

English summary (dissertation)

The expat and the city. The Hague and Jakarta, 1945-2015.

This dissertation studies expatriates in postwar The Hague and Jakarta and tries to answer the question what local, national, international and organizational opportunity structures were available to them in the city and how this influenced the nature of their settlement process. Whereas expatriates are generally not studied as immigrants, there is a lack of long-term and systematic analyses of their migration- and integration process. By comparing expatriates of different nationalities and professional groups in two cities in the Global North and Global South from the 1950s onwards, this thesis aims to offer such a historical perspective on the category of the 'expatriate' and the changing ways in which cities, employers, nation-states and the immigrant community itself, have dealt with this group.

In the literature on migrants, expatriates are generally treated only as an exception, because most scholars connect the settlement process directly to issues of emancipation and social mobility. The fact that this powerful and highly-mobile group also experiences difficulties in adjusting to the local environment and at the same time meeting professional and family needs, is mostly ignored. In the literature on expatriates in cities, there is mainly attention for the positive effect that this group might have on the local labor market and economy. This does not acknowledge the use of local resources by expatriates and their employers and the resistance their presence meets with from other residents. In the literature on expatriates as employees, finally, the focus is on how employers can secure a high standard of living for expatriates and their family members when abroad, without questioning the social and cultural consequences this system of allowances has in the long-run.

The case studies of The Hague and Jakarta provide us with a testing-ground to ask more critical questions about the settlement process of expatriates and their impact on the city. The fact that after the Second World War and decolonization both cities were reinventing themselves and their place in the new world order, resulted in expatriates (and their employers) becoming important mediators in the international agendas of the respective city governments. The colonial migration circuit which had existed between The Hague and Jakarta until the 1950s had mainly been state dominated, whereas now both cities became hubs in international networks of corporations and non-governmental organizations too. Moreover, the focus on the urban level for the study of the settlement process also allows us to move away from the nation-state framework and include various actors and power structures that influence the settlement process of expatriates in postwar The Hague and Jakarta – highlighting the dominant role for the oil industry, American business and international organizations in this particular era.

Although it is difficult to trace the steps of expatriates in national and government archives, we were able to do so on the basis of local, business and private archives, as well as by means of (83) interviews. These sources provide us with the image of a diversifying and growing expatriate community, ranging from a couple of thousand expatriates in the 1950s to tens of thousands in the 1990s in both cities. Even if the number of expatriates in both cities remains small in comparison to other migrant groups and the total population, they are relatively influential and – especially in Jakarta – highly visible. Moreover, this study shows that some people also moved in and out of the category of the expatriate within their life course, because they decided to settle, intermarried or had previous family histories abroad – thereby emphasizing the dynamic and constructed nature of the expatriate community.

The dissertation is structured around the opportunity structure that was available to expatriates in The Hague and Jakarta and starts with a general picture of the guidance newcomers received in both cities in chapters 3 and 5. In chapter 4 and 6 a more detailed picture of the educational facilities for expatriate families is given, as well as the debates surrounding the question who was responsible for expatriates living conditions. Finally, this dissertation is not only a description of the settlement process of various generations of expatriates in The Hague and Jakarta, but also reflects on how the constant in- and out-flow of expatriates had a long-term effect on the opportunity structure for other migrants and citizens in the city.

The Hague

From lecturing to expats to cooperating with expat clubs

Chapter 3 discusses what general opportunity structure was available to expatriates in The Hague since the 1950s. The focus is on the social dimension of the local policies that were developed towards expatriates. While at first the well-being of newcomers was mainly a concern of employers and international clubs, soon the municipality tried to collaborate with these actors in order to develop stronger ties with the international community in the city. Among other things this took the form of an informative lecture series for expatriates, an English-language newsletter, and an information desk in the town hall. In the postwar years the municipality recognized that in order to compete with other large cities like Amsterdam and Rotterdam, The Hague had to stress its' international profile. After the example of other international cities, like New York and Geneva, they reasoned that an attractive settlement climate for expatriates would also help draw more companies and international institutions to the city.

The success of these municipal initiatives largely depended on the voluntary efforts of various international clubs, schools, embassies and employers and a number of individual Dutchmen with a

strong international network, in acting as cultural brokers. They provided the municipality with information about what went on in the expatriate social scene and what social support was still desired. As a result of this interaction, throughout the 1970s and 80s, the municipality revisited her image of the expatriate as solely a foreign 'guest' to that of a true 'resident' who also brought family members along and might decide to settle in the city for good.

