

Gedogen

the psychological aspects of Dutch tolerance

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Preface

More than two years ago the preparations for this masters project started. I was intrigued by the description of the assignment. 'Gedogen' was indeed a term I recognised but had, until now paid little attention to. The thought of studying this phenomenon tickled my imagination. During this project I started another masters which delayed completion of this project, however my fascination with 'gedogen' did not suffer. More than ever, I hope that gaining knowledge about 'gedogen' does not end with the conclusion of this project.

During this project I have discussed the concept of 'gedogen' with a lot of people, including foreigners like Huadong Yang, the first supervisor. His collectivist view on 'gedogen' made me realize that this phenomenon was not as natural and universal as I had first supposed. Emma Beattie from Australia, editor, also provided other insights, as did the German girls who participated in this study; in particular Karolin Katzenski.

For me the most trying part of this study was to write this thesis. I am very much indebted to my supervisor Huadong Yang and editor Emma Beattie. Both of them have given valuable feedback and much of their time. Also the support of my family has been very valuable. My mother, her friend and even my 90 year old grandmother have never stopped being interested and supportive. Colleagues, employers (indeed, two different employers), friends and neighbors, all expressed their sympathy. I would like to thank all those who contributed to this project very much!

Abstract

The aim of this research project was to gain basic knowledge about the Dutch phenomenon 'gedogen' on a social-cultural level, starting with the verification of the assumption that 'gedogen' takes place on a social-cultural level. What does 'Gedogen' mean to Dutch people on a social-cultural level? How do the Dutch deal with 'Gedogen' on a social-cultural level and is the way the Dutch apply 'Gedogen' situational, and different in the more formal situation of work?

In order to investigate 'gedogen', 20 people were selected through convenience sampling and interviewed. The results of these interviews show that the assumption that 'gedogen' takes place on a social-cultural level is justified. However, the Dutch prefer to use the verb 'gedogen' on a policy level and the verb 'tolereren' on a social-cultural level, even though they are synonyms.

Based on literature of Dutch history and culture, several sensitizing concepts were used as a starting point for the analysis of the interviews. Our findings reveal the process of 'gedogen' in some more detail. The starting point for 'gedogen' is a situation or action in conflict with one's moral values. This conflict is pragmatically judged using three factors: one's own interest, the other's interest, and the right to self-determination.

Situations of in which 'gedogen' occurs on a social-cultural level at work, at home, at school, in the streets, in a pub and on a bike are identified. 'Gedogen' is performed among friends, acquaintances, strangers, colleagues and family, by young people and by older people. It can be concluded that 'gedogen' takes place in all aspects of daily life and is not limited to certain situations.

Additionally, the process of 'gedogen' is not situational in terms of the factors emerging in various contexts. However, the terms representing the factors or the particular terms used, differ between situations.

The final chapter discusses the results, and suggestions are given for further research to advance our knowledge on this phenomenon 'gedogen'. This study may be the starting point for further research on conflict theory or cross-cultural psychology.

Samenvatting

Het doel van dit onderzoek was om basiskennis over het Nederlandse fenomeen gedogen op een sociaal-cultureel niveau te krijgen, te beginnen met de verificatie van de veronderstelling dat gedogen zich afspeelt op een sociaal-cultureel vlak. Wat betekent gedogen voor Nederlanders? Hoe gaan ze ermee om op sociaal-cultureel niveau en is de manier waarop Nederlanders gedogen situationeel en anders in de meer formele situatie van het werk?

Om gedogen te onderzoeken, zijn 20 mensen geselecteerd door middel van het toevalsbemonstering (convenience sampling) en geïnterviewd. Uit de resultaten van deze interviews blijkt dat de veronderstelling dat gedogen zich afspeelt op een sociaal-cultureel vlak gerechtvaardigd is. Echter, de Nederlandse de voorkeur is het werkwoord gedogen te gebruiken op een beleidsniveau en het werkwoord 'tolereren' op een sociaal-cultureel vlak, ook al zijn ze synoniemen.

Op basis van de literatuur van de Nederlandse geschiedenis en cultuur, werden verscheidene richtinggevende begrippen (sensitizing concepts) gebruikt als uitgangspunt voor de analyse van de interviews. Onze bevindingen tonen het proces van het gedogen in meer detail. Het uitgangspunt voor gedogen is een situatie of handeling in strijd met morele waarden. Dit conflict wordt pragmatisch beoordeeld met behulp van drie factoren: een eigen belang, het belang van de ander, en het recht op zelfbeschikking.

Situaties waarin gedogen voorkomt op een sociaal-cultureel niveau, zijn op het werk, thuis, op school, op straat, in een cafe en op de fiets. Gedogen vindt plaats onder vrienden, kennissen, onbekenden, collega's en familie, door jongeren en door ouderen. Geconcludeerd kan worden dat gedogen vindt plaats in alle aspecten van het dagelijks leven en niet beperkt blijft tot bepaalde situaties.

Daarnaast is het proces van gedogen is niet situationeel in de zin van welke factoren voorkomen in verschillende contexten. Echter, de bewoording verschilt tussen de situaties.

Het laatste hoofdstuk bespreekt de resultaten en geeft suggesties voor nader onderzoek om onze kennis over dit fenomeen gedogen uit te breiden. Dit onderzoek kan het startpunt zijn voor verder onderzoek richting conflicten of cross-culturele psychologie.

1. Introduction

Imagine a country full of bicycles, ridden by fearless, disobedient cyclists amidst a myriad of signs and road rules; some of which include the requirement to drive on the right-hand side of the road and not to ride through a red light. Imagine now that these cyclists routinely ignore the red traffic lights and proceed to turn right on crossings, and the government of this country is fully aware of this, yet does nothing about it. To an outsider, it is perhaps astonishing that a government would allow this; even placing little signs on the crossings to tell the cyclists they can ignore the red light, if it is safe to do so! But '*Rechtsaf voor fietsers vrij*' (bikes are free to turn right) is just one example of a Dutch socio-cultural phenomenon called 'gedogen'.

'Gedogen' literally translates to 'acquiescence', but is better described as 'turning a blind eye', or a combination of ignoring-on-purpose and tolerating.

Another example may be found in recent political events. Geert Wilders is a Dutch right-wing politician who maintains a strong, publicly acknowledged, negative opinion of Islam and the Koran. The parties that formed a coalition government disagree with his ideology and did not want his party to be part of the government, yet they needed his seats to form a majority in parliament. When asked, he announced he was willing to give 'gedoog' support in forming a new cabinet. To a confused foreign colleague, this could be explained as 'reluctant support' or acquiescence to the other parties' decisions. Hypocritical? Perhaps, but 'gedogen' is associated with harm reduction, and the greater good.

The same foreign colleague commented that, 'Gedogen is powerful; it can even make Wilders milder!'; a comment that partially inspired this thesis, and the investigation of the real meaning of 'gedogen' in a socio-cultural context.

Besides 'gedogen' among political parties in a coalition, 'gedogen' is also used in the context of social policies, particularly in relation to drugs, abortion and euthanasia (i.e. towards people). The famous Dutch harm-reduction policies on these issues (which declare them all legal under specified conditions) are referred to as 'gedoogbeleid', or 'gedoog policy'.

'Gedogen' has been extensively described and investigated from a political and social policy setting perspective, but how does this phenomenon influence the Dutch on a social and personal level, in their dealings with each other and their government? 'Gedogen' is found in policies, but policies are made and agreed upon by humans; thus it is unlikely that 'gedogen' has no effect on a personal level. However, there is no literature in this area because the personal dimension of 'gedogen' has never been investigated. The word itself cannot even be translated effectively into other languages; hence it is referred to in its original, native form throughout this thesis.

To understand this phenomenon, it is necessary firstly to understand the historic and cultural origin of 'gedogen'.

1.1 Gedogen on a governance level

Examining 'gedogen' from the perspective of governance (politics and social policies) provides a good foundation for understanding the origin of this phenomenon in Dutch society.

The governance of daily life poses both practical challenges and theoretical questions about balances between the rights, concerns and values of individuals, the state, commerce, professions and other groupings (Fox and Ward, 2008).

Governance is used as a broad term, encompassing a wide range of issues including liberty and the rights of citizens to self-actualization, but also individual and collective safety and integrity. How can governance achieve a balance between cultural values and unevenly distributed power? The concept of 'gedogen' is part of the Dutch solution to this.

1.2 Dutch society

Dutch governance as we know it, began with the founding of the Kingdom of Netherlands in 1815, at the Congress of Vienna (Andeweg & Irwin, 2009). Proportional representation; meaning "one person, one vote" rather than people voting in a representative for their area, was introduced in 1917. Male (1917) and female (1919) suffrage were also introduced, leading to the right to vote for all adults.

At the time of the introduction of universal suffrage, Dutch society was heavily divided into five pillars: Socialists, Liberals and three religious groups. These divisions reflected the nature of society, the institutions and the major political parties; at least one to represent each pillar. With none of these pillars or their parties forming a majority, the Netherlands has been and still is, a country of minorities and therefore coalitions, co-operation and pragmatism. The disappearance of the five pillars did not change this, but did make the distribution of seats in elections less stable. The 'proportional representation' system contributing to the process of accommodation between parties, proved to be a success, and is now considered a fair system.

In addition to the pressure related to the forming and functioning of coalitions in government, there is another relevant feature of Dutch politics that needs elaboration. The Netherlands is a constitutional democracy. In the Dutch constitution, the rights of the Dutch are guaranteed. These include freedom of speech and freedom of religion.

