative study by Nagtegaal et al. (2015), focused on non-verbal communication. From this study it appeared that Greeks are more expressive in their non-verbal communication than the Dutch are. Besides, this study found that Greek as well as Dutch women are more expressive than Greek or Dutch men. Compared to Dutch men Greek men are still more expressive in non-verbal communication. This study suggests that this could be explained by the fact that Greece is a masculine society and The Netherlands a feminine society. Where Nagtegaal et al. (2015) explains that in masculine societies men are more assertive and powerful, whereas in feminine societies men are more caring for others. In feminine societies it is also less preferable to stand out and these together could explain that Greek men are more expressive. However, this last point is a discussion point and therefore not proven and arguable.

2.3 Emic approach

Another way to describe and compare cultures is the emic interpretive approach, which may provide a "thick description", and looks more into the special and unique factors that could explain or describe a culture. This approach tries to dive usually deeper into one culture and tries to get the full experience and explanation for this culture. Therefore, this approach was chosen to compare the Greek and Dutch culture. However, most qualitative studies have an impressionistic character, highlighting only arbitrarily chosen topics. In this study the systematic approach of Thomas is used.

2.3.1 Thomas' Qualitative Approach

The qualitative approach of Thomas (1996) describes how typical behaviors of certain cultures are perceived as by foreigners. The way people behave are a product of the way they perceive, think, and feel, which are all influenced by their culture. This eventually also influences the way someone communicates and cooperates (Thomas, 2010). In the approach by Thomas (1996) two attributes are used to explain intercultural interactions, which are the Critical Incident Technique (CIT) and cultural standards.

The Critical Incident Technique is an explanatory qualitative method that stems from Flanagan in 1954 (Woolsey, 2011). It is a technique where the 'incidents', are behaviors that actually happened and were observed, and the incidents are made 'critical' because of things that significantly affected the outcome (Woolsey, 2011). The CIT helps to investigate events, which are identified by the respondent. The goal with the CIT is to get an understanding of the incident from the view of an individual, considering behavioral, cognitive and affective elements (Chell, 2004). In 1971 Fiedler et al. used the CIT method in intercultural studies to see where different cultures clash. Thomas (2010) used the CIT to also identify cultural clashes. Thomas (2010) says it does not matter how the behaviors are perceived, either as enrichment or a burden, they should be dealt with. Thomas (2010) describes five psychological perceptions, which are stimulated in the process of intercultural interaction; 1) Dealing with the contrast between what is familiar and all others; 2) cognitive and emotional conditions that are required to restructure the judgement and perception of people, symbols and events; 3) The need for social support for a person's identity security and orientation; 4) The feeling of personal involvement; 5) The need for interpersonal consistency, which is found in the tendency to strengthen someone's cultural identity, group identity and space-time stability.

The information that is subducted from critical incidents can in turn be compared between different countries and can be analyzed on the basis of cause and effect. The results of this indicate a number of behavioral relevant items that can be defined as the cultural standards of a certain culture (Thomas, 2010). Generally speaking, Thomas (2010) defines cultural standards based on five indicators; "1) Cultural standards are forms of perception, thought patterns, judgement and interaction that are shared by the majority of the members of a specific culture who regard their behavior as normal, typical and binding. 2) Own and other unfamiliar behavior is directed, regulated and judged on the basis of this cultural standard; 3) Cultural standards provide a regulatory function for mastering a given situation and dealing with people; 4) The individual and group-specific way of applying cultural standards to adjust behavior can fluctuate within a range of tolerance; 5) Forms of behavior that exceed this specific range are not accepted or sanctioned by respective collective" (Thomas, 2010, p. 22).

In the next parts, the Greek and Dutch culture will be described.

2.3.2 The Greek culture

The well-known Ancient Greek culture does not have a big connection with today's Greek culture (Herzfeld, 2020). Greece has in its history been exposed to different influences that have formed the modern Greek culture. Therefore, the modern Greek culture is complex and different features stem from different situations, this makes that some cultural features contradict, but co-exist anyway. An example of this is the strong power distance, however, generally Greeks distrust authority (Bozionelos, 2016).

Historical influence

In 1830 the modern Greek state was established. Many years before, Greece was a part of the Ottoman Empire. Prior to the Ottoman Empire, Greece fell under the Roman Empire in 146 B.C. and after this fell became part of the Byzantine Empire, which became apparent in the first centuries A.D. Since Greece has been part of different empires over its historical years, Greece has been exposed to different elements of norms and values of the different empires. Greece has for instance, been influenced by the values of Christianity, but also by the Islam. Therefore, the modern Greek culture has elements of all different influences from over the past years. After the Second World War, Greece started to implement more aspects of the Western European countries in their politics, since Greek politicians viewed West Europe as model states. The late infusion of West Europe makes that the Greek culture is more distant from Western European countries, even though they have tried to implement aspects (Bozionelos, 2016).

Greek culture in today's world still has aspects that stem from these historical events. According to Triandis and Vassiliou (1972) the modern Greek culture has six factors by which it was influenced:

1) Reaction to the domination by autocratic rulers. The main autocratic rulers that have influenced the Greek culture stem from the Byzantines and the Ottoman Empire. The Byzantines caused Christian and nationalistic concepts to infiltrate into the Greek culture. Whereas the Turkish influences are very apparent in the Greek food, music, and social values. In 1453 with the fall of Constantinople, Greece and the entire Balkan fell under the regime of the Ottomans. During this time the Ottomans used the Greek intellectuals as workers in banks and administrations, which resulted in remaining some of the values that stem from the Byzantines. Moreover, did the Greek orthodox church help during the reign of the Ottoman Empire to keep the Greek language alive and in the church, schools were still taught Greek values so it would not completely disappear.

2) Dependence on the male hero for survival of the cultural values. During the time of the Ottomans, the relationship between the Turks and Greeks was very aggressive. When the Greeks fought back, village leaders were executed, which led to the best and strongest Greeks to stay in the mountains and away from the village (the so-called 'kleftes'). This image of the ideal strong men in the mountains still lives like this in the modern Greek culture because of this. Apart from this, men during the Ottoman Empire were not much at home, thus the mothers were the only present parent at home. This put a big pressure on their shoulders, since their task was to teach the Greek social and cultural values to their children, keep her children from being pulled into the Ottoman culture, but also teach them that they are heroes. This made motherhood one of the toughest jobs during that time (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1972).

3) Scarce resources and keen competition. Greece exists for 80% out of mountains and cut up by water. These two main characteristics, mountains and water, cause isolation of the populations and groups within the population. This has an impact on the social environment, where Greeks are very attached to their island, or town and even identify with them. On top of this, is Greece very low on natural resources and with its natural characteristics it makes it hard to grow resources. The population, however, is growing, thus expectations of shortages are expected, and competition is there, but the emigration of Greeks has made that the standard of living does not fall.

4) Increased danger for boys resulting in increased protectiveness by mothers. During the Ottoman reign, the Ottomans tried to form a future military and did this by kidnapping little Christian boys from age seven to eleven and put them in school to become soldiers (so-called 'devshirme'). This made that mothers lived in constant fear and were very protective over their boys, which is still visible in today's Greek culture (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1972).

5) The unfiltered importation of, mainly political, foreign institutions. In 1821 a revolution started to get rid of the Ottoman Empire, which led to many conflicts and wars. The modern Greek state

was formed during this time, where the formation was possible by importing political institutions from West-Europe.

6) Low control over the environment. The modern Greek state that was formed, from 1821 till the present, went through a series of instabilities and conflicts, this made that Greeks are very skilled in solving crises, but lack skills for future-planning.

Most of these six factors stem from negative events that have happened during the time of the Ottoman Empire. Triandis and Vassiliou (1972) also state that the Greek society nowadays is still very collectivistic, where it is important to distinguish between in-groups and out-groups. The way a Greek will treat a person depends on whether he fits in their in-group or not, where an in-group means protection, help, and cooperation (Koutsantoni, 2005). The study by Triandis and Vasiliou is however from a century ago and it remains to be verified whether their description is still adequate for contemporary Greece. Besides, some of their descriptions and historical explanations seem to be rather implausible. Protective behavior of mothers for their sons is also seen in Italy where there was no Ottoman occupation.

In Greece, another factor that influences the society and thus in turn professional relationships is Orthodox Christianity. This has a significant defining role in things like literature, public debates, but also their culture, state, and society. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Greek state was newly established since the Ottoman Empire. This modern state quickly introduced a modern system in education and jurisdiction, which took away some of the influence of the Orthodox church that they always had in these areas. This influence they had comes from the role they had as governors for the Greek community during the Ottoman Reign. However, they remained an institution of big importance in the nation and in society. One of the biggest roles that the Greek church has played over history, is the retainment of the Greek language. The language stuck around even when Greece was under the influence of foreigners, such as in the Ottoman Reign, also, has language played the unifier for the scattered country (Georgiadou, 1995).

In the modern Greek language, there are also words that connect the language to their values. An example of this is the word "philotimo": there is not a word for this in English, only a description can be given, which is the love of honor. This love of honor is visible in the before mentioned in- and out-groups, where someone is "philotimo" when that person acts in a certain way towards their in-group, this entails being proud, self-sacrificing, truthful, polite, grateful, generous, and respectful. A person should be willing to do anything and everything to help and support their family and friends. This phenomenon can also be effective on the work floor, since it helps with cooperation and overcoming difficulties, if both parties are used to this system at least (Giousmpasoglou, 2014).

Trust is also very important in business, in Greece it gets visible, since 97% of the businesses are family-owned. Even though over the years, family ties have become a bit looser, this is still the fundamental of the Greek society (Giousmpasoglou, 2014). In-group Collectivism comes into play then, where trust is a value which appears to be very apparent in the Greek culture. To be trusted, the in-group plays a big role, where as soon as one is positioned in this in-group you will be trusted and upon this will be acted. Often in-groups include family, close friends, and the political party to which the family is tied (Bozionelos, 2016).

The influence of outside factors on who you are at work is a Greek cultural feature that is connected to the workplace, low professionalism. In general Greeks view the roles and titles they receive for their job as secondary. They also do not think appropriate and dutiful execution of tasks within these activities are very important. The low professionalism can be partially explained by the diffuse and affective nature of the Greek society. An affective and diffuse society means that they do not have a strong separation of personal and professional relationships, and where showing emotions is normal if not even encouraged (Bozionelos, 2016).

In Greek workplaces there is high formality when it comes down to the relationship between subordinates and their bosses. The culture in Greek organizations often relies on power, it depends on who it has and then in turn what this means for an employee. Since power is such an apparent attribute within the Greek workplaces, fear and obligations are often drivers for employees. On top of this, play in- and out-groups, as talked about before, a big role in the power a person has and can get. Also, a person's political ideology can have a big impact in the power one has and can get within the Greek workplace. Someone who has a family or friend tie to one of the superiors can get a special treatment. Whereas someone with a different outlook on certain political ideas can become a victim of more abuse or perceive more uncivil behavior in the workplace. Thus, not only does your position in the company count, but political ideology and ties to superiors can either give you protection or a hard time at work (Bozionelos, 2016).

These are some of the many texts about the Greeks and their culture nowadays. For literature pieces such as of Triandis and Vassiliou (1972) it remains to be seen whether their findings are still relevant and if the historical connection is accurate.

2.3.3 The Dutch culture

In today's day and age, The Netherlands is a monarchy, however, a constitutional one with a democratic decision-making process. Where in most countries, patriarchy is seen as a form of pride, in The Netherlands there is a big lack of patriarchy, but the Dutch are proud of this. The monarchy is the almost only form of nationalism that is left, where Dutch are proud in their orange clothes. In the 1960s radical experiments on cultural and social values were done by certain groups in the society (Verheul & Besamusca, 2014). Eventually, the 1960s became a time where the homogeneity of the Dutch culture and the Dutch values went up in society, but at the same the time the society became more diverse, when looking at the diversity of people and their ethnical background. These people that came from other countries were mainly from either former Dutch colonies, refugees, or workers from South- and South-East Europe (Verheul & Besamusca, 2014).

Before this multi-cultural society, The Netherlands was a country with Dutch people, where "Dutch people" can be seen as the people who spoke a kind of Dutch, however, there were still sub-groups when it came down to their mentality and religion for instance. However, it has been a very tolerant and inclusive country since early ages, which already started during the Golden Age (1575-1675), where different groups of people were allowed to take part in discussions and were all seen as equal, which caused friction during discussions, but the focus laid on consult. In today's day and age this is still visible in the Dutch culture, where discussions or meetings are still managed by discussions and consultation, more so than fighting (Mulder et al., 2019). As mentioned, religion has divided the Dutch society into sub-groups, where Christianity was the biggest religion in the country, however, the different directions within Christianity separated the country. These groups, Calvinists, Catholics and even socialists, had their own newspapers, schools, clubs, and more, resulting in a pillarized society. So, when other ethnicities came to The Netherlands with then again, their own religion, it was natural for the Dutch to let them have their own "pillar" as well. These different pillars and thus all different kinds of cultures, norms and values made it hard to describe a standard of behavior. These different pillars, eventually, ended up in postmodern individualism (Carle, 2006). However, in 1994, the government decided that the pillarization did not work especially not for the people with a non-Dutch background and thus urged for an organized integration process, in which it was expected from non-Dutch people that came to live in The Netherlands to learn the Dutch norms and values and start integrating these in their lives (Carle 2006). Some of these values are visible in table 2. These values are shared by most Dutch people, however due to the individualism in The Netherlands does not everyone interpret these values in the same way (Enklaar, 2007).

