UNIVERSITÄT OSNABRÜCK

IMIS Working Papers

17|2023

‘Gastarbeiter’ – ‘Guest Worker’

Translating a Keyword in Migration Politics

Christoph Rass

Institut für Migrationsforschung
und Interkulturelle Studien

IMIS

Institute for Migration Research
and Intercultural Studies

Zitation/Citation

Rass, Christoph (2023): **'**Gastarbeiter**'** – **'**Guest Worker'. Translating a Keyword in Migration Politics. IMIS Working Paper 17, Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien (IMIS) der Universität Osnabrück. Osnabrück: IMIS.

Über den Autor/About the Author

Prof. Dr. Christoph Rass holds the professorship for Modern History and Historical Migration Research at the University of Osnabrück. He also serves as a board member at the Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS). His current research explores societal perceptions and definitions of 'migration'. Visit www.chrass.de for more information.

Die **IMIS Working Papers** bieten Einblicke in Forschungen und Diskussionen am Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien (IMIS) der Universität Osnabrück.
The **IMIS Working Papers** provide insights into research and ongoing debates at the Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS) at Osnabrück University.

Die IMIS Working Papers sind erhältlich unter/The IMIS Working Papers are available at:
https://www.imis.uni-osnabrueck.de/publikationen/imis_working_papers.html

Redaktion/Editorial Board:
Prof. Dr. Christoph Rass, Prof. Dr. Helen Schwenken, Simon Sperling, PD Dr. Frank Wolff
Lektorat: Svenja Lichtenberg
Layout: Shari Heuer, Sofia Ratsitska, Tim Zumloh

Herausgeber:
Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien (IMIS)
Universität Osnabrück
Der Vorstand
D-49069 Osnabrück
Tel.: +49 (0)541 969 4384
E-Mail: imis@uni-osnabrueck.de
Internet: http://www.imis.uni-osnabrueck.de

ISSN (Print): 2628-5525
ISSN (Online): 2628-5533
September 2023

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Introduction

This paper explores how the word 'Gastarbeiter' – a key concept in the German lexicon of the cultural, social, and political production of migration – was translated into American English as 'guest worker' between the late 1960s and the early 1980s.[1] We follow the figure of the 'guest worker' and the idea of 'guest worker programs' as they became adopted as American and later universal concepts.[2] We observe not only how they accumulated meaning and became instrumental in assigning specific social roles to those read as migrants but also the part they played in the production of migration policies, the negotiation of migration and diversity, and the framing of policy narratives.

By studying primary sources from the media, political documents, and academic writing, this analysis will focus on the appropriation and the production of meaning through the practical translation and use of a specific term central to the discourse on migration in the United States of America. However, this text does not concern itself with telling a detailed history of migration policies or, indeed, the social history of a migration society *(Migrationsgesellschaft)*[3] (Panagiotidis 2019) in the United States (Salazar-Porzio et al. 2017, Alba et al. 1997). Rather, it looks at language and translation as parts of a broader renegotiation of migration policies at the intersection of the political, public, and academic production of meaning and, eventually, knowledge.

By tracing one particular concept, this paper will reconstruct the emergence, translation, and migration of the figure of the 'Gastarbeiter'. Surfacing in pre-1945 Germany, 'Gastarbeiter' later became – both in German, and also translated into English – a metaphor for migrants moving within Europe's temporary labor migration schemes during the post-war *Trente Glorieuses*. In the 1970s, it entered into the North American debate about immigration reform, first describing assumed analogies between temporary migration in Europe and the United States, then as an Americanized policy term in its own right. Disconnected from its original context, yet still conveying its original meaning, 'guest worker' ultimately became a global concept used to capture a specific meaning of migration in a societal context.

We will not only look at how the term became established in North America as part of a decades-long debate about immigration law reform, but also pay special attention to scholars, journalists, and policymakers, and the specific roles they played in the process. Furthermore, this inquiry will reveal how academics from the fields of economics, social and political science, and historiography – some of whom had already been players in the political discourse on migration during the 1970s and 1980s

---

[1] This working paper originates from research I undertook during my tenure as Benjamin H. and Louise B. Carroll Professor of History at the University of Oregon, Eugene, in 2022. During that period, I collaborated closely with Julie Weise as we delved into gaining new perspectives on migration between Mexico and the United States. The article greatly benefited from her expertise and insightful feedback. An initial version of this paper was showcased at the *Translations of Migration* conference we organized in April 2022. I deeply appreciate the comments by my peers in the *Tiny Desk/Translations of Migration* group. I am also grateful to Johanna Schweppe, Nele Wichert, Gero Leege, and Tatjana Rykov, student research assistants at the Chair for Modern History and Historical Migration Research at Osnabrück University, as well as to Svenja Lichtenberg of the IMIS-Working Paper editorial team, for their invaluable assistance and thorough attention to detail during the manuscript's preparation for publication.

[2] The figure of the 'guest worker' leans on Thomas Nail's analysis of *The Figure of the Migrant* (2015).

[3] In a migration society, immigration plays a fundamental role for a large part of society and its social relevance is generally recognized.

– helped to expand the use of the concept in more recent times, thus turning it into the largely unquestioned category it is today.[4]

Once translated and transferred, this category was used, not only to describe contemporary migration, but also historical migration. Hence, 'guest worker system' became a label for a specific analytical framework addressing economically driven migration and migration policies aimed at creating systems of temporary – and often blatantly unfree – forms of migrant labor. So persuasive did the label become that it was soon being assigned to, and projected upon, temporary labor migration schemes as far back as the 19th century and into the future as well. However, these processes of attribution occurred regardless of the context and circumstances under which the concept 'guest worker' had been created, were ignorant of its journey across the 20th century, and disconnected from the complex layers of meanings it had collected through countless translations (Hahamovitch 2015).

'Gastarbeiter', or 'guest worker', became one of the most powerful labels via which to classify people – past, present, and future – who were then burdened with all the attributes stowed into the concept. In 2003, Martin Wengeler published *Topos und Diskurs,* which laid out the main *topoi* constructed around the term 'Gastarbeiter' as part of the discourse about migration in Germany from the 1960s to the 1980s. Wengeler (2000) went on to compare discourses centering on the term in different German-speaking countries. Similarly, Karin Böke (2000) has presented an analysis of discourses relying on the term 'Gastarbeiter' in Austria, whilst Wladimir Fischer-Nebmaier (2009) has convincingly shown how the meanings projected onto the term 'Gastarbeiter' went from paternalistic to racist in Austria between the 1960s and the 1980s (even though the author himself uses the concepts he deconstructs as labels for people read as migrants in Austria in his text). Matthias Jung, Thomas Niehr, and Karin Böke have also been trailblazers in the study of discourses on migration in Germany. They have published a key study on the use of 'Gastarbeiter' in this context, albeit without discussing the origins of the term itself, which seems to emerge in their study for the first time during the 1960s (Jung et al. 2000). Most recently, Krystian Suchorab (2020) has used a phraseological approach to the language used to characterize migration to help better understand how collocation structures the emergence of vocabulary and language describing phenomena that gain social relevance. From a different angle inspired by postcolonial theory, Ellen Kollender and Veronika Kourabas (2020) have deconstructed the path dependencies of a utilitarian discourse that constructs 'Gastarbeiter' as an excluded and racialized other who is tolerated as long as their presence is deemed beneficial to the host society. Thus, the layers of troubled meaning created and loaded onto the word 'Gastarbeiter', while temporary labor migration turned immigration changed society in Western Germany and other German-speaking societies profoundly, have been analyzed and discussed in some detail. The studies cited above demonstrate how the manifold meanings of 'Gastarbeiter' were established in German precisely when its translation into American English occurred.

This paper applies conceptual history and historical semantics to the term 'guest worker'. My hope is to address the fact that such research thus far seems missing from any discussion of the term's emergence in the United States and that its ongoing academic reproduction has, until now, served to legitimize rather than deconstruct its political meaning. As I conclude, this has somewhat contributed to an uncritical proliferation and application of the term in the media and policymaking. It does,

[4] The role of experts in the production of migration has been discussed by Boswell (2009).

however, make a difference whether a term such as 'guest worker' is discussed in the context of primary documents and their language or used as an analytical or even descriptive concept. This text, of course, also stands as testimony to the difficulties encountered when attempting to separate both levels.

The difficulties we face by using language to analyze migration while avoiding the reproduction of the process-generated, often historical concepts one sets out to deconstruct are indeed hard to overcome (Leonhard 2011, 2008). This struggle is exemplified by texts such as *Temporary Migration Work and the Bonds of Citizenship* by Kevin Kolben, published as recently as 2019. The author critically analyzes the policy frameworks for temporary labor migration and their social and economic consequences while employing a more neutral vocabulary, for example, 'temporary migrant workers'. In much of the text, 'guest worker' occurs only in cited sources as a quote. Kolben clarifies that "temporary migrant workers are often referred to as 'guest workers'" (2019: 274). However, in other sections of the text, 'guest worker program' figures without quotation marks as a policy concept that can, *avant la lettre*, for instance, be used to label the 'Bracero Program', which began in 1942, decades before 'guest worker' entered the English language and began to co-produce migration (ibid.). Criticism and reproduction of disputed concepts in migration studies often seem to go hand in hand. Whether 'guest worker program' has been turned into a neutral description of a specific type of policy that we can use without inevitably reproducing the figure of the 'guest worker' remains open to question.

2. Frameworks

Terms and concepts accumulate layers of implicit and explicit meaning as they travel through and between culture(s) in time and space (Bourdieu 2001: 101). Furthermore, it is well established that the agency to assign those meanings, to appropriate terms, and to construct realities is a function of power (Foucault 1995: 234f.). The German historian Reinhard Koselleck, stressing the importance of the changing and different meanings of words/concepts in primary documents and historiographic texts, proposed conceptual history half a century ago (1979: 19f.) to better understand this process. From a post-colonial perspective, Michel-Rolph Trouillot argued that, in the production of history, actors generate voices and silence in the form of dominant and sidelined narratives. Concepts and terms are forged, travel, and get translated. If in alignment with dominant economic, political, and cultural structures, such concepts can become powerful global entities, referred to as "North Atlantic Universals" by Trouillot (1995: 106, 2003: 2).

Doris Bachmann-Medick and other scholars have shown that the translation of words and the concepts they represent is more complex than a simple translation between languages (Bachmann-Medick 2015, 2016). The process of translation as a cultural practice not only produces continuities but also constantly changes meaning across time, space, academic disciplines, and languages. Translations are generated by actors in sociohistorical processes, in different arenas of discourse, and in various media, visual representations, or material culture (Rass/Ulz 2018b, 2015; Berlinghoff et al. 2017). Bachmann-Medick urges us to recognize and discuss the resulting differences and ambiguities to understand such transitions and their consequences better. She concludes that learning to work with different meanings of one concept is more productive than establishing definitions, categories, or concepts as seemingly universal truths. Dialogue about ambiguity, rather than a 'turf war' about

who gets to determine a dominant meaning, certainly seems good advice for interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary fields such as migration studies.

In 2013, Rogers Brubaker argued for a clear distinction between "categories of practice" and "categories of observation" when studying migration and its impact on societies. Roughly at the same time, Michael Bommes, a leading scholar in the early days of migration studies in Germany, noted how the act of observing migration itself constitutes it as a social fact and thus co-produces the phenomenon. Bommes argued that the production of categories has to be critically studied, and distinctions between process-generated and external or analytical categories are required (Bommes/Thränhardt 2012: 212).

Building, among others, on the works of Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick-Schiller (2003) as well as Boris Nieswand and Heike Drotbohm (2014), Jeanine Dahinden has recently renewed this argument as part of the reflexive turn in migration studies. Dahinden demands an end to the reproduction of political categories in academic work on migration (Dahinden et al. 2021). This links directly to Ellen Kollender and Veronika Kourabas pointing out the role of language in producing what they refer to as the 'inclusive exclusion' ("inkludierende Exklusion") of migrants in vulnerable and marginalized positions of exploitability when racist language mobilizes shared racist beliefs (Kollender/Kourabas 2020: 94). In a striking example, exposing the role of academics as actors in the production of migration, Maria Alexopoulou (2019) has deconstructed the racial knowledge embedded in terms such as 'Ausländer' or 'Migrant' in the German language. Kijan Espahangizi (2022) has traced 'Migration' as a concept and its various meanings in the Swiss context. Patrice Poutrus (2020) has scrutinized the production and reproduction of the meaning of 'Asyl' in Germany since 1945. Sebastian Huhn and Christoph Rass have researched the emergence of 'displacement' as a category designed to facilitate the management of forced migration or violence-induced mobility (Rass/Huhn 2022, Rass/Tames 2020).

This paper builds on the core assumptions of conceptual history, refined in a growing field of empirical studies and theoretical reasoning into the study of historical semantics (Ebke 2022: 350f.).[5] Put simply, this approach takes a closer look at concepts "with which we deal on a daily basis" that appear "to us as no less obvious, familiar, and transparent, as if [they] simply allowed us to see the world as it is and our comprehension of the latter were not filtered and determined by them" (Fernández-Sebastián 2011: 3). The translation of 'Gastarbeiter' into 'guest worker' is used in this paper as an example via which to understand how the choices made in the course of translation represent the experiences and expectations of translators and societies (ibid.: 5; Busse 2022: 324f.).[6]

A "linguistic construction" such as 'Gastarbeiter' is thus put center stage as a "determining factor of past realities" (Leonhard 2011: 245). Following Koselleck's *Begriffsgeschichte*, Jörn Leonhard has explicitly addressed the process of translating concepts between national languages from the methodological viewpoint of historical semantics. Following his lead, this paper asks how the introduction of a social concept tied to an iconic term helped to structure the re-negotiation of migration, shaped narratives, and framed communication (Leonhard 2011: 249, 255). Expanding conceptual history into historical semantics not only considers the production of meanings assigned to specific terms but

[5] Ebke also provides a recent example for the application of classic conceptual history.
[6] An in-depth introduction to historical semantics can be found in the publications of Dietrich Busse, a pioneer of the method, see for example and most recently Busse 2022.

also pays attention to their situational use, contextual knowledge, and processes of transfer. The method follows words, concepts, and meanings as they move between different fields, languages, and cultures across space and time. This does not just call for comparative approaches but a process-orientated analysis of entanglement and translation. It also requires understanding such terms and concepts not as mere representations of social reality but as elements in its shaping (Leonhard/ Steinmetz 2016: 45).

More recently, scholars have also tested the concept of plasticity, not only to analyze processes of adaption in social systems but also to look at the production of meaning or cultural change expressed in the transformation of terms and concepts. This approach would suggest that terms such as 'guest worker' could have a plasticity that allows us to change their meaning so profoundly that new and more appropriate definitions undo older layers. Sonali Thakkar has critically discussed this approach, using the example of the UNESCO Statement on Race (1950), highlighting the inherently political character of its core assumptions and their roots in biopolitics (Thakkar 2020: 75). She argues that concepts such as 'race' cannot be understood through plasticity in a way that allows one to claim that their meaning can be changed or eventually dissolved, thus ending racism by establishing a new idea of 'race' (ibid.: 88). Caroline B. Brettell shows how changing anthropological definitions of 'migration' throughout the 20th century were historically framed and points out early references to the concept of plasticity. Her findings suggest that concepts such as 'guest worker', which prove remarkably stable in their meaning even when translated, could be interpreted as having been created to signify the opposite of how the role and the social position of the immigrant became defined in the 20th century through practices of acculturation, structural integration, social contact, and "sociopolitical identification" (Brettell 2018: 18). The fixed meanings of 'guest worker' and the identity it produces would then deny those socially categorized by the label to acquire the "plasticity of identity" described by Elsa Lechner and Letícia Renault as required to produce "social cohesion and hospitability" (Lechner/Renault 2018: 5). That could lead to the conclusion that the way in which certain concepts are re-produced manifests the opposite of plasticity. Taking this one step further, Sana Murrani proposes the use of plasticity to link the production of concepts and meanings and their translation into practices to cognitive processes when discussing the production of ideas such as 'home' by people experiencing violence-induced mobility (Murrani 2020: 176). Even though, as a concept, plasticity seems at times amorphous, such observations speak to the broad range of theoretical concepts that can be applied to the analysis of translation processes and their output. This may very well suggest a further refinement of conceptual history or historical semantics.

The methodological choice and theoretical grounding from which this paper approaches the translation of 'Gastarbeiter' into 'guest worker' through the lens of historical semantics determines the selection of primary sources. These include newspaper articles, academic publications, and political documents that make concrete use of the term and thus contribute to the production of its meaning. The sample used here is, of course, not comprehensive but should be considered explorative. Its chronological scope ranges from the 1960s to the 1980s, embedded into the *longue durée* of the 20th century. This choice unlocks how the situational circumstances of the formation of the figure of the 'guest worker', and the construction of the meaning of migration in a broader sense through the use of this *chiffre*, reciprocally structured each other. It also allows us to glimpse at the path dependencies and continuities as well as ruptures – at the imports and exports of meaning, and finally, the transfer and translation – of 'guest worker', not only within discourses within a nation-state or a par-

ticular language, but between German and English, and between Europe and the United States (Leonhard/Steinmetz 2016: 47, 49).

In this manner, this paper approaches the deeper history, transnational entanglement, and power dynamics of the production and implementation of a category used to label migration policies and migrants – one in which the concept is used, filled with meaning, and put into action (ibid.: 45). By the same token, documents that did not concern themselves with the term 'guest worker', including a broad range of academic publications that purposely avoided its use, are not taken into account here. A more general study of the historical semantics of migration to the United States through migration channels built to enable a temporary presence rather than permanent settlement would overreach the goal set for this explorative paper and will have to be tackled another time.

This conceptual and semantic history of 'Gastarbeiter' and 'guest worker' demonstrates the function, importance, and impact of such categories produced upstream as well as downstream from law and statistics in overlapping academic, political, and media discourses. Its approach and findings connect this paper to several current debates in migration studies. Linda Supik, for example, has recently demanded a reconsideration of powerful classifications implemented in Germany to categorize people read as related to migration, namely the category 'Migrationshintergrund' (Supik 2022, Kemper/ Supik 2020, Huxel et al. 2020). As with 'Gastarbeiter', this label has its own uneasy transnational history (Rass 2021).

Using a tentative discussion of sources as groundwork for a more detailed analysis and interpretation, this paper seeks to contribute to a dynamic field of research at the intersection of migration history, the history of knowledge, and the reflexive turn in migration studies. It strives to achieve this through an experiment in historical semantics on four levels: As a case study, it (1) outlines the history of a category that has become a keyword in migration discourse and policies on an almost global level, described as a 'concept in action'. Rather than (2) merely focusing on its invention, definition, and use within a nation-state, society, or language, the transfer of 'Gastarbeiter' from German to American English as 'guest worker' is placed center stage to understand such processes as part of the production of meaning. This (3) underscores the importance of complex transnational processes, which are integral to the creation of migration policies, thereby enriching our understanding of policy learning. The usage and meaning of a term or concept are traced through time and translation. Finally, the paper (4) links Bachmann-Medick's approach of an actor-aware analysis of translation to Jörn Leonhard's application of historical semantics by deconstructing the interlinked roles and communications between the media, politics, and academia.

Conceptual history and historical semantics can thus fruitfully contribute to the reflexive turn in the larger field of migration studies. This method has the potential to scrutinize the construction, production, transfer, and translation of key concepts representing migration as a social, cultural, legal, or political force from both a longitudinal and transnational perspective. It also lends historical depth and a transnational perspective to the study of knowledge production (Lässig/Steinberg 2017: 326f.) which, in migration studies, is often still tied to nation-states (Rass 2020b: 1475) or international organizations as frameworks (Rass 2010: 304). The approach foregrounds processes such as transfer, translation, and entanglement, and the way in which they intersect with agency and actors. It also acknowledges the history of concepts and their production as an integral part of studying migration regimes (Rass/Wolff 2018).

'Gastarbeiter' as a term was invented by Max Weber in the late 1910s (Weber 1921b: 126f.). It became a prominent propaganda slogan in Nazi Germany, resurfacing in West Germany during the early 1960s (Rass 2021). It began its second incarnation framed as an innocent label that could be used to mark labor migrants recruited in temporary migration schemes during the German 'Wirtschaftswunder' ('economic miracle'). In an ironic twist, 'Gastarbeiter' ('guestworker') replaced 'Fremdarbeiter' ('foreign worker'), which was remembered as a centerpiece of the forced labor system of Nazi Germany during the Second World War (Herbert 2001: 218).

'Fremdarbeiter', however, had been applied to labor migrants in Switzerland since the early 20th century – and indeed, remains in use there to this day. However, the term had become too closely associated with Nazi propaganda and was thus declared a word *non grata* in post-war West Germany. In the German context, 'Gastarbeiter' was presented as a clean alternative – even though it too had been used extensively and very publicly by the Nazi propaganda machine (Rass 2010, 2012; Amenda/Rass 2012).

The reappropriation and translation of words and concepts as part of the discursive production of migration is as common as the transfer of words from various fields into the lexicon of migration. Examples are manifold. In Switzerland the term 'Überfremdung' ('over-foreignisation') moved from corporate law into the discourse on restrictive migration policies in the early 20th century. Corporate law defined 'Überfremdung' ('stock invasion') as too many shares of a given company being held in foreign hands. With a similar meaning, the word was repurposed as a metaphor for an unacceptable number of migrants in Swiss society during the 1910s (Buomberger 2018).

'Displacement', to give another example involving a transfer between languages without literal translation, was initially used in lawsuits on city planning and development in the United Kingdom and the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The term referred to mass evictions of tenants when developers demanded inner-city plots for new construction projects. During the 1930s, it was first used in both countries to label refugees who had escaped Nazi Germany. In the 1940s, based on an influential study by Eugene M. Kulischer (1943: 233f.), it became instrumental in coining a new category in the emerging body of international law on forced migration: 'displaced person'. This term was then used as an English phrase without literal translation in numerous languages, including German, and still resonates in the legal category of 'internally displaced person' or IDP (Rass/Tames 2020: 14).