Do these rights mean the Dutch are free to act as they wish?

The answer is no; some freedom must be sacrificed for functioning well as a society. This limitation of freedom is regulated through laws and customs. Thus, some friction will always exist in a democracy, in finding the point at which individual freedom ends and society starts. It is not the aim of this study to speculate on this point. Rather, the question '*How do the Dutch deal with it?*' is the purpose.

An example of how this conflict is dealt with has already been given above, with the Dutch cyclists. The Dutch have a tendency to disregard rules which they judge to be unnecessary. This disobedience is a general trait, and is usually dealt with in a pragmatic way, either through the adjustment of rules or by 'turning a blind eye' ('gedogen'). Other examples are the harm reduction policies on drugs, abortion and euthanasia. The right to self determination plays a specific role in these policies, because it comes into conflict with moral values and laws. The 'gedogen' approach appears to be the pragmatic method through which the Dutch deal with the friction between personal freedom and the limitation of it.

1.3 Gedogen as conflict resolution

If ‘gedogen’ is a solution to a dilemma situation, in which the interests of all concerned are considered, it is relevant to examine it in the context of the Conflict Concerns Theory (Van de Vliert, 1997). Just like analyzing ‘gedogen’ from a governance level to get a foundation for understanding ‘gedogen’ in a socio-cultural context, the Conflict Concerns Theory provides relevant insights. The theory assumes that both ‘person’ (personal traits and states) and ‘environment’ (contextual conditions) are influential moderators in a conflict situation. It is useful to examine ‘gedogen’ in the context of personal traits, culture and environment.

Culture, as one of the moderating factors, is defined as ‘*an inherited system of ideas that structures the subjective experiences of individuals*’ (LeVine, 1984). If culture is influential in this situation, and inherited, it is important to consider the origins of the Dutch culture and their influence on the individual. This is examined below.

1.4 Dutch history

Water management, religion and trade are perhaps the most diacritical elements that have shaped the Dutch culture.

1.4.1 Water management

The inhabitants of Holland were threatened by inundation, and organized themselves into ‘Water Boards’ from as early as the 1000s. At the time there was little central government and hardly any nobility to take the lead in managing water (Andeweg & Irwin, 2009). The central government only provided dykes around the sea shore and other measures to protect the larger areas of land¹. All other provisions had to be made by the locals who needed them most. Most of the population consisted of farmers and fishermen. To sustain their land, they needed to cooperate and coordinate, and so they organized themselves and elected a leader from within their own ranks, who would take action when a new project was necessary. Every man in the area contributed to this organization in the form of money and labor. These early institutions of democracy and egalitarianism have carried through to the present day, although now in a more professional form.

¹ <http://www.waterschappen.nl/geschiedenis-van-de-waterschappen.html>

The early democratic Water Board institutions brought a 'low power distance' or egalitarianism to the culture. According to Hofstede (2001) the Dutch still have a low power distance, partially due to the long history of self organization in daily life. It is likely that the low power distance has strengthened the Dutch attitude in the right to self determination; one of the two elements in the conflict potentially resolved through 'gedogen'.

Shweder and Bourne (1984) argue that cultural premises and the master metaphors by which people live, mediate the relationship between *what* people think and *how* they think. People from cultures described as 'horizontal'; featuring egalitarianism based on equality, are more comfortable with horizontal relationships. In fact, they will try to convert vertical, hierarchical relationships to horizontal, thus undoing authority (Triandis, 1995). In this thesis, the right to self-determination is defined from a western point of view, based on a self construct aimed at independence (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). In this horizontal culture, standing up for one's own rights is accepted and appreciated, and therefore takes precedence over strict adherence to rules.

1.4.2 Religion

Another cause of Dutch egalitarianism can be found in the predominant religion; Protestantism. Religion in the Netherlands has been mainly the Christian monotheism since the end of the first millennium. In the 17th century, Calvin's ideas were embraced by most of the people in the northern Netherlands (most of modern-day Netherlands); Protestantism replacing Catholicism. Calvin considered the church as a place of worship, a house of God and left the rest of the world outside the church, unlike the Catholic Church which is involved in all aspects of life (Kuyper, 2002). In the Protestant spirit, people were left to think for themselves when outside the church, about how to live according to the God's word with the bible. The Sunday lectures were seen as a guide. Calvin, in his letter to Sadoletto remarks that when in doubt, one has to determine if it is God's word he is following or man's word. The first is the only correct one (Dankbaar, 1982).

From this step toward independent thought, it is clear that religion has also been influential in defining the Dutch moral value of 'self determination'.

The influence of Christianity can also be found throughout the Dutch language, not just in the words, but in the grammar, style, phrases and sayings that have their origins in the bible (Van Delden, 2004). Two examples of this are, 'God helpt degenen die zichzelf helpen' (God helps those who help themselves), and the golden rule, 'Do to others as you would have them do unto you.' Triandis (1995) states that monotheism (a single-god religion), argues for only one truth: something is either right or wrong. The moral values found in Holland, which guide ideas about right and wrong, having compassion and the way fellow humans are treated, are consistent with the bible and its ten commandments. Triandis also reports that Protestant followers are more individualistic than Catholics, and individualism as an important Dutch characteristic is confirmed by Hofstede (2001).

1.4.3 Trade

Religion and the fight against water have both had their influence on moral values and right to self determination. The third influential factor is trade. Picture the 17th century Dutch tradesman; splendidly dressed, although not as elaborately so as his foreign contemporaries. In one hand he holds a bible, and in the other, some merchandise or money.

An important aspect of being successful in trade is good negotiation; a process of placing self-interest first, but at the same time, preserving the relationship for future trade. According to Triandis (1995), individuals analyze the advantages and disadvantages of maintaining a relationship in a rational manner. An example of this rational manner can be found in the way the Dutch treated the protestant French, the Huguenots. The Huguenots fled Catholic France in the 17th century, mainly to the protestant cities of the Netherlands like Leiden and Amsterdam. With them, they brought their craftsmanship and their money (Bots, Posthumus Meyjes and Wieringa, 1985). Just as welcome were the 16th century Spanish and Portuguese Jewish refugees. They financed trade and had influential contacts in trade. Their different religion and lifestyle caused them to be isolated in the Netherlands, but they were not persecuted as they were in other nations (Lucassen and Penninx, 1994). Tolerating this cultural diversity for the benefits it held no doubt contributed to the national 'gedogen' attitude.

The extensive trade links established by the Dutch from the 16th century onward, shaped the character of the modern Dutch society as much as religion and the fight against inundation. Evidence of this can also be found in the modern Dutch sayings; over 60 about money and trade, and 120 concerning gold and coins². One saying particularly expresses the self interest involved in trade; Elk is een dief in zijn eigen nering (to seek advantage at the expense of others). Some other examples include ‘Er bestaat geen stinkend geld voor een verkoper’ (for money one accepts a lot), and ‘Zilveren hamers breken ijzeren deuren’ (with money one can achieve a lot).

The merchants of the early-modern times worked for both the honor of God, and naturally, money. The most wealthy and influential people (the merchants) often became public administrators; politicians, and this made it possible for them to simultaneously pursue self interest when determining public policy.

Trade has been an important aspect of the Dutch economy and society since early modern times, and although the Golden Age is over, the Dutch are still proud of the leading position the country holds on public utilities such as waterworks.

Modern day Dutch still pursue self interest in trade and services on a political level, often at the expense of some of their values regarding human rights. Although this is not admired by all Dutch (as seen in public discussions about trading missions of politicians to countries where western human rights are ignored), this misdemeanor is apparently not enough to influence the behaviours of voters, or to even create an issue during elections.

One example of this is the 2009 visit by the Dalai Lama. Prime Minister of the day, Balkenende, did not meet with the Dalai Lama, and did not provide the reason for this, which was that the Chinese ambassador asked him not to, suggesting it would damage trade relations³. North American president Barack Obama, however *did* meet the Dalai Lama, ignoring such repercussions out of *principle*. Dutch trade missions serve their own interests, often taking precedence over a stand on human rights. Upholding values involves a moral duty that is laid down in treaties, and business does not cross these boundaries, but neither

² www.spreekwoord.nl

³ <http://nos.nl/artikel/88910-dalai-lama-in-nederland.html>

will it sacrifice itself for them. Thus, trade operates in a delicate situation, simultaneously serving the two masters of self interest and moral values.

1.5 Dutch culture

The above suggests that the influence of factors such as water management, religion and trade have manifested in a culture which scores high on 'individualism'. *Individualism*, as described by Hofstede (1980) is 'a loosely knit social framework in which people are supposed to take care of themselves and of their immediate families only'. The other end of this continuum is 'collectivism', characterized by 'a tight social framework in which people distinguish between in-groups and out-groups, expecting that their in-group will look after them, and in exchange they owe absolute loyalty to it'.

One feature of a culture high in individualism, is people giving priority to individual needs, desires and longings (one's own interests) over consideration for what is best for the group as a whole (Matsumoto, 1997).

A good example of this individualism is found in the 'NIMBY' (*Not In My Back Yard*) attitude. This is the factor that has prevented modern windmills being placed on private land, to provide an alternative energy source. Even projects in the North Sea have been protested against, not only by environmentalists on behalf of sea life, but also by people objecting to the sight of these windmills on the horizon. Self interest; placing a priority on items important to one's self, is a characteristic deeply embedded in Dutch society on an individual level. It seems that this characteristic is strong enough to overrule moral values in a situation where they come into conflict. Therefore, self interest must be added to the list of influencing factors in the phenomenon of 'gedogen'.