Value	Explanation
Christian values	
Salvation	If we make good decisions, we will get a good future
Blame	You have to admit to the mistakes that you make
Neighbourly love	Care for each other, do not do something to another if you would not want it happening to you
Truth	Always speak the truth
Weberian values	
Labor	Labor is good
Order and cleanliness	Always have your things aligned
Utility	Everything you do has to be worth something
Reliability	Always do what you have promised
Temperance	Always control yourself
Dutch values	
Agreement	Always try to come to an agreement
Equality	Do not think that you are better than others
Self-determination	Everything has to mind their own business

Table 2. Dutch values (Enklaar, 2007)

The way that Dutch people interpret the values also partially lies on their location within The Netherlands. Since even when towns or villages lie close to each other their interpretation of certain values and norms might be very different, which is because, amongst other things, of their different believes. In the Netherlands this is mostly the Christian Catholics versus the Christian Protestants, where Catholics are known for their stricter family-oriented values, whereas in the protestant believe the people are less strict on family values and lie more emphasis on the individual responsibility (Sobotka & Adiguzel, 2002). In figure 3 the spread of believe in the Netherlands is visible. Apart from religion, class plays a role in cultural differences within The Netherlands, where the lower working classes used to live in the same area or same neighborhood, for instance the "Schilderswijk" or the "Jordaan", where they had their own slightly different culture, however, nowadays more people from those areas have moved and thus has this culture been more spread over the Netherlands than strictly in one place (Mulder et al., 2019).
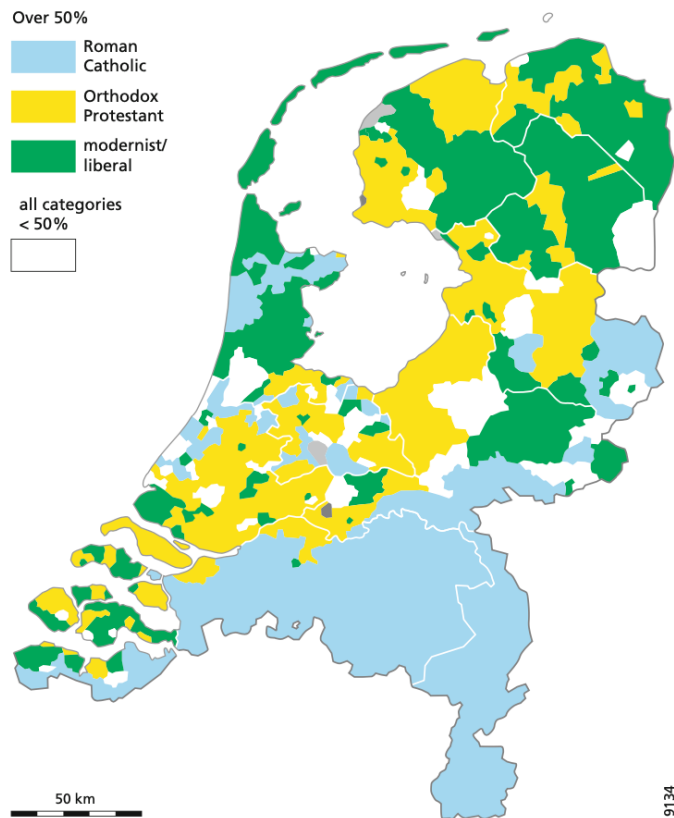
Figure 4. Spread of religion In the Netherlands (Mulder et al., 2019)

On top of the religious and class segregation within The Netherlands came the immigrants that came from former colonial districts, but later on also refugees who had to flee from wars in their home country. The big melting pot that started to evolve with all different types of standards combined, naturally made the Netherlands a non-hierarchal and individualistic society, which regulated itself (Mijnhardt, 2010). This melting pot, however, is not always easily accepted, where Dutch also often choose to function in the in-group, which in this case is meant Dutch people, where the out-group is seen as the immigrants. Since, immigrants can sometimes be viewed by the Dutch as a threat to the Dutch society and culture (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002).

2.4.2 Comparative emic study

A qualitative study by Sifianou (1992), was done with a comparison between Greece and England on politeness. However, within the study also the Netherlands came forward, compared to Greece. This study actually gives a similarity between the Netherlands and Greece, where when talking about nicknames, in both the Greek and Dutch systems, nicknames are very commonly used. However, the Dutch mostly use nicknames out of nonchalant attitude, whereas in Greece the nicknames are used mostly to express endearment for someone.

In the current literature available, little to no materials are available where directly the Dutch and Greek culture and work culture are compared and explained. There are two comparable studies available, as discussed, however these studies do not give a full overview of the differences between the Dutch and Greek work cultures. In the quantitative studies the Greeks and Dutch lie for most parts on opposite sides in how they work as a society, in both, the model of Hofstede as well as in the model of Meyer, where for instance the masculinity in Greece is very high, whereas in the Netherlands low, and where the Dutch make decisions based on consensual behavior, the Greeks have a top-down approach. The qualitative studies show many attributes that describe the Greek and Dutch culture and where the attributes could stem from, such as their history and religion backgrounds. However, if the experiences from the past studies are still what is experienced today is questionable since many studies have been done several years ago. In the next chapters, this research will dive deeper into the current experience of Dutch expatriates in Greece.

3. Methodology

3.1 Research design

For this research an inductive qualitative approach is used. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000, p. 43) qualitative research is "an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them." The aim of qualitative research is to identify and get an understanding of certain human behavior (Kuczynski & Daly, 2003). The specific inductive approach is a way to analyze the qualitative data, where the analysis is not already guided by pre-occupied objectives (Thomas, 2003). In this research we look at cultural differences, which entails human behavior and thinking, but with already background information from theoretical research. Thus, this research calls for an inductive qualitative approach.

3.2 Data collection

The data will be collected through semi-structured interviews with at least sixteen Dutch people who work in Greece. Earlier research shows that sixteen interviews is the minimum number of interviews to get saturated data (Thesing, 2016). The Dutch employees in this research have to meet the following requirements. They should be working in a Greek company or at least collaborate with Greek colleagues on a daily basis at their work. They should work in Greece at least six months, to have a higher chance of them being out of the 'honeymoon phase'. The honeymoon phase is first phase of a stay abroad when people still love every aspect of the host culture and surroundings being different. This phase can last from a few days up to six months; therefore, the cutoff point of six months was chosen to make sure that the interviewees are out of this phase (Cieri et al., 1991). Also, participants will be selected with different demographic characteristics (age, gender, sector etc.), to ensure variety and thus a more realistic outlook on the conclusions that will come out of this research. The participants will be approached through the internet, social media, and mutuals.

3.3 Sample description

In table 3 an overview is given of the interviewees who participated in this research. In this table is visible that the interviewed group is out of balance in the factor gender, where there are more women who participated than men. Also, the sector tourism is high. Since the sector and gender factors are skewed, the outcome can be skewed as well.

Interviewee	Gender	Age	Years of working in Greece	Where in Greece	Job position
1	F	67	27	Corfu	Teacher
2	F	48	15	Skopelos	Wedding planner
3	F	58	29	Skopelos	Real estate agent
4	F	53	30	Corfu	Operations manager
5	F	55	31	Corfu	Sales manager
6	F	38	6	Thessaloniki	Real estate agent
7	M	67	13	Kreta	Boat tour operator
8	F	59	33	Corfu	Travel agency
9	F	58	30	Corfu	Tour operator
10	F	59	35	Corfu	Manager
11	M	54	21	Rhodes	Hotel operations manager
12	F	58	32	Rhodes	Saxophonist
13	F	50	31	Rhodes	Entrepreneur
14	F	68	20	Rhodes	Hostess
15	F	31	6	Corfu	Tour operator
16	F	50	23	Rhodes	Travel agency

Table 3. Demographics interviewees.

3.4 Research instrument

For this research, open semi-structured interviews will be used to gain the needed data. Open semi-structured interviews were chosen because non standardized interviews, such as a semi-structured interview, are a form that helps to gather data that usually is observed. This method does not only answer the 'how' and 'what' questions, but also goes into the 'why', to get a deeper understanding of situations (Saunders et al., 2009). Semi-structured interviews can lead an interview so that the interviewer does get the information that they are looking for, but at the same time gives a lot of room for conversation and extensive answers from the participants, so that their experiences can come to the front and their true answers and opinions get the room to come across. Follow-up questions in these types of interviews can also be important to get a better understanding (Leavy, 2014). Sometimes certain questions in an interview can also be perceived as sensitive or hard to answer for an interviewee, this approach can also help in this case, since room is given for their own answers and due to conversation, the interviewer can make the interviewee more comfortable (Miles & Gilbert, 2005). This instrument is important in this research to get a deep understanding of the cultural differences, and if negative aspects come up that may be sensitive to talk about for some interviewees, this approach can also help to make them comfortable to talk about it anyways.

3.4.1 Interview protocol

The interview started with introductory questions like, their age, gender, position in the company, and length of employment in Greece. These questions were asked to later on create a table where demographics got visible. Furthermore, started the interview with questions that were about their daily life at work, to step by step dive deeper into the critical incidents experienced by the interviewees. This build up was used to slowly make the interviewee more comfortable and give more trust, so that the answers would be genuine and complete. Before the start of the interview, it was asked if recording the interview was allowed and it was guaranteed that their anonymity was assured by not sharing information about their name or company name. The Interviews were done through Teams, since the interviewees lived in Greece, which made it hard to do it face to face. The interviews were approximately an hour long with twenty-nine questions. The interviews were recorded and transcribed during the interview via Teams and the transcribed document was checked afterwards to prevent mistakes. In Appendix A the interview guide is visible.

3.5 Data analysis

Eventually the data that came out of the interviews was analyzed by using the thematic analysis. The thematic analysis is an analysis that has multiple following steps but is mostly focused on searching for repetitive answers in a textual data set. It started with a data set, in this case with data from interviews, where while reading through them the concern lied on finding themes that come forward in the entire data set. The theme usually came forward across interview data and was in relation to the research question, in this case, the critical incidents that the Dutch experienced while working in Greece. There were six steps in total that were followed. At first, one dove into the data set, so that all the textual data was known to the researcher. Following coding the, in this case critical incidents that came forward, which makes sure that the data gets more organized. Next up, the search for overarching themes, where some codes had the same overarching theme. After this, reviewing the themes is important, so that only the relevant themes remained, and no unclear or irrelevant themes stayed. Once this was done the themes that remained were named correctly and, in some cases, sub-themes as well. Lastly, the answers were written in a report, here in a thesis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

In this process the Gioia and colleagues' (2013) method, as an example is visible in figure 3, was used to give a clear overview of the structure of the data set when it was coded and grouped in themes.
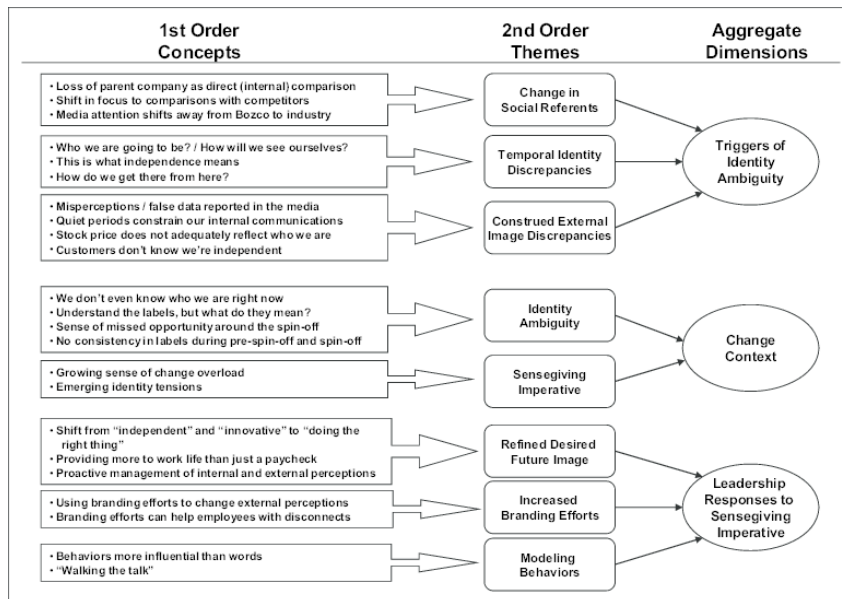
Figure 3. Example Gioia method scheme (Corley & Gioia, 2004)

4. Results

4.1 Interview results

The interviews revealed a number of typical Greek behaviors that differ from the Dutch behavior. In table 4 below, these Greek cultural standards are ranked from a Dutch perspective according to the frequency with which they were mentioned during the interviews.