Such observations inevitably lead us to question what the procession of words used in German society to describe people on the move in search of work actually signifies (Herbert 2001). 'Wanderarbeiter' ('migrant worker') was used before the First World War and into the interwar years, 'Fremdarbeiter' ('foreign worker') and 'Gastarbeiter' ('guest worker') became prevalent in Nazi propaganda before the latter resurfaced in West Germany during the 1960s to become a global label once translated into English. One thing seems obvious: migration, as part of the term, soon moved into the background as 'Wander' ('migrant') was replaced with 'Fremd' – a marker of not-belonging – before 'Gast' subsequently (and euphemistically) stressed the temporal limits of a migrant's presence framed as a trade-off between protection and non-belonging. Moreover, while the foreigner could stay for prolonged or infinite periods, the guest was inevitably marked as a temporary sojourner who could not cross over into permanent settlement. The whole field of terms representing people on the move is complex and multi-layered. In legal English, for example, relations between 'migrant worker',

'labor migrant', or 'temporary worker' would merit as much attention as is given here to 'guest worker'.

3. 'Gastarbeiter': A short History of the Concept

Even in 2023, there is hardly a single week in which the term 'Gastarbeiter' does not appear in the German media (Rass/Ulz 2018a: 442). It either serves as a reference to the country's post-1945 migration history or as a label for labor migrants in discussions about present-day migration policies (Rass/Ulz 2015, 2018b). Its compounds and derivates, such as 'Gastarbeiterkinder' ('guest worker children'), have been seemingly unquestioned elements of the German language for over half a century. The word is so familiar to us, so firmly rooted in the German mind, that few authors reflect upon its deeper meanings. We rarely ask where it comes from or whether or not we should keep using a process-generated concept loaded with layers of uneasy meanings it collected as it traveled through the 20th and 21st centuries (Rass/Ulz 2018a: 419f.).

While a growing number of historians and migration scholars in Germany today tend to put the term in quotation marks to indicate their critical position (Hunn 2005, Baumann 2022), the media rarely show a similar level of consideration (Rass/Ulz 2018b). The same is true in the United States, where 'guest worker' is widely used in discussions about migration policy and bilateral labor agreements. There appears to be hardly any awareness of the term's complex history, meanings, and the translations that made it an American concept (as well). It has become a pseudo-technical term in academic publications, the media, and political discourse on both sides of the Atlantic and beyond. In August 2022, the US Department of Labor quite naturally referred to the term 'guest worker program' in a news release on its current migration policies (Wage and Hour Division 2022).

For years, it was widely believed that the term 'Gastarbeiter' had first emerged during the post-1945 recruitment of migrant labor to supply Germany's economic reconstruction boom between 1955 and 1973. Indeed, even some recent publications claim that the term first appeared in German media during the early 1960s as a label for labor migrants (Böke 2000: 170; DOMiD 2022; Rieder 2019).

In 2019, Maximiliane Rieder published her take on the word's history in the *Bavarian Historical Dictionary* (online), stating that the alleged neologism "Gastarbeiter" was coined as a variant of the term "Gastarbeitnehmer" during the 1960s. 'Gastarbeitnehmer', however, has a distinctly different meaning, and there is no evidence linking the origins of both concepts. Her interpretation fails to pay attention to either the broader historical background or the international framework for bilateral labor agreements set up by the *International Labour Organization* (ILO) after 1919. The German recruitment treaties signed after 1955 – certainly not the first agreements of this nature – fit into this framework (Rass 2020a).[7] Yet, such misconceptions can grow, building on eminent sources as evi-

[7] The confusion may stem from the fact that writers in German newspapers kept mixing up 'Gastarbeiter' and 'Gastarbeitnehmer' during the 1950s and 1960s. This, however, demonstrates that the use of the term 'Gastarbeiter' in Germany did not entirely cease between 1945 and 1961. When Western Germany signed seven treaties with France in 1950 to regulate international labor migration and recruitment, one agreement dealt with the exchange of 'Gastarbeitnehmer', another one allowed the recruitment of workers by French authorities in Germany. Workers recruited in the latter category were referred to as 'Gastarbeiter' in various newspaper articles at the time. A clear parallel to the German practice of calling French workers recruited (often by force) to work in Nazi Germany before 1945 by that term. Examples for the use of 'Gastarbeitnehmer' can be

denced, for instance, in the German *Staatslexikon*, edited by the *Görres Gesellschaft*. This authoritative reference work included an entry for 'Gastarbeiter' in its 6th edition, published in 1970. The definition starts by claiming that the word was invented post-1945 to create a new term free of any discriminating meaning or ties to Nazi Germany (Kurz/Tuchtfeldt 1970: 90–102).

In contrast, scholars, including Marlou Schrouver for example, have alternatively echoed publications from the 1960s by pointing out that Nazi propaganda had already used the term "Gastarbeiter". Schrouver and others credited Ernst Sauckel with inventing it, locating the term's emergence within the context of forced labor during the Second World War (Schrouver 2018: 448). While there is a growing body of evidence documenting the word's proliferation during the war, which firmly questions any assertion that the term first appeared post-1945, this interpretation also fails to see the older roots of the concept.

'Gastarbeiter' was neither a neologism in the 1960s nor the 1940s.[8] Max Weber coined the term way before the Nazis rose to power in Germany in his essays on *The Economic Ethics of World Religions* (*Die Wirtschaftsethik der Weltreligionen*), written during the First World War and first published in 1916. In this corpus of texts, Weber talks about 'guest artisans' ('Gasthandwerker'), 'guest people' ('Gastvölker'), and eventually, 'guest workers' ('Gastarbeiter'). In doing so, Weber refers to individuals and social groups in marginal positions in ancient India[9] and Palestine (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften 2022; Weber 1921a: 126f., 434). It remains to be determined why Weber departed from his earlier use of 'Wanderarbeiter', as in his 1894 study on agricultural labor in Eastern Germany, to arrive at the use of 'Gastarbeiter' two decades later (Weber 1988, Pongratz 2020).[10] Maybe Weber was trying to distance his treatise on ancient cultures from his writings about Polish migrants. Perhaps he wanted to stress the reciprocity of relations between the 'host' and the 'guest'. Maybe he found inspiration in the primary documents he used, for instance, on India. Whatever the reason, no references are given in his essays.

In 2013, Kristin Surak pointed out the degree to which Weber's inaugural lecture, which he gave in Freiburg in 1895, already seemed to spell out the racist content packed into the concept of 'seasonal work' ('Saisonarbeit') in Germany at a time when Prussia was constantly recruiting Polish temporary

---

found in the *Bruchsaler Post* (1950: 3) or *Badische neueste Nachrichten* (1950: 2). The use of 'Gastarbeiter' in this context is documented in the *Honnefer Volkszeitung* (1952: 4). A mixup of categories is demonstrated in the *General-Anzeiger* (1950: 3). In this instance, the writer refers to the exchange of workers for purposes of qualification but uses 'Gastarbeiter' instead of 'Gastarbeitnehmer'. By the same token, another article published in the *Honnefer Volkszeitung* (1963: 1) reported on the rising number of foreign workers in Western Germany, who by that time were routinely referred to as 'Gastarbeiter', but falsely categorized them as 'Gastarbeitnehmer'.

[8] Other misinterpretations of the term's origin can be found in Bolaffi (2002: 125) or Stötzel/Wengeler (1995: 717f.). More recent literature also keeps failing to investigate the concept's origins as part of its unreflective reproduction. See, for example, Hahamovitch 2003: 70; Chin 2007: 8f.

[9] In his writings, Weber picks up the concept of the 'Pariah' and introduces it to sociology. It would later be widely used as a label to describe the situation of Jewish minorities and equate it with their presence as a 'Gastvolk'. This can be read as another indicator that Weber defined 'Gastarbeiter' as permanently excluded. For a critique see Cahnman 2005. As an example of an older interpretation, see also Raphaël 1981. This is also one of the very few texts to mention Weber's term 'Gastarbeiter', in the context of 'Gastvolk' and 'Pariavolk' when discussing Jewish minorities in Europe. The author stresses that in Weber's reading of India, any direct contact with those labeled 'guest workers' had to be avoided (Raphaël 1981: 225).

[10] For a recent discussion of that study, see Pongratz 2020.

migrant workers. According to her interpretation, however, Weber defined 'Gastarbeiter' *avant la lettre* (Surak 2013b: 84): Surak herself treats 'Gastarbeiter' as a post-1945 neologism replacing the Nazi concept of 'Fremdarbeiter' and does not attribute the emergence of the term to Weber (Surak 2013a: 1024).

In 1991, Gary A. Abraham used the term 'Gastarbeiter' to critique Weber's treatment of Polish migrant workers. In doing so, he tried to differentiate Polish migrants, who often were Prussian subjects, from the modern-day labor migrant. However, Abraham adopted the word from the contemporary discourse of the 1990s, merely projecting it upon Weber's time and writing, thus missing Weber's instrumental role in coining the term in the first place (Abraham 1991). The book *The Economic Ethics of World Religions and Their Laws: An Introduction to Max Weber's Comparative Sociology* by Andres E. Buss, published in 2015, consistently refers to 'guest people' ('Gastvölker'), but omits (and thus, of course, does not discuss) the term 'Gastarbeiter' as a product of Weber's original text (Buss 2015: 77, 95, 101).

From the beginning, 'Gastarbeiter' described those read as foreign or migrants who entered societies from the outside to perform demeaning or marginal work for a limited period of time – those with no option to settle as accepted members of those societies. Some hints as to why Weber might have chosen 'Gast' instead of 'Fremd' can be found in the 19th century when both words were often used as synonyms in German legal texts. 'Gast', however, in publications about 'Fremdenrecht' or 'Gastrecht' implies a temporal presence and the position of an outsider, but at the same time obliges the host to exercise respectful and protective treatment (Jordans 1838: 291).[11]

Starting with its initial appearance in Weber's work, concepts relating to Weber's ideas can be traced in documents published by the unified labor union organization of the Nazi period (*Deutsche Arbeitsfront*) in 1940. Clemens Nörpel, a labor union functionary, referred to labor migrants coming to Germany as "Gastvölker" ('guest people') (Nörpel 1940).[12] During the Second World War, Nazi propaganda framing the German forced labor system ('Ausländereinsatz'), made 'Gastarbeiter' a standard element of its vocabulary. The use of 'Gastarbeiter' in Nazi propaganda began to intensify in 1941 when Germany tried to recruit workers from within its growing spheres of occupation or influence – from Belgium, the Netherlands, Bulgaria, Denmark, Croatia, Hungary, Romania, and Norway. In addition, labor migrants recruited from Italy, beginning in the mid-1930s, were also labeled 'Gastarbeiter' during the war years, probably in an attempt to set an example (Rass 2021). Whenever recruitment took place in societies that were either allied with the 'Third Reich' or deemed 'Nordic' by the Nazis, 'Gastarbeiter' was used as a label to mark a difference between those workers and 'Ostarbeiter' – those deported to Germany from Eastern and Central Europe. Recruitment of 'Gastarbeiter' was also often initially framed by formal bilateral recruitment agreements. The use of this instrument was also heavily exploited by Nazi propaganda and thus followed, at least in form, standards proposed by the ILO during the interwar years (Rass 2012a). Throughout the war, German newspapers kept painting a picture of how "ausländische Gastarbeiter" ("foreign guestworkers") were recruited and taken care

[11] See also Rass 2010.

[12] There is a quite confusing use of the term 'Gastvolk' in the Nazi period: Anti-Jewish (Antisemitic) propaganda regularly used 'Gastvolk' to refer to societies with a Jewish minority. At the same time, 'Gastvolk' is used, as by Weber and by Nörpel in 1940, for groups of migrants present in a society. An example of the latter can already be found in 1893, published in *Mitteilungen aus dem Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus*.

of according to international standards and agreements while they worked voluntarily in the German war industry.[13]

The discourse surrounding the term 'Gastarbeiter' in Nazi Germany encompassed recruitment agreements, remittances, and all kinds of practical questions, but also the consequences of labor migration for the racial hierarchies of the 'Volksgemeinschaft' (Wildt 2019: 7). The use of 'Gastarbeiter' in Nazi propaganda stretched well into the last weeks of the regime in 1945 (Rass 2012: 177; Marrenbach 1942). Publications, even towards the end of the war, prepared Germans for the presence of 'Gastarbeiter' in the years following a Nazi victory. For that reason, the 'Volksgemeinschaft' was cautioned to avoid interracial relations with them (Christoffel 1944: 34).

The Allies also picked up the term. When a dictionary of "Nazi-Deutsch" was compiled in the United States in 1944, the makers entered the expression "Gastarbeiter" and translated it as "foreign worker" (Paechter 1944: 31). "Gastarbeiter" was even used in German-language Allied propaganda postings in 1945 (Rass 2022). By the same token, authors in German exile newspapers[14] assumed that their German readership was well acquainted with the expression (Rass 2010). A review of existing pre-1945 documents demonstrates that all the layers of meaning that became relevant after the war had already been inscribed into the figure of the 'Gastarbeiter' in Germany well before Nazi rule ended (Rass 2012, 2010).

When state-regulated labor recruitment in Germany entered its next phase during the 1950s, it did not take long before the term reappeared. Again, it served as a euphemism, marking migrants as temporarily present, limited to marginal jobs, and social outsiders (Rass 2010, 2012; Amenda/Rass 2012).

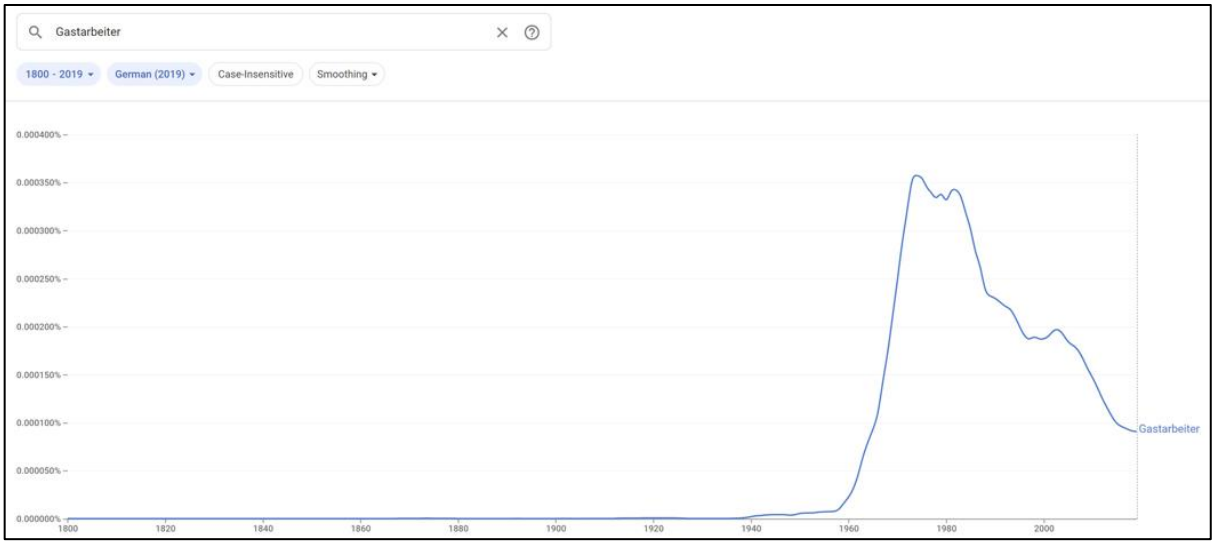

Figure 1: The use of 'Gastarbeiter' as documented in the German google n-gram corpus.

'Gastarbeiter' would eventually be translated into about 30 languages and become, as a concept, a "North Atlantic Universal" (Trouillot 2003: 35) with an almost global range and presence (Rass 2010:

[13] See for example *Betreuung der Auslandsarbeiter* in *Die Heimat am Mittag* (1942: 4), or *Die Bewährungsprobe des nationalsozialistischen Volkes* in *Aachener Anzeiger* (1943: 5).

[14] On April 19, 1945, the Allied propaganda newspaper *Nachrichten für die Truppe*, which was dropped by plane over German lines, printed an article on 'Gastarbeiter' refusing to be evacuated (Kirchner 1989: 3).

73). Although Stefan Nowotny (2018)[15] has recently discussed the use of "Gastarbeiter" in French academic writing and its various translations, a global history reconstructing the multilingual transfers, translations, and entanglements of the term has yet to be written. Simultaneously, the use of 'guest worker' and 'guest worker program' in publications such as the *Palgrave Handbook of International Labor Migration* (2016) documents the degree to which both have been normalized as labels for policy models and migrant workers (Cerna/Hynes 2015: 15; Martin 2015: 206, 208; Amarelle/ Fornalé 2015: 548).

This working paper will not take another dive into the presence and use of the word 'Gastarbeiter' in Germany. Instead, it takes a first glance at the translation of 'Gastarbeiter' into American English as 'guest worker' or 'guestworker' using its transfer into the United States as a case study. This case, however, is not just a matter of literal translation between languages, but also of the production, reproduction, and transfer of meaning across time and space, between languages, and between public discourse, policy-making, and academic writing.

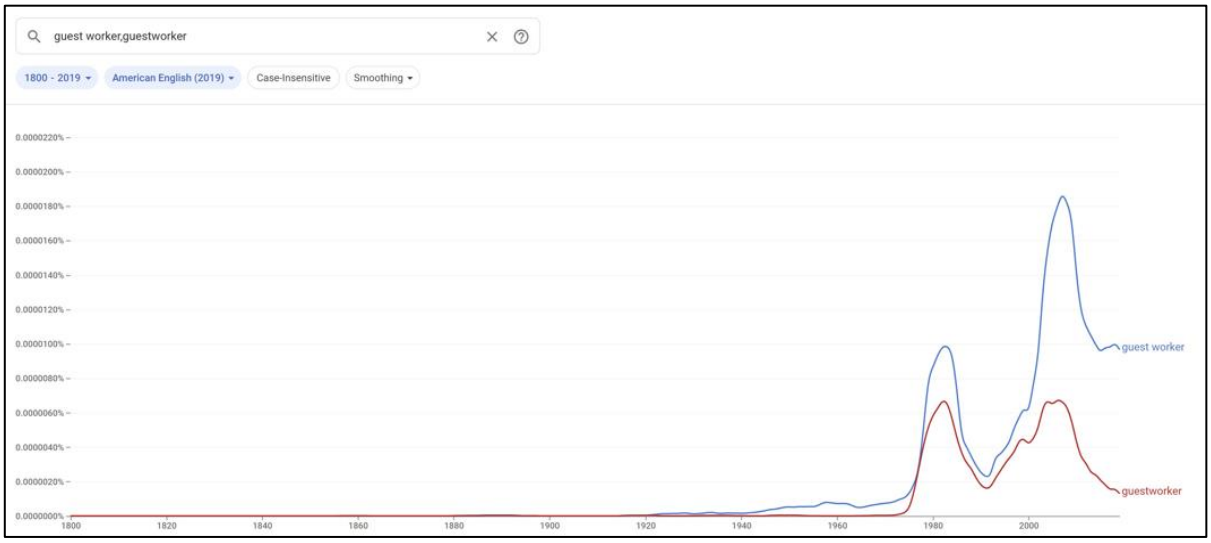

Figure 2: The use of 'guest worker' and 'guestworker' as documented in the American English google n-gram corpus.

A brief and certainly not representative look at the google books corpus through the google n-gram interface reveals how 'Gastarbeiter' made its first notable appearance in German texts during the 1940s but then proliferated substantially from the early 1960s. The American English corpus shows the use of 'guest worker' and 'guestworker' peaking in the United States from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s and again from the mid-1990s.

As discussed above, the German expression 'Gastarbeiter' first appeared in an American publication – as a German word – and was translated into English in 1944 as 'foreign worker'. The word itself was thus noticed in the United States as part of this initial translation. A second root of the term 'guest worker' in the English language can even be traced back to before the Second World War. This use of the word, which has no connection to discourses on migration, might very well be linked to a reading

[15] In his interpretation, Nowotny makes a reference to Max Weber but neglects the invention of 'Gastarbeiter' by Weber. A continuation of the discussion under the title *L'expérience des Gastarbeiter dans la littérature et l'histoire orale* from 2022 with Maxime Ruscio, Nicolas Pitsos, Mariéva Chalvin, Timur Muhidine and Kostas Tatsis can be found on the website of the Bulac Bibliothèque (online: https://hal.inria.fr/hal-03739828/).

of Weber's writings, even though his work was only translated into English much later. Long before the term 'guest worker' was attached to labor migrants in the United States, it came into use to describe scientists or academics who worked as 'guests' for a limited period in a (foreign or domestic) company, laboratory, or university (The Evening Star 1950).[16] This meaning of 'guest worker' is paralleled in Germany by the emergence of the term 'Gastarbeitnehmer', which is sometimes falsely discussed as the etymological root of 'Gastarbeiter'. 'Gastarbeitnehmer' first occurred in treaties on international trade in Germany around 1928. These treaties allowed a small annual quota of foreign professionals to be sent to Germany as part of their training. Quotas were usually set at around 100 individuals.[17] A connection to Weber could be possible but has yet to be researched. However, when Carl Petersen wrote his article on "Gastarbeitnehmer" in 1928, he explained that the term was the best translation available to him for the French expression "stagiaires", which translates into English as 'intern' (Petersen 1928: 542).[18]

While a translation of Weber's work into English may have contributed to establishing the word internationally, several translations – one from Nazi propaganda and one in Weber's text – although unconnected, might have happened in parallel during the first half of the 20th century. Besides the presence of 'Gastarbeiter' in American war-time documents and the 'Gastarbeitnehmer'–'guest worker' context, 'Gastarbeiter' was also translated directly as part of Weber's oeuvre. He used the term, for example, in the annex to the collected essays on the sociology of religion and probably created the expression while writing his essays on comparative sociology during the First World War. In the annex to his essay on Judaism – published posthumously in 1921 – Weber writes: "[D]ie erste Kategorie natürlich auch, weil sie ursprünglich fremdstämmige Gastarbeiter waren"(1921a: 434). This phrase was translated in the English edition of *Ancient Judaism*, published by Hans H. Gerth and Don Martindale in 1952, as: "The first category, naturally, also because they were originally foreign-born guest workers" (Weber 1952: 416).[19]

---

[16] *The Evening Star*, a paper published in Washington DC, for example, in its February 23, 1950 issue wrote: "A doctor of philosophy was awarded to another foreign student, Daniel Louis Revedin, 27, of Geneva, Switzerland. He came to the United States as a guest worker for the National Bureau of Standards in 1947."