As longitudinal research by Spangenberg and Lampert (2009) shows, values, norms and attitudes differ between generations. However, general traits like individualism, egalitarianism and the stress laid on self interest and the right to self-determination are firmly embedded in Dutch culture.

1.6 Summary

This introduction has examined the historic and cultural context in which the phenomenon of ‘gedogen’ can be presumed to have originated on a societal level, the most influential factors being the political structure (in which proportional representation results in parties with opposing viewpoints having to co-operate), the balance between the right to self determination and what is best for society in a democracy, and the history of water management, religion and trade in promoting egalitarianism, a disrespect for too much authority, and self interest.

A review of the relevant theory highlights the following sensitizing factors:

- ‘Gedogen’ is associated with the tolerable solution to a conflict situation or dilemma
- ‘Gedogen’ is aided by pragmatism as an attitude
- ‘Gedogen’ is mediated by moral values and the right to self determination
- ‘Gedogen’ involves self interest as a value.

Having examined all these factors, in which ‘gedogen’ appears to be the solution to a conflict between an individual’s right to self determination and the rules necessary for society, this thesis will now investigate how ‘gedogen’ operates on a personal (socio-cultural) level. Specifically:

1. What does ‘gedogen’ mean to Dutch people on a social-cultural level?
2. How do the Dutch deal with ‘gedogen’ on a social-cultural level?
3. Is the way the Dutch apply ‘gedogen’ situational, and different in the more formal situation of work?

2 Method

Examining how ‘gedogen’ operates on an individual level is a new concept, and must be done through sound research.

Vendler (1984) argues that to explain a person’s actions, one must analyze factors of ‘subjective consciousness’, such as reasons, motives and intentions. A qualitative research method was chosen to examine these elements of action, because of its ability to provide detailed data through which the phenomenon can be analyzed (Boeije, 2008).

A structured interview with open questions is useful, because it is possible to get a lot of information which varies in content, and a semi-structured interview is even better at revealing a person’s behaviour, views, attitudes and experiences in depth. Because ‘gedogen’ is a social phenomenon, a semi-structured interview format was chosen (Baarda et al., 2005). The research was conducted following the strategy of ‘analytical induction’, described by Boeije (2008) as a ‘search strategy for the best fitting structure in the research material’.

2.1 Developing the questions and standardising the interview technique

The final interview format was developed through an process that alternated between data collection and analysis. The first version emerged in October 2009 and was tested in two interviews. With the results, the original interview was adapted. This cycle of improvement has been repeated two more times, resulting in the fourth version, which was used to train the interviewers during the pilot study and to test the interview format again.

Conducting the pilot interviews resulted in a standard way of handling different, difficult situations such as knowing when and how to ask for elaboration. The fifth and final version of the interview was used in this study, producing the final results. In the final version, the content, formulation and the order of the questions is firmly established.

2.2 Description and design of the interview

The interview (see Appendix 1) is a semi-structured, topic interview, containing 11 closed questions and eight open questions, conducted in under half an hour.

The interviewer begins with a short introduction of themselves, followed by the aim of the interview and the procedure, (see Appendix 1). The process for clarifying a question, if unclear, is also covered. After the interviewees agree to the procedure and their own participation in the recorded interview, the recording begins. Personal data will remain anonymous and the answers to the questions will not be disclosed to third parties. Additionally, the data is for the use of this project exclusively.

The closed questions gather personal information for control purposes, such as the demographic background of participants. At the end of the interview, participants are asked about their religious and political preferences. In the event that answers about religion or political preferences cannot be elicited, an extra set of questions has been added, in which opinions about large income disparities between a nation's citizens, how immigrants should fit in and the participant's attitude to euthanasia are sought. The questions on income disparity and immigrants are indicative of political preferences, and views on euthanasia are indicative of religion. These closed-ended questions are used to evaluate the open-ended questions, and are placed at the end of the interview to avoid priming effects.

The open questions deal with different aspects of 'gedogen' and can be divided into three sets. The first set contains questions 1 and 2. The first question "*What is the first impression that comes to mind when I mention the word 'gedogen'?*", was added to the interview to clarify the statements made by interviewees while developing the interview. In the early stages of the interview's development, people were surprised at the use of the word 'gedogen' when applied to their personal lives. They were only familiar with 'gedogen' on a policy level. Some participants did acknowledge that 'gedogen' takes place in their personal lives, but called it 'tolerating'. To clearly define the similarities and differences between 'gedogen' and 'tolerance', the second question, "*What do you think are the similarities and differences between the words tolerance and 'gedogen'?*" is asked. The aim of this is to determine whether 'gedogen' is thought of by the interviewees as a synonym of 'tolerance', or an independent concept. Seen from a linguistic point of view, the Dutch words 'tolereren' and 'gedogen' are synonyms (Van Sterkenburg, 2007). The answers to these two questions reveal whether 'gedogen' takes place on a social-cultural level at all.

Questions 3, 4, 5 and 6 are designed to discover the functioning of 'gedogen'. They ask the participants' opinion about clothing, in decreasing order of personal interest. Different scores were predicted for conflicting definitions of 'gedogen', such as declining scores for '*right to self-determination*' and '*self-interest*', and rising scores for '*moral values*' and '*others' interests*'. The number of reported conflict situations was expected to decline from Question 3 to Question 6. Since participants were asked about wearing a burka themselves, the male participants were asked instead to imagine being a female and if they would make their partner wear the burka.

With the third set of questions, 7 and 8, respondents are asked for examples of 'gedogen', firstly without specifying circumstances (question 7). The eighth and last open question refers to the participant's experience with 'gedogen' at work, as an example of a more formal situation. The manifestation of 'gedogen' in daily life and at work is revealed by these two questions. The way the Dutch deal with 'gedogen' in different circumstances is also encompassed.

2.3 Procedure

From January to February 2010, the participants were approached by telephone and addressed with a personal request. The project group used convenience sampling to select participants. 15 of the participants were also recruited from several places on the Twente University campus, and five from Almelo. Four interviewers searched for five participants each, conducted the interviews and transcribed them between March and April 2010.

2.4 Interviewing manner and atmosphere

Interviews with predetermined questions were undertaken in a casual, friendly atmosphere, in which the interviewees answered freely with the guarantee of anonymity and non-disclosure. Open-ended questions were used to gain more information where necessary, and closed questions were used for verification purposes. It was not necessary to interrupt during any of these interviews due to the flexible structure. All respondents were informed of the topic ('gedogen') prior to the interview and all expressed an interest.

2.5 Interview statistics

The average number of respondent sentences was 79, with a range of 37 to 131 sentences. The interview time in seconds was an average of 802 seconds (13'42 minutes) with a range of 550 (9'10 minutes) to 1187 (19'47 minutes). In one interview, two sequences of two seconds each are not understandable. This particular interview lasted for 797 seconds (13'17 minutes). In another interview totalling 10'39 minutes (639 seconds), one part of three seconds' length is not understandable. However, the meaning of the answers was not influenced by the missing parts. See Appendix 4 for full details.

2.6 Respondent characteristics

One condition for participating in the investigation was holding a job, due to Question 8 ('gedogen' in the more formal situation of work). After acquiring their consent for taping the interview, 20 participants took part in the interviews; an adequate number for qualitative research (Baarda et al., 2005). Of these 20 people, 12 were male and 8 female. The youngest participant was 21 years old, the oldest 63 years. The average age was 34.75 years. The interviewees also differed in their education levels. Ten interviewees went to university, one at bachelor level (HBO), eight at middle professional level (MBO) and one at basic professional level (LBO). They also differed in their current positions at work. Six interviewees worked in operational positions, four in administrative support and six in professional or technical positions. Four respondents were managers at different levels; one low level, one middle and two top-level. Twelve of the interviewees worked for a profit-orientated company and the other eight for non-profit companies. Nineteen participants were native or of Dutch origin ('autochtoon'), while one was an immigrant ('allochtoon'). See Appendix 3 for full details.

2.7 Data preparation

Full transcripts of each taped interview were made between March and April 2010, including a description of non-verbal information where this was considered significant. Sentences with unintelligible words were transcribed as accurately as possible with the words in question marked with punctuation. Pauses were recorded by one interviewer, and two interviewers transcribed expletives and exclamations. Two interviewers transcribed their interviews two to three weeks after the interview and two completed the task within one week of interview.

The transcriptions were then encoded by the interviewers, by breaking the texts down into meaningful pieces. These pieces were scrutinized, categorized and summarized using the encoding scheme provided. Based on this, the Interrater Reliability was determined using Spearman's Rho, calculated from the scores in the coding schemes of all four group members (Spearman's Rho= .84, .86, .96, .92, 48d.f., $P=0.001$). The choice of this method for determining interrater reliability was based on the type of data; the scores for concepts in the eight questions represent non-parametric data. See Appendix 6 for full details.

2.8 The encoding scheme

The encoding scheme for the interview results has been based on the methods and techniques for qualitative analysis described by Boeije (2008). The 'sensitizing concepts' arising from the literature were used as the basis of the encoding scheme, the categories being *expression of gedogen, the right to self-determination, self-interest, moral values, pragmatism, conflict situation, others' interests (added later during axial coding), similarities and differences*.

The last two categories (similarities and differences) are used exclusively in Question 2. Possible, predetermined codes have been added to the encoding scheme, serving as indicators. For example, the codes for the first category, Expression of 'gedogen', include (but are not limited to):

- Tolerate
- Allow
- Do nothing
- Letting it go
- No power
- Abide
- Endure and bear.