Nr.	Standard	Explanation	Frequency
1	Respect for hierarchy	Respect and obedience to people in a higher position	16
2	Planning and organization	Do not spend much time on planning and organization	13
3	Standoffish with strangers	Not instantly open and amicable towards strangers, more so towards people from their own community	11
4	Indirect communication	do not say directly what they think	11
5	Responsibility	One takes does not take responsibility for own actions and will however one can put the blame on someone or something else	11
6	Cursing and shouting	Cursing and bickering on the work floor is seen as normal.	10
7	Community	Focused on family and community	9
8	Extrinsic motivation	Extrinsic motivation where the motivation comes from external sources, such as money or authority, instead of from inside motivation	6
9	Appointments	Appointments are easy to make, however, will often not be fulfilled	6
10	Gender role	The traditional roles of men and women are still more apparent in the private as well as work settings	5
11	Hospitality	Hospitable to other people	4
12	Private circumstances	A boss will feel for an employee's private situation and act upon it	4
13	Flexibility	Very flexible in the way of living and working	3
14	Showing emotions	Openly Showing emotions is a normal way of expressing one self.	3
15	Easy going	Not acting immediate	3

Table 4. Greek cultural standards

4.1.1 Respect for hierarchy

There is a very visible hierarchy in Greece in many companies. In Greece this means that people who have power and are higher in the pyramid are getting more respect. This takes different forms, where in many cases a formal 'you' is used when speaking to a manager or boss. Also, obedience is important, where a person who stands above one in the hierarchy will tell you what to do and no rebuttal is either expected or accepted. If one does go against the manager or boss, it can lead to a warning or being fired. The companies where there is a very cascading hierarchy makes that employees are more often demotivated and only work when the boss looks, also fear comes often into play.

"It is really a cascading hierarchy and I think that we, people from the lower positions, really look up to it…It is expected that what the boss tells you, is the way it goes, so you also do not go against it." - interviewee 5

"We functioned in the building of the agency where there was a kind of terror hierarchy. It was a family company and from the top floor often came yelling. They also do not look at you when they talk to you." - interviewee 14

 "Managers are managers in the sense that you do need to have respect, but you do not need to do everything they tell you to, your own input is also appreciated. However, at the company I worked before…That was a couple, the man and a woman and their daughter, but that was really… The man was the boss and you do need to do what you were told to, period." – interviewee 6

In the Netherlands, the norm is to treat each other as equals on the work floor, where the level of power one has, does not matter in the way people treat each other. Where the Greeks often cannot speak up if their opinion is different from their boss', the Dutch can and will. In the Dutch culture having and giving an opinion predominates, where if the opinion of the employee differs from the employer's it will be brought up and discussed, instead of being shut down.

4.1.2 Planning and organization

Greeks do not give much attention to planning or organization. More apparent are taking things as they come daily. The priority for the Greeks simply does not lie in having structure or make a planning in order to do things as efficient as possible.

"In terms of the nature of work, it simply depends on the moment. Yes, sometimes you can't do anything at all and then within half an hour, we're running around like crazy to get all the services sorted out. It depends on whether you also dive into the depth of the type of work I do or not." – interviewee 4

"Yes, generally speaking, but you see, I know that I had a German colleague and I often worked with him. We thought, 'Yeah you know this could just be better organized from the beginning.' To make it easier for us, so that we spend less time and don't have to do the same thing over and over again. The processes need to be better structured. That's not always the case. Either it's difficult to implement or it's difficult to get support for it. But yeah, you do notice very much that we come from Northern Europe and there's a strong emphasis there on processes, transparency, and efficiency. That really a thing." – interviewee 1

"My daughter's school starts at 8 o'clock, and I'm there at 5 to 8 because she's performing when she's 10 or 12, and there are still all these people chatting away. Well, I'm also chatting away, but it doesn't start at 8 o'clock, and I still had so much to do. I had to plan a hotel visit and I had to make envelopes, and that half hour they take away from me, how do they come up with that? I'm sitting there, but I don't have time for all that, it doesn't matter to them at all." – interviewee 7

The Dutch do have a preference for structured processes, believing this will produce more efficiency. The value "Order and cleanliness" comes into play here, where the Dutch see it of essence to have your business well organized, therefore, expect others to have this as well. This is for work as well as in private situations. So, Dutchmen have difficulty with structureless situations without strict planning where they sometimes suddenly have to run or improvise.

4.1.3 Standoffish with strangers

Greeks tend to first want to watch who the stranger is, what they are doing in Greece, how they act, before opening up. Therefore, as an expat in Greece it can be hard the first period to get into close contact with locals, since they are more likely to wait and see. In turn this makes that many expats turn to other expats from the start since this is for most an easier way to make friends. Over time expats get into contact with the Greeks with deeper relationships, however the first contacts have then already been created. However, it seemingly appears that there are factors which can influence the openness of the Greeks from the start. Two factors came across, which are knowledge of the Greek language and a Greek partner. Expats who either speak the Greek language from the start or who come to Greece for their Greek partner, seem to be accepted quicker and therefore get easier into close contact with the locals. In Greece itself, however, are also differences how easily someone gets accepted. In big cities on the mainland, such as Athens, expats in general are easier accepted by the Greeks. On the other hand, the islands and villages give expats a harder time in the beginning, since they have a bigger focus on the people they know and mostly family.

"No, oh, definitely not. That's here on the island when I moved here. It's, of course, a small island. It has 5000 inhabitants. In the summer, of course, it's 5 times as much, but those islanders, especially the women, but really everyone, in the beginning of my work, it was very challenging to set it up here because they really scrutinized me. Who are you, what are you doing here, and they understood that it wasn't all that good, actually. It didn't go all that easily. At first, I had a lot of trouble, let's say, setting up the wedding planning here. That was really not easy. It took me a lot. It really took me a few years to bring some structure to it and for people to trust me, to know what I was doing, and jealousy plays a role, of course, in a small place. So, in the beginning, it absolutely wasn't easy. No, I wasn't immediately embraced by that community and welcomed with open arms. Absolutely not, no."
– interviewee 2

"No, it wasn't difficult for me, and I think that's also because I'm married to a Greek man." –
interviewee 9

"Neighbourly love", "Equality", and "Self-determination" are three Dutch values that make that the Dutch are acceptingly towards strangers, since one has to treat someone as one would want to be treated. Also, one should not think one is better than someone else and therefore be open and accepting towards each other. In the Netherlands people do not make a difference between in- and out-group but are the way they are and do not distinguish.

4.1.4 Indirect communication

High context is something the Greeks use when communicating with each other. In Greece it is seen as rude, and people can feel attacked or even get confused when communication takes place in a very direct manner. Greeks tend to package their message into a lot of other words, therefore reading between the lines is necessary to get the actual message they are communicating. To come across as polite and nice has priority over getting the true message across.

"Yes, in my case at least, because Greeks tend to avoid conflict. They won't say something quickly, wheras I do in my Dutch manner. We are very direct, so I say everything, and that's difficult at first because then my husband would warn me, like, 'You're too direct. That scares people off.'"– interviewee 3

"It seems like Greeks are a closed book; it always appears different from reality. They tell stories they want you to hear, but never completely honestly." – interviewee 14

The Dutch are known for being very direct in communication, which stems from the value "Truth". For the Dutch it is important to get an immediate message across, so that the message comes across clear and truthful. The truth is more important to the Dutch than being polite and kind. For the Greeks this is the other way around.

4.1.5 Responsibility

In the work atmosphere as well as the private atmosphere, Greeks tend to always seek a cause for a problem outside themselves. When one is made aware of a problem, the first reaction tends to be that this problem is not due to them. As soon as one has put the blame on something or someone else, the problem to them is gone. The overall solution to a problem does not seem to concern Greeks, only knowing or getting someone else to believe that the blame cannot be put on them, is for Greeks enough to view the problem as resolved. When results are not as they should be, Greeks tend to be fine with that, instead of trying to actually achieve the asked results.

"The first thing they say here is 'Oh I wasn't there'. You see, I found that strange because it wasn't like in the Netherlands and not like me either. I think Dutch people would react differently. So, I always used to ask, 'What happened? Maybe I wasn't there, let's see what happened. What was the amount? What was the name?' You know? And they didn't understand that. Then they look at me as if I'm crazy and maybe they really think I did it. Yes, they deny it right away. No, I didn't work there at all. That's not the point at all. There's a problem, something went wrong, so we need to figure out who did it so we can understand why and how and what we can do now. That's the point, you see? It's not about who did it, that you have to go stand in the corner. No, I found that very strange." – interviewee 2

"Well, that laziness. For example, once we ordered flowers from the mainland, and that's not always easy. At first, the florist could say, "Oh, we ordered white flowers, but they're cream-colored or pink," and then they would think, "Oh well, that's okay." But that's not acceptable. You can't say, "No, that's okay," or just brush it off with "Oh, we'll fix that easily." There's a sort of lack of responsibility sometimes, and you generally see that in Greek culture. People quickly deflect responsibility and blame others. It's never their own fault. That laziness, oh well, they keep getting away with it, or they think they keep getting away with it. I just find that unbelievable. I feel responsible." – interviewee 3

"Guilt" and "Truth" come into play in this case for the Dutch. Where it is expected that you come out for the mistakes you have made and speak the truth about what you did and did not do. The solution is for the Dutch also very important, often more so than who caused it. "Reliability" is important as well in this case, where the Dutch are doing what they have promised and therefore, if results do not match with what was agreed on, one will feel the responsibility for this and will try to do everything to get results as they promised.

4.1.6 Cursing and shouting

On the Greek work floor, cursing and bickering is a normal way of working and dealing with stressful situations or disagreements. Instead of apologizing after an argument, the Greeks are able to move on like there was never an argument.

"Then we can get along just fine, right? Yes, we have our disagreements sometimes, but oh well, that's just how it goes. Yes, we might yell at each other once in a while and slam the door shut, but then I'll come back the next day" – interviewee 10

"It's difficult for a Dutch person to feel relaxed within such a very Greek, 'old-fashioned,' and explosive work culture. I've learned to adapt fairly well to it by now." – interviewee 12

"Hierarchy within Neckermann tour guides, coastal chiefs, and supervisors, and we were in the agency building where a sort of terror hierarchy prevailed… it was a family business, and there were often loud shouts from the top floor... and they don't look at you when they talk to you... that once led to a confrontation for me." – interviewee 13

On the Dutch work floor, you are less likely to find cursing and fighting. "Consensus" is an important value to the Dutch, where and agreement is always the wished outcome. To get to an agreement the Dutch will have conversations to get to this point, cursing is usually not part of this. It means that between the two persons there now is a conflict which should be resolved by apologies. This is also due to "Moderation", since will try to control themselves and thus outbursts are something one will try to avoid. If an argument, however, will occur it is seen as normal to apologize afterwards, before moving on.

4.1.7 Community

Greeks are very involved in the lives of the people who are in their circle. People who one has known for a long time or family and friends that one grew up with are mostly part of their circle. Instead of living their own lives, people are involved in each other's lives, where sometimes decisions are being made by family members for one, but also food and drinks are often a collectivistic experience. Friends in some cases are one's family but can also be people who feel like family. Everything is shared and people are not afraid to interfere in each other's business.

"With my foreign colleagues, especially with the Greek colleagues, I am now in a village. I am obviously not entirely representative. In the village, there is a culture of being strongly connected to the family, and the family provides more than enough social contacts. Usually, people here have more children and also extended family members like nephews and nieces. Here, people never really learned to make friends in the traditional sense. Friends here are your family. So, if your brother or sister brings home a daughter-in-law, or whatever you call it at home, she also becomes your friend, and her siblings are also considered friends. Therefore, making friends with someone like me, who just suddenly lands here, is less common and therefore a bit more difficult. They are all friendly and nice, but it's more of a community that focuses on family ties. They do stand outside my door honking and calling for me to come out, but they don't come inside. That's how it is here." – interviewee 7

"Mainly, it's only within the work context, but it's not for any particular reason. I think it has more to do with the character of the Greeks here on this island. It's very typical, yes. They are very much to themselves, well not to themselves, but they do spend a lot of time with each other within the family circle. They have many family gatherings, they eat together a lot, and then they go somewhere together. You know, it's all about family, family, family. So that's why, yeah, it's not like 'oh, just come and join us for a meal.' It's really family affairs. It was very different on Samos, for example, there we had much more of being together in an informal setting and also eating together with others." – interviewee 10

On the other side, Are the Dutch very individualistic, which also can be seen through the value "Self-determination", where one only minds their own business instead of minding other people's business. Minding one's own business goes for strangers as well as people who are close to a person. Where everyone lives their own life and is not focused on the collectivistic of their circle, everyone makes decisions for their own benefit.

4.1.8 Extrinsic motivation

The motivation of Greeks, while working, seems to be coming generally from external resources and rewards. Money and hierarchy are attributes that seem to motivate Greeks to work, however when these rewards and resources are out of their sight, their motivation collapses. When the boss comes and takes a look, Greeks are up and running, however when the boss is not around, one seems to be not interested in the work they have to do. Extrinsic motivation is the main drive for Greeks.

"It was quite funny at one point, when we had night shifts and the bell rang, they would say the bell rang and then we would just walk. But the Greek nurses didn't rush to those bells unless there was one particular time, and then they flew. I thought, what is this? Yes, because they just knew that if the wealthy people or private individuals came, they would get tips." - interviewee 5

"In the beginning of my stay in Greece, I could clearly notice the differences and better compare them to the Dutch way of working. Generally speaking, you could say that the Greek work ethic is really focused on working to earn money and be able to live. In the Netherlands, it might be the other way around. Here, it seems more important to live to work, and certain steps in your career are taken, such as pursuing education to get into a good position. In that sense, the approach in Greece is much more pragmatic." – interviewee 8

"Yes, I never really had any issues with it, being a foreigner, because as a Dutch person, you're accustomed to working to produce something, to have satisfaction at the end of the day, not just to receive your salary at the end of the month, but to also derive something personally fulfilling from it. And that's something they don't know, and they respect that a lot." – interviewee 2

"Labor" and "Utility" are two attributes which are important to the Dutch, where labor is seen as something good to do and utility has to do with the opinion that everything one does has to be worth something. This makes that the Dutch are working to get a feeling of accomplishment for themselves instead of working because you have to, to earn money, which is more visible with the Greeks. This makes that the Dutch have intrinsic motivation and therefore, if a boss looks or not does not matter, since one wants to feel accomplished for themselves.