[17] Early examples for the use of the term "Gastarbeitnehmer" can be found in the *Reichsarbeitsblatt* during the late 1920s and 1930s, as in Petersen (1928: 542), or the announcement of international agreements regulating the exchange of workers as part of their qualification process (Zweite Bekanntmachung über die deutsch-niederländische Vereinbarung über die Zulassung von Arbeitnehmern, die sich beruflich und sprachlich fortbilden wollen (Gastarbeitnehmer) 1935: 246). Agreements on 'Gastarbeitnehmer' were continued in Western Germany after 1945 in separation of the recruitment of labor migrants called 'Gastarbeiter'. Soon after the category 'Gastarbeitnehmer' had been created, the term began to appear in German newspapers reporting on the exchange of several hundred workers for qualification through training on the job between France and Germany (see for example Frankenberger Tageblatt 1930: 2). A couple of years later, newspapers began to mix both terms up as an article published in the *General-Anzeiger* (1935: 3) under the title *Gastarbeiter-Austausch auch in der Jagt- und Forstwirtschaft* shows. It actually talked about "Gastarbeitnehmer" using the correct term in its text but not in its heading. This also demonstrates the presence of the term 'Gastarbeiter' in German media during the pre-war years.

[18] Carl Petersen, a civil servant in *the Reichsanstalt für Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung* at the time, would later become head of the *Deutsche Arbeiterzentrale* (DAZ) and thus Germany's chief official for the recruitment of workers abroad (Oltmer 2005: 360).

[19] Cannon and Mendez-Egle (1979: 30) pointed out that *The Barnhard Dictionary of New English*, first published in 1973, already listed "guest worker"/"Gastarbeiter" as loan translations since 1963.

While 'Gastarbeiter' was employed to refer to labor migrants or foreign/forced workers in Nazi Germany, there is no indication that the expression was translated and used in the United States regarding its war-time recruitment scheme with Mexico, the 'Bracero Program'. Only during the 1960s was the phrase picked up in the United States regarding Europe rather than migration in North America. This transfer occurred roughly in parallel to the reintroduction of the word in Germany. Almost simultaneously, as the decade drew to a close, a historiographical study of the forced labor system in Nazi Germany and a book on labor migration to Western Germany post-1945 published in the United States used the expression.

Yet before the 1970s, no one in the United States projected 'guestworker' or 'guest worker' onto migrants coming to the United States. When Mexico and the United States negotiated a program to recruit temporary workers for the US war economy in 1942 and during the later stages of the 'Bracero Program' up to its cancellation in 1964 by the Kennedy/Johnson administration, the term 'guest worker' did not enter the discourse on temporary labor migration. Ernesto Galarza's groundbreaking report *Strangers in Our Fields*, published in 1956, did not use the term either. The word even fails to appear in the extensive hearings under the headline *Migrant and Seasonal Farmworker Powerlessness* held by the *Subcommittee on Migratory Labor* in 1969/1970 (Committee on Labor and Public Welfare 1970). In this hearing, however, Ernesto Galarza made a telling reference to the loss of social agency through migration. He invoked the metaphor of the 'guest' and their obligations towards a host to explain the reluctance felt by migrants from Mexico to speak up against their abuse while working in the United States (Committee on Labor and Public Welfare 1989: 472). The metaphor of the 'guest' as a reference to migrants in the United States had been present throughout the 20th century, but did not become part of the compound expression 'guest worker' before the period discussed in this paper.

During hearings by the *Subcommittee on Labor and Labor Management Relations* on Migratory Labor in 1952, which were essentially directed at migration from Mexico, Chairman Hubert H. Humphrey, who was to serve as Vice President under Lyndon B. Johnson, opened one of the sessions pointing out that "the migrant is the unwelcome guest in a great many of our communities, except of a desire to profit by his labor" (Committee on Labor and Public Welfare 1952: 50).

In that same year, 1952, the American sociologist Paul C. P. Siu published his influential text *The Sojourner,* in the *American Journal of Sociology.* He constructed Chinese immigrants as temporary migrant workers and as a permanently self-excluding social type who would only turn into a "marginal man" – a concept coined by Park, when opting for "biculturalism". It can only be seen as a bizarre twist of reverse translation that Siu's text appeared in 2002 in a German book of collected 'classical texts' on the stranger as a social type *(Der Fremde als sozialer Typus)* under the title *Der Gastarbeiter (The Guestworker)* (Merz-Benz 2015). The translator and the editors decided to translate "sojourner" as "Gastarbeiter" throughout the text – probably with their German audience in mind, which presumably would read the text based on shared assumptions about the meaning of the word. In his 1952 text, Siu refers to the dissertation he had just finished and would defend in 1953[20], in which he did not use the term 'guest worker' that the German translation was to put into his mouth seven

[20] Siu referenced his dissertation as an 'unpublished monograph' in his 1952 paper. It would be published as a book much later under the title *The Chinese Laundryman* (Tchen/Siu 1987).

decades later.[21] 'Sojourner', translated into German as 'Gast' (guest), meaning 'temporary resident', is an original concept Siu contributed to migration studies at the time, stressing temporary migration as a counterpoint to the immigration dogma of the Chicago School (Eilbaum 2022). The German translation of 'sojourner' into 'Gastarbeiter' in 2002 remains as telling as the fact that Siu, who refers to Simmel's concept of "der Fremde", missed Weber's figure of the 'guest worker', which was also translated into English in 1952. The discursive relationship between 'sojourner' – a term Siu coined with migrants from China in mind (Yang 2000: 235) – and 'guest worker' – a translation from German targeted at migrants from Mexico – merits further study.

Nine years later, when once more, an extension of the 'Mexican Farm Labor Program' – the official name of the 'Bracero Program' – was debated in 1961, several statements put into evidence during the mandatory hearings made use of the term as well. The Secretary of Labor, Arthur J. Goldberg, gave a lengthy presentation with many slides on the state of temporary labor migration from Mexico, stating:

> *"I talk about the effects of the program, I talk about it in terms of the effects upon our domestic farm labor and our domestic economy, and my remarks are not in any way directed against, or are they adverse, to the position of either the great Republic of Mexico, our friend and good neighbor, or the Mexican nationals who have come to our country as invited guests to participate in this program" (Committee on Agriculture and Forestry 1961: 220).*

Representatives of the *Muscatine Migrant Council* in Iowa also referred to migrant workers as their "temporary guests". In the same hearings, a representative of the *American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations* (AFL-CIO) stressed that any temporary work program should be conducted based on "intergovernmental agreements" – a reference to the ILO. The delegate used the term "foreign worker-guests" several times, thus adding "guest" to a widely used label for migrant workers (Committee on Agriculture and Forestry 1961: 68, 72, 218, 337). This neologism, adding the element "guest" did not catch on.

The term 'guest' had also been used in a similar context during the Great Depression already. When hearings were held by the *Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens* in 1940, a representative from New Jersey referred to internal migrants coming to the state as "guests of the state" who needed to be "treated with reasonable consideration […] in the matter of housing, sanitation, labor-contract conditions and such" (U.S. Congress 1940: 356).[22]

Turning 'immigrants' or 'migrants' into 'guests' and thus placing them in a marginalized social position devoid of agency does, of course, have roots further back in the negotiation of migration and society in the United States. As early as 1920, when hearings discussed the *Temporary Admission of Illiterate Mexican Laborers*, one of the expert witnesses, James H. Patten, who represented *The Patriotic Order Sons of America* – one of the oldest and largest nativist associations – cited an article by Horace Lorimer published as an editorial of the *Saturday Evening Post* of Philadelphia:

> *"We must rid our minds of the notion that America is some kind of a world institution for the care of the nuts; that Americans have no rights that her guests are bound to respect; that her citizenship is open to anyone" (U.S. Congress 1920: 439).*

[21] Paul C. P. Siu could neither authorize nor reject the translation discussed here as he passed in 1987.
[22] The witness cited here was Arthur J. Edwards, chairman of the *Subcommittee on Migrant Child Labor* in New Jersey of the *Congregational Christian Churches* from Montclair, NJ.

At roughly the same time, the metaphor had also been used in the opposite direction when statements demanded that Mexico respected the rights of Americans as "guests" during deliberations of a committee charged with the "investigation of the Mexican situation" in 1919. In this context, it was used to secure agency for Americans in Mexico that was later denied to migrants from Mexico in the United States (Committee on Rules 1919: 89).

A further isolated use of the expression, spelled "guest-worker", in *Aspects of Spanish American Culture* by Harvey L. Johnson in 1961 referred to practices of communal harvesting in Latin America. While a reading of Weber might have inspired the author, his usage seems disconnected from the abovementioned contexts (Johnson 1961: 351). Before the late 1970s, the only other use of 'guest worker' was confined to the description of trainee or exchange programs for professionals, academics, and religious ministers in America (discussed above). This usage decreased when 'guest worker' was projected onto migrants from Mexico, and this new connotation quickly became dominant.

Without presenting a more extensive selection of documents, it can already be pointed out that the 'Bracero Program' was only labeled a 'guest worker program' in North America in retrospect during the late 1970s or early 1980s when 'guest worker' became an Americanized policy term. The translation of 'Gastarbeiter' itself into American English and its transformation from a concept referring to Germany (or Europe) into a policy term used in the United States happened in three distinct stages.

4. A fresh Discovery: Post-1945 European Labor Migration in US-American Media

Reports on labor migration in Europe and especially Germany first appeared in the (North) American media editorials of the 1960s. During their research, academic authors, policymakers, and media writers became aware of a particular term, 'Gastarbeiter', which they initially often used in its original German spelling. Over time, 'Gastarbeiter' became 'guestworker', with 'guest worker' emerging as the prevalent variant.

In June 1961, nearly six years after Germany had begun to recruit migrant workers in Italy and right when the Federal Republic of Germany was signing further bilateral recruitment agreements with Spain, Greece, and Turkey, "Gastarbeiter" resurfaced in Western Germany (Rass 2020a, 2010, 2012b, 2020b). This remarkable moment deserves a closer look: Ludwig Kroeber-Keneth, who had already published several papers on personnel management in Germany before 1945 and would emerge as a prominent business consultant and headhunter in West-Germany after the war, is one of the first authors to use the term 'Gastarbeiter' in post-1945 Germany. In the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, he proposed to use the word to refer to migrant workers instead of any older ones still floating around from the Nazi period. Bringing 'Gastarbeiter' to Western Germany via organized labor recruitment, argued Kroeber-Keneth (1961), would create a win-win situation: They would only stay for a limited time and would be treated well. Kroeber-Keneth introduced the term "Gastarbeiter" in one of the leading German newspapers, claiming that it had only recently emerged, purposely coined (he did not say by whom) to signal post-Nazi Western Germany was assigning a different social position to labor migrants than before. He pointed out that the expression was chosen in contrast to both "Wanderarbeiter" (migrant laborer), as used in the German Empire before the First World War and in the Weimar Republic, and "Fremdarbeiter" (foreign worker), which was adopted from the Swiss terminology during the Nazi period and became a prevalent label for forced workers in the German war economy.

But Kroeber-Keneth's piece in the elitist *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* was not the only place in which 'Gastarbeiter' featured prominently in 1961. In fact, that same month, Werner Höfer used the term "Gastarbeiter" in his weekly column in the tabloid *Neue Illustrierte*. His op-ed was titled *Wer möchte leben wie ein Hund? (Who wants to live like a dog?)* and paralleled a story on the cruel treatment of animals with a report on the abuse of migrant workers:

> *"There are laws against animal cruelty. Rightly so! There are organizations for animal protection. Fortunately! But for the small everyday offenses in human interaction, there are not even fee-based warnings. Animals are often treated better than humans – especially if they come from very far away. Now foreign people live among us: guest workers. We called them into the country. Without their help, we could no longer perform economic miracles and could not go on large summer trips. From the countries that we seek with our soul, most of these sought-after helpers come: from Italy, Spain, and Greece. Their salary in hard Deutsche Mark exceeds all domestic expectations. But money alone doesn't make them happy. They don't just want to be well-paid, but also well-treated. [...] The hosts should also address their customs and practices, their dreams and desires" (Höfer 1961).*[23]

Furthermore, the issue included a photo report on the living conditions of migrant workers and the abuse they experienced in Germany. The headline read *Gast-Arbeiter! Sie arbeiten mit. Sie helfen uns. Wir brauchen sie (Guest-Workers! They work with us. They help us. We need them),* followed by the catchphrase *Menschen zweiter Klassse (Second-class People)* (Muras/Kuhn 1961). The experiences of migrant workers in Western Germany would regularly be taken up by the *Neue Illustrierte* in the years to come, demonstrating that during the early 1960s, the term 'Gastarbeiter' had already been introduced to a broader audience. It is, however, not unlikely that Werner Höfer, an emerging star among post-war journalists who built a reputation for his left-leaning, liberal views, knew the term from way back.

Werner Höfer had quickly risen to prominence through the ranks of ambitious journalists in the post-war years. He had invented a radio talk show for the *Nordwestdeutschen Rundfunk* (NWDR) in 1952, modeled after the popular American program "Meet the Press". A year later he adapted his broadcast for television. The *Westdeutsche Rundfunk* (WDR) soon took over his show *Internationaler Frühschoppen* and aired it weekly with Höfer as moderator until 1987. Even though Werner Höfer left the employment of the WDR briefly in the early 1960s – without ever giving up his position as TV host – to join the chief editorial office of the *Neue Illustrierte,* he steadily advanced to the top ranks of Western German journalism. In 1964, he was called back by the WDR to become its head of regional TV, moving up to general program director of television eight years later. Höfer retired in 1977 but kept his position as anchorman for his weekly talk show for another ten years (Schmid 2001: 352). His career ended abruptly in 1987 when allegations resurfaced that had first been voiced as early as

[23] The original text reads: „Es gibt Gesetze gegen Tierquälerei. Mit Recht! Es gibt Organisationen zum Schutz des Tieres. Zum Glück! Aber für die kleinen Alltagsvergehen im zwischenmenschlichen Verkehr gibt es nicht einmal gebührenpflichtige Verwarnungen. Tiere werden oft besser behandelt als Menschen – am besten, wenn sie von ganz weit herkommen. Nun leben fremde Menschen unter uns: Gastarbeiter. Wir haben sie ins Land gerufen. Ohne ihre Hilfe könnten wir keine Wirtschaftswundertaten mehr vollbringen und auch nicht auf große Sommerfahrten gehen. Aus den Ländern, die wir mit der Seele suchen, kommen die meisten dieser umworbenen Helfer: aus Italien, Spanien und Griechenland. Ihr Lohn in harter D-Mark übertrifft alle heimatlichen Vorstellungen. Doch Geld allein macht sie nicht glücklich. Sie wollen nicht nur gut bezahlt, sondern auch gut behandelt werden. [...] Die Gastgeber sollten auch auf ihre Sitten und Gebräuche, ihre Träume und Sehnsüchte eingehen."

1962 by propagandists from the German Democratic Republic (GDR): Höfer had produced fierce Nazi propaganda as a journalist during the Second World War (Wieser 1987, Felchow 2010).[24]

Werner Höfer joined the NSDAP in 1933 and worked as a journalist for several different papers during the pre-war years. However, he became a war correspondent for the *Organisation Todt* in 1941 and later a press officer in Albert Speer's *Reichsministerium für Rüstung und Kriegsproduktion* while continuing to publish as a freelance writer. In these positions, he wrote at least 50 articles filled with Nazi propaganda in a broad range of official newspapers and regime publications (Otzelberger 1993). There can be little doubt that Höfer was familiar with the role the term "Gastarbeiter" had played in Nazi propaganda when he chose to feature the term prominently in 1961. After all, he had worked as a spin doctor for two organizations at the core of the German forced and slave labor system throughout the war.

In 1943 Werner Höfer had published a lengthy propaganda piece on the construction of the fortifications and submarine bunkers in France, praising the *Organisation Todt,* but also explicitly talking about the recruitment of workers from occupied territories for the German war industry:

> *"For these tasks, the Organisation Todt also made considerable use of foreign workers. Almost all European nations are represented here by voluntary workers. At one deployment site, representatives from thirteen nations were counted [...]. The foreign auxiliaries got to know the energy and pace, capability, and thoroughness of the German people here" (Höfer 1943: 92).*[25]

It seems significant to note that two actors, Kroeber-Keneth and Höfer, who became instrumental in re-establishing the term 'Gastarbeiter' in the media discourse on labor migration in Western Germany in the early 1960s, had both been actively involved with the wartime labor market and forced labor politics of the Nazi regime. At the same time, as discussed above, 'Gastarbeiter' had never entirely disappeared and had emerged several times during the 1950s in reports on labor migration between France and Western Germany.

No doubt, in 1961, 'Gastarbeiter' was back. It quickly spread through the media and became ubiquitous, albeit never advancing into an official designation or category.[26] Official documents always referred to recruited labor migrants as 'ausländische Arbeitnehmer' and never as 'Gastarbeiter'. Özkan Ezli (2022) has recently discussed in depth the various layers of meaning connected to the term "Gastarbeiter" in Western Germany since the 1960s.

1961 was a turning point in several ways. Only weeks after 'Gastarbeiter' premiered in the press in June, the GDR sealed its border with the Federal Republic in August by walling in West Berlin. This action halted the flow of fresh workers moving from Eastern to Western Germany, making the latter feel even more dependent on recruiting workers abroad. Later that year, in October, the Federal Republic established a recruitment agreement with Turkey via an exchange of diplomatic notes, mark-

[24] See also Frei/Schmitz 1989: 112; Frei 2001: 328; Eps et al. 1996: 105f.

[25] The German version reads: „Für diese Aufgaben hat die Organisation Todt auch in erheblichem Umfange auf fremdvölkische Arbeitskräfte zurückgegriffen. Fast alle europäischen Nationen sind hier durch freiwillige Arbeiter vertreten. An einer Einsatzstelle wurden Vertreter von dreizehn Völkern gezählt [...]. Die fremdvölkischen Hilfskräfte lernten hier Energie und Tempo, Tüchtigkeit und Gründlichkeit des deutschen Menschen kennen."

[26] In her dissertation *Ambiguities of Anti-Racism: Representations of Foreign Laborers and the West German Media, 1955–1990*, Julia M. Woesthoff (2004) cites numerous newspaper articles dating from 1961 that underline the dynamics with which the term 'Gastarbeiter' was introduced at that crucial moment.

ing a significant enhancement in Germany's engagement with the global labor market. Up until that point, Western Germany had lagged behind countries like Belgium and France in establishing migration ties with Italy, Greece, and Spain. In 1961, Germany became the first European nation to tap into Turkey's labor market (Rass 2010: 415). Concurrently, in October, several German public radio stations, including WDR, initiated special broadcasts for migrant workers, initially in Italian and soon expanding to Greek, Spanish, and Turkish. These programs would soon be called "Gastarbeitersendungen". During his visit to Bonn in June 1961, the Italian prime minister had pressured the German government to allow regular broadcasts in Italian produced in cooperation with the Italian public radio corporation RAI (Sala 2005: 2). Even for international observers, the new dynamics surrounding the recruitment of migrant workers that unfolded in 1961 would have been hard to miss – as was the new keyword designating their station in German society: 'Gastarbeiter'.

About a year after 'Gastarbeiter' reemerged in German newspapers, it reached the United States. An article by Geoffrey Atkins, a journalist with *The Associated Press*, was published in the *Sunday Star* (Washington DC) in August 1962. The piece told the story of a group of migrants he had met and interviewed in Frankfurt, and referred to them thus: "They are West Germany's gastarbeiter (guest workers), imported to make up shortages of labor in this booming land" (Atkins 1962). Throughout the decade, the number of newspaper articles in the United States describing the dire situation of migrants in Germany steadily grew (The Economist 1964: 401–403).[27] On December 23, 1965, a long article by Richard E. Mooney entitled *4 Million Workers Migrate in Europe* was printed in *The New York Times*. The report gave a detailed description of the labor migration system in Europe, which ran in overdrive during the mid-1960s: the aspirations of migrants to make as much money as possible during their stay, accepting low pay, dirty jobs, and dire living conditions; the problems of economies in Northwestern Europe with their depleted workforces relying on recruitment schemes; the concerns of sending countries, such as Franco's Spain, to which workers returned with "unwelcome new ideas", but subscribing to state-regulated labor migration to help their struggling economies; the actual immigration that occurred as migrants exited patterns of circular migration and settled down in their host countries; and the fact that hardly a day went by "that one German newspaper or another does not report the allegedly scandalous behavior of a 'guest worker'" (Mooney 1965).

As early as 1966, the New York-based *Center for Migration Studies* picked up this analysis when editors examined the situation in the *International Migration Digest* from three different perspectives. A short report on migration to France chose the new bilateral labor agreement between the country and Turkey as its main headline, praising the benefits of regulated labor migration. The news section on Germany focused on the efforts of migrants from Turkey to learn the German language and adapt to life in their host country. However, a piece entitled *The Great Migration* pointed out how German newspapers frequently used "Gastarbeiter" as a discriminating expression to paint a negative image of migrants as criminals. At the same time, the author argued, official German statistics showed the exact opposite: migrants in Germany came into conflict with the law less often than ethnic Germans (International Migration News 1966: 85). Despite such downsides, the *Center for Migration Studies* viewed state-regulated temporary labor migration as a successful migration policy in Western Europe.

[27] Another early example from the English-speaking world with some relevance to the translation of the concept is an analysis of economic growth in Western Germany that makes reference to the presence of "guest workers", published on April 25, 1964, in *The Economist* in London.