It assists the analysis process to sort the statements made during interviews into categories. During the actual analysis of the data, one more concept was discovered and the scheme was updated accordingly. One encoding scheme is used per open-ended question. The full coding

scheme is presented in Appendix 5, the updated scheme is presented in Appendix 7 and coding examples are presented in Appendix 9.

3 Results

The eight open questions are analyzed in three sets: Question 1 and Question 2 which are the introductory questions aimed at clarifying ‘gedogen’. The purpose of the next set of questions, Question 3, 4, 5 and 6, is to discover the functioning of ‘gedogen’. This is done with four questions about clothing. The last two questions, Question 7 and Question 8, aim at construing the manifestation of ‘gedogen’. The focus of the last question is the work situation in order to find out if the mechanism of ‘gedogen’ is situational and specific if it is different at work.

3.1 Marking out ‘gedogen’

The interviewees were asked for their first impression when the word ‘gedogen’ was mentioned. Of the 20 interviewees, only three provided a description of ‘gedogen’ (despite different wording, the answers all represent ‘allowing the forbidden’) and 17 associated ‘gedogen’ with policy (mostly on drugs). Nine of these 17 also gave a description of ‘gedogen’. None of the interviewees mentioned ‘gedogen’ at a social-cultural level (see Appendices 7 and 8). Do these results mean that ‘gedogen’ is absent on a social-cultural level? The answer is no.

‘Gedogen’ and ‘tolereren’ (to tolerate) are synonyms according to Dutch dictionaries and the Dutch Synonym Dictionary (Van Sterkenburg, 2007). The interviewees were asked about the differences and similarities of these two terms. One interviewee saw no difference between them. Another thought ‘gedogen’ was based on processes and ‘tolerance’ was based on differences between people. The other 18 interviewees held the opinion that both terms mean ‘acceptance’, ‘allowance’ or ‘non-interference’. Of these 18, four judged ‘gedogen’ to be a negative term and ‘tolerance’ a positive term. Of these same 18 interviewees, 16 ruled ‘gedogen’ to be a term related to the law and prohibitions, and ‘tolerance’ to be based on self-interest or personal values:

“‘Gedogen’ is about rules, I think, and tolerance about norms and values. And norms and values are not strictly fixed. So it varies from person to person. A person can be more or less tolerant. Persons have their values and norms which is different than

‘gedogen’ which comes down to laws and regulations and what is permitted. You can permit things which are not allowed, personally or as a government.” (a 22 year old male with secondary vocational training)

Based on the answers to these two questions, the assumption that ‘gedogen’ takes place on a social-cultural level is justified. However, the Dutch prefer to use the verb ‘gedogen’ when referring to policy level and the verb ‘tolereren’ on a social-cultural level, even though they are synonyms.

3.2 Functioning of ‘gedogen’

It has been established that ‘gedogen’ takes place on a social-cultural level, and its functioning will be examined next using Question 3, 4, 5 and 6. In order to analyze ‘gedogen’ the interviewees were asked about their opinions on clothing. In each question a different situation is sketched.

3.2.1 Construing ‘gedogen’

Question 3 deals with the right to decide what to wear. In answering, the interviewees were asked to elaborate on the reasons for their opinion on the subject, which they obligingly did.

The interviewees connected the right to decide what to wear, with what is appropriate and when. The score on moral values was high in this question with terms summarized as decency, appropriateness and consideration for others. These moral values are contrasted with the right to personal freedom (self determination). Both concepts; moral values and the right to self determination were mentioned by 17 of the 20 interviewees (see Appendix 7). The interviewees contrast the right to self determination with moral values. In other words, people do have the right to decide what to wear, but have to consider decency, appropriateness and others’ interests as well.

This limitation to complete freedom is a form of friction, possibly a conflict situation. Terms associated with conflicts were used by 15 interviewees, although not every interviewee saw the right to self determination as a potential conflict with moral values.

Taking a closer look at the conflict situations reported, when a term for a conflict was used, moral values were also mentioned, with no exceptions. The relationship between conflicts and pragmatism is equally as clear; when pragmatism emerges, conflict also emerges nine out of eleven times. The right to self determination also shows a strong relationship with conflicts. Out of 17 interviewees who mentioned the term, thirteen also mentioned a conflict situation. The same was shown for self interest; nine interviewees mentioned the concept, with eight of them using it in the context of a conflict situation.

Both concepts; right to self determination and moral values were mentioned by 17 interviewees. Of these, 15 mentioned both terms in Question 3, and 13 thought these two concepts conflicted to some extent. Eight out of nine interviewees who mentioned self interest also mentioned moral values and a conflict situation. Seven out of nine interviewees who mentioned self interest also mentioned the right to self determination and a conflict situation. A passage from one of the interviews clarifies this dilemma:

Since autonomy – or your own freedom – is important to everyone I think, and that clothing is a basal issue on which you can be judged as well, so I think that people should be entirely free in this matter. But when you have a certain position, you do have to take that into account. (a 26 year old male with secondary vocational training)

Based on these results it may be concluded that ‘gedogen’ on a socio-cultural (individual) level represents a pragmatic way of dealing with a dilemma or a potential conflict between moral values, self interest and the interrelated right to self determination.

3.2.2 How do the Dutch deal with ‘gedogen’?

Now that both the existence and meaning of ‘gedogen’ on a social-cultural level have been established, the next research question is *How do the Dutch deal with ‘gedogen’?*

Beginning with the statistical data, is there a difference between the genders when applying ‘gedogen’ or its mechanism? The answer is ‘no’, because the sample of interviewees is too small for the differences to be significant. The same applies to the other variables.

What more can be said about how the Dutch deal with 'gedogen' in a situational context? The results from Question 3, 4, 5 and 6 highlight four different situations in which 'gedogen' is potentially used by the Dutch.

The first situation (Question 3) is about personal opinions on the right to decide what to wear in the Netherlands. The second situation (Question 4) deals with the person's feeling while confronted with a foreign tradition. In this, their own culture is challenged with something that is not familiar: the burka. The third situation (Question 5) is also about the burka but in a different context, namely Islamic countries where it is mandatory, in contrast to the Netherlands. The fourth situation (Question 6) deals with an Islamic circumstance in which the burka is not required. This situation may be seen as an extended version of the third situation.

The answers provided by the participants indicate that gedogen is a conflict situation between one's own interest and moral values on one hand, and the other's interest and right to self-determination on the other, which is dealt with in a pragmatic way.

Another factor emerged during the analysis of responses to Question 6; the other's own interests. A review of the other responses revealed this factor being present (see Appendix 7), however, the relatively high score of other's interests in Question 6 in contrast with the low scores or even absenteeism seen in the other questions, demands a specific explanation.

The answer lies in the questions themselves; all of them except Question 6 can be answered from the interviewees own point of view, taking into account one's own interest. In Question 6 however, the situation outlined is free from self-interest, allowing the interviewees to completely focus on the burka-wearing women and her own interests. Consequently, self interest scores low in the answers to Question 6, being mentioned only once.

Discovering a new factor leads - the other's own interests - to the question of whether there are any more such factors. Based on the answers of 20 interviewees to the eight questions, the conclusion is 'no'; all meaningful pieces of the transcribed interviews have been coded. The concepts established fit into the existing framework involving conflict situation and

pragmatism, with the other factors divided further into 'own' (moral values and own interest) and 'other' (right to self determination and other's interest).

3.3 Is the way the Dutch deal with 'gedogen' situational and substantially different in the workplace?

The results of the first section suggest that 'gedogen' takes place on a policy level as well as the social-cultural level (see results set 1). The second section deals with the factors involved in 'gedogen'. But a remaining question is: *How* do the Dutch deal with 'gedogen'? Do the Dutch apply the 'gedogen' mechanism differently at work as they do privately?

To understand more about the mechanisms of 'gedogen' in different contexts, answers to the seventh and the eighth question are compared. Both questions refer to a situation in which the interviewees have performed the act of 'gedogen'. In Question 7, no situation is specified, but in Question 8, 'gedogen' is placed in the specific context of the workplace. Results from Question 7 show that most interviewees (14) gave an example exclusively from their personal lives, while only five mentioned a situation at work. One person gave an example of both their personal life and a situation at work.

The situations outlined by participants when they perform 'gedogen', are (besides at work): at home, in interaction with children, at school, in the streets, on holiday, in a pub, on a bike and with friends. People interviewed, of all ages perform 'gedogen'. Based on this description, it can be concluded that 'gedogen' takes place in all aspects of daily life and is not limited to certain situations. The family interaction causes transference of 'gedogen' from one generation to the next:

I saw my kids do something this morning at breakfast which they were not allowed to do: lick their plate. We were in a hurry and making a fuss about it takes more time in the morning than I have. Therefore I just ignored their licking the grains of sugar. Because it is just a rule out of etiquette, not because of safety or anything, that made it easier to pretend I had not seen it. (a 42 year old female with a bachelors degree)

The mechanisms of 'gedogen' at work and 'gedogen' privately do not differ strongly from each other. The interviewees used the same terms indicating pragmatism, a conflict situation

between moral values and the right to self-determination and self-interest, or others' interest in both questions. Besides using the same terms, they are also roughly mentioned the same number of times.

It is obvious that in both work and private contexts, 'gedogen' involves dealing with a dilemma situation in a pragmatic way (see Appendix 7). The terms in Questions 7 and 8 to represent *conflict situations* are mainly conjunctions like 'but' and 'although' (see Appendix 10). These conjunctions are used to compare a statement about something against a particular moral value, and it's being allowed nonetheless. This moral value can be either be a law, a business rule or a personal value. The high scores for 'moral values' in the answers to both Questions 7 and 8 show that 'moral values' are an important and explicit factor in the 'gedogen' mechanism.