4.1.9 Appointments

When it comes to appointments, Greeks make them easily, however, are flexible with the agreed upon time and place. In Greece, an appointment does not mean that one actually will show up. When in their schedule other attributes come up, one will choose themselves what they find more important, without letting the person made an appointment with, know that they will come later or another day. Appointments are linked with organization and planning, and as discussed in chapter 4.1.2, the priority of Greeks does not lie at having a planning and actin in an efficient way, which makes that appointments will often also not be seen as priority and therefore, will not be accomplished as agreed upon.

"Greeks are very difficult to pin down, and making an appointment is extremely challenging. The only thing that helps me with that is, of course, speaking Greek. Regarding my job, there are many additional things that come along with it, where I can help people and offer work. So, when a house is sold, sometimes things need to be done in that house, whether it's an electrician, plumber, someone who plaster walls, or someone working on the roof, you name it. People are gradually starting to understand that there is always work associated with the things I sell. But I still find it difficult. There are very few people who actually show up on the day we agree upon, and very often, calls are not returned." – interviewee 6

"Well, what I constantly experience in Limani is that making appointments is very strange, especially when it comes to bus and taxi drivers, but also hoteliers and reception staff. Anything related to tourism seems to fall outside the norm. Making appointments turns out to be a big ordeal. For example, if I have an appointment with the optician or electrician at 9 o'clock, and I make that appointment a day before, they'll say, "Give me a call tomorrow just to confirm," because otherwise it doesn't seem like it can go ahead or because it might run late. I've been looking for a refrigerator repairman for 3 weeks now because they either don't show up or they do, but I'm at my daughter's school which starts at 8 o'clock. I'm there at 5 to 8 because she's performing, but there are all these people chatting away. Well, I chat too, but it doesn't start at 8 o'clock, and I still have so much to do like planning a hotel visit and making envelopes, and that half hour they take for me, how do they come up with that?" – interviewee 7

For the Dutch are "Reliability" and "Order and cleanliness" important attributes, as discussed in previous chapters as well. This makes that when one agrees upon an appointment with a person, one will expect that both parties take the appointment seriously and therefore, show up on the exact date

and time as agreed upon. There are also cases where an unexpected situation will appear, then expected is to as soon as one knows cancel the appointment and reschedule.

4.1.10 Gender role

In the Greek society, and therefore, also on the work floor, gender roles are still divided in more traditional manners, women are caretakers and men are the head of the family and occupy managing functions. Where women have a bigger focus on their appearance, men will determine whether their girlfriend is allowed to go out with friends or not for example, to not get gossip in their community, and where women still feel the pressure to work harder than men to get into higher work positions.

"Yes, well, you can see it in my hairstyle. I put in a lot of curls, do a bit of styling, and then I'm ready. But here, for example, someone goes to the hairdresser every week, I completely don't understand that. I don't understand that at all. That's just how it is. Speaking of clothing, yes, my sister's aunt thinks the clothes should be very beautiful. They have to be really perfect. Yeah, I don't know, it's all about appearance, but I don't mind at all. They can do as they please. But my daughter, your age, when she came here last year, she came for her studies and she didn't understand why people here wear long nails and fake nails, layered and styled perfectly. In the Netherlands, it's much less common, much less. Yes, it's very funny to see. Yes." – interviewee 7

"I said, I sometimes think, at least not as much now, but when I first moved here, for example, my husband was very easy going. So, if he was working in the evenings and I went out for a drink with a friend, he wouldn't make a fuss about it. But then if I sometimes asked a Greek girl if she wanted to join us for a drink, the standard answer would be an immediate 'no, because my husband or boyfriend doesn't allow it, or I don't know what.' And then I thought, not allowed? I mean, you just say 'I'm going for a drink,' yes. But I think nowadays it's actually not like that anymore." – interviewee 9

In the Netherlands the women have taken a more independent and equal position, where a woman will determine by herself if she will do something, or go out and is not stopped by her husband or boyfriend. Also, the appearance of a woman is not determined by her nails, hair or make-up and a natural approach towards these attributes are more likely to be seen on Dutch women. Lastly, Dutch women do get opportunities to get into higher positions at work, just as Greek women, however, seem to feel less pressure since opportunities are more equal to men and women.

4.1.11 Hospitality

Even though Greeks tend to be standoffish towards strangers, as described before, there is also a part of their culture where hospitality is important and comes out, the more one gets to know a person. Greeks are very welcoming, where one will spontaneously invite a person over for food and drinks, will have conversations with one on the streets and friendliness as key attribute. The connection one can get with Greeks can soon become amical, where just friendliness is passed.

"Well, Greeks are quite easy-going. They are very friendly, and they really enjoy humour. So, if you throw in some humour, you quickly establish a connection. And that works really well, so basically with everyone I work with, when I look back at the relationship we had in the beginning, it has actually been quite easy in terms of interaction, being able to call them, ask questions, and so on. You do have to guide them, but that's separate. But overall, the communication is easy. Yes." – interviewee 3

"Yes, definitely, especially because I've worked here for so long. Most of my colleagues work here for two or three years, and I was one of the longest-serving employees. I also know a lot of people. So, yes, you get invited, right? Once I was here for Easter, and they call you over because Easter is the biggest celebration here. And even if you say you've had enough to eat, they still bring you another plate of food because that's just how it is here. It might take some getting used to at first, but then they ask about your work again, and when you tell them what you do, they say, "Oh, that's great!" And then you meet them again later, and they're at the bar offering you a beer, and then you're in. The same happens with Greeks themselves often. When you work here, you see people several times. You walk down the street, you see each other 5 or 6 times, then you get a "kalimera" (good morning) and all that. Eventually, you buy something from their shop, and then you're invited for raki next time. So, it all goes like that. And if you're in a bar where many Greeks go an' they know you, then you're also included in the whole story." – interviewee 11

The Dutch in this case are more individualistic and keep relationships with people they do not know well, on the service. Dutch are very good in making and showing up at appointments, however, also prefer to have appointments for everything, therefore, spontaneous invites for food and drinks will not be seen often or even at all.

4.1.12 Private circumstances

Even though a high hierarchy predominates, the concerns of the boss towards the private lives and well-being of the employees plays a big role in Greece. This can be expressed in different ways, such as surgery payment or kids who are allowed to come to work if it is needed. Family comes first, is a term that is lived by in Greece, therefore, also in work situations.

"In the company where I work, yes, that might be quite different, but Greeks are generally very humane. They are very concerned about family. So, when my children were young and I was at work, if they happened to overhear someone saying, 'Okay, give him a little paracetamol,' for example, when your child is sick and you need to leave, you know, they are very compassionate. Family comes first for them, above all else." – interviewee 2

"Checking up on each other, because we have daily contact, comes naturally. I must say, in 2020, both my parents passed away two days apart. Well, at that time, I had only been working there for a few months. I was called by my employer, and even now, well, I mean, yes, attention was also given to that. Generally, at our workplace, it's very easy if someone is sick, not feeling well, or if their child is sick. So, we just say, go home, and then the others pick up the slack, and it's not like 'how many hours have you not worked?' It doesn't work like that now. If you need to go home, you go home, and actually, it's expected that if you need help later on, you'll do a bit extra and work a bit longer." – interviewee 4

"Well, I think it's also good. Look, we just have a lot of things, of course, all those family matters. Those have naturally occurred over the years. Yes, everyone has their own books, their families. We have our family too, so there have been difficult situations at times, you know, just tough situations, and then I find it very nice here in Greece. Then you get the time and the peace to recover a bit, right? From a death or whatever, I'm just giving an example, they're not like, okay, well, that funeral's over, back to work. You know. Yes, a bit separated, so you still have a bit of privacy, right? Just, I don't have to lay everything out on the table. If I don't want to, I won't. You know? And that also helps them, so I notice that too. Oh yes, some things they're not honest or open about. Oh, okay, fine, yes, then we can. Yeah, yeah, yeah.
" – interviewee 10

For the Dutch "Self-determination" comes into play in this case, where everyone has to mind their own business. This also applies for private situations when one is at work. In some cases, where very

serious and dangerous situations appear to happen, exceptions will be made, however, the rule is to deal with your own situations in your own time.

4.1.13 Flexibility

Where on the one hand, as discussed in previous chapters, appointments and organization is not a priority to Greeks, flexibility is. One's own pace is important, where stress and pressure, often do not come into play in the lives of the Greeks. Calling someone late at night or changing attributes last minute are all possible and not strange in Greece.

"Yes, it's fun. With Greeks, you always have a good time, definitely. And you know what? Because I do talk a lot about complacency, but they are also flexible. That's why you can just call someone here at 10 or 11 o'clock at night for something, and it just happens. There's a lot of flexibility in that or arranging something last minute. I often come up with things where bridal couples really think, "how is that possible," but being able to arrange something at the very last moment, that's just possible. And that's the advantage." – interviewee 3

The Dutch are not as flexible as the Greeks are. Appointments and results are always met; however this comes with inflexibility on the other side, the Dutch will always have a planning and do not like to deviate from this planning. Since the Dutch are very attached to their planning, last minute changes, or late-night calls are not appreciated and appropriate in the Dutch eyes.

4.1.14 Showing emotions

In Greece, showing emotions of joy or frustration is seen as normal and very human: one does that to let people around them know how one feels. It is not seen as a weakness, but as a form of personal expression. This not only applies to expressions of happiness and joy, but also the expression of sadness or anger, emotions are openly shown to one's environment.

"Yes, let me just focus on the colleagues here for now. Because, well, I don't see them that often on Crete, but when I do, it's usually about work. No, I have the impression that people, compared to Dutch people, are just generally very open. About how things are going well, about how things are not going well, about how they feel. My experience is that Greeks are quite open, actually. That's quite different from what I always said that Dutch people are open and direct. But I would say Greeks are quite open, I'd say." – interviewee 1

"Very pleasant. Open, very open. Everything comes out, both the good and the bad. Greeks are direct in expressing emotions, but not so direct in conveying information. So, Greeks will navigate around a situation and are not as direct when it comes to announcements. They are direct in expressing emotions, such as happiness or anger, but very indirect when it comes to sharing information." – interviewee 6

The Dutch talk more about emotions than show them in public. "Moderation" comes into play again, where self-control is where the Dutch live by and therefore, one is more likely to keep emotions in and to themselves instead of showing. Emotions in general are less likely to be shown by the Dutch, however, happy and good emotions are more likely to be shown than sad or angry.

4.1.15 Easy going

Greeks have no priority for a planning or efficiency, as discussed before, this also impacts the way one handles and finishes off situations. When it comes down to handling situations such as making payments when a party delivers an order or answering questions from customers, this can take some time before Greeks will actually act. Therefore, patience and trust are needed when dealing with the Greeks.

"In principle, yes, but that's also because we as sales are constantly working to bridge that gap. It's sometimes not necessarily difficult, but rather annoying to have to explain, you know, people want to know how long it's going to take, what it's going to cost, when they can expect an answer. That can be challenging at times because you sometimes really have to try to bring together two extremes. People who work here really do work longer hours, so they also know that, but it always remains a tension, so to speak." – interviewee 1

"And, they really had indeed what I said. No idea what all that entailed. Also, a civil marriage. That was really in the beginning. Well, at the town hall, within two minutes, the mayor already asked for the rings, and I thought, don't we have a nicer text? So, I completely wrote a text for the ceremony myself, and I really set everything up from scratch and guided them through it all while I was working. Then I worked for that company for two years, but then I also had problems with them because I felt that everything should be different, my way. And I found that the payments weren't going fast enough because the couple had already deposited all the money to that company. But then I had to chase the owner to pay the florist or pay for the bus, and they kept saying, yeah, we have no money, how can that be? You've been paid by the couple, right? So, the money is there. No, the florist has to wait until September. Well, I didn't think that was acceptable. I think if... That can't be. You just have to pay immediately. If the florist has delivered or the bus has run and the wedding is over, all suppliers should just be paid." – interviewee 3

"I've been here for a while, but yes, I still have my Dutch quirks. People here are very slow in everything, where sometimes I'm like come on. Yeah, I mean with work or just doing things in general. I think that's the most Dutch thing still about me, but I also don't think those kinds of things will ever go away from me." – interviewee 16

For the Dutch, multiple values come together, where "Labor", "Order and cleanliness", and "Reliability", are all of importance to explain the way the Dutch act upon handling and finishing situations. Since the Dutch view labor as a good thing and always have a planning to which they stick, prioritize efficiency, and always will do what they have promised to do. The Dutch always want that

what they do to have a purpose, not waste time. A Dutch person is more likely to act quickly in situations such as answering clients or making payments. Acting quickly is seen as reliable and efficient and therefore, suits the Dutch.

4.2 Underlying cultural values

In this study, apart from finding the Greek cultural standards, the aim is to identify the underlying cultural values of the standards. The goal is to find the underlying explanation to why the Greeks act in a certain way on the work floor thus, to find the thick description of the Greek culture from a Dutch point of view. Not all of the Greek cultural standards from the previous chapter can be seen as individual when explaining the underlying value, since some standards overlap and therefore have the same cultural value that can explain the standard. In total five cultural values were found: Philotimo, Kairos, Sinaisthimatikos, E kai ti na kanoume, and Androkrateia.