The darker pre-1945 history of the term "Gastarbeiter" did also not remain hidden in the United States. Historian Edward L. Homze of the University of Nebraska researched war-time documents revealing the use of "Gastarbeiter" in Nazi propaganda. However, in his 1967 book, Homze was one of the first post-war authors to falsely attribute the emergence of the word to Fritz Sauckel (Homze 1967: 264; Rass 2010: 71f.). While Homze's more nuanced historical observations might only have reached a small audience at the time, American academics more generally grew increasingly interested in European labor migration policies as the 1960s drew to a close.

Sociologist Arnold M. Rose was the first American scholar of the post-war period to systematically study European post-war migration policies during the 1960s while incorporating the term "guest worker" in his vocabulary. Rose's book *Migrants in Europe* was published in 1969 – a year after his death. Rose followed the lead of progressive academics who had published during the interwar years and discussed migration policies in Europe as examples of managed temporary migration from which the United States could learn (Rass 2019). Rose used the form "guestworker" when translating German sources into English and the form "guest worker" in his own writing. He described how European countries had built a system of state-regulated temporary labor migration based on bilateral agreements and how this migration regime had triggered a rise in immigration into the societies of Northwestern Europe. Rose argued that the newly arriving migrants were not perceived as immigrants and thus called "guest workers" to express the temporary nature of their presence. At the same time, Rose pointed out the consequences European societies faced when migration-induced diversity grew while they did not perceive themselves as countries of immigration. He thus diagnosed what Klaus J. Bade would later call a denial of *de facto* immigration (Bade 2017: 317).[28]

Also in 1969, a lengthy report on the Mannheim Film Festival appeared in *Variety* focusing on Rainer Werner Fassbinders' second movie *Katzelmacher*, which would soon also be screened at the Berlin Film Festival. It explained that the film's title "is a Bavarian abusive word for 'Gastarbeiter' – foreign guest worker in Germany". The author went on to describe that in the film's plot, the arrival of the Greek "guest worker" interrupts the "stupid boredom" of Bavarian provincial life (Variety 1969). When the film's director was found dead in 1982, the newspaper *International News* reported that his second film on migration and diversity, *Fear Eats the Soul*, which featured a German woman falling in love with a "foreign guest worker", had become the foundation of his international fame by winning the international critics' prize in Cannes in 1974 (Smale 1982). This episode reveals the breadth of perception surrounding the social, economic, and cultural consequences of migration for German society in the United States.

Even though publications on the subject remained rare in the United States during the 1960s, journalists and academics began to follow the re-emergence of state-regulated temporary labor migration in Europe, especially in Germany. There was no connection made to the debate about temporary labor migration in the United States, which gained momentum during an overhaul of the legislation on immigration. While the term 'Gastarbeiter' was translated, it was almost exclusively used to describe the situation of migrants in Europe. Even though the United States had installed the H-2B program to recruit temporary labor migrants from several countries already in 1952, the figure of the 'guest worker' had not entered the American lexicon as a reference to US migration policies. Indeed, it would be some time before the American discourse turned the freshly translated term into a label

[28] Numerous quotes by Klaus J. Bade on this can be found in a collection of his most significant texts.

for the H-2B program and its derivates. The process of creating a conceptual and terminological link, however, was well underway. The United States rewrote its migration laws in the mid-1960s, terminated the 'Bracero Program' in 1964, and re-negotiated migration relations with Mexico in the aftermath of this rupture (Fitzgerald/Cook-Martin 2019). Europe increasingly became a potential point of reference for policy makers. It only seemed a matter of time before 'guest worker' would appear in the discourse on migration policymaking in the United States.

5. Critical Perspectives: Perceptions of Europe's 'Gastarbeitersystem'

In Europe, the 1970s saw the end of regulated temporary labor migration when the dynamics of economic growth slowed, and the 'oil price shock' foreshadowed a period of high inflation and recession. In 1973–1974, most Western European countries halted all recruitment operations abroad (Berlinghoff 2013: 357). At the same time, the United States entered a new debate on 'immigration reform': the 'Bracero Program' had been ended, the H-2B program seemed defunct, and irregular migration from Mexico was rising. In 1977, the incoming Carter administration found itself caught between demands for the stricter regulation of migration from Mexico and the need to combat the relentless exploitation and discrimination of the migrant workers already there.

As political and economic demands to set up a renewed system of temporary labor migration gained momentum in the United States, Europe looked like a valuable testing ground in which an experiment in temporary labor migration had just happened and could thus be studied. Increasing media coverage mirrored this growing interest in European migration policies and their outcomes. As countries such as Germany ended recruitment, began to push labor migrants from their jobs, and tried to deal with the *de facto* immigration they experienced, the number of articles published in the United States on 'guestworkers' abroad steadily rose. Although far from exhaustive, a sample of documents shows how the American discourse now adopted 'Gastarbeiter' across a broad front.

In the early 1970s, signs of an economic recession loomed large after the final flares of the post-war economic boom. At the same time, countries in Northwestern Europe realized that they now had to face the consequences of their migration policies. After more than two decades of labor recruitment based on bilateral recruitment agreements designed to avoid immigration while tapping into Southern as well as Southeastern Europe's and Northern Africa's labor market reserves, *de facto* immigration continued. However, none of the receiving countries was ready (yet) to become a diverse migration society.

It was right at this tipping point that Joe Alex Morris Jr., a staff writer at the *Los Angeles Times*, (who would tragically be killed in Teheran in 1979) (Branigin 2019) began to cover the situation of migrants in Europe, especially in Germany – coverage that was notable for its blunt openness.[29] On October

[29] Earlier instances of reports on migration in Germany addressed, for instance, negotiations between the GDR and Poland about a recruitment scheme for workers (see Feron 1971) or cross-border migration between France and Germany and the production of difference between "Gastarbeiter" and French workers in Germany (see Stueck 1971). Likewise, in 1975, *Newsweek* reported on an agreement between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia on the recruitment of 2000 workers (Conway 1975). A year later, Murray Seeger followed up in *The New York Times*, pointing out a growing trend in Eastern Europe towards state-regulated temporary labor migration schemes (Seeger 1976b).

29, 1972, in an article entitled *Modern Slaves: Europe's Second Class Citizenry,* Morris told his American audience how countries such as Germany or Switzerland had built up a migrant labor force of up to 30% in several industries and how the German "gastarbeiter" and the Swiss "fremdarbeiter" had become an omnipresent, yet despised feature of life and work. Economic projections, he wrote, concluded that Europe's economies would have to rely on migrant workers well into the following decades. At the same time, European societies reacted with a racist backlash to their increasing diversity. Morris cited Helmut Schmidt, then Western Germany's finance minister, saying: "we will soon reach the upper limits of our capacity to absorb them" (Morris 1972). He also cited the German Secretary of Labor, who pointed out that Germany did not "see itself as a country of immigration" and that "the foreign workers and their families should (not) be Germanized" (ibid.). A policy that helped build Western Germany's prosperity was now labeled the "guestworker problem" (ibid.).

Solutions were discussed – for example, moving production to Southeastern Europe, following the example set by the United States and Mexico – and quickly dismissed for fear of growing unemployment once production had been outsourced.[30] Morris continued to follow events in Germany and published several articles in 1973-1974 on the dire social conditions many labor migrants had to endure in Germany: the "slums" and "ghettos" in Berlin, and the halt called to recruitment and its consequences. He repeatedly used the German expression "gastarbeiter" in his texts, mainly in the context of labor migrants from Turkey (Morris 1973a, 1973b).

'And how do you say, 'Have a pleasant Christmas vacation, you're all fired,' in Turkish?"

Figure 3: A cartoon printed in *The New York Times*, January 27, 1974 (see Whitney 1974).

When the economic recession gained momentum in Europe and recruitment was halted, Craig Whitney, writing in *The New York Times*, discussed how countries such as Germany were trying to get rid of their now unwanted migrant population. "Guest workers" who traveled home by train to visit their families during the German Christmas holidays in 1973 would find themselves fired from their jobs and with canceled visas when they tried to return to Germany in the new year (Whitney 1974). Germans had learned a trick from the Swiss, who had previously used the holidays to shut out migrants from Italy. The same paper ran a story by Edmund Fawcett, European correspondent for *The Economist*, in June 1974. He reported on the increasing abuse of migrant workers as the recession hit Europe: "All over Europe, the door is being shut. The reception for 'guestworkers' has soured, with important implications not only for the 'host' countries but especially for the countries around the rim of the Mediterranean from which most of the migrants come" (Fawcett 1974).

[30] A survey of early migration sociology on the German side can be found in Dinç 2011.

In February of 1975, Morris published another article examining how the recession hit the struggling German mining sector and its heavy reliance on labor migrants (Morris 1975b).[31] A month later, he published an article titled *'Guest Workers' Lose Jobs in Recession: Germany Pulls Welcome Mat from Under the Turks*. Still putting quotation marks around the term, Morris gave an account of how German authorities tried to force Turkish migrants to quit their jobs and move back to Turkey with their families. At the same time, in his view, it became clear that a long-term strategy to integrate migrant families who had settled in Germany would be needed. Morris even situated events in Germany during the mid-1970s in their historical context, writing: "given Germany's past, with its World War II slave labor camps and the first so-called 'guest workers', it is an unsettling situation which has given rise to concern" (Morris 1975c).

Similarly alarmed, a *Newsweek* piece by Elliot Carlson in August 1975 counted "Gastarbeiter – guest workers" as the primary victims of the recession after European countries stopped recruitment and began pushing labor migrants out. In February 1976, Malcolm W. Browne wrote in *The New York Times* about the desperate situation of labor migrants who were forced out of Western Europe:

> *"Now, as a result of two years of recession, hundreds of thousands of migrants are caught between harsh new employment attitudes in northern Europe and continued or worsening economic conditions in their countries of origin. Many have become uprooted as they shuttle from one European country to another. Trans-European highways are reminiscent of roads in the American West during the days of the dust bowl, jammed with cars bought in better times, all loaded with piles of possessions and families seeking work" (Browne 1976).*

He went on to describe the German logic of temporary labor migration, citing the experiences of an engineer returning from Germany after five years:

> *"But when the slump came and employees were laid off, he discovered that despite his training and skills, he remained in German eyes, just another 'gastarbeiter' – guest worker – and therefore one of the first to be dismissed" (ibid.).*

The ambivalence of migrants' experiences in Western Europe also set the tone for an article written by Paul A. Samuelson for *Newsweek* in May 1975. Samuelson discussed what fate would await the refugees coming to the United States from Vietnam and compared their options to European "guest workers" who he saw as significant, yet ill-treated contributors to Europe's growing wealth. He also drew a direct link to the conditions endured by Mexican migrants in California (Samuelson 1975). Another voice was that of Murray Seeger, who had also previously written about recruitment schemes emerging in Eastern Europe. In the *Los Angeles Times* in February 1976, Seeger argued that even though the recession was deepening, labor migrants – "gastarbeiter" (guest workers) – were still making a significant contribution. They helped keep economies afloat while Western European countries were slowly accepting the immigration process they had triggered (Seeger 1976a).

Only two years later, the Carter administration proposed a renewal of state-regulated labor migration from Mexico – an initiative rooted within the United States' political system. Various bills were introduced in the mid-1970s in search of a migration policy reform that would reorganize temporary labor migration and provide a better grip on irregular migration. One such initiative was a bundle of three bills – H.R. 367, H.R. 981, and H.R. 10323 – that was discussed in hearings before the *Subcom-*

[31] His reporting on migrants in Germany had started on January 7 with an article on plans in Western Germany to go from a recruitment halt to active deportation of "Gastarbeiter" or "guest workers" (Morris 1975a).

mittee on Immigration, Citizenship and International Law entitled *Western Hemisphere Immigration* in the autumn of 1975 and winter 1975/76, in which references to "guest workers" feature prominently (Committee on the Judiciary 1975/1976).

The *House Committee (on the Judiciary)* heard, among many witnesses, a group of specialists from the *Department of Labor* (DoL).[32] These experts opposed the idea of admitting migrants from Mexico for fixed periods of time while allowing them to take not just temporary, but also permanent employment in the United States – an idea floated in H.R. 981 – citing European "guest workers systems" as a negative example. They demanded that no changes be made to the H-2 visa program at all. At the end of the testimony, Representative Hamilton Fish Jr. from New York inquired further about the European migration policies the DoL experts had mentioned. An exchange unfolded on how migrants in Europe were admitted "temporarily for indefinite periods of time" (Committee on the Judiciary 1975/76: 101):

> *"Mr. FISH. Thank you. Mention was made in the testimony, Mr. Secretary, to the Guest worker system in Europe, of which you were critical. Can somebody describe for us what a guest worker is and how the system works?*
>
> *Mr. SHEERAN. Our reference, Mr. Fish, was to the situation in Europe where aliens are admitted into the countries temporarily for indefinite periods of time. They never qualify for citizenship in those countries and as the need for those workers diminishes, due to economic conditions, those workers are then required to leave the country and return home or possibly hope to find employment in another country.*
>
> *Mr. FISH. How does that differ from H-2?*
>
> *Mr. SHEERAN. Well, the H-2 is for a specific period of time, for a specific job, to a specific employer.*
>
> *Mr. FISH. Did I misunderstand you? I thought you said a guest worker came into a foreign country for a definite time period.*
>
> *Mr. SHEERAN. No. As we understand it, it is an indefinite time period, temporary not permanent.*
>
> *Mr. FISH. Indefinite. How is it different, then, from an immigrant coming into the United States and simply keeps status as a lawfully admitted immigrant, doesn't become a citizen?*
>
> *Mr. SHEERAN. Well, our concern was with the proposal that aliens be admitted temporarily into permanent jobs, which was the proposal under H.R. 981.*
>
> *Mr. FISH. I guess what I am getting at—you see, the Secretary commented that the proposal opens the way for the guest worker system in effect in Europe with all attendant social, humanitarian, economic and political problems. What are they?*
>
> *Mr. SHEERAN. Well, presently, Mr. Fish, our aliens are admitted temporarily for temporary employment in the United States. The proposal under H.R. 981 would be to admit aliens temporarily either into temporary or permanent employment and we were saying to admit aliens temporarily into permanent jobs creates the situation that leads to their being here indefinitely, for long periods of time. They become almost a part of the economy and our society without all the benefits that go along with it, this, in turn, creates social problems and economic problems for the country.*
>
> *Mr. FISH. Is the experience in Europe that these people are subject to deportation at the will of the government?*

[32] The following experts from the Department of Labor spoke during the hearings: Ben Burdetsky, William B. Lewis, David O. Williams, Kenneth Bell, and John Sheeran.

Mr. SHEERAN. Yes.

Mr. FISH. Is that part of it?

Mr. SHEERAN. Yes, precisely" (ibid.).

The DoL delegation had diligently pointed out the utilitarian and short-sighted approach that lay at the core of European "guest worker programs".[33] Such programs, they argued, admitted migrants for prolonged periods, but offered no access to settlement and citizenship, thus creating a class of precarious and marginalized denizens, most of whom then proved hard to deport when countries like Germany tried to reverse the *de facto* immigration process after the recruitment halt of 1973/1974.[34] The DoL feared that if the United States replicated European policies, as proposed in H.R. 981, migrants recruited as "guest workers" would "become […] part of the society without all the benefits that go along with this" (ibid.). Although driven by a broad spectrum of diverging motives, most other experts recommended staying away from European policy models as the hearing continued.[35]

In fact, besides government labor market experts and academics, emerging anti-immigration groups also made a strong appearance, with Zero Population Growth Inc. spearheading their ranks (Jaco 1977). The goal of this think tank *cum* lobby organization was to dismantle the 1965 *Immigration Act*. Its political director, Melanie J. Wirken, who argued for a stark reduction of immigration and strong protectionism, stated: "We oppose the expansion of this program believing that we would only be setting ourselves up for the identical problems currently facing Europe as a result of their guest worker programs" (Committee on the Judiciary 1976: 217). Even in this early yet close encounter between the study of migration policies in Europe and the re-negotiation of migration policies in the United States, 'guest worker' as a concept was predominantly used as a reference to the situation in countries such as Germany. The overall message was simple: do not copy.[36]

The figure of the 'guest worker' had now begun to enter political documents in the United States, proliferating rapidly across various contexts. When, in November 1976, hearings were held before the *Select Committee on Small Business* on proposed legislation concerning the employment of "ille-

[33] In hearings on immigration in 1976, Burdetsky testified that he was shocked to learn about the size of the European "guest worker programs" and the impact of the economic crisis on the migrants who were forced to go back to their countries of origin. He cited migration between Turkey and Germany as a striking example (Committee on the Judiciary 1976: 88). Melanie J. Wirken appeared in the same hearings on behalf of *Zero Population Growth Inc.* and actively compared the social cost of the European "guest worker programs" to the American experience with the "bracero program"(see ibid.: 158).

[34] France also became an object of interest, as did other Western European countries, however, Germany remained the focus of US media attention. For examples, see The New York Times 1974 and Farnsworth 1974.

[35] Another expert witness was Prof. Charles B. Keely from the Department of Sociology, Fordham University, who also opposed European "guest worker programs". At one point he argued that keeping "guest workers" separate required specialized social services for temporary migrants costing resources that would better be allocated for social services in the "population at large". As an alternative, he critically discussed the Canadian point system (Committee on the Judiciary 1976*:* 207).

[36] Several of the representatives conducting these hearings, among them Hamilton Fish Jr., were also part of the hearings on *Refugees from Indochina*, held by the *Subcommittee on Immigration, Citizenship and International Law* from April 1975 to February 1976. Among the witnesses were representatives of the *Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration* (ICEM), who informed the American lawmakers on how they worked with governments, the Council of Europe, and the ILO to set up a network of "information centers" to help labor migrants – "guest workers" – who had become unemployed return to their countries of origin (Committee on the Judiciary 1976: 84).

gal aliens", a case study prepared the year before by John E. Karkashian, a career civil servant in the State Department (who was about to become the head of the *Office to Combat Terrorism*) was entered into evidence. Karkashian's study included a review of migration policies in several European countries. The "German experience", Karkashian wrote, was very much shaped by "guest worker" migration. While taking a critical stance towards such migration policies, Karkashian, like other American officials before him (Kempner 1943), seemed to envy the German system's ability to register and police 'foreigners'.[37]

A government report printed in 1976 took the question of how European policies could inform the quest for immigration reform in the United States even further. This time, the interagency *Domestic Council Committee on Illegal Aliens*, chaired by the Department of Justice, had ordered the inquiry. Among others, the report listed Barry R. Chiswick, an economist working for the *Council of Economic Advisers,* who later became an influential scholar of American migration policies (Chiswick 1981), arguing that European models should not serve as a blueprint for immigration reform.

More significantly, however, the text is an early example of how earlier migration programs in the United States were re-labeled: The study closely allied the 'Bracero Program' and European 'guest worker programs', although it stopped short of applying the term to the American wartime recruitment scheme.[38] Eventually, the author concluded that it might be better to "move capital and modern technology to unskilled labor in the poorer countries, instead of bringing unskilled labor (and the resulting social conflict) to the developed nations" (Domestic Council Committee on Illegal Aliens 1976: 184).

The debate around the various immigration bills and, eventually, the immigration reform proposed by the Carter administration, thus caused a surge in the use of the 'guest worker' concept in the United States. Attention slowly shifted from studying 'guestworkers' in Europe to designing a 'guest worker program' for the United States. Academic experts such as Chiswick became more involved as part of this re-framing of migration to develop and deploy a new policy that would not only regularize thousands of irregular migrants from Mexico to give them access to better labor standards, but also allow increased control over irregular migration and temporary labor migration *per se*.[39]

Another expert with increasing presence was the political scientist Wayne A. Cornelius, who taught at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). He had started researching internal migration

[37] The effects of proposed legislation prohibiting the employment of illegal aliens on small business – hearings before the *Select Committee on Small Business* (Committee on the Judiciary 1976).

[38] Also, the report pointed out an even earlier study by Leopold Lippman, published in 1974: *Guest Workers, Handicapped Workers – Are They the Seed Bed of Conflict*. The author had been engaged in disability studies and took up the new topic from a comparative perspective, arguing that "guest workers" were increasing the competing for low-income jobs.

[39] The growing interest of US academics is also demonstrated by David H. Malmquist's 1978 dissertation presented at the City University of New York under the supervision of Professor Elliot Zupnik. Malmquist gave a poignant economic analysis of state-regulated temporary migration in Germany, but also pointed out the social cost associated with it. By the same token, a Master thesis submitted by Kim Dean Shopmeyer in 1977 at Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan, applied the "internal colony model" in a critical analysis of the social position of labor migrants in Germany. Finally, to cite a third example, Henry T. Walker submitted his PhD thesis at Stanford in 1976 under the title *Gold Mountain Guests – Chinese Migration to the United States, 1848–1982*, adopting the concept of "guest people" when describing the ethnic diversity of the emigration area in China – which appears to be an adaption of Weber's concept.

and urbanization in Mexico, but began publishing on migration from Mexico to the United States at the end of the 1970s (Cornelius/Díez-Canedo 1976; Cornelius 1979, 1980, 1981a, 1981b). In an article in *The New York Times* on May 28, 1977, entitled *Guest Workers' Proposal Defended*, Frank del Olmo quoted from a memo Cornelius had presented to the task force installed by President Carter to study "illegal" migration from Mexico. Cornelius proposed to issue 800,000 work visas per year for "guest workers", permitting migrants to spend six months working in the United States but requiring them to return home before being allowed to re-enter the following year with a new visa (Del Olmo 1977).

Although the plan lingered on without being adopted, it can be interpreted as an early attempt to change migration policies by a progressive academic who had decided to specialize in migration research. Put into perspective, Cornelius had drawn up a plan resembling the Prussian 'Legitimationssystem', which had regulated the yearly influx of migrant workers from the Austrian and Russian parts of Poland in the late 19th century. Allowed to work in Prussia during the agricultural season, the 'Karenzzeit' – a mandatory annual return home – was put in place to ensure that no Polish migrants would settle down, and each season the required number of workers would be recruited (Bade 1984: 34f.). Cornelius' intervention demonstrates how, from 1977 onwards, two narratives were present in the discourse: Europe was closely studied for its experience with regulated temporary labor migration, while the quest gathered pace for an American version of the European 'guest worker program'.