It was particularly through the expatriate volunteer organization ACCESS, founded in 1986 with the help of the American embassy, that ideas from the field of International Human Resource Management and Intercultural Communication about expatriate well-being found their way to The Hague. Also in response to international trends in city marketing, the emphasis was now put less on educating expatriates about the Netherlands and more on making their experiences in The Hague similar to those in other cities around the world. In contrast to the settlement policies for other immigrant groups and refugees, this was not so much done as part of a national integration policy but through public-private cooperation with local service providers. This example would soon be followed by other Dutch cities with growing expatriate communities.

The shared dream of an international school for The Hague

Chapter 4 focusses on the educational facilities available to the children of expatriates in The Hague. Although the city had known an independent French, German and British school long before the Second World War, there was a growing interest in a shared international school in the postwar years. Where previously schools had been funded by foreign churches, embassies or large employers, now the municipality of The Hague stepped up as the responsible for the new generation of expatriate children. They increasingly came from diverse national backgrounds, spoke different languages, and had insecure future school careers ahead of them as a result of their parents international careers. Because there was not one foreign government, nor one large employer responsible for their fate, The Hague municipality decided to establish a Foundation of International Schools of The Hague. This would enable increased cooperation between the existing schools and a pooling of resources. The municipality also reasoned that this would improve the international image of The Hague, following in the footsteps of Geneva and New York, and convince the Arabic-American oil company Aramco to settle in The Hague – which it did.

The municipality started out with housing the various national and international departments of the international school foundation and in the early 1960s, they also prepared a subsidy request for the Dutch government in order to secure structural funding for the international school and built a proper school campus. This request became a matter of debate both within the ministries of Foreign Affairs and Economics, but resulted only in incidental financial support to keep the existing school running. From the 1970s onwards, however, the group of American expatriates with children kept

growing and their home government decided to subsidize the construction of a new school campus instead. They did require similar contributions from the Dutch government and the other foreign schools participating in the project, whereas the subsidy was placed within the framework of Cold War international cooperation. To the municipality this American involvement seemed promising, but other participants such as the British school soon decided to go their own way – again with the help of large employers, such as Shell and ESTEC.

Even though by the 1980s the plans for the international school campus were ready, it turned out difficult to realize the financial support needed from the Dutch government. Such a large investment in the schooling of foreign expatriate children (and a few Dutch repatriate children), had to be justified in relation to spending on Dutch education, Dutch overseas schools, and language education for the children of ethnic minorities. Moreover, local protests against the location of the building site finally discouraged the Americans to wait for an answer from The Hague. They built their own school campus in the neighboring municipality of Wassenaar instead. The Hague municipality strongly regretted this move, but had also learnt from the project that the high international standards that expatriate parents' expected for the education of their children might not be met by regular Dutch schools or local and national funding schemes alone. The recent reestablishment of a European and an international school in The Hague was mainly possible because of funding provided by large companies and the European Union, although again with a facilitating role for the municipality.

Jakarta

From postcolonial guidebooks to global lifestyles

In chapter 5 we discuss the general opportunity structure that was available to expatriates in Jakarta since the 1950s. In comparison to The Hague there was a much smaller role for the city government in providing services to this group. The focus is therefore on the guidebooks that expatriate clubs and employers themselves developed for newcomers, and how these social and organizational networks guided the spatial segregation of expatriates in the city. While at first expatriates largely depended on the remaining late-colonial infrastructure of western-style hotels, clubs and housing, from the 1970s onwards they could choose from a much wider range of international-standard services. As a result of growing foreign investments and development aid, Jakarta changed from a postcolonial and Third World city into a global and world city, which tried to compete with similar cities in the region like Bangkok and Singapore. Although the task of developing appropriate housing and shopping areas for expatriates and local elites was largely left to the private initiative, the city government did allow for certain areas of the city, like Kemang and Pondok Indah, to be developed mainly in that direction.

Because Indonesia experienced such rapid political and economic changes throughout the 1960s-1990s, there was a constant need for expatriates to reassess where best to live, send their children to school, find products from home, and, how to communicate with Indonesian colleagues, neighbors and household staff. The guidebooks provided by expatriate clubs and employers could serve this purpose and borrowed both from colonial handbooks as well as guidebooks for expatriates in cities worldwide to structure the settlement process. The extent to which newcomers were encouraged to get to know their host country and adjust to the Indonesian way of life, changed from the 1970s onwards. Whereas at first contacts between expatriates and Indonesians had been framed in terms of a 'diplomatic relationship', soon the context of development cooperation allowed for the representation of expatriates' presence in the city as mutually beneficial. Expatriates and their family members could enrich their experience abroad by exploring the language, culture and cuisine of Indonesia, as well as contribute to the country through local charity work. These interactions with the local population were limited to specific segments of society and took place in well-demarcated spaces, befitting the security and health risks that some expatriates – or their employers – feared.