4.2.1 Philotimo

The cultural standards Indirect communication, Hospitality, Standoffish towards strangers, Community, Private circumstances, and Respect for hierarchy all have a connection to the value "Philotimo". As described before in chapter 3.3.2., is "philotimo" a word that cannot be translated directly into English but can be best described as the love of honor. Philotimo entails, acting respectful, proud, self-sacrificing, truthful, polite, grateful, and generous. It is also connected to family loyalty, as to where if, as a person, you do not act 'right' in terms of philotimo, it can also be damaging for the reputation of your family and friends and therefore, people will sacrifice themselves to help their in-group, as part of collectivism. Since, the in-group is very important for Greeks, your Greek boss at work will, therefore, also be concerned with an employee's private circumstances (Giousmpasoglou, 2014). The private circumstance of an employee is important to the Greek boss since family is one of the most important things in Greece and being there for your family instead of sending someone to help is being honorable to your family. One the other side, the concern and caring of the Greek boss will also make him seem as a good person, which will set him and therefore his family in a good daylight.

In turn, an employee should also act honorable on the work floor, which in Greece is done through respecting the hierarchy. Thus, have respect for your boss and do what he tells you to do. To act appropriately towards your boss will show that you were raised well and that you know how to act honorable, which will make you and your family look good toward the outside world.

However, should this love of honor not only be felt by the in-group, but also the out-group. It should be felt by the out-group to create a good reputation for the in-group. Because of this Greeks will try to be hospitable towards people and communicate in an indirect way, since Greeks connect this to being polite and therefore, will act in a "philotimo way". Greeks contribute to the honor of the family when they show hospitality to strangers. However, since the Greeks will try to make a person from the out-

group feel welcome, this does not mean that on a deeper emotional level the access will be granted. Therefore, if a person from the out-group is trying to get closer on a deeper level with Greeks, Greeks are more likely to be standoffish, since to the Greeks that person is still a stranger, an outsider. Since there is still difference between the in- and out-group. See the in figure 4 how the cultural standards are connected to the cultural value.

- Greeks are a closed book, it always seems different than the reality, they tell stories in a way that they want you to hear it but are never completely honest.

- When someone from outside comes on the island people are questioning what you are doing there. It takes some years to actually get Greeks to trust you and take you in.

- No, it wasn't difficult for me, and I think that's also because I'm married to a Greek man.

- Greeks are more likely to beat around the bush since they tend to avoid conflict. Whereas the Dutch manner is very straightforward. Being straightforward to Greeks will scare them off.

- It seems like Greeks are a closed book; it always appears different from reality. They tell stories they want you to hear, but never completely honestly.

- It is more of a community that focuses on family ties, where family and their family are your friends. If you are not linked to Greeks as family it is hard to actually become friends, they will be friendly, but not close friends.

- I think it has more to do with the character of the Greeks here on this island. They do spend a lot of time with each other within the family circle. They have many family gatherings, they eat together a lot, and then they go somewhere together. You know, it's all about family.

- Greeks are quite easy-going. They are very friendly, and they really enjoy humour. So, if you throw in some humour, you quickly establish a connection. Relationships with Greeks is quite easy in terms of interaction, being able to call them, ask questions, and so on.

- People are friendly, they will invite you for dinner and will ask you about your life. Once Greeks are familiar with you they will always say 'kalimera' when seeing them. Even if you buy something from someone's shop they will invite you next time for a drink.

- You check up on each other. If someone from your family is unwell, it is appropriate to take care of them and it is not about how many hours you have worked.

- If you have private situations in Greece it is nice, because you get time to recover and take care. If I do not want to share certain details that is also okay, so they let you have your private situation.

- It is really a cascading hierarchy. It is expected that what the boss tells you, is the way it goes, so you also do not go against it.

- We functioned in the building of the agency where there was a kind of terror hierarchy. It was a family company and from the top floor often came yelling. They also do not look at you when they talk to you.

- The man was the boss and you do need to do what you were told to, period.

Standoffish with strangers

Indirect communication

Community

Philotimo

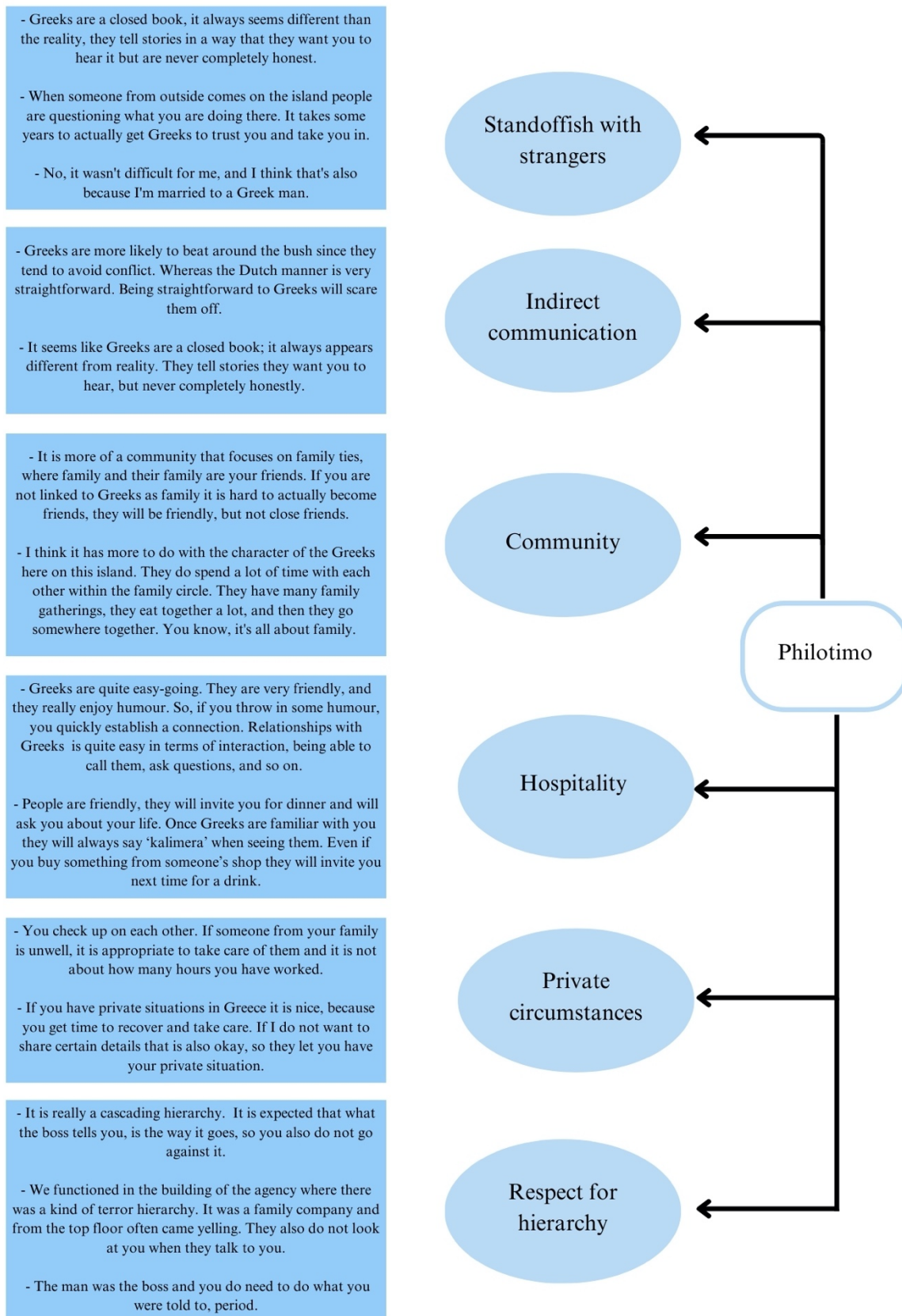Hospitality

Private circumstances

Respect for hierarchy

Figure 4. The underlying value of Philotimo

4.2.2 Kairos

The cultural standards that are connected to Kairos are Planning and organization, Appointments, Flexibility, and Easy going. In Greece there are three terms for the word 'time', where there is Chronos, which literally means 'time', Ora, which is used when to ask for the time, and lastly the word Kairos, which has the least to do with the actual chronological time. Kairos in Greek means, 'when the time is right', which describes how Greeks deal with time, as they do not just see it as a chronological item, but as a feeling and based on circumstances in life (Smith, 1969). The planning and organization and making appointments with Greeks can therefore be a very different experience if the person is used to time as a chronological item. The flexibility and easy going of Greeks are therefore also high, since they do not bind themselves on chronological times, but to when something feels right towards them. See in figure 5 how the cultural standards are connected to the cultural value.
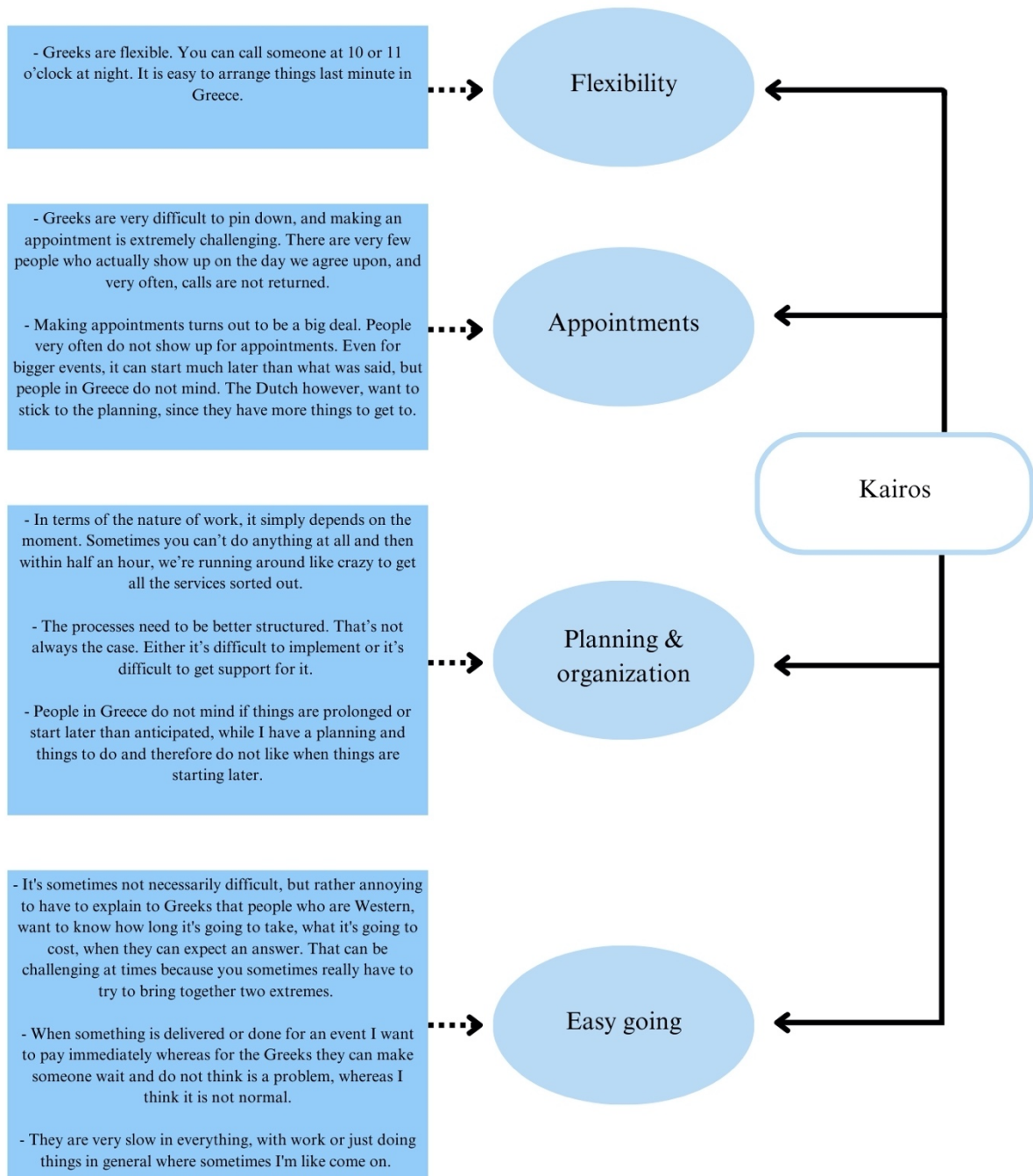
Figure 5. The underlying value of Kairos