The debate intensified further when the main tenets of the proposed Carter immigration law came under scrutiny. President Carter planned to grant irregular migrants amnesty, regularize their status, and allow them to settle in the United States. At the same time, his administration would install stricter controls over future migration from Mexico. To achieve this goal, the administration proposed an identity card for temporary migrants (Shabecoff 1977).[40] When Philip Shabecoff gave his account of the debate in *The New York Times* in July 1977, he pointed out the lessons to be learned from the European experience with temporary labor migration. He feared that tensions between migrants' aspirations to settle and host country policies to allow only temporary entry would face Americans with a dilemma.

Exactly this dilemma was to flare up again five years later – this time in the context of Ronald Reagan's 1981 immigration bill. On the one hand, experts advised the government that European countries had faced numerous problems with male 'guest workers' being separated from families they were unable to bring with them. On the other hand, experts argued that when families were allowed to come, it was impossible to run a 'guest worker' recruitment scheme and keep migration strictly temporary. Migrants with families would always tend to settle in their host countries (ibid.). In 1982, Philip L. Martin and Mark J. Miller summed this up in their study of migration in Europe. Both had conducted their research abroad on grants from the Department of Labor and the German Marshall Fund. They concluded: "Western European authorities are all […] locked into a dilemma over whether to integrate the migrants or encourage them to depart" (National Journal 1982).

In the late 1970s, the tone remained critical in government documents as the US administration searched for new policies and terminology via which to sell their plans and ideas. President Carter aimed at improving labor standards for migrants while being torn between his own ambition towards

[40] In his article, Shabecoff cited Abba Schwartz warning the administration to copy European "guest worker programs" due to the social problems arising from admitting male migrant workers separated from their families.

a fairer migration policy, those advocating stricter control over irregular migration, and those lobbying to keep migration from Mexico unregulated as a guarantee for a cheap and exploitable workforce. In 1978, another report on *Legal and Illegal Immigration to the United States* settled for a compromise regarding a fitting label for the much-debated policy model. The text conveyed the president's opposition "to any new Bracero or 'guest worker' program", and distinguished between "temporary-" and "guest worker-" programs in a bid to clarify the fact that the administration would not follow those voices arguing for a copy of European policy models. Carter also stated that, in his opinion, there was "no genuine need for unskilled foreign 'guest workers' in the United States" (Select Committee on Population 1978b: 58). The report conceded, however, that several experts saw the European policy model as a way to gain future control over irregular migration from Mexico.[41]

In much the same tone, a 1979 paper produced by *the Interagency Task Force on Immigration Policy*, and written by staff from the Departments of Justice, Labor, and State, cautioned lawmakers to adopt European migration policies. The authors included Melanie J. Wirken (now Wirken-McClintock), who had been acting as chief lobbyist for *Zero Population Growth Inc*. only a few years earlier and had now advanced into the ranks of the administration (Departments of Justice, Labor, and State 1979: i). The evidence presented included adaptions of recent publications by Mark J. Miller, who worked with Philip L. Martin. Unsurprisingly, the study shed critical light on immigration and European "guest worker programs", stressing that such programs could by no means be kept temporary and the ensuing immigration had "proved vexing to the Western Europeans" (ibid.: 37).

> *"The Western Europeans seemed to have designed their guest worker programs without consideration of the social, cultural and political identities of the guest workers themselves, and without understanding the complications such a program invites in bilateral relations between host and labor-source nations" (ibid.).*

While 'guestworker' policies had become a negative point of reference for the authors, as their colleagues had done before, they understood the lure of imported labor and deportable unemployment but also predicted that:

> *"Above and beyond the question of the initial assumptions of a guestworker program, though, the creation of an alien workforce that cannot or will not accede to citizenship is likely to result in domestic political turmoil. When an underprivileged and legally restricted group is introduced into a democratic society, it is almost bound to become the focus of domestic political and international criticism" (ibid.: 527).*

At the same time, the American media kept a keen eye on the economic situation unfolding in Europe, its consequences for temporary labor migration programs, and the migrants themselves. A story printed in *U.S. News* in 1979 gave readers a detailed survey of how European countries tried to roll back the immigration and settlement of what American media now routinely called "guest workers" (U.S. News & World Report 1979). Such coverage of the crisis in Europe and its effects on migration policies, with explicit reference to migrants as "guest workers", extended to more and more American news outlets. The simultaneous use of German and English expressions – in various forms and spelling variants – indicates that the translation and projection of the label into the North American context had not yet fully happened.

[41] Several academics entered the political debate in this report who would subsequently become important researchers in migration studies. Among them was Prof. Michael J. Piore, who taught at MIT at the time of publication and called migrant workers "birds of passage" in the monograph he published in the same year (Piore 1979).

At this point, state-regulated temporary labor migration had become an issue in US media, and coverage increased throughout the 1970s. Journalists picked up the word 'Gastarbeiter', used it in its German spelling, or translated it, often in quotation marks, into 'guest worker' or 'guestworker'.[42] International labor recruitment was depicted, first, as a much-needed solution to labor shortages in Western Europe during the phase of accelerated economic growth stretching from the late 1940s to the mid-1970s. However, the focus then shifted towards the difficulties of ending recruitment programs, managing *de facto* immigration, and implementing policies to push migrants out of the core economies of Northwestern Europe. A few years after the halt in recruitment of 1973, the failures and downsides of temporary labor migration and labor migrants themselves dominated the debate. The harsh choices migrants faced between remaining in Western Europe as unwelcome immigrants or returning to their countries of origin, where they often met economic hardships, had become the central theme of many articles. Yet, what was initially a heartbreaking story conveying a warning for some, would soon become an attractive policy model for others in the United States.

The potential dynamics of this shift became clear when Alan Riding (1979) reported in *The New York Times* on a remarkable intervention from the other side of the negotiation table. President Carter and President Jose Lopez Portillo met in Mexico City in February 1979 and discussed, among other things, future migration between both countries. In their conversation, the Mexican president proposed a state-regulated temporary labor migration program. Introducing yet another new variant, he used the term "guest migrant worker". Lopez Portillo floated the idea of giving migrants from Mexico in the United States a legal status "similar to that of Turkish workers in Western Germany" (Riding 1979). This exchange reveals how, as in the interwar years, the United States was not the only actor to study European migration policies (Committee on Science and Technology 1979: 21).[43] Mexico had also not lost track of events abroad.[44]

As discussed above, more academics turned their sights to events in Europe during the 1970s. Among the early movers, three further names stand out: Ray C. Rist, the abovementioned Philip L. Martin, and Jonathan Power. They also picked up the term "Gastarbeiter" and became instrumental in putting it into the American lexicon on migration policies. Powers, a British journalist and author, first published the short pamphlet *Western Europe's Migrant Workers* with the *Minority Rights Group* in London 1975 with his co-author Anna Hardman (Power/Hardman 1978). Their essay was widely received in the US media and quoted by journalists who pondered how the breakdown of the "guest worker system" in Europe would be handled (see e.g. Sulzberger 1976). Powers later expanded his work into the monograph *Migrant Workers in Western Europe and the USA*, published in 1979, and comparatively linked the situation of "guest workers" in both regions.

[42] In an article published in May 1974 in the *Los Angeles Times*, Harry Trimborn Americanized the German word completely and spoke numerous times about "gastarbeiters" or in an alternative spelling "gastarebeiters", omitting quotation marks. Trimborn also stayed on topic and published a piece in August 1975 on the role of "gastarbeiter" during the final phase of the Salazar/Caetano dictatorship in Portugal.

[43] This was taken up in a report on US/Mexico relations in 1979, which mentioned that "Mexico would favor some type of guest worker program and may take some action to advance this type of program".

[44] This will be discussed in a forthcoming article by Julie Weise and Christoph Rass titled *Migrating Concepts – The transatlantic Origins of the Bracero Program, 1919–42.* The paper has been accepted for publication by the American Historical Review.

At the same time, American researchers set out to Europe to study the situation in depth. The sociologist Ray C. Rist went to Germany as a senior Fulbright Fellow in 1976-1977 and spent a year at the *Max Planck Institut für Bildungsforschung*, Berlin. After his return to the United States, he published several books and articles under titles that circled around the words "Germany" and "Guestworkers".[45] His research gave the American academic and political audience a first-hand account of how Europe and Germany, in particular, had experienced massive immigration since the 1950s; how Germany was framing (im)migration as "guestworker" migration, assuming that none of the migrants would stay and settle; and how it was a false belief that all migrants would leave again at some point. Furthermore, Rist, having a background in education studies, also noticed that German society was changing as rising numbers of migrant children started to attend schools and migrant families settled in Germany, giving up plans to return to their countries of origin. Rist explained to his American audience:

> *"To find economic integration coinciding with social and cultural marginality among foreign workers is entirely logical and predictable if one accepts the rationale frequently espoused in Germany that these people are not immigrants but rather 'guests'. They have come to work in Germany for a period of time and will eventually return to the mother country. Since, so the view goes, they are not immigrants and have no intention of spending their lives in Germany, it is not appropriate to consider measures to foster social and cultural integration. On the contrary, it is more important to ensure that the workers and their families are able to maintain their ties and contacts with the mother country – the country of their eventual destination" (Rist 1978b: 81).*

He argued that "guestworker" migration had been necessary for the German economy to thrive but had also created tensions since the actual integration of migrants into German society was discouraged. His conclusion not only resembled a diagnosis transferable to recent migrations from Mexico to the United States. It also sounded like a warning directed at the emerging discourse of having what would very soon be called 'guest worker programs' between both countries:

> *"Policies governing the lives of guestworkers in Germany are in a state of confusion and contradiction. The continual slippage between pronouncements concerned with the integration and well-being of foreign workers and the realities of policies that tend to produce opposite outcomes reflect the deep ambivalence that Germans feel toward foreign workers. The cumulative impact of these and other regulations make the life of the guestworker one of difficulty and stress. Restrictions are plentiful: residential mobility; opportunities to live among friends and relatives; never knowing how long one will be tolerated, if not welcomed and treated as a 'guest'; having to cope with a set of employment regulations restricting personal mobility and denying opportunities for employment to spouse and children; and finally, confronting the stark realization that real financial barriers are placed in the way of the basic human right to be reunited with spouse and children. The outcomes engendered by these policies belie much that is said and done by the government under the theme of integration of foreign workers into German society. Policies and practices currently in force both create and sustain the institutional marginality of guestworkers" (ibid.: 90).*

---

[45] *Guestworkers in Germany: The Prospects for Pluralism* (Rist 1978a); *Migration and Marginality: Guestworkers in Germany and France* (Rist 1978b); *The Invisible Children: School Integration in American Society* (Rist 1978c); *Desegregated Schools: Appraisals of an American Experiment* (Rist 1979a); *Guestworkers and Post-World War II European Migration* (Rist 1979b); *On the Education of Guest-Worker Children in Germany* (Rist 1979c); *The European Economic Community (EEC) and Manpower Migrations: Policies and Prospects* (Rist 1979d); *Die ungewisse Zukunft der Gastarbeiter: Eingewanderte Bevölkerungsgruppen verändern Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Rist 1980).

Rist was probably aware that the United States were embarking on creating new schemes for temporary labor migration at the time. Framing labor migrants as 'guests' who would not wish to settle permanently must have sounded attractive to some US policy makers.

A third key actor in bridging the knowledge gap between the United States and Europe was Philip L. Martin, then a young researcher at the University of California, Davis. Parallel to Rist, he published his first papers on temporary labor migration, albeit looking at Europe from a slightly different angle.[46] Martin and his co-author Marion F. Houstoun, who worked at the Department of Labor – which, as we have seen earlier, was heavily invested in the debate – launched their first study, *The Future of International Labor Migration*, in 1978. They analyzed temporary migration to the United States, the "guest worker systems" in Europe, and the South African mine labor migration system.[47] Martin and Houstoun hoped to answer the American dilemma of re-designing temporary labor migration programs (Martin/Houstoun 1982: 30).

Martin talked – again, to his American audience – about "guest worker systems", offering a warning while introducing them to a policy that had been institutionalized abroad:

> *"Legal 'guestworkers' are non-immigrant foreign nationals usually admitted for a fixed period to work in a specified industry and area for a particular employer. Although the appellation varies from foreign worker to temporary alien, the concept is everywhere the same – guestworkers are 'guests', participating in the economic system, not aspiring permanent residents. Most official guestworker programs are directed by labor ministries (with the assistance of immigration authorities), emphasizing the fact that imports of alien labor depend primarily on labor market needs. Since guestworkers are admitted for only temporary periods of employment, they leave families and assets behind. After achieving a savings target or fulfilling a one or two-year work contract, the guestworker is expected to return and be replaced by another foreigner eager for his or her chance at 'high wages'" (Martin/Richards 1980: 5).*

As in the 1930s, academic experts explored the logic of bilateral labor agreements as the backbone of "temporary work programs" in Europe and explained them to their American readers (Rass 2018: 10f.). Quite quickly, Martin was referring to the 'Bracero Program' as a "de-facto guestworker program", asking if the current temporary labor programs in Europe and elsewhere were ill-designed or rather just ill-administered. Was there a way, Martin asked, to design a temporary migration scheme that could fulfill its promises? While he remained skeptical and seemed to insinuate that a deeper analysis of the topic would be needed, his many publications on the matter throughout subsequent decades all discussed "guest worker programs". While some of his later papers remained critical, others proposed process-optimizing changes to existing policies in the United States. Overall, Martin strongly contributed to normalizing the label 'guest worker' for a specific form of temporary labor migration policies in America.

The idea of migrants as 'guests' who would work in the country for a set period with no option to settle and become permanent immigrants, members of society, and citizens – just as Max Weber had

---

[46] For example Martin 1980, 1981; Martin/Miller 1980; Martin/Richards 1980; Martin/North 1984; Martin/Midgley 1999.

[47] Already in 1976, David B. Richardson had linked the term "guest worker" to migrant workers in South Africa in an article he had published in *U.S. News*. Somewhat awkwardly, he compared Black South Africans who lived outside the 'townships' of the Apartheid system to "guest workers": "Blacks who choose to remain in the white-controlled areas, where millions of them now work and have their permanent homes, would be classified as 'guest workers' without the benefits of South African citizenship" (Richardson 1976: 36).

defined the 'Gastarbeiter' 60 years earlier, citing how the Nazis had framed the presence of foreign (forced) workers in their 'Volksgemeinschaft', and how Western Germany had lulled itself into thinking temporary migration without immigration could be engineered by recruitment and rotation schemes – had now not only arrived in the United States, but was finally used to label immigration from Mexico.

In a similar manner, US government reports continued to reference the situation in Europe. In doing so, step by step, they added the terminology of the 'guest worker program' to the North American context. An analysis of the labor market situation in the United States written by *Federal Reserve* economist Diane Werneke for the *National Commission on Employment and Unemployment Statistics* in 1979 gave a detailed account of the effects of "guestworker programs" on European economies and societies, which she described as having "no precise counterpart in the United States". However, Werneke also explained "guestworkers" as transient foreign workers discouraged from settling in their host countries, as migrants who would not become "immigrants". Could "guestworker programs" become a solution for "illegal" migration from Mexico, which was perceived as one of the most pressing issues in US migration policies at the time? Could unwanted "immigrants" be turned into "guestworkers" (Werneke 1979: 285–288)?

Another report, written by the economist Edwin Pierce Reubens on behalf of the *National Commission for Manpower Policy* and published in 1979 as well, acknowledged the reasons cited by critics of the adoption of a European-style "guest worker program", pointing out the difficulties of return migration during an economic slump. Reubens also stressed – reiterating the Mexican interest in "guest-migrant-workers" – that the United States might be able to replace irregular labor migrants with registered and policed "guest workers". The benefit of such policies could be witnessed in Europe, he argued, where countries had experienced lower unemployment rates among nationals during the recent crisis due to *de facto* re-migration of "guest workers" that amounted to the exportation of unemployment since 1973-1974. One of the main reforms the report proposed for the H-2 visa program was the introduction of three visa renewal periods of 11 months, each after the initial recruitment of temporary migrant workers from Mexico and elsewhere. This move would reproduce "the guest-workers in Western European practice" and contribute to solving the problem of keeping the migration of workers to the United States strictly temporary (Reubens 1979: 65).

Such questions loomed large over the migration debates of the late 1970s. However, journalists, government officials, and academics were not the only ones connecting the dots at this crucial moment. When hearings were held before the *Committee on the Judiciary* on the Alien Adjustment and Employment Act of 1977, a Democrat candidate for the State Senate of Arizona, Joseph Sweeney, made one of his first appearances *en route* to building a decade-long reputation for radical anti-immigration policy proposals and failed bids for office (Prezelski 2011, Kelly 2011). The hearing, held in Tucson, Arizona, on September 1, 1978, was chaired by Morris Udall, against whom Sweeney would repeatedly run for office in the coming years. As the hearings concluded, Sweeney – a staunch anti-immigration advocate many observers criticized for his racist tone – submitted a small book of handwritten notes into evidence. It summed up his own research, via which he introduced the term "guest worker" to the discussion, arguing that the United States should adopt a strictly regulated temporary labor migration system based on his perception of European labor migration programs. Earlier in the hearing, Vernon McAninch, a US consulate official charged with issuing H-2 visas in Mexico, had testified along somewhat similar lines. He argued in favor of the "European analogy": a recruitment scheme between Mexico and the United States modeled on European bilateral labor

agreements. He also claimed that the United States had already used such programs to regulate labor migration from Jamaica. Later in the proceedings, Congressman Udall adopted this view and proposed implementing such a framework with Mexico. The vocabulary used in these testimonies to refer to labor migrants in Europe was either "foreign worker" or "temporary foreign worker", and is thus much closer to the official political language used in Europe than it is to the informal expression 'guest worker' (Committee on the Judiciary 1978/1979).

Only weeks later, it became clear that such plans would meet fierce opposition. During a hearing held in Washington DC on November 14 and 15, 1978, entitled *Immigration Policy and Procedure*, Michael Cortés from the *National Council of la Raza* criticized the course recent debates had taken. He stated his belief that the administration "apparently contemplates a guest worker program, whereby a substantial number of undocumented works could elect to join the workforce for up to five years more, provided they then returned to their native country" (United States Commission of Civil Rights 1978/1979: 38). He voiced his disbelief in such plans and demanded that protection against exploitation and equality of treatment became the cornerstones of any such program. Cortés, an activist not affiliated with the US government, remained the only person to use the expression "guest workers" during these hearings (ibid.: 27).

The same year, the issue of labor migration and its regulation also surfaced in hearings held before the *Select Committee on Population* on Immigration to the United States (Select Committee on Population 1978a). Some experts in the lineup (including Dr. Michael J. Piore, who often appeared as a witness in hearings on migration issues), argued that temporary work programs needed strict control over migrants' sojourn, calling the surge of irregular migration from Mexico since the mid-1960s an "invasion" (ibid: 112). An even stauncher adversary of increased immigration was Dr. Vernon Briggs, an economist from the University of Texas, Austin, who – similar to Dr. John Tanton, who stood in for the anti-immigration think tank *Zero Population Growth Inc*. – opposed any increase in labor migration from Mexico. Briggs attacked the proposals recently made by Cornelius, who had promoted a "guest worker program" in his publications (Briggs 2004: 125). He was seconded by Melanie J. McClintock, who had appeared many times, and in various capacities, in hearings on migration. She now testified on behalf of the *Guttmacher Institute* and tried to adopt a position halfway between the two camps. McClintock re-interpreted a statement given by Leonel Castillo, Commissioner of the *US Immigration and Naturalization Service*, in the same hearing, and delivered an actual endorsement of a renewed 'Bracero Program' by stating:

> *"His observation was that when we did away with the Bracero Program, we went from legal guest workers in a controlled situation to the same numbers or larger numbers of illegal guest workers. If those are the two choices, it seems to me that the controlled situation with legal guest workers is the better option" (Select Committee on Population 1978a: 216).*

In doing so, she further moved the label "guest worker" (Castillo himself had not used the expression) from the European into the American context by using it to describe migrants in the 'Bracero' and post-'Bracero' era – *ex-post* – without any direct reference to Europe. Migrants from Mexico, past and present, had become 'guest workers'.

This re-labeling of the 'Bracero Program' gained momentum in government papers at this time. A report produced by the *National Commission for Manpower Policy* in 1978 entitled *Manpower and Immigration Policies in the United States* offered a historical survey of US migration policies and referenced European "guest worker programs" as a policy model. It then compared temporary labor

migration to the United States and European countries since the Second World War. The authors even gave an account of the legal framework built around bilateral agreements regulating the recruitment and protection of temporary migrant workers. They also recognized the level of state control required in the process – especially regarding the enforcement of "compulsory rotation" – which was just as hard to implement in the United States as elsewhere. Their advice was that if establishing a 'guest worker program' in the United States were to be pursued, it would be essential to avoid the mistakes of previous American programs and to adapt and improve European models, namely, to keep migration in temporary recruitment programs strictly temporary.

Most of the conclusions aligned with the dominant trends of the contemporary discourse. However, one thing stood out. Throughout the paper, the "Bracero Program" was called a "guest worker program". It was even portrayed as "an American precursor to Europe's guest worker programs" (National Commission for Manpower Policy 1978: 37) – a short-sighted interpretation still reproduced in modern scholarship (Quintana 2022: 12). The report ultimately argued against a "guest worker program" in its conclusion. Nevertheless, it marks another step in normalizing the concept and relabeling past American migration policies.[48] This helped set the stage for the debates of the Reagan era.

At the end of the 1970s, the tide was turning. On the one hand, the debate had gone from commenting on European migration policies to comparative analysis and discussing adopting or adapting 'guest worker programs' for American purposes. This debate had begun with a dismissal of European models. Yet, the production of a deportable workforce via European-style temporary labor programs had at least become thinkable, although the policy model still remained contested. However, the figure of the 'guest worker' and the idea of a 'guest worker program' had been normalized and began to be applied to the American context.