Like in The Hague, ideas from the field of International Human Resource Management and Intercultural Communication about expatriate well-being, were influential. Most of the expatriates in Jakarta adopted a lifestyle very similar to that of their previous postings in the Global South. Residential patterns of western expatriates in the city, illustrate this, showing a clear preference for western-style colonial housing and new-built American-style suburbs. From the 1970s onwards there was a clear shift of expatriates, and local elites alike, moving from the center of town towards the newly developed suburbs in the South and the self-sustaining 'new towns' outside the city borders. Because of the role of social and organizational networks in finding housing, over time national enclaves developed within these areas. Interviews with Dutch expatriates show that there were also some individual differences between expatriates of various generations and professional groups in the location and style of living they preferred. Nevertheless, in general we see a process of homogenization and standardization of expatriate lifestyles in this time period.

The politics of foreign language schools and overseas education

Chapter 6 analyzes the educational facilities that were available to the children of expatriates in Jakarta, with a strong focus on the Dutch expatriate community. Although throughout the colonial period and just after decolonization, a broad network of Dutch language schools existed in Indonesia, education in languages other than the national one was soon considered as going against nationalist politics. Both the French, British, German, Japanese and Korean embassy schools, as well as the international school of Jakarta, therefore faced strict regulations from the side of the local government. They were not allowed to permit Indonesian students to their schools. As for the Dutch

school, this institution largely functioned under the auspices of the Dutch embassy and with financial and practical support from Dutch businesses in Indonesia. Both employers were very concerned with the possibilities for the children of their employees to continue their school careers abroad and to be able to reintegrate in the Dutch system upon return. In the late 1960s the school board decided that they would also request a Dutch government subsidy in order to construct a modern school building and hire more expatriate teachers so to keep up to date with educational trends back home.

The request to finance a Dutch school in Indonesia eventually met with similar resistance as in the case of the international school in The Hague. However, by the 1970s such support could be framed as part of the intensified diplomatic ties between the countries in the framework of development cooperation. To prevent schools in other outposts from filing similar requests to the ministry of Education, the subsidy was spread out over various ministries that had expatriates posted in Indonesia. The Dutch government was strengthened in her decision to support the Jakarta school by the fact that over the years companies like Shell and Philips had already made large contributions and because a growing share of the pupils now had parents working in the government coordinated development cooperation.

Finally, as a result of a lobby by Dutch businesses and individual expatriate parents, a system for the structural financing of Dutch overseas education was established in 1986. The Foundation of Dutch Education Abroad (NOB) was to oversee the level of education in the associated schools and offered training and support to expatriate teachers that were sent abroad. Because of the varying careers and lifestyles of expatriate children (and parents), it became more and more of a challenge for expatriate teachers and school boards to meet with the specific needs of those trained in different school systems, speaking multiple languages, and having to deal with constant mobility. In some cases Dutch parents opted to send their children to other European or international schools in the city, because the curriculum would match better with their previous or following postings. If this proved too expensive they could also homeschool their children or send them to school in The Netherlands. In general, however, parents saw the experience of having their children educated abroad or at an international school as an opportunity from which they would take life-long lessons on what it meant to be Dutch and a world citizen.

Conclusion

By studying expatriate communities in two different cities over time we were able to identify some larger trends within the expatriate circuit worldwide, as well as highlight when local conditions challenged the lifestyles of expatriates. Because of the nature of the sources consulted for this research, these conclusions mainly apply to western expatriates, American and Dutch in particular. It remains to be seen to what extent the conclusions can be extended to groups like Japanese, Korean,

and Indian expatriates who nowadays play an important role in the global market for talent. Further research could question for example if the absence of politics, religion, and race in the lifestyles of most western (and often white) expatriates is even an option or wish of those with a non-western or immigrant background. Even within the western-style expatriate institutions, studied in this thesis, we see growing diversity by nationality and background which indicates that the times are changing.