4.2.3 Sinaisthimatikos

Sinaisthimatikos is a word in Greece that means that people are very emotional, which can be in very different ways. Not only when a person is sad or angry this word can be used, but for all the emotions that can be felt by a human being. The cultural standards Cursing and shouting, and Showing emotions belong to this value. Reacting in an emotional way, if it is good or bad, are both, from the Dutch point of view, excessively outed. It does not matter if people are in private situations or on the work floor, Greeks can be very expressive in their emotions. It seems as if Greeks are proud of their emotions, they show it to stand up for themselves and to put out who they are. People do not distinguish their private emotions with their work emotions. To them they are this one person and emotions will be shown as they come. See the in figure 6 how the cultural standards are connected to the cultural value.
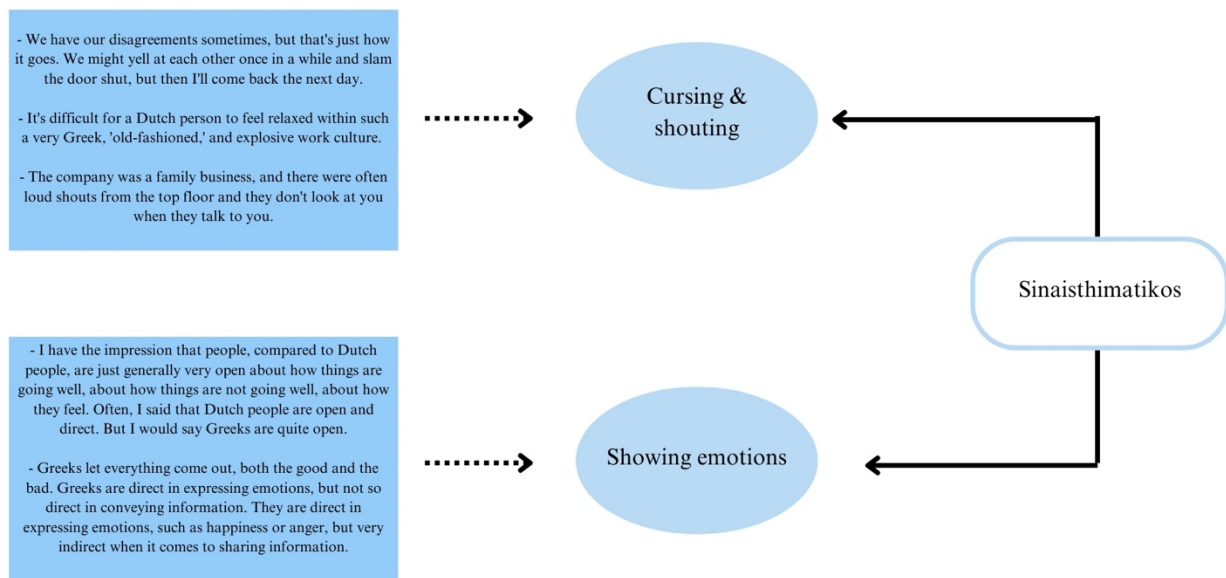

Figure 6. The underlying value of Sinaisthimatikos

4.2.4 E kai ti na kanoume

An expression used very often in Greece is "E kai ti na kanoume?", which can be translated into "And what can we do about it?". Even though it might sound helpful or willing, it is not meant in such a way. This little sentence is used in a way to say 'I can't do anything more about it' or 'It is not my problem anymore'. When a problem appears while working this sentence is used to indicate that they have tried but the outcome is as it is, and they are not willing to put any more effort into it anymore. Also, with this sentence all the responsibility of a Greek disappears in the eyes of a Greek. Therefore, this value expresses the standard 'Responsibility'. The Greeks tend to want to get rid of any responsibility and especially when a problem appears. The motivation of a Greek also tends to lie on attributes outside themselves. The motivation is focused on extrinsic items, instead of intrinsic. Since, the Greeks are often less intrinsically motivated the responsibility is also not felt by them and are more likely to say, "E kai tin a kanoume?". See the in figure 7 how the cultural standards are connected to the cultural value.
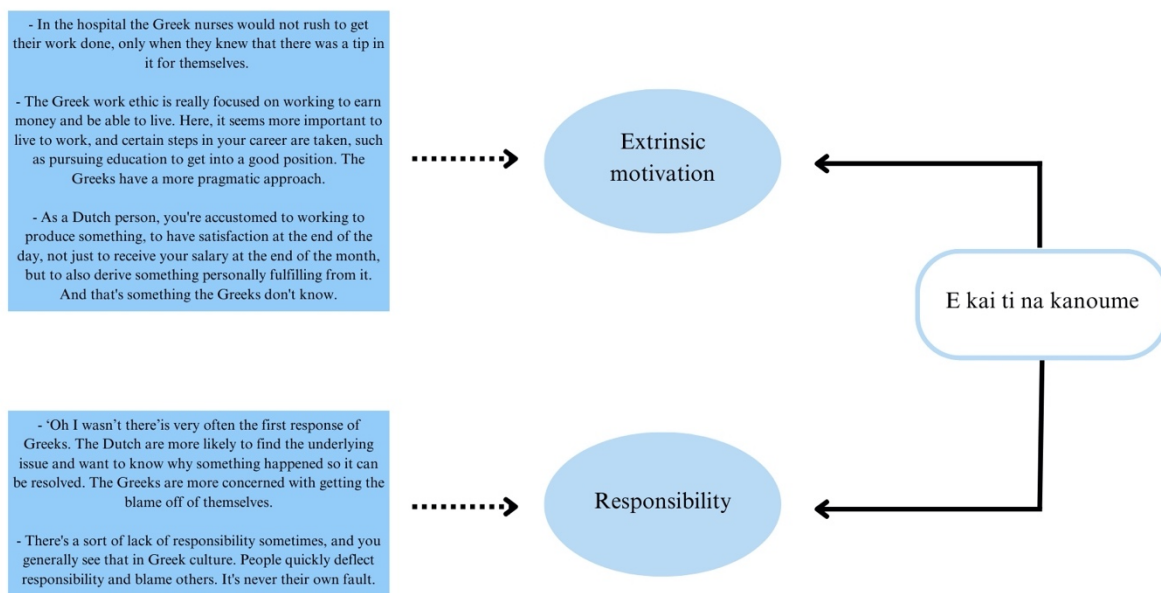

Figure 7. The underlying value of E kai ti na kanoume

4.2.5 Androkrateia

Androkrateia is a word in Greek which entails that the men are the central point. The society in Greece still has a lot of aspects where it gets visible that men are seen as the benchmark and therefore in ways have more of a say. This can be seen with the cultural standard 'Gender role', where from a Dutch point of view, the men in Greece still have a lot to say in what their girlfriends can and cannot do for instance. Women tend to care more about what they look like and take therefore, care of themselves with for example, going to the nail salon and hairdresser more often. This can be seen as a sign where men like women who take care of themselves and since men are seen as the benchmark, women tend to care about how they present themselves towards men more than Dutch women do. See the in figure 8 how the cultural standards are connected to the cultural value.
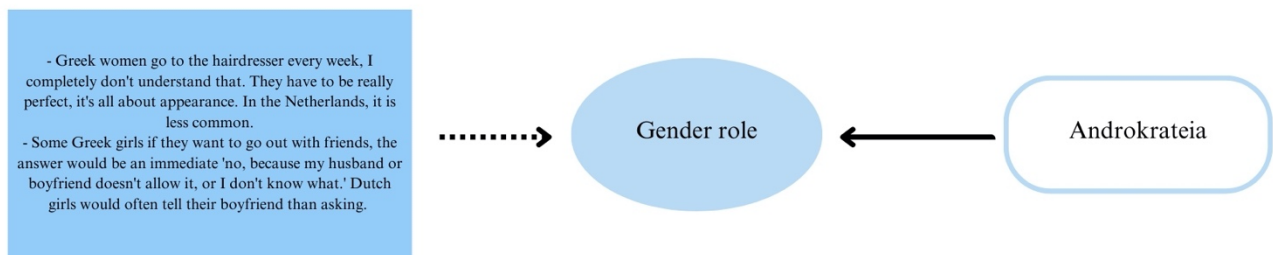

Figure 8. The underlying value of Androkrateia

5. Discussion

This chapter firstly presents an overview of the results. After this, the theoretical and practical contributions are discussed. Next, the limitations of the study and suggestions for future research are discussed.

5.1 Greek cultural standards as perceived by the Dutch

The aim of the research was to discover the Greek cultural standards, with their underlying cultural values from a Dutch perspective. The research uncovered fifteen different cultural standards which are discussed in chapter 4 and are listed below.

Cultural standards
Respect for hierarchy
Planning and organization
Standoffish with strangers
Indirect communication
Responsibility
Cursing and shouting
Community
Extrinsic motivation
Appointments
Gender role
Hospitality
Private circumstances
Flexibility
Showing emotions
Easy going

The fifteen cultural standards are linked to Greek cultural values, which are described in chapter 4.2. These cultural values are Philotimo, Kairos, Sinaisthimatikos, E kai ti na kanoume, and Androkrateia. The combination of the cultural standards and their underlying cultural values gives off a thick description of the Greek culture. This description can be useful to help interpret or predict the behaviour of a Greek when encountering with a Dutch person on the work floor.

5.2 Theoretical contributions

Contribution 1: The cultural differences between Greece and the Netherlands on the work floor have been studied in an emic and in-depth research.

This study provides an emic and in-depth research of cultural differences between the Dutch and the Greeks on the work floor by using the Critical Incident Technique (Thomas et al. 2010). Stories from the Dutch expats in Greece were used to describe the Greek cultural standards from a Dutch point of view. The qualitative research method was used to get a deeper understanding of the stories told, due to context. The qualitative emic approach resulted in the description of the typical Greek behavior and the meaning that lies behind their behavior. The Greek cultural standards are derived from real encounters using the Critical Incident Technique.

Contribution 2: The point of view of Dutch expats in Greece on the Greek cultural standards have been investigated through an emic approach.

In this research fifteen Greek cultural standards were discovered. These fifteen cultural standards have similarities, as well as differences with the existing emic studies done about the Greek culture as discussed in chapter 2.3.

As described before, according to Triandis and Vassiliou (1972) the modern Greek culture has six factors by which it was influenced:
1) Reaction to the domination by autocratic rulers. Making those different aspects, such as music and food were influenced by different groups. 2) Dependence on the male hero for survival of the cultural values. 3) Scarce resources and keen competition. This has an impact on the social environment, where Greeks are very attached to their island, or town and even identify with them. 4) Increased danger for boys resulting in increased protectiveness by mothers. 5) The unfiltered importation of, mainly political, foreign institutions. 6) Low control over the environment. This made that Greeks are very skilled in solving crises but lack skills for future-planning.
From the six factors which have influenced the Greek culture as described by Triandis and Vasiliou, one overlap was found with this study. Where the lack of skills for future planning came forward as a cultural standard in 'Planning & organization'. However, tracks of the other five factors did not come forward in this study. They point to historical processes that may have contributed cultural characteristics but seem to be more speculative than grounded in systematic research.

Triandis and Vassiliou (1972) also state that the Greek society nowadays is still very collectivistic, where it is important to distinguish between in-groups and out-groups. The way a Greek will treat a person depends on whether he fits in their in-group or not, where an in-group means protection, help, and cooperation. This attribute comes forward in this study, where one of the cultural standards is 'Community'. This standard explains the collectivistic outlook of the Greeks on society. Where in the study it is uncovered that Greeks are focused on mainly their family, how their friends also often consist out of family or even only family. Even though, Greeks tend to put their family first, this does not mean that Greeks are unfriendly towards people from their outgroup. However, if a person does not belong to the in-group of a Greek the level of trust and closeness one can achieve in a relationship will be different than if a person does belong to the in-group.

Giousmpasoglou (2014) stated in his study that in the modern Greek language, there are also words that connect the language to their values. Where he named an example of such a word, the word "philotimo". This word comes in this study as a value, under which the cultural standards, 'Hospitality', 'Standoffish towards strangers', 'Community', 'Indirect communication', and 'Concerned with private circumstances' fall. Where someone is "philotimo" when that person acts in a certain way towards their in-group, this entails being proud, self-sacrificing, truthful, polite, grateful, generous, and respectful. A person should be willing to do anything and everything to help and support their family and friends. Giousmpasoglou (2014) also describes that trust in Greek business is very important and that is still is a fundamental of the Greek society. In this case the cultural standard 'Standoffish towards strangers' comes forward again in this research, where if Greeks do not trust or know a person they might come across as standoffish when it comes to a deeper level of sharing. Greeks will act friendly towards a stranger, someone from the out-group, but will not encounter with this person on a deeper level and therefore, if the 'stranger' is trying to get close to a Greek on a deeper level, the Greek might come off as standoffish.

According to Bozionelos (2016) low professionalism is an aspect that is apparent on the Greek work floor. He describes that in general Greeks view the roles and titles they receive for their job as secondary. They also do not think appropriate and dutiful execution of tasks within these activities are very important. In this research the cultural standards 'Motivation' and 'Responsibility' became apparent, where Greeks tend to have extrinsic motivation, so if a boss or manager is not looking, it is likely that the motivation of employees lowers. Since, Greeks do not have the tendency of wanting from within themselves to do a good job or to achieve a sense of accomplishment by the work that they do. Also, the feeling of responsibility tends to be low for Greeks, where if mistakes are made nobody is around anymore. People are more likely to look away or to express that they were not

around, instead of having a feeling of resolving. This in turn is connected to the extrinsic motivation of Greeks. Where the extrinsic motivation, does not give a person a feeling of guilt or responsibility when something goes wrong.

The low professionalism can be partially explained by the diffuse and affective nature of the Greek society. An affective and diffuse society means that they do not have a strong separation of personal and professional relationships, and where showing emotions is normal if not even encouraged (Bozionelis, 2016). The normality of showing emotions also overlaps with the cultural standards that were discovered in this study, where 'Showing emotions' and 'Cursing and shouting' were identified as cultural standards. Where if on the work floor, people curse and shout at each other, but can act as if nothing happens right afterwards, and showing emotions, positive as well as negative, is normalized as well and swept under the carpet.

Bozionelos (2016) also describes that in Greek workplaces there is high formality when it comes down to the relationship between subordinates and their bosses. The culture in Greek organizations often relies on power, it depends on who it has and then in turn what this means for an employee. The cultural standard 'Respect for hierarchy' comes in this case into play, which is again a similarity, where the Greek still often have respect for someone who has a position above theirs and acts in such a way. Greeks tend to be following direct orders from their boss and a boss will also expect this from an employee, where there is no to little room for discussions.