6. Americanizing 'Gastarbeiter': The Figure of the 'Guest Worker' – From Mexico

This turning point was no coincidence. Media discussions on the various policy proposals put forward during the relaunch of migration programs between the United States and Mexico were heating up. The shift from 'guest worker' being used in a purely European context to its adoption as an Americanized policy term was about to occur. The catalyst was the election of Ronald Reagan, who became the 40th US president in early 1981 (Raines 1981). During his campaign, his commitment to prioritizing and tackling migration policies was both widely assumed and discussed, not least as his predecessor, Jimmy Carter, had failed to bring about a new immigration plan. Shortly after Reagan's inauguration in January 1981, his administration's proposal for a new migration policy with Mexico became a reality.

Yet, even before this came about – leading to another intense cycle of debate that would conclude the transition of 'guest worker' into the vocabulary of North American migration policies – the expression began to be applied to other labor migration systems, namely those emerging in the Gulf States. This linked domestic American discourse to a whole new realm in which the 'guest worker'

[48] Calling the "Bracero Program" a "guest worker program" soon became the norm (see, for instance, Dimas 1980: 144).

figure moved. While the expression became more frequently used by the media, in policy-making and research on migration in Europe – both in German and English – and while it had already emerged in the United States, as described above, authors now began to apply it when writing about labor migration in the Middle East.[49] This would become a central theme in media discourse and research during the 1980s.

However, this particular line can actually be traced back to the late 1970s in the United States. An example can be found in the magazine *Forbes*, [50] which reported a story on "guest workers" going to Kuwait as early as November 1977. Ronald E. Krane was one of the migration researchers who established the use of the "guest worker" concept for migrants, not only in Europe, but also in the Middle East, in academic writing, primarily via his 1979 monograph *International Labor Migration in Europe*. He described how the end of recruitment in Europe triggered a change in the direction of "guest worker" migration streams into the oil-rich regions (Krane 1979: 151). In this phase of the translation, trends, both in media and academia, moved in sync.

Following its introduction through academic writing, political hearings, and the media, the term 'guest worker' proliferated further. It became more frequently used in publications discussing a relaunch of temporary labor migration between the United States and Mexico. A US Embassy Briefing dated May 4, 1979, which gave a congressional delegation a short run through significant issues in Mexican policies and the relations between both countries, reiterated, as did other political texts at the time, that "Mexico would favor some kind of guest worker program" (Committee on Science and Technology 1979: 21). This was most likely a reference to the recent talks between the US and Mexican presidents.

Also, in May 1979, hearings were held before the *Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees, and International Law* on the Refugee Act of 1979 – an act promoted by the Carter administration. Several testimonies and depositions, among them a report prepared by the Canadian political scientist and expert on immigration and international migration, Freda Hawkins,[51] now called labor migrants "guest-workers" as a matter of course (Committee on the Judiciary 1979), as did a report by the *International Refugee Committee on Resettlement in France*. Indeed, few texts on current migration policy issues would now bypass the concept entirely, and the earlier distinction between European 'guest workers' and temporary migrants in America began to blur.[52]

At the end of the 1970s, the dynamics between lawmakers, policy experts, and academics produced several probes into the acceptance of a 'guest worker program' between the United States and Mexico. The *Los Angeles Times* cited Lt. Governor Mike Curb of California on July 26, 1979, pointing out that he had put forward his own "guest worker proposal". Opponents of this plan, mainly labor union representatives, argued that this amounted to nothing less than "restarting the Bracero Program", which now figured as a "guest worker program". They feared that the promise that "guest workers"

[49] For instance, *Newsweek* ran a story on December 10, 1979, on an attack on the Grand Mosque in Mecca, remarking that the Saudi government would from now on "keep an even closer watch on foreigners and guest workers."

[50] Forbes had adopted the use of "guest worker" in reports on Germany around 1975 (Forbes 1975).

[51] See University of Toronto Discover Archives 2022.

[52] In October of the same year, American lawmakers debated German "guest worker" programs as an option to "export unemployment" in times of crisis in a congressional hearing on the recession in the United States (Joint Economic Committee 1979/1980).

would be allowed to join unions and go on strike would be false. Workers, critics pointed out, would be "thrown out of the country if they tried to strike" (Los Angeles Times 1979).

In that same month, a conference at the National Defense University entitled *Continuity and Change in the Eighties and Beyond* also discussed adopting what was now already called "guest worker policies" in the United States. Sidney Weintraub, economist and professor at the University of Texas, Austin,[53] presented a paper laying out the United States' future policy options with Mexico and other Latin-American countries. Weintraub discussed the pros and cons of adopting "a guest worker system comparable to those practiced in Europe" based on bilateral agreements, albeit without coming to a clear recommendation. Weintraub cited the draft report *Guestworker Programs: Lessons from Europe* delivered by Philip L. Martin on February 29, 1979, to the *Joint Economic Committee* of the US Congress (National Defense University 1979: 189–192). Discourse in the political arena, academia, and the media now thoroughly overlapped, and the projection of the situation in Europe onto the discussion of migration politics with Mexico had firmly taken root. The nexus created between migration policies on both sides of the Atlantic paved the way for the adoption of 'guest worker' as an American policy term that would soon lose its connection to its original German context entirely.[54]

As the neo-liberal policies of the Reagan era gathered pace, the lessons to be learned from Europe began to resonate with a different tone, not only in many of the American texts on German or European policies intended to regulate temporary labor migration but also in studies on future American policies. 'Guest worker systems', stated a recurring argument, would never be watertight. In the minds of experts in the United States, such programs would never guarantee ending unwanted permanent immigration and settlement. But the level of control countries in continental Western Europe were able to exercise policing migrants who had come under the recruitment systems reinstated since the late 1940s and fading away after the recruitment-halt of the mid-1970s seemed to offer valuable lessons. Europeans, American spectators concluded, were able not only to limit irregular migration but could also partially reverse immigration in times of crisis by pushing migrants and their families back into their countries of origin. Indeed, some North American authors echoed the argument voiced earlier that European governments were able to "export unemployment". European countries had created – at least in part – a deportable labor force by engineering migration with no (or very limited) immigration.

On December 21, 1979, the popular political economist Lester Thurow argued on the *PBS Newshour* that Germans had successfully tackled inflation during the mid-1970s by triggering a massive recession while at the same time they "solved their unemployment problem by deporting it", like the Swiss, who "deported ten percent of their labor force" (Lehrer/MacNeil 1979). Asked how they had accomplished this, Thurow pointed out that those countries had imported "foreign guest workers" (ibid.). The re-migration of "guest workers" as a means to "export unemployment" now advanced to

[53] Not to be confused with economist Sidney Weintraub, born 1914 (CSIS 2015).

[54] Soon, the "guest worker" concept would be used to analyze other migration movements that had not been labeled that way before (see, for example, Macpherson 1981). By the same token, in hearings on "Caribbean migration", expert witnesses demanded a "modified guest-worker" program to improve the situation of migrants from the Caribbean to the United States (Committee on the Judiciary 1980b: 125). The speaker voicing this demand was Dr. Terry McCoy, Associate Director of the *Center for Latin American Studies*, University of Florida. In this incident, the panel concluded with a positive view on the option of a "guestworker program" (ibid.: 136).

a much-cited explanation of why Western European countries had made it through the recent recession with lower unemployment rates than the United States (National Commission on Employment and Unemployment Statistics 1979: 285).[55] Proponents of this policy option would keep arguing that controlling irregular migration and the opportunity to "deport" unemployment by sending "guest workers" home were lessons to be learned from Europe (Peirce/Fillion 1981).

No wonder the idea of an identity card for migrants who were not meant to become immigrants in the United States – mainly from Mexico – resurfaced once again in an attempt to catch up with Europe. Indeed, the idea was soon floated that learning from the European experience could be used to curb irregular migration if migrants from Mexico, who were turned into 'guest workers', could be prevented from bringing their families to the United States and thus from settling down by a rotation system of limited duration stays. When the 1980s dawned, making state-regulated temporary labor migration policies and framing them as a 'guest worker program' had certainly become American practice. However, it was still far from being unanimously adopted.

In 1980, a government report on *Temporary Work Programs,* which had been requested by Senator Edward M. Kennedy in his function as chairman of the *Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy*, officially translated "Gastarbeiter" from German to English. The text used the spelling as a compound noun rather than the two-word version, which had already become prevalent in American English during previous years:[56]

> *"The term 'guestworker' is a literal translation of the German word Gastarbeiter. The use of the term emphasizes the idea that foreign workers are temporary 'guests' in the host country and are not expected to remain beyond a limited period of time during which there is need for their services. Although different terminology is used in other countries, the term 'guestworker' is used here to refer to all the temporary worker programs of Europe" (Committee on the Judiciary 1980a: 84).*

After another lengthy report on the situation of "guestworkers" in Europe, the text fell in line with the ongoing re-labeling of the American experience. "Guestworker program" had become a concept describing a specific policy and could be used even to describe past American migrations. The authors thus wrote in their chapter on the "Impact on U.S.-Mexican Relations" that "the United States and Mexico […] have had decades of experience with legal and extra-legal 'guestworker' programs" (ibid.: 112). They then revisited the pros and cons discussed by opponents and proponents of temporary labor migration programs in the United States to arrive at one central issue – the importance of keeping recruited migrants in the country only temporarily – as proposed by Cornelius. An alternative plan floated by demographer Charles Keely, Michael Piore, and ILO labor market expert W. R. Böhning[57] as part of the report discussed adding pathways to permanent residence. Much of the debate circled around such alternative models (ibid.: 118).

---

[55]The report also explained that "as the term 'guest worker' implies, the host countries of Western Europe have tended to regard the foreign workers as transient. Legal frameworks discourage migrants from permanently settling in these countries" (National Commission on Employment and Unemployment Statistics 1979: 288).

[56] The report cited many of the growing number of American academics researching the subject, such as Rist, Cornelius, Miller, and Martin, but also Gary P. Freeman, John Salt, or Ronald E. Krane. It also drew from publications by European researchers on labor migration, which were available in English as well as from US media coverage. Publications from the ILO were also used.

[57] Böhning became a much listened to European expert reporting on experiences with "guestworker programs" in Europe and advising American policy makers. He also began to publish in outlets in the United States, for

The report was accompanied by a binder titled *Selected Readings on U.S. Immigration Policy and Law,* which collected, on 567 pages, a large sample of recent publications on immigration law reform. Arguments went back and forth, but one message seemed to stand out. The binder cited Keely, who, writing in the *American Demographics Magazine* in March 1980, stated: "The United States has the largest guestworker program in the world. The workers are here illegally" (Library of Congress 1980: 11). It also reprinted a research report presented by the economist Michael Wachter, which concluded:

> *"The guest worker approach raises important social and political questions due to the unequal rights accorded these workers. Although guest workers would presumably be covered by minimum wages, they would not be eligible for many social welfare programs, especially those that affect the 'cost of being unemployed'. Indeed, the basis for the guest-worker approach is that individuals (and their families) remain in the United States only as long as they are working or actively searching for work. It is precisely this status inequality that provides protection to the native work force and makes guest workers an alternative to illegal immigration" (ibid.: 33).*

This round-up of the debate foreshadowed the dramatic shift that the 1980s would bring in the impact of the label "guest worker" on discussions in the United States. Press reports suggest that Edward M. Kennedy, a Democrat, remained cautious about recommending any expansion of temporary labor migration (World News Digest 1980).

Although the Carter administration ultimately failed to engineer policy reform regarding migration from Mexico, the wheels had been set in motion. In the same year, a report produced by David S. North, who also published jointly with Philip L. Martin, for the Department of Labor, pointed out that US academics were researching the "potential for a U.S. Guestworker Program in Agriculture", increasingly drawing "lessons from the Bracero Program" in the process (North 1980: 3). Later that year, assembling some now well-known American experts, the Department of Labor launched a collection of papers on migration as a special issue of its *Monthly Labor Review*, which included a chapter by the later renowned international scholar Ayse Kudat. The piece by Kudat, written together with Mine Sabuncuoglu, a doctoral candidate at UC Berkeley, laid out the long-time consequences of the immigration triggered in Europe by temporary work programs (Immigration and the Labor Force 1980, Kudat 1974). Including papers by researchers from Turkey, like the presence of European voices such as W. R. Böhning in the American debate, underscored a growing international entanglement of North American migration research.

The idea of a 'guest worker program', now very much out in the open, also kept appearing in politics and the media. In April 1980, Julian Nava was appointed as the new US ambassador to Mexico by President Jimmy Carter. In his first speech after the confirmation of his appointment by the Senate, Nava proposed "a 'guest worker' program similar to those currently operating in Europe" as a "possible solution to the complex issue of illegal immigration" (Del Olmo 1980: 21). Frank del Olmo, writing in the *Los Angeles Times*, said Nava "[f]oresees [a] Mexican 'Guest Worker' Program" – a proposal that drew some criticism. Academics demanded more research on the matter, while labor activists,

---

example in the *Monthly Labor Review*, on issues such as "estimating the propensity of guestworkers to leave" (Bureau of Labor Statistics 1981: 37–40).

unions, and migrant advocates pointed out the exploitability of an unprotected temporary workforce.[58] Growers, however, rejoiced at the idea of a renewed 'Bracero Program' (Reyes 1980).

The debate soon acquired a more regional feel in Southern California when Ed Sylvester wrote a piece in the *Los Angeles Times* in May 1980 entitled *Board Supports Mexican Guest Worker Program* (Sylvester 1980), referring to the idea considered several times by US lawmakers since the mid-1970s, which the Nava proposal had again put on the political agenda. It was now adopted by the *San Diego County Board of Supervisors* and the local *Border Task Force*, which was cited as supporting a "guest worker program", suggesting San Diego County as its testing ground. Such a program, they argued, could help curb irregular migration from Mexico and install a highly regulated framework for government-controlled temporary migration (Montemayor 1980a). An answer from Mexico soon arrived. Two days after Sylvester's article had come out, *The Associated Press* spread the word that the governor of Mexico's border state, Baja California, had fiercely rejected the idea of a "guest-worker program". He deemed it unfair to those migrants from Mexico who already lived in the United States – albeit often "illegal[ly]" (The Associated Press 1980a).

The public did not have to wait long for the next probe. As the race for the presidency in 1980 gained momentum, Senator Samuel Ichiye Hayakawa, a Republican, proposed a bill, co-sponsored by Republican Senator Daniel Lundgren, to install a program in which "guest workers […] would not be indentured servants tied to one employer" (The Associated Press 1980b). The bill, one of several proposing temporary work programs with Mexico in this election year, drew considerable attention when Hayakawa announced that the Mexican President, Jose Lopez Portillo, was "favorably disposed to a 'guest worker' program to bring legal workers from Mexico to the United States" (Maxwell 1980b; Committee on the Judiciary 1981b: 16).[59] This support may have prompted Ambassador Nava to renew his earlier proposal in August 1980 by pointing out in a speech given in San Diego that a "guest worker program" would be improved in order not to "encounter the same problems as the old bracero program" (Montemayor 1980b).

In the summer of 1980, Evan Maxwell published a lengthy article in the *Los Angeles Times* summarizing the intense debate. Migration policy reform seemed inevitable. The idea of a European-style "guest worker program" had led to several bills and proposals and had also become an issue in the presidential campaign. The details, however, were heavily contested, and no easy solution was in sight. He cited advocates and critics, explaining to his readers that "the term 'guest worker' is a direct translation of the German gastarbeiter" (Maxwell 1980a). One paragraph of the text demonstrates not only the degree to which the new term had already become part of the American debate but also how critically its implementation was perceived by some. Maxwell cited how "one Latino expert who is an adviser to immigration policy-makers in Washington", talking about the 'Bracero Program', stat-

[58] See, as an example, a statement offered by AFL-CIO on May 5, 1980, reading: "The AFL-CIO opposes any type of 'bracero', 'guest worker', or 'green card' program which would permit the importation of foreign labor to undercut U.S. wages and working conditions" (Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy 1981: 4). At the same time, Senator Dennis DeConcini, a Democrat from Arizona, stated: "What I have come to feel, however, is that there is a need on a selective basis for foreign guestworkers in this country" (ibid.: 5). In the same paragraph, the Senator called for equality of treatment between foreign and domestic workers. Josephine Gonzales, immigration attorney from Los Angeles, voiced her concerns: "A guestworker program for urban areas troubles me" (ibid.: 42).

[59] Positions in Mexico were, however, as mixed as in the United States (Committee on the Judiciary 1981b: 16).

ed: "The memories of those days are just too strong to be smoothed over by changing the name to 'guest worker'" (ibid.).

On the other side of the argument, 'guest worker programs' received the blessing of the *US Commission on Civil Rights*. In a report published in September 1980, which summarized the results of a hearing held in 1978, 'guest worker programs' were characterized as a remedy against the exploitation of irregular migrants:

> *"If workers are truly needed to perform specific seasonal tasks, then guest worker programs such as those utilized in various European countries might be instituted. Under such programs there could at least be a regularized procedure to assure the entry of needed workers to perform specific types of jobs (but not limited to a specific employer). Such a procedure would also ensure full payment and fringes, health clearance, and other accepted American practices too often neglected as some employers victimize the illegal alien as well as the broader public interest. It is clear that the problem of illegal immigration is a political as well as a human and a legal issue. That neither the Congress nor the President has faced these issues is tragic" (Dimas 1980: 145).*

Soon after, president-elect Ronald Reagan put the issue on his agenda. Already during his election campaign, he had promised – to growers in Texas – "to admit Mexican workers for whatever length of time they want to stay" (Reagan 1980). When giving his speech, Reagan reacted to talks between Southwestern governors and their colleagues from Mexico who had advocated issuing visas to "guest workers" only for three months per year. That was not enough for employers. After Reagan was elected, he announced his decision to install a presidential commission in 1981 to offer recommendations to Congress along the lines of "a Mexican guest-worker program of limited scope, coupled with penalties on employers who hire Mexicans illegally" (Jones 1980, Wright/Herron 1980). Occasionally, in discussions and proposals, references were still made to the European blueprint for temporary work programs. However, 'guest worker' had become an American term now.

7. 1981 – Translation: Full Circle

The transition of the debate from hearings, studies, and media reports on migration in Europe to public discussions about concrete policy proposals for a 'Mexican guest worker program' was, at least in part, a prelude to what would happen in 1981. The first year of the Reagan administration completed the translation of 'guest worker' into the American English lexicon on migration policy and its separation from its European context. With the European example marked as negative, US advocates of temporary work programs tried to separate the concept and figure of the 'guest worker' from that context. Critics, however, wanted to keep it tied to this ambiguous point of reference – a policy model with problematic connotations. They kept stressing that the European experience should be a warning. In the middle stood those who argued that an improved "guest worker program" could work in favor of the United States (and maybe even Mexico). Meanwhile, champions of unregulated migration mustered their arguments from yet another angle, demanding unrestricted access to foreign labor market resources.

1981 began with a setback for those pursuing an American "guest worker program". In February, the *Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy*, which had worked since 1978 during Carter's tenure, issued its final report and recommendations entitled *U.S. Immigration Policy and National*

Interest (Committee on the Judiciary 1981c). After many hearings, discussions, and deliberations, most of its members voted against a "large scale guest worker program" (Pear 1981b).[60] Commissioner Ray Marshall filed a personal statement in the appendix of the report and gave his reasons for the decisions, reflecting the majority opinion in the commission:

> *"The European experience indicates that guestworkers can be distinguished from immigrants only by the degree to which host nations exert real control, as well as legal restrictions, on the movements of foreign workers and their dependents. I do not believe that we, as a nation of immigrants, should be willing to pay the price of ensuring that workers from developing nations contribute much but take little from our economy by creating a program whose cost effectiveness depends upon limiting their labor-market and civil rights, in fact as well as in principle" (Committee on the Judiciary 1981a: 366).*

Yet the re-negotiation of migration policies, and the role the figure of the 'guest worker' had to play in it, did not end with this vote or its conclusion. By now, the battle lines had hardened between non-immigration nativists seeking to minimize immigration and immigration as well as labor activists who would only accept temporary work programs based on equality of treatment, and growers as well as industrial employers in search of cheap labor (Pear 1981f). At the same time, the Reagan administration started to follow up on its campaign promises to provide access to workers from Mexico while ending irregular border crossings (Committee on Agriculture 1981: 19).[61] So, was there a "quick-guest-worker-fix" (Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy 1981: 15) or not?

Later in 1981, another report was submitted by the *Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy*, reflecting the hearings held in May under the new political leadership. It indicated the onset of a sea-change towards "guest worker programs" and gave clues on how the concept was now used in the American debate (Committee on the Judiciary 1981a).[62] The overall tone remained somewhat cautious. Nevertheless, Senator Alan K. Simpson of Wyoming explained to an AFL-CIO representative who argued against temporary labor migration that he came "from an area of the Nation where the bracero program was used and the very term is offensive to the Hispanic people, the term 'bracero'. That is why we use terms like guest workers" (Committee on the Judiciary 1981a: 91).[63] The figure of the 'guest worker' had reached the point at which it could be lauded as a non-discriminatory alternative to older racialized concepts.

A shift in tone, albeit one still marking a minority position, also came from David Gregory. He worked for the *American Council for Manpower Development* when he testified as an expert witness in hearings on Hispanic immigration in April 1981. He pointed out his first-hand experience with temporary worker programs in Europe since the mid-1960s, implicitly criticizing scholars who had recently

---

[60] This was interpreted in *The New York Times* as a vote against the Reagan administration's migration policy plans. Reagan himself created his own commission to look into the matter the very same day the report came out.

[61] As the Reagan administration took shape in early 1981, several incidents demonstrated the presence of the "guest worker". When John R. Block went through his confirmation hearings as Secretary of Agriculture, Senator Hayakawa inquired about his stance on mechanization vs. agricultural labor – without mentioning "guest worker programs". Block had not found his own position yet, but, quite naturally, referred in his answer to a possible "guest worker program".

[62] The *Christian Science Monitor* (1981) discussed the proposal and warned that "the public" was largely opposed to the "guest-worker plan" forwarded by the Reagan administration.