The next fragment shows a business rule and the reasoning for ignoring it:

Here at work, you are allowed to upload up to certain quantities. Just a minute ago I saw someone who was violating this rule. Then I looked at why it was not requested in advance, bearing in mind what the purpose of the rule is. With that I determined what to do and in this case it was important for the offender. So I 'gedogen' this violation of the rule. (a 33 year old male with a masters degree)

Pragmatism is also an important element of 'gedogen', shown in the responses to both questions (see Appendix 7). The interviewees mentioned 'pragmatism' frequently in the seventh question (an average of 1.9 times per interviewee) with an unspecified context, in contrast to 2.1 times per interviewee in response to Question 8.

In both Question 7 and Question 8, the terms associated with a conflict situation, pragmatism, moral values, right to self-determination, self-interest and other's interests are mentioned by the interviewees. Even the occurrence of the terms is similar (see Appendix 7). Based on these two facts, it can be concluded that the mechanism for 'gedogen' is the same in all situations. The differences found are in the wording used. The wording used in examples of 'gedogen' at work is slightly more formal than words used to describe 'gedogen' applied privately. Active terms like 'tolerate', 'allow' and 'ignore' were used in the work context, whereas in private

situations passive terms like ‘say nothing about it’, ‘let it pass’ and ‘do nothing about it’ were used. Regarding the results presented in this section, the Dutch adapt their vocabulary in describing ‘gedogen’ to the relevant situation.

When all the interviews were divided into relevant sections, and the sections coded and analyzed from different angles, the overall results of the whole analysis and of the whole interviews was made possible. These are described in the following section.

3.4 Pattern codes

To complete this analysis, Miles’ and Huberman’s pattern codes have been sought within the responses (Boeije, 2008). These themes which transcend the level of a text fragment, patterns or overarching themes, cannot be categorized into concepts. Rather, they are the left over notes and observations after the encoding process.

The first noticeable pattern code is that the interviewers nearly always needed to ask for elaborations on initial answers. The process of ‘gedogen’ seems to be either too obvious or too automatic for the interviewees to identify the lack of explanation offered in their initial answers. For instance, the reason given by one of the interviewees for ‘gedogen’ was ‘friendship’. This could mean that ‘gedogen’ was necessary in preserving friendship, or that ‘gedogen’ was the consequence of friendship. On further elaboration, it turned out to be the latter.

The second pattern is that the concepts are often intertwined. For example, a pragmatic way of dealing with rules. A 37 year old male interviewee with a masters degree remarked when talking about a work situation: *“That is about rules, reality is different.”* displaying pragmatism while explaining moral values.

A third pattern concerns the circumstances. ‘Gedogen’ takes place in all kinds of situations (at home, in public space, at work) and among strangers as well as relatives, friends, colleagues and acquaintances. Question 7 was used to compare treatment of different types of people. No differences could be found in the responses to this question as well as in the treatment of

colleagues and clients in Question 8. 'Gedogen' in the responses to the questions seems more situational (as in Question 3, 4, 5 and 6) and less dependent on the person concerned.

4 Discussion

To get an understanding of the Dutch socio-cultural phenomenon ‘gedogen’, it is important to identify its key antecedents and mechanisms. The following questions were used to structure and limit the study:

- What does ‘gedogen’ mean to Dutch people on a social-cultural level?
- How do the Dutch deal with ‘gedogen’ on a social-cultural level?
- Is the way the Dutch apply ‘gedogen’ situational, and different in the more formal situation of work?

In this study, the following sensitizing concepts from the literature were used:

- ‘Gedogen’ as an instrument from a political and social policy setting perspective
- The Conflict Concerns Theory
- Dutch culture
- Dutch history.

In particular, the literature study links ‘gedogen’ as a conflict situation with pragmatism as an attitude and moral values, self interest and the right to self determination as factors.

Findings based on semi-structured interviews reveal that ‘gedogen’ in a socio-cultural context is indeed a pragmatic way of dealing with a mental conflict based on moral values, with consideration for self interest and the right to self determination. Additionally, another factor was found in the process of ‘gedogen’. The interest of the other people concerned appears to play a role.

Examples of situations are given in the study regarding where ‘gedogen’ occurs; at work, at home, at school, in the streets, on holidays and in a pub. It was found that ‘gedogen’ is performed among friends, acquaintances, strangers, colleagues and family, by young people and by older people, and ‘gedogen’ indeed takes place on the social-cultural level.

Additionally the findings reveal the actual process of ‘gedogen’ in more detail. The starting point for ‘gedogen’ is a situation or action in conflict with one’s moral values. This conflict is pragmatically weighed using three factors: one’s own interest, the other’s interest and right to

self-determination. The other's right to self-determination can be considered an extension of the other's interest. However, since the right to self-determination is mentioned more often than the other's interest, both concepts are used and explicitly mentioned as factors.

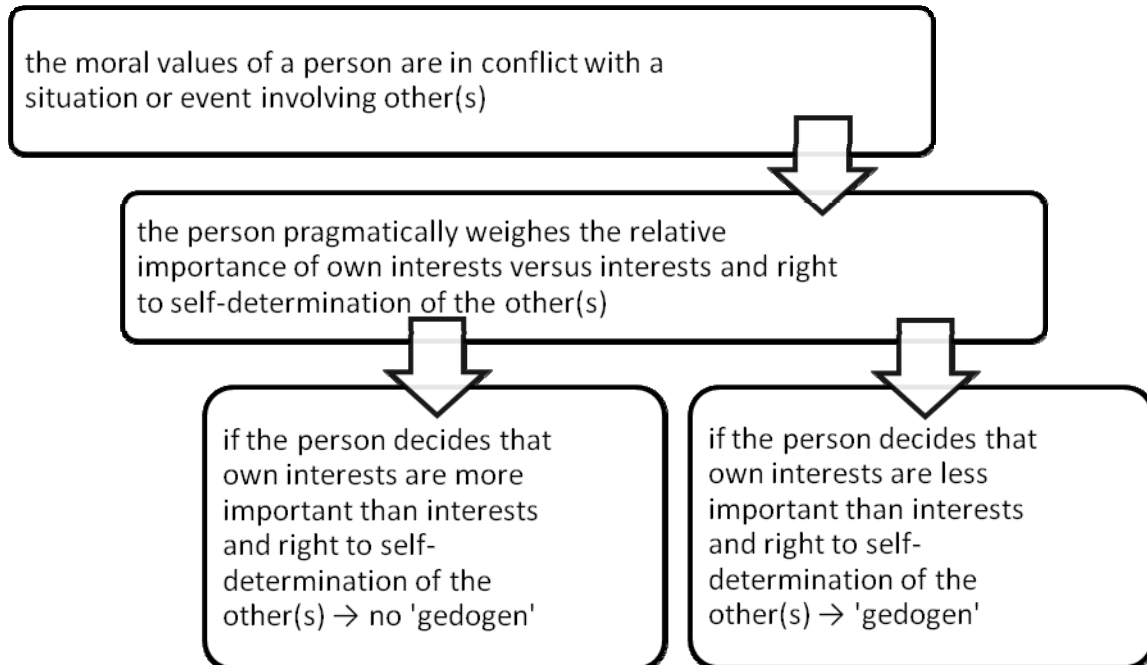


Figure 1 The process of 'gedogen'

The process of 'gedogen' is not situational in terms of which factors emerge in different contexts. Persons in different roles are treated alike, consistent with the Dutch low power distance. However, the terms representing the factors, or the particular terms used, differ between situations. To describe 'gedogen' at work, more formal and active terms were used. The wording used is not only situational, but the content changes. This is most visible in the terms with a connotation of 'moral values'. Here the terms vary from personal values and values based on business rules, to values based on the law. In all situations, 'gedogen' is a process which takes place in an automatic way and as something so natural that only for the requested elaborations reveal the factors involved.

Implications

The findings of this study advance the literature on the Dutch socio-cultural phenomenon 'gedogen' by making a start in understanding the phenomenon. The mechanism of 'gedogen' and the factors involved have been revealed. The theoretical framework of 'gedogen' has

taken preliminary shape. Although this framework on ‘gedogen’ is built using elements from different fields such as science, history, cross-cultural psychology and theory on conflicts, a feedback loop has not been attempted. Thus, an extension of these findings might be to examine how ‘gedogen’ adds to or fits into (for instance), the conflict concerns theory or cross-cultural psychology.

Beyond contributing to scientific knowledge, the findings may also form the start of explaining why ‘gedogen’ is a common phenomenon only in the Netherlands. Dealing with (internal) conflicts is part of the human condition, and likely to happen all over the world. However, the unique set of Dutch characteristics (cultural dimensions) as outlined by Hofstede, complemented by pragmatism, seems a good starting point for unraveling the mystery of the untranslatable ‘gedogen’, and the unique position of the Dutch regarding its existence.

Limitations and future research

One limitation of the current study is the relatively small number of interviewees (20). However, the sample of interviewees represents all groups present in the working population of The Netherlands. Because interviewees were asked about their behavior at work, the representation of age, jobs and gender amongst the respondents assists in overcoming the limitations of their number.

But while this small, representative sample is useful for qualitative research and discovering the mechanism of ‘gedogen’, the small sample number combined with small differences in results means differences between groups cannot be detected by using complicated statistical methods.