The remaining cultural standards that were uncovered in this study did not seem to be apparent in studies discussed in the theoretical background. In table 5 an overview of the overlapping and not overlapping cultural standards with theoretical contributions can be seen.

	Cultural standards from this study	Cultural standards by Triandis & Vassiliou (1972)	Cultural standards by Giousmpasoglou (2014)	Cultural standards by Bozionelos (2016)
Philotimo	Hospitality	In- and out-groups	Proud	
	Standoffish towards strangers		Self-sacrificing	
	Community		Truthful	
	Concerned with private circumstances		Polite	
			Grateful	Rely on power
	Indirect communication		Trust	
			Generous	
	Respect for hierarchy		Respectful	
Kairos	Planning & organization	Lack of skills in future planning		
	Appointments			
	Flexibility			
	Easy going			
Sinaisthimatikos	Cursing & shouting			Showing emotions encouraged
	Showing emotions			No strong separation between personal and professional relationships
E kai ti na kanoume	Motivation			
	Responsibility			Job roles and titles as secondary
Androkrateia	Gender role			

Table 5. Overview overlap cultural standards with theoretical contributions.

Contribution 3: The thick description of the Greek cultural standards through the Greek cultural values that explain the cultural standards.

This research gives a thick description of the Greek culture by making a distinguishment between the cultural standards and cultural values of the culture. In the studies by Giousmpasoglou (2014) and Bozionelos (2016) this is not the case. Either cultural standards are described, or a value is described, however, coupling a standard with a value is not done in both studies, therefore, not a thick description is given. In this study five underlying values have been coupled to the fifteen identified cultural standards. The five values are: Philotimo, Kairos, Sinaisthimatikos, E kai ti na kanoume, and Androkrateia.

The value Philotimo explains Indirect communication, Hospitality, Standoffish towards strangers, Community, Private circumstances, and Respect for hierarchy. For this value everything revolves around behaving respectful, truthful, and proud towards people around you, towards in- and out-group, to have a good reputation for a person and their family. Kairos explains Planning & organization, appointments, flexibility, and easy going. The term Kairos is a term for term which does not describe chronical time, but the time when something feels right to do. Many activities in Greece are based on Kairos and therefore, not everything is based on chronical time. Sinaisthimatikos explains the expressionistic nature of Greeks and why some people might perceive Greeks as emotional or with a lot of temperament. Therefore, this value entails the standards Cursing & shouting, and Showing emotions. The cultural standards Extrinsic motivation and Responsibility can be explained by an expression used often in Greece, 'E kai ti na kanoume?'. This expression is used to tell someone, when a problem appears, that they have tried and that the responsibility is not theirs, so 'what can we do about it?'. Lastly, Andokrateia explains the standard gender role. Androkrateia means that the society is still based on men and that men are often perceived as the benchmark. Therefore, women try to match this benchmark as well and are more often expected to listen to what their partner tells them to.

5.3 Practical relevance

The Greek culture described through fifteen cultural standards and five underlying values provides people with a view of the Greek standards and behavior, particularly for the Dutch since the research is based on a Dutch perspective. For Dutch expats or the Dutch doing business in Greece, this research is useful when trying to understand the Greeks better when working together and also predict how the Greeks will react to certain circumstances, which will improve doing business with the Greeks.

Synergies can be acquired by working together, also often with people abroad. However, working together with people abroad often clashes due to cultural differences, which in turn can result in breaking off deals and therefore, missing out on synergies. Nevertheless, can the cultural clash be improved by being aware of the culture with whom working together with. Real-life events tend to be more challenging and motivating to learn from than simple lists who tell someone what to do and what not (Hurn, 2011). The results from this study can be used as a tool to help bringing the Dutch closer to the Greeks, since it is based on real-life events.

Although understanding the Greek culture can help when doing business with Greeks, understanding, as a Dutch person, the Dutch culture first can give an even better understanding of why certain reactions or behavior of the Greeks can be perceived as strange by a Dutch person. Therefore, chapter 2.3.3 describes the Dutch culture to give insights into the Dutch culture and why certain behavior is normalized in the Netherlands. After understanding their own Dutch culture, the fifteen Greek cultural standards, with real-life examples, described in chapter 4.1 and the following underlying values of the fifteen standards explained in chapter 4.2 will explain the Greek culture, which all together will help to improve the Dutch business relationship with the Greeks.

5.4. Limitations and suggestions for future research

In this study, sixteen Dutch expats, who work and live in Greece were interviewed. These interviews gave descriptions of critical incidents experienced by the interviewees. The critical incidents resulted in the establishment of fifteen cultural standards from a Dutch perspective. The fifteen cultural standards were coupled to five underlying cultural values. However, this research had its limitations, which will be discussed in this chapter. On top of that, will suggestions for future research be given.

The first limitations that this study came across were limitations in the sample. Seven out of sixteen interviewees live on Corfu. Certain places in Greece might have different standards than other places or have a bigger emphasize on certain standards and therefore impact the results of the study. Therefore, a sample of people from more diverse places in Greece, might unfold more or different cultural standards. The next limitation in the sample of Dutch expats lies in the work sector. Seven out of sixteen interviewees work in tourism. Even though, tourism is a very big sector in Greece, different cultural standards might come up when having a bigger mix of work sectors. Therefore, a sample with a bigger mix of work sectors, could help to give a more well-rounded picture. Also, a limitation lies in the balance between men and women. Where fourteen out of sixteen interviewees are women. Women and men can experience different situations in different ways, since men and women biologically differ. A new perspective can be given by a balanced sample in gender.

The other limitations of this study lie in the data collection and analysis. The first limitation is a bias that lies on the side of the interviewees, which is called social desirability bias. The social desirability bias entails the tendency of interviewees to choose to give answers that are socially acceptable and desirable, instead of responding to questions with their raw feelings and thoughts. When the collection of data for a study entails socially sensitives subjects, the social desirability bias can become an issue (Grimm, 2010). By making known that the participants stay anonymous, the bias has been tried to minimize, however it does not rule out that the bias has occurred. Next, the interpretation of the answers given by the participants was done by one person, which was the researcher. Since interpretations can be done in different ways by different people it causes a limitation. Although, the answers were also discussed with the supervisors of this research to decrease the limitation of differentiation in interpretation, there is a chance that the interpretation was still done differently if more experts had looked at the responds.

The last limitation of this study is that this study only focuses on the Greek culture from a Dutch perspective. Therefore, the research can only be used by people with a Dutch cultural background, even though the study does give a thick description of the Greek culture, it only took one perspective

into account. To get an overall view of the Greek culture, which is also applicable for people with different cultural backgrounds, the study should take more perspectives into account.

Suggestions for future research are 1) to make a sample where Dutch expats all live in different parts of Greece; 2) have a sample in which many different work sectors are represented; 3) have a sample where the factor 'gender' is balanced out; 4) have a team of experts look into the results and see how the different interpretations can lead to the truest value; 5) take more perspectives into account during the research to make the study applicable to a more cultural backgrounds.

Lastly, this study uncovered fifteen Greek cultural standards with five underlying cultural values, which are applicable for the Dutch to create a better understanding of the Greek culture when working with Greeks. However, Greeks cannot be generalized and thus not all standards are valid for all Greeks. This study should help to create understanding and not prejudices.

6. Conclusion

This study started with the research question: *"Which cultural differences are perceived by Dutch expatriates working in Greece?"*. The study has uncovered this with fifteen Greek cultural standards which entail, Respect for hierarchy, Planning & organization, Standoffish towards strangers, Indirect communication, Responsibility, Cursing & shouting, Collectivism, Motivation, Appointments, Gender role, Hospitality, Private circumstances, Flexibility, Showing emotions, and Easy going.

To get an even better understanding of where the experienced differences come from, the underlying values have been identified of the fifteen cultural standards, which are the following five:

- **Philotimo**: Indirect communication, Hospitality, Standoffish towards strangers, Community, Private circumstances, and Respect for hierarchy.
- **Kairos**: Planning & Organization, Appointments, Flexibility, and Easy going.
- **Sinaisthimatikos**: Cursing & shouting and Showing emotions.
- **E kai ti na kanoume?**: Extrinsic motivation, Responsibility.
- **Androkrateia**: Gender role

All together the research question can be answered. Doing business with a different culture can cause difficulties, since behavior and expectations can be very different for both parties. A thick description is provided with the fifteen Greek cultural standards and five underlying values, which provides Dutch people who want to work together with Greeks, insights into the behavior and expectations that Greeks can have and therefore, understand Greeks better. By getting familiar and understanding the Greek culture, the cooperation between the Dutch and Greeks can be enhanced.

References

Andrijasevic, R., & Sechetto, D., (2016). *From labor migration to migration mobility? The return of multinational work in Europe, 22(2), 219-231*. Retrieved March 22, 2023: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1024258916635975

Apedille, S. & Schill, L., (2008). *Critical Incidents for Intercultural Communication; An Interactive Tool for developing Awareness, Knowledge, and Skills, Facilitator and activity guide, NorQuest College.* Retrieved on April 30, 2023: https://www.norquest.ca/NorquestCollege/media/pdf/about/resources/intercultural-resources-for-educators/critical-incidents-for-intercultural-communication-toolkit.pdf

Arthur, N., (2001). *Using critical incidents to investigate cross-cultural transitions, International journal of intercultural relations, 25(1), 41-53*. Retrieved on March 22, 2023: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0147176700000419

Beals, F., Kidman, J., & Funaki, H. (2020). *Insider and Outsider Research: Negotiating Self at the Edge of the Emic/Etic Divide. Qualitative Inquiry, 26(6), 593-60*1. Retrieved on June 28, 2023: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1077800419843950

Bozionelos, N., (2016). *Greece: Incivility, bullying and forcing in the land of bullying gods and lesser mortals. In Omari, M., & Paull, M. (Eds.), Workplace abuse, incivility and bullying: Methodological and cultural perspectives, 89-106.* Abingdon, UK: Taylor & Francis. Retrieved on June 24th: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/355105331_Bozionelos_N_2016_Greece_Incivility_bullying_and_forcing_in_the_land_of_bullying_gods_and_lesser_mortals_In_Omari_M_Paull_M_Eds_Workplace_abuse_incivility_and_bullying_Methodological_and_cultural_pers

Caganova, D., Cambal, M., & Luptakova, S. W., (2010). *Intercultural management – Trend of contemporary globalized world, Elektronika Ir Elektrtechnika, 102(6), 51-54*. Retrieved on March 22, 2023: https://www.eejournal.ktu.lt/index.php/elt/article/view/9351

Carle, R., (2006). Demise of Dutch multiculturism, Society Abroad, (43), 68-74. Retrieved on July 1, 2023: https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/BF02687598

Corley, K. G., & Gioia, D. A., (2004). *Identity ambiguity and change in the wake of corporate spin-off, Administrative Science Quarterly, 49, 173-208.* Retrieved on March 22, 2023: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/258126203_Identity_Ambiguity_and_Change_in_the_Wake_of_a_Corporate_Spin-Off

Doumanis, N., (2009). *A history of Greece, Bloomsbury Publishing*. Retrieved on June 20, 2023: https://books.google.nl/books?hl=nl&lr=&id=FJRKEAAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=culture+of+greece&ots=G1SyWayPpD&sig=iERNmoJs7JeE0z38GFxWDN5SLzI#v=onepage&q=culture%20of%20greece&f=false

Enfield, N. J. (2000). *The Theory of Cultural Logic: How Individuals Combine Social Intelligence with Semiotics to Create and Maintain Cultural Meaning. Cultural Dynamics, 12(1), 35-64*. Retrieved on April 15, 2023: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/epdf/10.1177/092137400001200102

Enklaar, A., (2007). *Nederland, tussen nut en naastenliefde; Op zoek naar onze cultuur*, Scriptum.