[63] This was a remarkable change of mind by activists who had rejected "guest worker" as an alternative term earlier.

jumped on the bandwagon and hastily published on the issue. Gregory then went on to tell the commission that, in his opinion, most of the migrants from Mexico were "commuters" and that the current irregular migration was a *de facto* temporary worker program that needed legalization – a view that was to catch on and would be repeated in the upcoming debate. Gregory concluded:

> *"There are problems with the guest worker programs and temporary worker programs, just as Mr. Marshall said. But there are many variations. I think it is a mistake to say, 'All the temporary workers programs have been a failure.' There have been many types, ranging from programs in Sweden, where after a 6-month period, the temporary worker can vote, to programs in Switzerland when, after a six-month period, he can still hardly blow his nose on the street. I think we have to look more closely as to what the difference is between immigration and economic growth. Second, I think we have to look more closely at what the social costs are, not just what the economic ones are, but what the social and economic benefits are of a temporary worker program; whether we really want temporary workers in permanent jobs, et cetera. Third, I think we have to come to grips with the most difficult factor of all in a temporary worker program; that is the area of labor contracts. How we are going to do this without avoiding some of the mistakes of the bracero program is not totally clear; the contractual issue in any temporary worker program will be key. In conclusion, let me just add that the illegal status of the undocumented Mexican worker in the U.S. is probably the single greatest cause of exploitation faced by the temporary migrant and the deterioration of labor conditions in some areas of the U.S. a well-thought-out temporary worker program, in the form of a labor treaty, bilaterally designed with the participation of Mexico, might be the only alternative to the present situation" (Committee on the Post Office and Civil Service 1981: 146).*

Notwithstanding the above, positive voices from academia, recommending 'guest worker programs' as a possible solution to labor demand and irregular migration remained rare. However, some scholars dared make concrete proposals rather than limiting their contributions to pointing at the ambivalence of the European experience. One such proposal came from economics Professor Wallace E. Huffman, who had just been appointed assistant professor at the University of Iowa and spoke at the *Agriculture, Change and Human Values* conference held at the University of Florida in October 1982. In his opinion, "a large guest or temporary worker program" could solve the American dilemma, but only if the program was designed with incentives for "temporary workers" to not stay permanently in the United States. That, he argued, could be accomplished by "treating them differently from U. S. citizens" (Haynes/Lanier 1982: 369). For Huffman, this meant that "unemployment and welfare programs and schooling of these workers' children must be financed by their home country" (ibid.). This sounded like another lesson learned from Europe, where emigration countries, such as Turkey, indeed did send teachers to schools in Germany to provide education in Turkish to ensure that migrant children would be able to re-migrate with their parents when the time came (Röhr-Sendlmeier 1992: 314f.).

After Ronald Reagan's inauguration, it became clear that despite ongoing skirmishes, a new attempt would soon follow to install what now was routinely called a "guest worker program" with Mexico (Strout 1981a).[64] Both sides mustered their forces for the inevitable conflict that would ensue between the different positions on temporary labor migration. In May 1981, Tony Bonilla, then director of the *League of United Latin Citizens*, publicly admonished the administration's plans: "The guest

[64]Richard L. Strout wrote in the *Christian Science Monitor* on March 26, 1981, that a commission headed by Democratic Senator Walter D. Huddelston had proposed massive investment in border control and the policing of aliens in the United States at the same time rejected a "guest worker program" of the kind "President Reagan has expressed interest in […]."

worker program is nothing more than legalized slavery" (Bauer 2013: 4).[65] "Guest worker", a positively connoted term for Senator Simpson, had come to symbolize the exclusion embedded in temporary work programs designed to prevent immigration in the eyes of labor and immigrant activists (The New York Times 1981a). A few days earlier, President Reagan had indicated in a televised interview that he would soon discuss the "institution of a large guest-worker program" he had already promised Mexican President Jose Lopez Portillo during his campaign (Pear 1981c).

The meeting materialized in June 1981,[66] and events were followed by Robert Pear of *The New York Times*, who published numerous articles that same year. Once again, the different positions were paraded in the media during the next couple of months: the Reagan administration had created a new commission, which recommended piloting a two-year and small-scale experimental "guest worker program" (Mattiace 1981). This proposal was discussed at the president's summit (Strout 1981b). Several media outlets reported that the Mexican government would favor such a program and ask for its expansion from a planned 50,000 visas annually to ten or 20 times that number (Sabrin 1981, Goodsell 1981).

The backlash to the conditions and dimensions of this proposed "guest-worker program" was overwhelming (The Associated Press 1981). A public showdown unfolded on *PBS Newshour,* broadcasted on June 9, 1981. A diverse panel of opponents of Reagan's "guest-worker program" was assembled for the program. The historian George Grayson, who would go on to become another academic expert in the matter (Grayson 1981),[67] anti-immigration lobbyist Roger Conner, hailing from the *Federation for American Immigration Reform*, and political activist Tony Bonilla faced Republican Senator Harrison Schmitt, who had been chosen to defend the administration's plan. The senator was a national hero, a retired NASA astronaut who had walked the moon and had represented New Mexico since 1976. He bravely defended the government's position that a "guest-worker program" would bring control to "illegal migration" while protecting labor migrants and domestic workers alike. However, despite his status, Schmitt's three opponents obliterated him (Lehrer/MacNeil 1981).

Undaunted, as scheduled, and unflinching, Reagan's migration reform task force presented its findings on July 1, 1981. Their results would be transformed into a policy proposal following the now well-established lines later that same month (Raines 1981). Simultaneously, critics, now also drawing from the first published historical studies of the 'Bracero Program', maintained that any "guest worker program" could only work if complemented by massive law enforcement and built-in protections for any labor migrants recruited (Pear 1981a).[68] In unison with labor union activists and religious groups, representatives of the Hispanic community (see also The Associated Press 1981) drummed up more resistance during the summer, reiterating that "the bracero and guest worker programs constitute a form of legalized slavery" and were "doubly exploitive" towards both migrants

[65] This argument was later taken up by the *Southern Poverty Law Center*.
[66] The Mexican government had been briefed by Thomas P. Enders, nominated Assistant Secretary of State for inter-American affairs, who discussed "the possibility of a guest-worker program" in a visit to Mexico a few weeks before the summit. When President Carter had launched his proposal a few years earlier, the Mexican government had been taken by surprise and publicly complained that they had not been consulted beforehand (Pear 1981c).
[67] Grayson in his own writing, spoke of the "Bracero Program" as "the bracero or guest worker plan that operated between 1942 and 1964", calling it largely successful yet compromised in its later years.
[68] The article cited the first historical account of the "Bracero Program" by Otey M. Scruggs.

and the domestic workforce. This wording reinforced the discursive connection of the 'Bracero Program' and 'guest worker programs' even further.

Aurora Schmidt, representing the Mexico-US border program for the *American Friends Service Committee*, summed up their position, stating that "the guest worker program amounts to international servitude, bondage" (Von Bergen 1981). Soon after, the labor unions in Mexico amplified resistance by supporting the fight of the AFL-CIO on the other side of the border against plans for a temporary labor migration scheme that the Reagan administration finally made public on July 24, 1981 (Cullen 1981, Bourdreaux 1981). Despite the administration's efforts to present a "guest worker program" as a solution to the fear of having "lost control of our borders", the freshly launched attempt to move forward remained tied to a prevailing negative interpretation of the policy model (The New York Times 1981b, Hume 1981, Madison 1981).

In his statement on the proposal, given on July 31, 1981, President Reagan repeated his now well-known arguments but strictly avoided any direct reference or calling his plan a 'guest worker program' (UPI 1981). Moreover, the international relations community now voiced opposing views on migration connected to 'guest workers', making the administration's stance even more difficult. In a hearing on the *US Stake in the Global Economy*, already held in February 1981, Penelope Hartland Thunberg, a senior fellow at the *Center for Strategic and International Studies* at Georgetown University, had equated immigration from Mexico to that of the "so-called guest workers" in Europe. She, however, described migration from Mexico as one of the "most important threats to our national security interests", and related it to the political stability of the United States and its allies in Latin America and Europe (Committee on Foreign Relations 1981: 230). This argument ran counter to Reagan's narrative, which framed a "guest-worker program", among other things, as a "safety valve" helping to stabilize Mexico (Pear 1981d).

Although direct references to Europe had grown scarce by now, they were still deployed as counter-arguments from time to time. Joshua Reichert, serving as a congressional fellow in the US House of Representatives, returned to an account of "guest-worker immigration" in Europe when arguing against the government in the *Christian Science Monitor* on June 15 (Reichert 1981). Two months later, the *Los Angeles Times* ran a story under the headline *Bonn's 'Guest Worker' Policy brings Problem – Children to Educate*. It drew a parallel to a common perception of the American experience amid a heated debate about the administration's immigration reform: "Immigration to this country [Germany] has created educational problems similar to those involving children of Spanish-speaking parents in some parts of the United States" (Los Angeles Times 1981). Going full circle in *The New York Times* on August 23, Steven Greenhouse equated Reagan's "experimental guest worker program" – which Greenhouse feared would be expanded to a volume of a million migrants a year – to the "infamous bracero program". "The President", he wrote, "must have proposed the program to please his agricultural buddies because they alone would benefit" (Greenhouse 1981).

By the summer of 1981, the battle seemed all but decided and, so Robert B. Cullen speculated in an *Associated Press* article, despite all the criticism, Ronald Reagan stood a better chance than Jimmy Carter to push his "guest worker program" through the Senate (Cullen 1981). In fact, it was to take another five years. While this is not the place for a detailed account and analysis of migration policies during the Reagan years, the sources cited within the scope of this paper represent the dynamics

with which 'guest worker' became a concept central to the American debate on immigration reform.[69]

Discussing this policy model against a European background had become marginal compared to the Carter years. In 1981, the concept figured in the American debate in its own right, translated and largely separated from its original German context, however, still with much of the original meaning conveyed. While the definition of a 'guest worker' seemed spelled out quite clearly, opinions and interpretations spanned a wide range of sentiments. Labeling the 'Bracero Program' a 'guest worker program' could thus, for instance, serve to discredit the historical experience and the immigration reform proposed in 1981 – or to declare both win-win situations for people in the United States and Mexico.

The year ended with unsettled scores. The newspaper *U.S. News* printed two interviews on October 5, 1981, under the headline *Allow Mexican Guest Workers?* "Yes" answered David D. Hiller, special assistant to the Attorney General, who had been one of the defenders of President Reagan's plans from the beginning (see also Pear 1981e). He presented the current plan as an attempt to regulate inevitable migration and gain control while generating benefits for "employers, workers and also the consumers" (U.S. News & World Report 1981). His opponent, answering "no" to the question, was none other than Philip L. Martin, who, invoking how the 'Bracero Program' had failed all parties, stressed the ambivalence of the European experience, mentioned the apparent difficulties of keeping the presence of labor migrants temporary, and hit on the inevitability of *de facto* immigration resulting from 'guest worker programs'. Finally, Martin pointed out an alternative, stating that Japan was experimenting with "labor-saving robots on the assembly line". "Guest worker programs", he concluded, were always started with the expectation that all would benefit but always led to "minority problems" (ibid.).

8. Outcomes and Echoes

It took five more years of debate and negotiation to create an immigration bill in 1986. As controversies flared up periodically, the terms 'guest worker' or 'guestworker programs' became used in a substantially more normalized manner. Similarly, the various positions adopted by critics and advocates of the policy model that the term represented scarcely changed. Hearings continued, as did the political wrangling of opinions and compromises and the media coverage, albeit on a much lower level than in 1981. Senators Simpson and Mazzoli, both engaged in the debate almost from the beginning, became the main sponsors of what would be the outcome: the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986.

The history of 1981, the decisive year in Reagan's attempt to put together an immigration reform program, has been documented in detail, among others by Thomas R. Maddux, a professor at California State University, Northridge. Maddux published his paper in the *Pacific Historical Revie*w in 2005. In it, the author, like most historians, used "guest worker" and "guest worker program" in his narrative as if they were not process-generated terms with pre-set meanings to understand, but rather mere entries in the academic lexicon of analytical concepts (Maddux 2005). In scholarly publica-

[69] A brief account of the chronology of the Reagan immigration reform drive in 1981 is given in Sigmund 1981/1982.

tions, at least in part, the unreflected presence of "guest worker" can be read as one of the significant consequences and outcomes of the translation outlined here. While it would exceed the scope of this paper to present an exhaustive discussion of this phenomenon, some examples from the past decade will help illustrate this point.

In 2008, Rayna Bailey published *Immigration and Migration* as a mix of a textbook, selected primary documents, and a research handbook. The book narrates the production of US "guest worker programs" since the 1940s without distinction between the labels used in the source documents and those used in the author's text. It included the term "guest-worker" in its glossary with a technical definition without considering the deeper meanings inscribed into it as "[a] person who is permitted to enter a foreign country on a temporary basis for the purpose of employment" (Bailey 2008: 306). The book defined three American "guest-worker programs": the "Bracero Program"; the immigration reform proposed by President Bush; and another one suggested by Mexican President Vincente Fox (ibid.: 250). However, it entirely omitted the formative discussions during the Carter and the Reagan years, which brought the concept to the United States in the first place.

In his 2014 monograph *Guest Workers or Colonized Labor?,* Gilbert G. Gonzales discussed how new layers of meaning were "incorporated into the term guest workers" (Gonzales 2014: XIII). The author often places the word between quotation marks. While Gonzales' analysis is probably the most theoretically advanced view on the production of "guest worker programs" in the United States – even though it omits the translation of the concept – Gonzales still uses the category "guest worker" descriptively in parallel. In the same year, 2014, David Griffith edited the volume *(Mis)managing Migration: Guestworkers' Experience with North American Labor Markets,* departing from the concept altogether rather than scrutinizing its production (Griffith 2014: XIV). In Griffith's text, "Guest worker programs" as such constituted one form of "managed migration" – an assertion probably based on the established presence of the term in America by the time the book was written. While the critical discussion of such programs in the volume undoubtedly represents a valuable contribution to the social and political history of regulated temporary labor migration, the co-production of the term "guest worker" through repetition, also within the book itself, is never addressed.

Like Philip L. Martin, Cindy Hahamovitch also contributed a chapter to this publication. Both essays demonstrate how, once it had been conceived and become established in the United States, the term 'guest worker' could be assigned to more and more migrants and migration systems in history. In her seminal studies on regulated recruitment and temporary labor migration schemes during the 19th and 20th centuries, Hahamovitch contributed much to understanding slave labor, unfree, and bonded labor, as well as modern temporary labor migration schemes (Hahamovitch 2003). However, assigning the label "guest worker" as far back as unfree labor migrants coming to Australia around 1900 also propelled the proliferation of an unreflected use of "guestworker", a context-specific and process-generated category becoming a broadly applied analytical category freed from its history (Hahamovitch 2015). Expanding the scope of who could be a 'guest worker' – when and where – in much the same manner, Dirk Hoerder labeled migrants returning from the United States to Europe at the end of the 19th century similarly (Hoerder 2017: 66).

Hahamovitch stressed continuities in institutions producing unfree labor and thereby pushed some of the essential specificities of the different temporary labor migration schemes implemented from the First World War to the 1970s into the background. The specific type of temporary labor programs conceived under the auspices of the ILO would actually later be labeled "guest worker programs" in

Europe. Gonzales juxtaposed colonial labor systems and "guestworker programs", thereby obscuring the significant connections between state-regulated temporary labor migration in Europe and those labor systems when bilateral agreements for the recruitment of labor migrants were introduced to Europe in the early 20th century. On the opposite end of this expanding use of the label "guest worker", Ronald L. Mize limited his use of the concept to labeling the 'Bracero Program' in his 2019 chapter *The State Management of Guest Workers* in a volume edited by Maddalena Marinari and colleagues. He interprets the "end of the US-Mexico bracero guest-worker program in 1964" as a prelude to the "temporary-worker programs" that followed, citing it in the discursive process via which the concept "guest worker" arrived in the United States in the first place (Mize 2019: 139).

Maria L. Quintana's chapter *The Bracero Program*, published in the encyclopedia *50 Events that Shaped Latino History* in 2018, includes a chronology of significant events. The entry for the year 1942 states: "The U.S. government enters an agreement with Mexico, known as the Bracero Program, to import guest workers temporarily" (Quintana 2018: 383). The text goes on to use "guest worker" as a description of migrants and the migration policies underlying temporary work schemes. It thus labels migrants without considering the meanings enshrined in this highly politicized term. Later, the text claims: "Today, the Bracero Program serves as a functional model for guestworker programs across the globe" (ibid.: 403). This amounts to a misinterpretation that would not have been possible in terms of content and wording without the translation of 'guest worker' into the American lexicon during the 1970s and 1980s and its unreflected usage ever since. In her monograph *Contracting Freedom*, published in 2022, Quintana presents a critical analysis of US "guestworker programs", while at the same time, she continues to label migrant workers "guestworkers" throughout the book (Quintana 2022: 16). Both in historiography, as represented by the publications of Hahamovitch (2003, 2014, 2015) or Griffith (2006), and in contemporary social science, for example, in the work of Rodriguez (2007), 'guest worker' has taken root as an American keyword.

Back in the 1986 Simpson-Mazzoli-Act, little had remained of the original plans for a massive recruitment scheme controlled through mandatory identity cards for migrants, as many contemporary scholars began to point out during the years after the act became law. Aristide R. Zolberg gave his reading of the genesis of this piece of legislation in the *Revue Française d'Études Américaines* in 1989. He not only explained the part played by growers lobbying a "guest worker program" for agricultural workers since the early 1980s but also pointed out how a recruitment scheme resembling a European "guest worker program" had technically vanished from the migration system implemented by the IRCA while the term itself stuck (Zolberg 1989: 267).

The new law introduced a partial amnesty for "illegal" migrants from Mexico, some sanctions against employers abusing undocumented workers, and somewhat limited precautions against exploiting "authorized immigrant workers" (Library of Congress 2022). The president's statement issued on the signing of the IRCA on November 6, 1986, did not mention a "guest worker program" at all. The term would, as in Europe, never become part of the official legal language of the US government but remain in the realm of discourse, debate, and academic writing (Reagan 1986b). Wilbur A. Finch Jr., for example, in his *Preliminary Assessment* of the IRCA, published in 1990, translated the vocabulary of the law back into "guest worker" terminology.

The section on *Temporary Agricultural Workers* of the IRCA, or Public Law 99-603, left the H-2 visa regulations in place under which "an alien" could be "imported" as a "temporary agricultural worker". It introduced the H-2A visa category for "temporary agricultural work", the H-2B visas for "tem-

porary nonagricultural work", and the I-9 form certifying a migrant's eligibility for employment (Ballotpedia 2022). It did not, however, implement a bilateral labor agreement with Mexico, which would have come close to what Europeans called 'guest worker agreements'.

In contrast to the abovementioned written statement by Ronald Reagan on the occasion of signing IRCA into law on November 6, 1986, which is now part of the archives of the Reagan Library and mentions the protection of migrants from exploitation and abuse, in his actual (televised) remarks during the signing ceremony President Reagan stressed that "controlling illegal immigration" stood at the heart of the new law (Reagan 1986a). That was, ultimately, what the new law was about (Chiswick 1988: 101).

Indeed, the cornerstone of European temporary labor programs did not become part of the law: a bilateral agreement between the countries involved modeled after the recommendations and conventions of the ILO. Instead, and as before, except for the initial phase of the 'Bracero Program', the administration of temporary labor migration from Mexico remained under the unilateral discretion of the United States (U.S. Congress 1986). This practice ran contrary to European policies, where bilateral labor agreements had come into use even before the First World War, had seen a massive expansion during the interwar period, and had dominated recruitment schemes again from the late 1940s to the mid-1970s (Rass 2010).

Yet the existence, implementation, and proliferation of bilateral agreements to regulate temporary labor migration in Europe were known as early as the late 1920s in the United States (Rass 2018). There is also ample evidence of political and academic reasoning about what this new institution could mean for the United States. Especially during the 1930s, not only Mexico, but also the United States joined the ILO. Indeed, a growing number of publications not only discuss how the ILO worked, but also its potential impact on US immigration policies.[70] In 1937, the New York lawyer and scholar Abraham C. Weinfeld discussed at length the consequences of the US membership in the ILO regarding the regulation of labor standards and labor migration when nations delegated certain rights at an international level bound by bilateral or multilateral treaties. In his widely circulated study – which, among others, Boutelle Elsworth Lowe reviewed favorably (Lowe 1938: 329) – Weinfeld gave a detailed historical account of the bilateral agreements implementing labor migration schemes in Europe going back as far as the first agreement between Belgium and France, which was signed in 1882. He also covered colonial precursors to the European treaties of the interwar years (Weinfeld 1937: 6).[71] It seems that knowledge about bilateral agreements to implement rights-based mobility regimes for international labor migrants was present in the United States very early on.

Almost half a century after Weinfeld published his book, unilateralism still governed US migration policies – although such a one-sided policy did not remain entirely uncriticized. In the 1980s, scholars discussing the issue did, however, not connect their argument to the ILO's mission but to the emerging nexus of 'trade' and 'migration' as constructed by the recently implemented General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Gregory C. Shaffer published an article proposing a GATT-orientated "bilateral approach" instead of the unilateral provisions of the 1986 law, which he called a "guest work-

[70] A major contribution to the discussion of international labor standards in the United States was Boutelle Elsworth Lowe's massive monograph, published in a revised and expanded edition in 1935.

[71] The author was hoping that the United States would join the ILO's efforts to limit the weekly working hours in the textile industry by passing a convention that could be adopted by the United States.

er program" in the *Stanford Law Review* in 1988. His intervention demonstrated the presence of alternative American models that would substantially impact the politics of labor migration in the future (Shaffer 1988: 193). However, Shaffer did not relate his view to the rights-based ILO model but rather to the dawning neoliberal regime for a globalized world economy. This regime would have a long and troubled relationship with labor migration (Panizzon 2011: 138). Decades later, the debate had come full circle in migration studies when Marion Panizzon argued that the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) Mode 4, supplementing the older GATT, helped improve the framework for bilateral labor agreements regulating international labor market mobility (Mota 2022: 95). Nonetheless, a migration regime creating protected and humane conditions for labor migration still seems to remain under construction, leaving a much lamented "institutional vacuum" (Solimano 2010: 18) and key demands of a framework for safe labor migration postponed by inscribing them into the "2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development" (Mota 2022: 101).