After finalizing the interview, no more amendments were made. This means that potential improvements or additions were not used. Therefore, the information on the factor ‘other’s interest’ is limited since it is not mentioned much. It is still unclear if this factor is for instance less important than the other factors, depending on the situation or easily overlooked by interviewees when examining their reasons for ‘gedogen’. Further research on this factor is recommended.

After concluding that ‘gedogen’ is in essence a conflict situation in which one acts *not* in accordance with one’s moral values, we could not help but wonder how ‘gedogen’ relates to cognitive dissonance. As stated in the previous ‘implications’ section, it will be interesting to study the relation of ‘gedogen’ to the conflict concerns theory or cross-cultural psychology.

To prevent differences in results obtained by different members of the team, the interview technique was practiced in order to achieve a uniform method of interviewing. Even though three of the interviewers were German, their Dutch language skills were sufficient for participating in this study. Their knowledge of the German ‘gedogen’ situation was not used for this study, nor was the knowledge of my Chinese supervisor. Since conflicts are likely to happen all over the world, it would be interesting to see if other populations perform ‘gedogen’, even if it is not referred to as such.

As I have observed Dutch society grow increasingly dissatisfied over the last decade, shown by the growing popularity of populist politicians like Fortuyn, Verdonk and Wilders, it could be pondered whether the popularity of the ‘gedogen’ approach will change as well. The changing attitude of the next generation is also worth contemplation. I expect the reappraisal of hierarchy in these generations will have its effect as well, and it will be interesting to study the effect of these changes.

Conclusion

Surprisingly enough, this study is the first on ‘gedogen’ in a socio-cultural context. It has examined the mechanism of ‘gedogen’ and the factors concerned. Furthermore, the conditions related to gedogen were used as a parameter in this study. The findings of this study suggests that ‘gedogen’ is performed anyplace, anytime and by any Dutch person. They also indicate that ‘gedogen’ is performed in the family circle, whereby it is transferred from generation to generation. ‘Gedogen’ in a socio-cultural context is a pragmatic way of dealing with a mental conflict based on moral values, with consideration for one’s own interest, the other’s interest and right to self-determination. This study may be the starting point for further research on conflict theory or cross-cultural psychology.

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Appendix 1 – the interview (English version=translation)

Introduction:

Hello, my name is. and I am a psychology student at the University of Twente. For my research I am investigating on gedogen and how it has impact on our lives. Would you like to answer a few questions? This takes less than half an hour.

[If so, thanks. If not, then ask the next person.]

Do you mind if I tape this interview? This is because I need to transcribe our conversation in written language for an accurate analysis.

[If so, then thank you and move on. If not, then ask the next person.]

This interview follows as, I first ask some personal information. Then I will start with questions related to the topic of gedogen. If the questions are not clear to you, please mention them to me and I will further clarify them. I appreciate it very much if you could articulate clearly.

First, your personal data which will be used for analysis only.

Your gender male female

What is your age ...

Your education? University HBO MBO LBO / other

Which of the following best describes your position?

Operational(Production, Maintenance, etc.)

Clerical/Administrative support

Professional/Technical(Non-managerial: engineer, nurse accountant, field sale, teacher, etc.)

Manager at a low level

Manager at a middle level (including supervisor, middle manager)

Manager at a top level (e.g. plant director, CEO, location manager)

What kind of company do you work for? Profit Non-profit

Are you autochtoon allochtoon

Now to the interview. Do you first want to reflect on how you deal with gedogen or do you want to start immediately?

[If desired, allow for some minutes and when Mr. or Mrs. Is ready]: I will start recording now.

QUESTION 1: What is the first impression that comes to mind when I mention the word “gedogen”? *[Make sure that the situation is fully described, if necessary, to ask open questions].*

QUESTION 2: What do you think are the similarities and differences between the words tolerance and “gedogen”? *[Get clear if the action / the mechanism is different or the same.]*

QUESTION 3: Relevant to the issue of “gedogen” I now come up with a topic which is related to our daily life: dressing. Do you think that everybody has the right to decide about what he or she wants to wear? Why?

QUESTION 4: Now we focus on a special article of clothing, the burka. Some people in our society feel uncomfortable when confronted with ladies wearing a burka. Have you met ladies who wear a burka? What was your feeling when you were in contact with them? (If they never met someone in a burka, ask them to imagine.)

QUESTION 5: What do you think of wearing a burka in Islamic countries where this is required and would you do this yourself?

QUESTION 6: In Afghanistan, women are no longer required to wear a burka. Some of the women choose to wear a burka for safety reasons, what do you think about this? (Why? *Ask only when useful.*)

QUESTION 7: Could you give an example of a situation where you have been “gedogen”? What were your reasons and what did you consider?

QUESTION 8: Earlier you have given me your opinion about “gedogen”. Have you ever experienced such a situation at your workplace and could you give an example? Why do you think this is an example of “gedogen”?

I now have some questions whose answers I need for analysis of the results:

What is your religion? None
 Catholic 1=barely, 5= orthodox
 Protestant 1=barely, 5= orthodox
 Islamic 1=barely, 5= orthodox
 otherwise.

Your political preferences? Left center right otherwise.

Featuring large income disparities between citizens of one country acceptable? 1 = no, 2 = yes.

What do you think of euthanasia? 1 = do not allow 2= allow.

What do you think immigrants should do? 1 = integrate, 2 = participate in our multicultural society.

These were the questions, do you want to add something?

Keep on recording until they are finished. Then:

Then I stop the recording now and I thank you for your cooperation to my research.

If a question is not clear, say you want to give an explanation and ask what is not clear. Then you can explain it in other words.

Appendix 2 – the interview

(Dutch version=original version used for the interviews)

Inleiding

Hallo, mijn naam is. en ik ben een psychologie student aan de Universiteit Twente. Voor mijn project onderzoek ik gedogen en hoe het invloed heeft op ons leven. Wilt u een paar vragen beantwoorden? Dit duurt minder dan een half uur.

[Zo ja, bedankt. Zo niet, vraag dan de volgende persoon.]

Vindt u het goed als ik dit interview opneem? Dit is nodig omdat ik ons gesprek moet uitschrijven voor een nauwkeurige analyse.

[Zo ja, dan dank je en ga verder. Zo niet, vraag dan de volgende persoon.]

Dit interview gaat als volgt, ik vraag eerst om persoonlijke informatie. Dan zal ik verder gaan met vragen met betrekking tot het onderwerp gedogen. Als de vragen niet duidelijk zijn voor u, verzoek ik u dit te zeggen en zal ik deze verder verduidelijken. Ik waardeer het zeer als u duidelijk kunt articuleren.

Allereerst uw persoonlijke gegevens die alleen zullen worden gebruikt voor de analyse.

Uw Geslacht Man Vrouw

Wat is uw leeftijd ...

Uw opleidingsniveau? Universiteit HBO MBO LBO / andere

Welke van de volgende beschrijft het beste uw positie?

Operationeel (productie, onderhoud, enz.)

Administratief

Professioneel / Technisch (Niet-leidinggevende: ingenieur, verpleegkundige boekhouder, veld verkoop, leraar, enz.)

Manager op een laag niveau

Manager bij een midden-niveau (met inbegrip van directie, middle manager)

Manager bij een top-niveau (bv. plant directeur, CEO, locationmanager)

Bij welk soort bedrijf werkt u? Profit Non-profit

Bent u autochtoon allochtoon

Nu naar het interview. Wilt u eerst willen nadenken over hoe u omgaat met gedogen of wilt u meteen beginnen?

[Indien gewenst, enkele minuten geven en wanneer meneer of mevrouw klaar is]: Ik zal nu beginnen met opnemen.

VRAAG 1: Wat is de eerste indruk die bij u opkomt als ik het woord 'gedogen' noem? *[Zorg ervoor dat de situatie volledig is beschreven, indien nodig, open vragen stellen].*

VRAAG 2: Wat zijn volgens u de overeenkomsten en verschillen tussen de woorden tolerantie en gedogen? *[Krijg duidelijk of de actie / het mechanisme anders is of hetzelfde.]*

VRAAG 3: Over de kwestie van "gedogen" kom ik nu met een onderwerp dat gerelateerd is aan ons dagelijks leven: kleding. Vindt u dat iedereen het recht heeft om te beslissen over wat hij of zij wil dragen? Waarom?

VRAAG 4: Nu richten we ons op een speciaal kledingstuk, de burka. Sommige mensen in onze samenleving voelen zich ongemakkelijk wanneer zij geconfronteerd worden met een vrouw in een burka. Hebt u ooit een dame in een burka ontmoet? Wat was uw gevoel hierbij? (Als zij niemand in een burka hebben ontmoet, vraag dan of ze het zich willen voorstellen.)

VRAAG 5: Wat vindt u van het dragen van een burka in de islamitische landen waar dit nodig is en zou u dit zelf doen?

VRAAG 6: In Afghanistan zijn vrouwen niet langer verplicht om een burka te dragen. Sommige van de vrouwen kiezen ervoor om een burka te dragen om redenen van veiligheid, wat vindt u hiervan? (Waarom? *Alleen vragen wanneer dit nuttig is.*)

VRAAG 7: Kunt u een voorbeeld geven van een situatie waarin u zelf iets gedooft? Wat waren uw redenen om dit te gedogen en wat heeft u daarbij in overweging genomen?

VRAAG 8: Eerder heeft u aan mij uw beschrijving van gedogen gegeven. Heeft u zo'n situatie op uw werk meegemaakt en kunt u een voorbeeld geven? Waarom vindt u dat dit een voorbeeld is van gedogen?