Fink, G., Kölling, M., & Neyer, A.-K. (2005). *The cultural standard method. (January 2005 ed.) Europainstitut, WU Vienna University of Economics and Business.* Retrieved on April 10, 2023: https://research.wu.ac.at/en/publications/the-cultural-standard-method-9

Fisianou, M., (1992). The use of diminutives in expressing politeness: Modern Greek versus English, Journal of pragmatics, 17(2), 155-173. Retrieved on July 20, 2023: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/037821669290038D?via%3Dihub

Georgiadou, V., (1995). *Greek orthodoxy and the politics of nationalism, International Journal of politics culture and society, 9 (2), 295-315*. Retrieved on June 25, 2023: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/240482358_Greek_Orthodoxy_and_the_politics_of_nationalism

Gerhart, B., (2008). *How much does national culture constrain organizational culture?, Management and Organization Review, 5(2), 241-259*. Retrieved on march 15, 2023: https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-core/content/view/DC92E9FE049E864AC969E3AC8AFA08C6/S1740877600001765a.pdf/how-much-does-national-culture-constrain-organizational-culture.pdf

Giousmpasoglou, (2014). *Greek management and culture, Journal: European J. of Cross-Cultural Competence and Management.* Retrieved on May 20, 2024: https://www.inderscienceonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1504/EJCCM.2014.063403

Herzfeld, M., (2020). *Ours once more: Folklore, ideology and the making of modern Greece, Berghahn Books.* Retrieved on June 30, 2023: https://books.google.nl/books?id=VB-4DwAAQBAJ&dq=modern+greek+cultural+standards&lr=&hl=nl&source=gbs_navlinks_s

Hofstede, G. (2023) The 6-D model of culturalof national culture. Retrieved on March 28, 2023: https://geerthofstede.com/culture-geert-hofstede-gert-jan-hofstede/6d-model-of-national-culture/

Hofstede insights, (2023). *Country Comparison Tool*. Retrieved on April 24, 2023: https://www.hofstede-insights.com/country-comparison/greece/

Koutsantoni, D., (2005). *Greek cultural characteristics and academic writing, Journal of modern Greek studies, 23(1), 97 -138*. Retrieved on May 23rd, from: https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/1/article/183455/pdf

Kuczynski, L., & Daly, K., (2003). *Qualitative methods for inductive (theory-generating) research: psychological and sociological approaches, Dynamics in parent-child relations, 373-392*. Retrieved on March 15, 2023: https://d1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/30557685/CH_18_Kuczynski___Daly-libre.pdf?1391724791=&response-content-disposition=inline%3B+filename%3DKuczynski_and_Daly_2003_Qualitative_Meth.pdf&Expires=1678878638&Signature=OcrUkWHyIR8REh52iboLC3TrtpYmXzwyocKVRioP~qg8zycvOzAJukVsFBAY7Z-37S5LHwdAD4JUWFAJNWC1G00rgiBtFjCIF2v9uJ9C~qGpb2Xx-swwmSpTfZmLuwCFoSDV0oN4d9bLmhD15SZkLjhbrZlIf3kGeBp3XsX-2T8NVP4h6Azwcs~v1uaUOcMDB~6CQFtmkGypZAMM6a6fegK4kfEmThcZG7UiPzGEG9Y7-woeTWupdTCVf5AjgWGP8kLi6Ln19Cg8OAmfGMsbRjdgS7J-xlXwdOP0cnpSWe7PqnJAMiZ4JzyDbagGYeUHHfXWJE3Mebq1WRWl6S8MYA__&Key-Pair-Id=APKAJLOHF5GGSLRBV4ZA

Leavy, P., (2014). *The Oxford handbook of qualitative research, Oxford University Press*. Retrieved on March 11, 2023:

https://books.google.nl/books?hl=nl&lr=&id=n771DwAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA424&dq=semi+structured+interviews+qualitative&ots=nQNwoTup9D&sig=mgNFXDjyDf_-03fl5IjWyX2yxTo#v=onepage&q=semi%20structured%20interviews%20qualitative&f=false

Maseland, R., van Hoorn, A. (2017). *Culture at the Country Level. In: van Herk, H., Torelli, C. (eds) Cross Cultural Issues in Consumer Science and Consumer Psychology. Springer, Cham.* Retrieved on March 27, 2023: https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-319-65091-3_2

Meier, C., (2011). *A culture of freedom: Ancient Greece and the origins of Europe, OUP Oxford.* Retrieved on June 16, 2023: https://books.google.nl/books?hl=nl&lr=&id=F2hoAgAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PP1&dq=culture+of+greece&ots=VK2MkMPNwq&sig=5lbTCYdnga4JGbwHZwPcDe5fG4o#v=onepage&q=culture%20of%20greece&f=false

Meyer E., (2014). *Navigating the cultural minefield, Harvard Business Review, 92(5), 119-123.* Retrieved on March 14, 2023: https://hbr.org/2014/05/navigating-the-cultural-minefield

Meyer, E., (2022). *The personal profile tool.* Retrieved on March 30, 2023: https://erinmeyer.com/culturemap/

Mijnhardt, W., (2010). *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review, 125 (2-3), 141 – 177.* Retrieved on June 5, 2023: https://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/243212

Mulder, De E. F. J., Pater, De B. C., & Droogleever Fortuijn, J. C., (2019). *The Netherlands and the Dutch; A physical and Human geography, World regional geography book series, Springer Cham.* Retrieved on May 18 2023: https://link-springer-com.ezproxy2.utwente.nl/book/10.1007/978-3-319-75073-6

Nagtegaal, R., Moll, van C., Kalyviti, E., Kane, M., Rodolf, M., Clerck, de D., (2015). *The differences in expressiveness in non-verbal communication between Greek and Dutch people.* Retrieved on July 7, 2023: https://nvc.uvt.nl/pdf/6_2015.pdf

Sattorovich, J. U., (2020). *Intercultural communication: Concept, essence and theories of intercultural communication, International journal on integrated education, 3(11).* Retrieved on March 22, 2023: https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/334300-intercultural-communication-concept-esse-65aa32b0.pdf

Shi, X., & Wang, J., (2011). *Interpreting Hofstede model and GLOBE model: Which way to go for cross-cultural research?, International journal of business and management, 6(5), 93-99.* Retrieved on March 22, 2023: doi:10.5539/ijbm.v6n5p93

Smith, J. E., (1969). *Time, times, and the 'right time'; "Chronos" and "Kairos", Philosophy of history, 53(1), 1-13.* Retrieved on May 25, 2024: https://www.jstor.org/stable/27902109

Sobotka & Adiguzel, (2002). https://research.rug.nl/en/publications/religiosity-and-spatial-demographic-differences-in-the-netherland-2

Triandis, H. C., & Vassiliou, V., (1967). *A comparative analysis of subjective culture.* Retrieved on May 18 2023: https://55xronia.akma.gr/keimena/2.%20A%20Comparative%20Analysis%20of%20Subjective%20Culture_Triandis%20&%20V.%20Vasileiou.pdf

Verheul J. & Besamusca, E., (2014). *Discovering the Dutch: on culture and society of the Netherlands, Amsterdam University Press.* Retrieved on June 21, 2023: https://books.google.nl/books?hl=nl&lr=&id=GiJyBQAAQBAJ&oi=fnd&pg=PA11&dq=dutch+culture+and+society&ots=2xrfvkEJIM&sig=8bzBI_tVzFbfe5PcE3KuSYYm8RI#v=onepage&q=dutch%20culture%20and%20society&f=false

Verkuijten, M., & Thijs, J., (2002). *Multiculturism among minority and majority adolescents in the Netherlands. International journal of Intercultural relations, 26, 91-108*. Retrieved on June 1st, 2023: https://pdf.sciencedirectassets.com/272065/1-s2.0-S0147176700X0034X/1-s2.0-S0147176701000396/main.pdf?X-Amz-Security-Token=IQoJb3JpZ2luX2VjEJz%2F%2F%2F%2F%2F%2F%2F%2F%2F%2FwEaCXVzLWVhc3Qt
MSJHMEUCIDKxEXykMjCJ07%2B0BZ4fegJCl8NLg1NADDJb3FERMjfHAiEA2VxWVaRSeKvd
Vt6org7h6T7dWG9pgHE68exmWu%2FmYHQquwUI1P%2F%2F%2F%2F%2F%2F%2F%2F%2F
%2FARAFGgwwNTkwMDM1NDY4NjUiDDM3v5iqAZ%2FFyR2bWCqPBUSJjal0347VnhIyilZ15
TamGdLY6NlByY92uo%2B9v%2FW43XMUSHA4xt8NRIdlJl9InSlpgDs%2FiHz5SQhA3p%2Bcn
Eayjl2La3htOTLncT%2BD3GIUzl8ahFWcjPvABOFvReuFR7va%2F%2B0PK1sh%2Bh2gYAR0xV
HrNyM%2FCAcnlUe7JQZ7QOUDdVg%2FBJTIJ5alwdYJxZisIpdpLPZw%2BTF8mUHs2BoIdkJzx
Md%2BUDtmTjMNT63j9QaAQR9DcU2ib%2F7%2Fx%2FhPGsOBY0DXmPg09HKCIIQv%2FBg
1ULJE3FGSEzWgFe944G%2BwbVEt307lXhf7sfX7RWtanD4RdZjbySna7RTijw6wiph%2BJ9QPcr
WkHvvPx9TO0T0vulXK9%2FZz4PDR76pbKT2SLwi4CEM1FF9CukwA%2FhymB0edXJW6XMIa
lfy1dBm2jHNy1ReejMOMZKzXmtn0cefIAAZX%2BaQQe8xSPH%2BHSkM%2BhCalHjoFkgVxX
nMNZJqgAzKA6di8Q%2B46S%2BaK6CSCCuhiYeiIvt%2BOLSxcMBgLRLLc8fJmPl1Kcq3uOiK
DtUPHkF403xBO6L7NY5CE2V1S6CBTrWZbnRMzcjH%2B4%2BzUlBsh%2FeqP74Iw4mWlFlkk
0cEnBZwB60ZsPz3OuT4taVEsgga7J9iaL8267kWUmOyUOHUg1keCNKTPk3Nwn3kHtrn7qwtUX
T2evwUlySpLeg%2B%2FAhOHboE26PwKltsSlYDmaOVdoesgCCuHE9G2jq70nEEk1ffx2YzlLpqe
0BVMnH9aLI6xcxgesxl6ppiBbKSpPPlVerEl6pWC2a81LKiuxy%2FXVcM9nEdVBXyz0Du%2F7N
1WAC4aAYJoNvct6tVbpw34wCMFOdh%2BX05FZnUhIPB%2FzqCiP8Nq0OAwtJ7nowY6sQFY8
Ld71pHIW1vq987%2Bsmc4SOfHlu4Cm7Cc0rG%2BhXIBPD51CUWQjjM6Wmg4JlFL86jGPnSzK
BYYRh0g17QAzJry1DW61USnBqIcDnXcSF6e1cqML2ccsecMY1RBTM2gfqHnPBtgpYuVxL7PFI
lBxEJVXw1z9Xc8CRsJLzqXJIITYhwNOJHjSD15xUjpJDl30OFUlA7%2BLzDCp6nv48xAf9Vs15x
j4npU%2FG2GjQkj628h48o%3D&X-Amz-Algorithm=AWS4-HMAC-SHA256&X-Amz-Date=20230602T120534Z&X-Amz-SignedHeaders=host&X-Amz-Expires=300&X-Amz-Credential=ASIAQ3PHCVTY5UJLWIQY%2F20230602%2Fus-east-1%2Fs3%2Faws4_request&X-Amz-Signature=cc39f49af6adecdd5429a7a92ca3b51b61c9b667362bf96f97156628729dc45f&hash=7a714
48d4c9fe287af8b504ac17e2342e9aad3e9e0137b25974a2733062fc546&host=68042c943591013ac2b
2430a89b270f6af2c76d8dfd086a07176afe7c76c2c61&pii=S0147176701000396&tid=spdf-4ad84823-12d4-4f28-af6f-15a31e13da2f&sid=f86ad6cb8e83c646af1a6bd17acd882b8c1fgxrqb&type=client&tsoh=d3d3LnNja
WVuY2VkaXJlY3QuY29t&ua=140c530356065752015b&rr=7d0f90b8fc53b992&cc=nl

Appendix A

Interview guide

1. Hoe oud bent u?
2. Waar in Griekenland woont u?
3. Waar in Nederland komt u vandaan?
4. Wat is uw hoogst behaald educatief level?
5. Welke positie heeft u op het werk?
6. Hoelang woont/woonde u in Griekenland?
7. Hoelang werkt u al in Griekenland?
8. Zijn uw collega's vooral expats of locals?
9. Welke taal wordt vooral op de werkvloer gesproken?
10. Hoe formeel is de omgang tussen collega's onderling bij u op het werk?
11. Heeft u buiten werk om contact met Griekse collega's?
12. Trekt u over het algemeen meer op met Nederlanders of Grieken buiten uw werk?
    a. Wat is hiervan de reden?
13. Stellen uw Griekse collega's zich naar uw mening makkelijk open tot dieper contact/vriendschap?
    a. Zo ja, wat houdt deze vriendschap dan in?
14. Wat heeft u doen bewegen om in Griekenland te gaan werken?
15. Wat waren uw verwachtingen toen u naar Griekenland vertrok?
    a. Zijn deze verwachtingen ook werkelijk voldaan?
16. Kunt u omschrijven hoe uw eerste werkdag in Griekenland eruitzag?
17. Heeft u voordat u naar Griekenland vertrok, gewerkt in Nederland?
18. Hoe heeft u zich voorbereid op uw verhuizing van prive en werk naar Griekenland?
19. ***wanneer uitgezonden*** Heeft uw werkgever u voorbereid op de verhuizing naar Griekenland?
    a. Zo ja, hoe?
20. Bent u dingen tegengekomen op de werkvloer in Griekenland, waar u zich over heeft verwonderd?
21. Kunt u mij wat vertellen over de hiërarchie binnen het bedrijf?
22. Hoe komt deze hiërarchie tot uiting in het dagelijkse werk?
23. In hoeverre toont de werkgever/de collega's betrokkenheid bij uw prive?
24. Wordt er soms door uw werkgever beslag gelegd op uw prive tijd?

25. Ervaart u frustraties op de werkvloer die voortkomen uit verschillen in de manier van werken?

26. Als u de werksfeer mag omschrijven, hoe zou u dit omschrijven?

    a. Is hierbij verschil tussen directe collega's en leidinggevenden?

27. Heeft u het idee dat u met uw Nederlandse referentiekader anders naar uw werk kijkt dan uw Griekse collega's?

    a. Zo ja, wat is hierin anders?

28. Ervaart u respect vanuit uw Griekse collega's met betrekking tot uw Nederlandse visie?

29. Welke tips zou u met uw ervaringen geven aan een nieuwe collega vanuit Nederland?