The main historical shift identified in this study of expatriates in postwar The Hague and Jakarta is the changing profile of expatriates, as well as the changing nature of the opportunity structure available to them. Firstly, in this period we witness the rise of a new generation of expatriates who experience more flexible and international careers. For the first time they bring their family members along. Secondly, the opportunity structure for expatriates internationalized, partly in response to the needs of this ever growing and diversifying community. Thirdly, and somewhat paradoxically, the typical postcolonial and family expatriate disappeared in the last decades, possibly heralding the end of an era. As a result of the further flexibilization and liberalization of the labor market, employers nowadays opt for cheaper and individual short-term postings or find suitable local personnel. This may also explain for the nostalgia expressed in some of the interviews with the older generation of expatriates, when asked about their memories of The Hague and Jakarta throughout the 1960s-90s.

As for the theoretical implications of this study, by approaching expatriates as migrants and by focusing on the various actors that come together at the local level, we learn that it is mainly the difference in opportunity structure that explains different degrees of integration among expatriates. Firstly, we see that after decolonization nation states have largely been replaced by private companies and international organizations in setting the standards for expatriation. The functioning of employers as a sort of state within the state when it comes to the welfare provisions for their employees, should therefore be much more prominent in studies of migration. Secondly, city governments seem to be able to provide much more practical and provisional support to the quickly changing expatriate community, which gives them an advantage over the nation state as a host. They should however remain conscious of the broader societal and historical context in which high-skilled migration takes place, and pay attention to the heterogeneous nature of the expatriate community itself. The pioneering work done by expatriates and locals of previous generations in internationalizing the local infrastructure of The Hague and Jakarta over the years, should therefore be recognized but by no means form a straight-jacket for future policy.

Nederlandse samenvatting (korte versie)

De expat en de stad. Den Haag en Jakarta, 1945-2015.

Veel steden adverteren met het exclusieve aanbod van appartementen, scholen en diensten voor expats. Maar wie zijn zij eigenlijk en waarom worden zij zo warm verwelkomd? In deze historische studie van expats in Den Haag en Jakarta in de naoorlogse periode, wordt hun vestigingsproces in de stad bestudeerd vanuit een langetermijnperspectief en op basis van empirisch materiaal uit de archieven van gemeentes, ambassades, expat clubs en scholen en aan de hand van interviews. Dit onderzoek laat zien dat de naoorlogse en postkoloniale periode gekenmerkt wordt door de opkomst van een nieuwe generatie van expats die een zeer divers profiel hebben wat betreft hun nationaliteit, sociale achtergrond, beroep, carrière en gezinssituatie. Als een gevolg daarvan bemoeien niet langer alleen nationale overheden zich met het vestigingsproces van de expat, zoals het geval was in de koloniale context, maar ook bedrijven, internationale organisaties en stedelijke overheden. Afhankelijk van de werkgever en de contractvoorwaarden waaronder de expat naar het buitenland wordt uitgezonden, resulteert dit in een sterk geïsoleerde dan wel enigszins geïntegreerde levensstijl in de stad. Aangezien expats steeds internationaler carrières hebben en ook hun partners en kinderen vaak onderdeel uitmaken van internationale netwerken van clubs en scholen, blijkt er tevens sprake van een verdergaande standaardisering van de manier waarop expatgemeenschappen zich wereldwijd organiseren. Deze studie is desalniettemin ook een waarschuwing voor stedelijke overheden om geen te generalistisch beeld van de expat te hebben en voldoende oog te hebben voor het specifieke profiel van de expats die zij aantrekken, hoe deze groep past in de bredere geschiedenis van migratie naar de stad, en welke invloed internationaliseringsprocessen hebben voor de kansen van andere minderheden en bewoners van de stad.

English summary (short version)

The expat and the city. The Hague and Jakarta, 1945-2015.

Many cities advertise apartments, schools and services especially for expats, but who are they and why do we welcome them? Are they the ideal migrant, employee and citizen? In this historical study of expats in The Hague and Jakarta in the postwar period, their settlement process in the city is studied from a long-term perspective and on the basis of empirical data from the archives of municipalities, embassies, expat clubs and school, as well as interviews. This study shows that the postwar and postcolonial period witnesses the rise of a new generation of expats who have a more diverse profile when it comes to their nationality, social background, profession, career and family situation. As a result it are no longer only nation states, as was the case in the colonial context, but also private

companies, international organizations and urban governments that play an important role in their settlement process. Depending on the employer and contract conditions under which expats are sent abroad, this results in varying degrees of isolation or integration. Because expats have more international careers and their partners and children often also make part of international networks of clubs and school, we see a standardization process occurring in the way expatriate communities organize around the world. This study, however, also urges city governments to remain aware of the specific profile of the expatriates they attract, how this group fits into the broader history of migration to their city, and how internationalization processes affect the opportunities of other minorities and citizens in the city as well.