Dan heb ik nu nog wat vragen waarvan ik de antwoorden nodig heb voor analyse van de resultaten:

Wat is uw religie? Geen

 Katholiek nauwelijks, weinig, gemiddeld, sterk, orthodox

 Protestant nauwelijks, weinig, gemiddeld, sterk, orthodox

 Islamitisch nauwelijks, weinig, gemiddeld, sterk, orthodox

 anders.

Uw politieke voorkeur? Links midden rechts anders.

Vindt u grote inkomensverschillen tussen burgers in een land acceptabel? 1=niet, 2=wel.

 Wat vindt u van euthanasia? 1=niet toestaan, 2=toestaan.

 Wat vindt u dat nieuwe Nederlanders moeten doen? 1=integreren, 2=deelnemen aan onze multiculturele maatschappij.

Dit waren de vragen wilt u iets toevoegen?

Blijf opnemen totdat ze klaar zijn. Dan:

Dan stop ik de opname nu en dank ik u voor uw medewerking aan mijn onderzoek.

Is een vraag niet duidelijk, zeg dan dat je graag een uitleg geeft en vraag wat er niet duidelijk is. Daarna kun je dit in andere woorden uitleggen.

Appendix 3 – Characteristics respondents

Questions 1-8	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8
Codes Person								
IC1	m	22	3	1	P	1	n	L
IC2	f	21	1	3	n	1	P1	m
IC3	m	22	1	2	p	1	P1	r
IC4	m	37	3	2	n	1	K1	m
IC5	m	26	3	6	n	1	K1	m
IM1	m	39	3	2	n	2	il	m
IM2	f	44	3	1	p	1	n	L
IM3	f	21	1	3	p	1	n	m
IM4	m	63	1	5	n	1	n	r
IM5	f	36	1	3	n	1	p3	m
IN1	m	37	1	3	n	1	n	L
IN2	m	22	1	1	p	1	K4	r
IN3	m	41	3	1	p	1	n	-
IN4	m	22	1	1	p	1	n	-
IN5	f	23	1	1	p	1	K1	L
IW1	f	38	3	2	p	1	P3	m
IW2	m	58	4	1	p	1	n	L
IW3	f	35	3	4	p	1	n	L
IW4	f	42	2	3	n	1	P1	m
IW5	m	46	1	6	p	1	n	r
	12m 8f	Av35 Min21 Max63	1:10 2:1 3:8 4:1	1:7 2:4 3:5 4:1 5:1 6:2	p:12 n:8	1:19 2:1	n:10 P1:3 P3:2 K1:3 K4:1 I1:1	L:6 m:8 r:4 -:2

Table 1 Characteristics respondents

Q1= gender (m for male and f for female)

Q2= age (in years)

Q3= education (1=master/2=bachelor/ 3=high school/professional training/ 4=other)

Q4= profession (1=Operational (Production, Maintenance, etc.) / 2=Clerical/Administrative support / 3=Professional/Technical(Non-managerial: engineer, nurse accountant, field sale, teacher, etc.) / 4=Manager at a low level / 5=Manager at a middle level (including supervisor, middle manager) / 6=Manager at a top level (e.g. plant director, CEO, location manager))

Q5= company (p for profit and n for non profit)

Q6= origin (1 for native and 2 for immigrant)

Q7= religion (n=none / p1=protestant a little / p3=protestant average / k1=catholic a little / k4=catholic strong / i1=islamic a little)

Q8= political preferences (L for left, m for middle, r for right wing and – for a non voter or one who doesn't know what to vote)

Appendix 4 – Characteristics interviews

In this appendix the characteristics of the interviews are listed. The codes IC, IM, IN and IW in table 2 represent the four interviewers. The four interviewers each held five interviews. Per interviewer the characteristics of the interviews are listed.

IC 1	IC 2	IC 3	IC 4	IC5	IM 1	IM 2	IM 3	IM 4	IM 5	IN 1	IN 2	IN 3	IN 4	IN 5	IW 1	IW 2	IW 3	IW 4	IW 5
75	67	58	62	102	79	118	55	81	77	81	64	58	63	96	850	936	781	101	102
6	5	7	3	3	7	7	0	4	4	7	6	2	9	0				7	6
Average 733 seconds					Average 824 seconds					Average 729 seconds					Average 922 seconds				
12	11	10	10	186	69	38	37	69	44	10	66	63	83	12	73	131	73	100	94
2	2	0	4							7				3					
Average 125 sentences					Average 51 sentences					Average 88 sentences					Average 94 sentences				

Table 2 Interview length and number of sentences

The overall data for the four interviewers combined are:

- Interview time in seconds: minimum 550, maximum 1187 and average 802
- Interview time in minutes: minimum 9.10, maximum 19.47 and average 13.42
- Number of sentences: minimum number of sentences is 37, maximum 186 and average 90.

Appendix 5 – The encoding scheme

Categorie	Category	Code	Code
Uitingsvormen van gedogen	Expressions of gedogen (acquiescence)	Gedogen Tolereren Toestaan Niets doen Laten gaan Geen macht Dulden Verduren Verdragen	Acquiescence Tolerate Allow Do nothing Letting it go No power Abide Endure Bear
Definiton: ‘Gedogen’ is dealing in a pragmatic way with a dilemma situation between an individuals’ right on self determination and personal moral values taking into account one’s own interests.			
Zelfbeschikkingsrecht	Right on self determination	Eigen zaak Autonomie Vrijheid Zelfstandigheid Onafhankelijk Eigen beslissing	One’s own business Autonomy Freedom Independence Independent Own decision
Definition: The right on self determination is based on a self construct which is aimed at independence (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). In this point of view standing up for one’s own rights is appreciated and therefore can easily get precedence over moral values.			
Eigenbelang	Self interest	Persoonlijk belang Zakelijk belang	Personal interest Business interest
Definition: Self interest is that what is important to oneself.			
Morele waarden	Moral values	Religie Geloof Traditie	Religion Faith Tradition

Categorie	Category	Code	Code
		Hoe het hoort Wat mag Wet Legaal Legitiem	How it's supposed to be What's allowed Law Legal Legitimate
Definition: Moral values are personal values which largely stem from culture: religion, tradition and law.			
Pragmatisme	Pragmatism	Compromis Controle Beperking schade Middenweg Oplossing zoeken	Compromise Control Harm reduction Accommodation Finding a solution
Definition: Pragmatism is a practical way of solving problems or of handling situations.			
Conflict situatie	Conflict situation	Verschil van mening Geschil Vete Ruzie Kwestie Woorden hebben Oneens Onenigheid Tweedracht Strijd Verschillende doelen	Difference of opinion Disagreement Feud Quarrel Question Dispute Disagree Dissent Discord Strife Different goals
Belang van de ander	Other's interest	This category has been added during analysis, therefore no predetermined possible codes	
Overeenkomsten	Similarities	Gelijk Soortgelijk Gelijkheid	The same Alike Sameness

Categorie	Category	Code	Code
		Verwant Hetzelfde	Equal The same
Verschillen	Differences	Anders Afwijken Schelen Uiteenlopen Onderscheiden	Different Differ Ail Be different Distinguish

Table 3 The encoding scheme

Appendix 6 – Inter-rater reliability

			Observer1	Observer2
Spearman's rho	Observer1	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.958**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	50	50
Observer2	Correlation Coefficient		.958**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	50	50

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 4 Correlation Caro and Wendy

			VAR0000 1	VAR0000 2
Spearman's rho	VAR0000 1	Correlation	1.000	.860**
		Coefficient		
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	50	50
	VAR0000 2	Correlation	.860**	1.000
		Coefficient		
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	50	50

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 5 Correlation Nora and Wendy

			observer1	observer2
Spearman's rho	observer1	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.840**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	50	50
		<hr/>		
observer2		Correlation Coefficient	.840**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	50	50

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6 Correlation Marita and Wendy

			Observer1	Observer2
Spearman's rho	Observer1	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.920**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000
		N	50	50
Observer2	Observer2	Correlation Coefficient	.920**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.
		N	50	50

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 7 Correlation Wendy and Caro

Appendix 7 – Scoring of concepts

The 20 interviewees were asked the same set of eight open ended questions, see appendices 1 and 2. The number of interviewees mentioning different parts of the definition of “gedogen” in their answers is listed in the table below.

Terms/Questions	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8
Expressions of gedogen	20/26 (1.3)	19/37 (1.9)	14/17 (1.2)	7/7 (1)	6/8 (1.3)	9/11 (1.2)	20/34 (1.7)	17/32 (1.9)
Right on self determination	2/2 (1)	6/7 (1.2)	17/26 (1.5)	8/8 (1)	12/17 (1.4)	16/19 (1.2)	6/6 (1)	5/6 (1.2)
Self interest	4/5 (1.3)	2/2 (1)	9/10 (1.1)	10/10 (1)	9/9 (1)	1/1 (1)	12/18 (1.5)	6/9 (1.5)
Moral values	13/16 (1.2)	16/28 (1.8)	17/29 (1.7)	13/17 (1.3)	18/35 (1.9)	16/29 (1.8)	18/33 (1.8)	17/29 (1.7)
Pragmatism	12/12 (1)	3/3 (1)	11/13 (1.2)	7/7 (1)	13/14 (1.1)	7/8 (1.1)	16/30 (1.9)	14/17 (1.2)
Conflict situation	15/16 (1.1)	10/13 (1.3)	15/17 (1.1)	11/14 (1.3)	9/12 (1.3)	8/9 (1.1)	18/22 (1.2)	14/17 (1.2)
Other’s interest	0	0	3/3 (1)	4/4 (1)	5/5 (1)	11/13 (1.2)	4/4 (1)	3/3 (1)
Similarities	-	18/21 (1.2)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Differences	-	19/24 (1.3)	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 8 Scoring of terms

In this table the scores of the concepts are listed. The top line for each term consists of two numbers divided by a slash. The first number is the number of interviewees who mentioned the term. The second number is the total amount of times the concept is mentioned. Under these two numbers is mentioned the average number of times a term is mentioned (total count divided by number of interviewees who mentioned the term).

Appendix 8 – Theoretical framework

Expressions of gedogen

- Gedogen
- Tolereren - To tolerate
- Accepteren - To accept
- Toestaan/toelaten/mogen - To allow
- Laten gebeuren - Let it happen
- Niets doen/negeren - Do nothing/ignore
- Niets van zeggen - Say nothing of it
- Door de vingers zien – a Dutch saying which means allowing

Right on self determination

- Rules
- One's own business
- One's own decision

Self interest

- No desire to interfere or no personal consequences
- Answer involving kids
- In the interest of friendship
- For business reasons

Moral values

- Personal values
- Answer involving the law
- Business rules
- Culture
- Decency, appropriateness and consideration for others

Pragmatism

- Unwillingness to take action
- No harm is expected
- Laissez faire
- Personal benefits
- Business advantage
- It is of no use to interfere

Conflict situation

- A word meaning annoyances
- Conjunctions like but and although
- Other contradictions

Other's interest

- Interests of playing children
- No damage for renters
- Interest of a friend
- Interest of a burka wearing woman
 - o Right on self determination / no oppression
 - o Safety / culture
- Others not specified

Similarities

- No differences
- Both terms connote acceptance, allowance or non interference

Differences

- Processes/variances
- Law/personal values

Appendix 9 – Coding examples

To elaborate the coding process, typical coded examples for each question are given below. The interviews were held in Dutch and were translated for this exercise. The original coding process was performed in Dutch. The coding categories are Expressions of gedogen (1), Right on self determination (2), Self interest (3), Moral values (4), Pragmatism (5), Conflict situation (6) and two categories for question 3: Similarities (7) and Differences (8). In the examples after each relevant fragment the number of the code it concerns is mentioned. The additional questions of the interviewer are between square brackets and in italic.

QUESTION 1: What is the first impression that comes to mind when I mention the word “gedogen”?

ANSWER: Oops, that's difficult. Uhm, allowing something (1) which actually should not be allowed (6) I think. Connive something (1), such as drugs. There are reasons for this of course, but I think this is it. [*What reasons?*] Such tough questions! Uhm, just allow something when that is better (3 / 4), if it is not causing inconvenience(5) I guess. Yeah I think it's harmless. Is that what you mean? [*That is possible, is there more to say about it?*] I do not know, I cannot think of something right now.

QUESTION 2: What do you think are the similarities and differences between the words tolerance and “gedogen”?

ANSWER: That's a tough one. Um, is not the same (7)? [*That is possible, there are no differences?*] <interviewee laughs> You make it hard on me. Let me think. Well. Uhm perhaps tolerate (1) is personal and gedogen (1) the term for the government (8). Is that it? [*That is the question, is it the same besides this distinction?*] I think so (7). If you had warned me about this, I would have done some research on it for you. [*Thanks, but it is your idea about this I want to hear, so this is fine.*]

QUESTION 3: Relevant to the issue of “gedogen” I now come up with a topic which is related to our daily life: dressing. Do you think that everybody has the right to decide about what he or she wants to wear? Why?

ANSWER: Yes, everyone must decide this for themselves. They can decide themselves (2). You see, I do not think everything is beautiful. But (6) they may do (1) as they please (2). You see, it's different in the classroom or in the municipality office (5). There a burqa is not appropriate (4). But in the streets. Yes, I do not like it. But (6) they must know for themselves (2). [*Why can not the classroom?*] Yes see, then you can see their faces. If you're talking to someone, you must be able to see a face (4). Especially for a teacher. But except for this they have to decide it for themselves (2). I have no interests in it (3). But if such a woman wants to do so herself or is made to do so by her husband, well, than that's that (5).

QUESTION 4: Now we focus on a special article of clothing, the burka. Some people in our society feel uncomfortable when confronted with ladies wearing a burka. Have you met ladies who wear a burka? What was your feeling when you were in contact with them? (If they never met someone in a burka, ask them to imagine.)

ANSWER: Yes, did not speak with one, just seen one this week. You ask about feelings and not about opinions? [*Yes, about feelings, opinion is ok too, but feelings at least*] because this gives me an uncomfortable, unsettling (6) feeling (3). I find it very disturbing (3) to talk with someone, or to "communicate" in any form whatsoever, when I cannot see the eyes. It is not open (4). But I am even uncomfortable if someone has a strong poker face. It makes me uncomfortable (3) when I cannot judge a person's emotions.

QUESTION 5: What do you think of wearing a burka in Islamic countries where this is required and would you do this yourself?

ANSWER: Wearing a burka in a country where it is part of the culture (4), my opinion is I really do not have an opinion about this, it is customary there (4). For me it is not "normal" (4), so I cannot imagine anyone to do so voluntarily (2). What I want to say / mean is that I feel that I cannot / should not judge about it, because I'm not part of that culture. I would not do this myself (2), I do not agree with it (6) and therefore would not go to an area where it really is expected of me (3 / 5).

QUESTION 6: In Afghanistan, women are no longer required to wear a burka. Some of the women choose to wear a burka for safety reasons, what do you think about this? (Why?)

ANSWER: From their position, I can imagine this. Actually, if they are to achieve something (3), they should all agree not to do it (2 / 6). Set up a woman's union up and stuff. Oh, really, I

can imagine them doing it, because it's been a habit for so long (4 / 5). And it is very strange of course to be without one. Always with such a restraining tent and then without, it must surely feel like being naked. These women may feel like they are being watched all of a sudden. It is a difficult situation there.

QUESTION 7: Could you give an example of a situation where you have been “gedogen”? What were your reasons and what did you consider?

ANSWER: That's difficult, because do I not gedogen (1). [*How would you describe gedogen?*] As allowing something (1) which is forbidden (4 / 6). [*Did you come across such a situation in your family perhaps?*] Yes, probably, but I am a strict father (2). Yes is yes and no is no (4). Only when the children were sick or something alike, then more was possible, simply because they were so upset (5). So then they were allowed things such as watching daytime TV on the couch. Or if they had a good rapport, but this is not gedogen, because we allowed it. [*So these examples were not gedogen?*] No, not really. [*Are you just as strict on the street?*] No, I have less influence there and the situation is quite different. [*Do you gedogen in public places perhaps?*] Yes, now you mention it, there I do not reprimand everything. But if I think something is antisocial, or better unacceptable (4), then I say something about it (3), depending on the situation of course (5). [*Why depending on the situation?*] Uhhmm, to a child it's easy to say when they do something that is not allowed (4), I'm more cautious when dealing with a strong man with piercings in his face (3 / 5).

QUESTION 8: Earlier you have given me your opinion about “gedogen”. Have you ever experienced such a situation at your workplace and could you give an example? Why do you think this is an example of “gedogen”?

ANSWER: At work cell phones officially may not be switched on. Yet it was common knowledge that most did not comply with this rule (2 / 3). No further action was taken: it was gedogen (1 / 5). Until a colleague had a very annoying ringtone for sms messages. As if that was not enough that thing went off a few times every hour. From that moment on the rule (4) that cell phones may not be on, was controlled strictly. This example fits exactly the answer to my first question: officially it is not allowed, but as long as nobody is inconvenienced (5) it is tolerated (1 / 6). Therefore, to me this is an example of gedogen (1).

Appendix 10 – Wording questions 7 and 8

Expressions of “gedogen” in answers of interviewees		Count question 7 Total 34	Count question 8 Total 32
Dutch	English		
Gedogen	-	13	12
Tolereren	To tolerate	0	3
Accepteren	To accept	1	1
Toestaan/toelaten/mogen	To allow	3	6
Laten gebeuren	Let it happen	5	2
Niets doen/negeren	Do nothing/ignore	2	6
Niets van zeggen	Say nothing of it	8	2
Door de vingers zien	-	2	0

Table 9 Expressions of “gedogen” in answers of interviewees

Self interest in the answers of interviewees	Count question 7 Total 18	Count question 8 Total 9
No desire to interfere or no personal consequences	8	1
Answer involving kids	2	
In the interest of friendship	4	
For business reasons	4	8

Table 10 Self interest in the answers of interviewees

Moral values in the answers of interviewees	Count question 7 Total 33	Count question 8 Total 29
Personal values	16	7
Answer involving the law	8	
Business rules	9	21
Culture		1

Table 11 Moral values in the answers of interviewees

Pragmatism in the answers of interviewees is based on:	Count question 7 Total 30	Count question 8 Total 17
Unwillingness to take action	4	3
No harm is expected	12	6
Laissez faire	4	3
Personal benefits	9	0
Business advantage	0	5
It is of no use to interfere	1	0

Table 12 Pragmatism in the answers of interviewees

Conflict situations in the answers of interviewees	Count question 7 Total 22	Count question 8 Total 17
A word meaning annoyances	1	
Conjunctions like but and although	17	15
Other contradictions	4	2

Table 13 Conflict situations in the answers of interviewees