None of the temporary migration programs implemented by the United States – except for the agreements concluded during the Second World War, and some subsequent small programs linked to them (Hahamovitch 2014, 2015) – were ever based on a bilateral labor agreement as proposed by the ILO. There, bilateral labor agreements were seen as a cornerstone of a rights-based approach to regulating temporary migration for work. Also, the term 'guest worker' never entered any law in Europe or North America. Its advance, however, to a universally used category in scholarship, policy-making, and media discourses was unstoppable, with academia and politics inextricably implicated in its reproduction.

After the enactment of IRCA in 1986, Vernon M. Briggs was among the first academics to publish his take on the new law in the *International Migration Review* that year. Briggs had participated in the debates of the early 1980s opposing 'guest worker programs', and had advanced to the position of professor at Cornell University. His analysis went from referencing "the experience of Western Europe with 'guestworkers'" and recommendations resembling those of W. R. Böhning – that the United States should copy Europe and make "guestworker programs" as a policy model part of the American debate on immigration reform – to re-labeling the "Bracero Program" a "guest worker program" (Briggs 1986). Barry R. Chiswick, another prominent academic actor in the ongoing immigration reform movement, gave a detailed account of the pathway to the IRCA agreement in 1988, promoting his own interpretation. In his text, he used "guest worker program" in three ways that became a *ceterum censeo*: he referenced the European experience as problematic, called the "replenishment worker program", which was part of the IRCA, a "large-scale agricultural guest-worker program" that differed from the "Bracero Program" through opening a pathway to permanent legal residence; and categorized the "Bracero Program" in retrospect a "large guest-worker program" (Chiswick 1988: 108f., 114).

"Guest-worker program" had, by this time and with a new spelling variant, advanced to be a broadly accepted academic term used to describe policies designed to regulate temporary labor migration. No one seemed to consider the social, cultural, and political implications of the term for the people labeled 'guest workers'. Its assumed weight as a heuristic concept became undisputable when Stephen Castles published his seminal paper in 1986, entitled *The Guest-Worker in Western Europe – An Obituary*, in the *International Migration Review*.

Another contribution to the ongoing mainstreaming of 'guest worker' in American academia was a paper by the geographer Douglas S. Massey – a prominent figure in North American migration stud-

ies – together with co-author Zai Liang. Both authors adopted the terminology without hesitation (Massey/Liang 1989). They also followed the now dominant narrative by calling the "Bracero Program" of 1942 a "guest worker program", using the European "guest worker" experience as a role model, and ending at the US attempt to install its own schemes during the 1980s. The chronology implied, which made the "Bracero Program" seem like the oldest such phenomenon, would resonate long in American scholarship. Like other authors, Massey and Liang disregarded all temporary work programs based on bilateral agreements in Europe before the Second World War (ibid.: 221).[72]

Of course, invested scholars like Philip L. Martin went on to equate the European experience with the US policies of the 1980s and 1990s. In a paper also published in the *International Migration Review* in 1991, Martin labeled the European recruitment schemes and the war-time initiatives of the US "macro guest worker programs". He then called the temporary visa programs that became part of American law during the 1980s and 1990s "micro guestworker programs". All these very different policies were now lumped together as "guest worker programs", while migrants moving within such schemes had become "guest workers" who, at times, "rotated in and out of jobs as anticipated" (Martin et al. 2006: 9f.). Although this semantic practice was becoming dominant, it was not without alternatives.

In the same issue of the *International Migration Review* in which Martin's paper appeared, Rogers Brubaker marked a counterpoint by writing a brilliant essay on the challenges of "international migration", also touching on "temporary labor migration", without using any of the vocabularies of the "guest worker" repertoire (Brubaker 1991). Kitty Calavita's seminal book on the 'Bracero Program' was published about the same time, in 1992. She referred only to "guest workers" in Europe, but did not use the term in her analysis of migration between Mexico and the United States (Calavita 1992).[73] However, the impact of the term's translation became apparent on many other occasions. Another paper in the 1991 volume of the *International Migration Review* by Tugrul Ansay, a legal counselor from Germany, discussed the impact of the United Nations (UN) Convention on migrant workers and its effect on the situation of migrants from Turkey in Germany. He used the terms "foreign worker" or "immigrant worker" throughout but felt it necessary to equate both to "guestworker" for his international audience (Ansay 1991: 840).

In one respect, however, the American debate of the 1970s and 1980s touched on discussions concerning international standards for temporary labor migration schemes at the ILO. When the drive for a reform of the framework governing migration between the United States and Mexico again became a priority in the mid-1970s, a movement was underway elsewhere to improve the protection of migrant workers. This parallel process found a platform both at the ILO and the UN. First, a drive began that sought to improve the international standards set in the conventions and recommendations the ILO had updated and passed since the end of the Second World War to limit the abuse and exploitation of migrants (Hasenau 1991: 690). Subsequently, the debate relocated to the UN.

However, the ILO initiative had a twist that later became a contested issue in negotiations of the new convention during its ratification. The *Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143)*, which entered into force in December 1978 after ratification by Cyprus, Guinea, and

[72] See further Rass 2012.

[73] Her earlier book took the debates of the 1980s on immigration law reform as a vantage point to discuss the nexus between immigration law and the labor market in the United States between 1820 and 1924 (Calavita 1984).

Uganda, linked better protection for migrants to an obligation of receiving but also sending countries to combat irregular migration (International Labour Organization 2022). This parallel process was rarely referenced in the US discourse during the 1970s and 1980s. Nevertheless, while North America debated the possibilities for a "guest worker program", Mexico was one of the countries fiercely fighting against the trade-off proposed at the ILO, which they did not perceive as favorable. Mexico ended up boycotting Convention 143. The United States and many European countries resisted Convention 143 as well, albeit for different reasons. Migrant-receiving countries objected to a clause in the convention demanding "freedom in employment for migrant workers", driven by the fear of losing control over the temporary admission of migrant workers (Fanning/Piper 2021: 75f.).

As a consequence, Mexico was among several non-European countries that began pressing for a UN Convention on labor migration and chaired a working group for the purpose, together with Morocco, which was launched in 1979 (Pécoud/De Guchteneire 2006: 245f.). They hoped to outflank the power dynamics at the ILO that favored industrialized nations and employers. The *UN Migrant Workers Convention* was drafted in 1981 but only adopted by the UN General Assembly almost a decade later on December 18, 1990 (ibid.: 249). At the time when the United States discussed "guest worker programs" and arrived at a unilateral temporary visa program that was, in its design, far removed from what the UN and the ILO intended, a lively international debate about the protection of migrant workers took place.[74]

The parallel occurrence of a nation-state designing its migration laws unilaterally to cater to its policy preferences in order to implement far-reaching reforms and the drive to install migration standards through international law was repeatedly interpreted as a dilemma leading to unsatisfying results by Antoine Pécoud (2009). Pécoud juxtaposed "political realism", accepting whatever can be archived in terms of migrant protection, and "ambitious attempts" to arrive at comprehensive migration standards, which often, as in this case, lead to national solutions that present themselves as "realist", but are ultimately detrimental to the protection of the rights of migrants (Pécoud 2009: 350). Indeed, well before Pécoud, ILO specialist W. R. Böhning had pointed out the same issue when he stated that countries like the United States had absconded from ratifying Convention 143 because they perceived its regulations as "undermining their temporary guestworker systems" (Böhning 1991: 699).

The drive for a reform of temporary labor migration between Mexico and the United States launched by George W. Bush was, of course, discussed with the expected overlap between political and academic concepts. For example, together with co-author Michael S. Teitelbaum, veteran scholar Philip L. Martin published a paper titled *The Mirage of the Mexican Guest Workers* in *Foreign Affairs* in 2001. Martin remained critical of the ability of "guest worker programs" to prevent immigration and the settlement of labor migrants, concluding that "there is nothing more permanent than temporary workers" (Martin/Teitelbaum 2001).[75]

[74] In 1991, James A. R. Nafziger and Barry C. Bartel, both scholars at the Law School of Willamette University, Salem, Oregon, published a detailed analysis of the UN Convention and its historical background. The convention would have little impact on the quest for a 'guest worker program' during the presidency of George W. Bush.

[75] Another example of a contemporary academic perspective on the debate during the Bush years is found in an article by Pamela S. Falk 2001. She commented that "Mr. Bush has an excellent opportunity to achieve an expansion in the number of temporary guest workers" (Falk 2001: 129).

Discussions and negotiations, both in the United States and with Mexico during the Bush administration, followed the same patterns as before. However, a bilateral agreement with Mexico was at least considered this time. This was seen in some parts of American academia as significant progress set against the legacy of US 'guest worker programs'. However, even critical research at the time that addressed the meaning of 'guest' as part of the concept seemed unable to distance itself from the term itself, which had become mainstreamed to label temporary migrant work in North America (Pastor/Alva 2004: 93).

In 2004, Martin Ruhs and Ha-Joon Chang proposed a redesign of "temporary work programs" to better protect migrant workers and to counter "existing and past guest worker policies" (Ruhs/Chang 2004: 69). Their intervention was part of a more extensive debate that brought "migration" back into the terminology and led to the proliferation of the term "migrant worker" as a label in international law. In 2008, Shayerah Ilias, Katherine Fennelly, and Christopher M. Federico revisited the early 2000s and the debate over "guest workers" when analyzing "American Attitudes toward Guest Worker Policies". They based their findings, among other data, on a survey *The New York Times* had conducted jointly with the PBS. However, their study never once scrutinized the concept of the "guest worker", which is used in the text over a hundred times. Thus, the semantic cornerstone of the study remains undefined, unreflected, and unquestioned. This indicates, as also shown in some sample data in the study's appendix, that the concept was used without any reflection in the same manner in the polls that eventually provided the raw data for the analysis (Ilias et al. 2008) – a striking example of how research can reproduce its own presumptions.

At the same time, the political right in the United States took steps to reinvigorate the narrative that "guest worker programs" did little more than create "a sizable increase in the number of guest workers who settled permanently in the United States as illegal immigrants" (Bush et al. 2009: 55). This was an argument repeated, for instance, in a paper co-authored by Jeb Bush in 2009. The echo of this narrative still resonates today and still relies on mobilizing the figure of the "guest worker".

"Guest worker" has become part of each new chapter of immigration reform written in US history since the 1970s and serves as a category to classify migration policies and migrants in US history as far back as the First World War. It stays a fluid term used in policy-making, academic analysis, the production of history, and the construction of migration and society in the media. The elements in the continuum of reproduction are manifold, like the comments given in the *Harvard Law Review* on a proposal aiming at yet another attempt to design a "guest worker system", and launched by a group of senators in 2013 at the beginning of the Obama administration (Harvard Law Review 2013: 1582). The text *The Role of Guest Workers in U.S. Agriculture* was written by Stephen Devadoss and Jeff Luckstead to be published in *Choices*, a journal run by the *Agricultural & Applied Economics Association* in 2019.[76] It reduced the narrative to a continuum of "guest worker"-presence in North America from the "Bracero Program" to the current legislature without any reference to Europe by using the term as its lead concept for temporary migrant work (Luckstead/Devadoss 2019).

So, what difference does it make today to speak of 'guest worker programs', 'temporary work programs', or 'temporary labor migration'? Is a 'guest worker' seen differently from a 'labor migrant' or a 'migrant worker'?

[76] Martin had published a paper in the same journal discussing attempts to make the H-2A visa program more "employer friendly" to make more "legal guest workers available" (Martin 2012).

9. Conclusion

The term 'guest worker' is neither a neutral nor technical description of a policy model nor a formal category of migrant workers. Rather, it is a social and cultural (not a legal or normative) concept attributed to migrants who are accepted temporarily out of some perceived economic necessity that is built on their own economic disadvantage. It is also a category for migrants who will forever be denied settlement and belonging based, at least in part, on racial constructs, even if they settle and become permanent members of society.

The framework to coin 'Gastarbeiter' as a racist term was set as early as Max Weber's work on Polish seasonal workers/migrants in Germany at the turn of the 20th century. It began to take shape even before the word itself arrived. After Max Weber had given it form, the racist meaning of 'Gastarbeiter' was spelled out, codified, and normalized in Nazi Germany as part of the regime's forced labor propaganda. The Nazis constructed their 'guests' as a racial other, even if they tried to paint a positive picture. The explicit notion in their propaganda that 'Gastarbeiter' would be present in Germany long after a Nazi 'final' victory in the war because their labor would be needed was tied to the warning that they would always remain eternal and dangerous outsiders to the National Socialist 'Volksgemeinschaft'. Germany was indoctrinated to see labor migrants – 'Gastarbeiter' – as threatening "racial purity" (Christoffel 1944: 34).[77]

All immigration in frameworks in which migrants are labeled 'guest workers' is burdened with markers of social, cultural, and economic orders of difference, hierarchy, and exclusion, inscribed implicitly and explicitly into this concept. The meanings expressed that way are eventually translated by politics into law, *verbatim*, or represented by related terms. Even if legal texts do not use a phrase like 'guest worker' directly, its presence in academic, public, and political discourse allows it to fulfill its purpose when translated into the seemingly neutral legal language of migration policies.

It is no wonder organizations such as the ILO reject the term in their official documents – while functionaries and researchers frequently use it in their publications. This observation addresses another dimension of the ambivalent cipher of the 'guest worker'. Today, as in the past, scholars often assume different roles and mix terminologies. While the entire body of documents and publications issued by the ILO – or, indeed, the UN more broadly – strictly avoids using the term 'guest worker' when discussing state-regulated temporary labor migration, researchers contributing to such publications can switch terminological sides with apparent impunity throughout the different texts they publish.

Piyasiri Wickramasekara, like W. R. Böhning an ILO official at one point, for example, mixed the use of "circular migration programmes", "guest worker programmes", and "temporary labor migration" in a paper published in the *Third World Quarterly* in 2008. The text discussed the next round of debates

[77] Christoffel, a historian and academic teacher at a Wehrmacht Military Academy during the Second World War, would become a member of the CDU after 1945, a representative in the state legislature of the Palatinate with numerous functions and offices. In 1944 he cautioned the "Volksgemeinschaft" that the racial inferior "Gastarbeiter" would be present, and indeed needed, as laborers for a long time after the Nazi final victory, but cautioned that they also represented a threat to the "biological well-being of the German people". One wonders how he saw the renewal of labor migration to Western Germany and its growing social and cultural diversity not only as the proprietor of a vineyard and a conservative politician post-1945, but also as a devoted Nazi ideologue during the Second World War. See further Blackburn 2012.

in the United States during the early 2000s when President George W. Bush advocated his idea of a "guest worker scheme for Mexicans". The author used the entrenched vocabulary, albeit did not make a direct reference to the core term 'guest worker' itself (Wickramasekara 2008: 1256f.). However, in a handbook on the regulation of labor migration published on behalf of the ILO in 2018, and in contrast to his reference to "guest worker programmes" in 2008, Wickramasekara urged practitioners to use the term "migrant workers" instead of "labor migrants" when negotiating bilateral labor agreements, demonstrating the importance of sensitive and reflected wording (Wickramasekara 2018: 2). This finding could be cautiously interpreted as a turn towards a more reflexive approach to terminologies. In the same manner, the *Guidance on Bilateral Labour Migration Agreement* published in February 2022 only uses the term "migrant worker", assuming that they are recruited temporarily, and explains how bilateral labor agreements can be used to protect the labor and human rights of migrants (Leighton/Manke 2022). Thus, talking about temporary labor migration without using terms such as 'guest worker' is possible but requires discipline.

The figure of the 'guest worker' remains an antidote to the attempt to establish globally accepted standards and frameworks to secure decent labor conditions for those seeking employment abroad for limited periods of time. It also contradicts the idea that migrants act autonomously, pursue their own goals in their lives, and are not meant to be obedient objects playing their role in a migration regime devoid of agency. They participate in the negotiation of migration with agency, rights, and interests. While states often want to attract labor (migrants) tailored to their economic needs temporarily, people on the move strive for betterment and inevitably, their plans are sometimes subject to change. People engaging in temporary migration may indeed stay temporarily, but they can, and often do, choose immigration, thereby creating irreversible social facts and unintended outcomes of temporary migration schemes by their own agency.

In reality, both past and present, even the best intended bilateral labor agreements, as part of state-regulated temporary migration schemes, have allowed the creation of abusive conditions for migrants, and no improvements archived have yet fully ended the exploitation of migrant workers. At the same time, there is no example of temporary migration schemes that have not also, in part, led to permanent settlement and immigration. This outcome is not the exception, it is the norm. While bilateral agreements and international standards are still seen as valid tools to improve conditions for temporary migration, at the same time making such migration programs more effective, no temporary labor migration scheme should be designed without also considering immigration as an outcome.

In Germany, people recruited as migrant workers under the bilateral labor agreements in force between 1955 and 1973 were labeled 'Gastarbeiter' in a semantic twist, contrary to the intentions of the recruitment schemes the ILO had tried to implement and institutionalize since 1919. 'Gastarbeiter' projected a figure onto people who, once labeled as such, found themselves in a position of permanent exclusion based on the idea of a temporarily tolerated presence. While some temporary migrant workers stayed only briefly, many others settled in Germany, where they were forever branded as 'Gastarbeiter'. Hence, they became tied to an excluded position in the social order of a society denying immigration. Labeling generations of immigrants 'Gastarbeiter', and their children and grandchildren 'Gastarbeiterkinder' ('guest worker children'), created a convenient, one-dimensional, and blatantly racialized exclusion and othering. Even though some seem to think the term can be emancipated from its older layers of meanings and elevated to a neutral technocratic

concept, it could equally be argued that each descriptive use of the term 'guest worker' simply acts to reproduce (and reinforce) all of these inescapable layers of meaning.

Nonetheless, governments in Germany and the United States adopted the term. Although their agencies and bureaucracies rarely used it in official documents, it was widely deployed in surrounding legal texts, academic studies, and political documents on migration and diversity, producing a specific image and meaning of what migrant workers were to be and how they were to be seen and treated. They adopted the term from the media and from academics who spearheaded its introduction. Once the path dependencies of its use had stabilized, the only option in such discourse became the repetition and proliferation of the term.

This practice has contributed to, and indeed feeds off, an unreflected and overlapping use of the concept in scholarly writing, not the least in historiography, where the line between discussing a historical term and using it descriptively or analytically is often blurred. Using an established word, such as 'Gastarbeiter' – 'guest worker', can connect a biased argument to the larger discourse while reproducing and perpetuating troubling sets of meaning on both sides of this line. While sometimes this is precisely the intention, it can also simply be a by-product of attempting critical analysis. On other occasions, it signifies a lack of critical reflection on language. As this process of production, co-production, and re-production of what migration means continues, a shift to reflexive deconstruction and adopting a critical view on our vocabulary becomes more urgent and, simultaneously, more demanding. Today parallel yet related terminologies, such as 'guest worker' and 'migrant worker', co-exist in migration-related research.

It is no coincidence that the United States – a self-proclaimed "nation of immigrants" – adopted and translated the German concept 'Gastarbeiter'. The term emerged in a country that claimed 'Deutschland ist kein Einwanderungsland', thinking of itself as 'no country of immigration', and gave rise to a word that seemed to promise migration without immigration. This idea was part of a drive to institutionalize state-regulated 'temporary labor migration' spearheaded by European countries since the late 19th century, building on ideas adopted from colonial labor systems. Setting frameworks for 'temporary migration for work', which catered to the powerful interests of nation-states and their economic elites – the employers – but also put in place standards and protections for migrants, became the job of the newly founded ILO in 1919. The ILO did indeed set such standards and became instrumental in spreading the use of bilateral labor agreements through its conventions and recommendations. However, even after over a century, its struggle to better protect people who migrate for work is far from over.

When 'Gastarbeiter' became 'guest worker', the translation cut migration out of a word designed to label migrants. This move helped the United States to pursue its narrative as a "country of immigration" while producing the exclusion of a growing number of *de facto* immigrants as non-immigrant temporary workers – 'guest workers'. Of all the European countries that had coined words to label temporary migrant workers recruited during the *Trente Glorieuses*, it was Germany that supplied the term that, once translated into English, was to dominate. The translation and adoption of the word into American English turned 'guest worker' into a globalized concept representing the desperate attempt to prevent, or at least deny, the inevitable by-product of such migration systems, namely, settlement and immigration. 'Guest worker' communicates the illusion of reversible immigration.

This process of translation occurred precisely at the point when it finally dawned on Germany that what had been set up as temporary labor migration had, in fact, caused significant immigration, forc-

ing the country to embark on a slow and painful path to recognizing it's becoming a 'Migrationsgesellschaft' – a 'country of immigration'. This realization occurred at a time when the United States again attempted to keep its immigration-centered identity narrative alive while converting significant portions of inbound migration streams into temporary presences determined by the economic needs and social preferences of the majority.[78]

Yet, was all the baggage 'Gastarbeiter' and 'guest worker' had acquired dropped during the term's transition from a German to an American to a global concept? Did the translation into English separate the label from its history and semantics and give it a new start? Can we separate 'guest worker program' as a description of a policy claiming to be technical from the figure of the 'guest worker'? Is the descriptive use of the term thus simply acceptable in historiographic writing? Are the debates about the use of 'guest worker' as a discriminating and racialized political label in Germany and the United States fundamentally different? Is there an American history of 'guest workers' disconnected from all broader contexts?

In Germany, 'Gastarbeiter' is slowly becoming a historicized concept cited from primary documents and, more often than not, put into quotation marks to indicate an author's critical perspective. A reflected approach is exemplified, for instance, in a recent chapter by Anselm Böhmer, in which he extensively discusses the problems tied to the use of the concept (Böhmer 2022: 85). 'Guest worker' remains, for the most part, a term used by scholars and policymakers in the United States. A small sample of publications from 2021 and 2022 can serve to illustrate this. Recently, Andrew J. Hazelton has revisited how the labor unions positioned themselves against the 'Bracero Program', stating that "in the mid-twentieth century, corporations consolidated control over agriculture on the backs of Mexican migrant laborers through a guestworker system called the Bracero Program" (Hazelton 2022). This represents a poignant analysis, albeit one that would benefit from questioning the underlying terminology. Yet scholars are still working on optimizing 'guestworker systems' in the United States. In November 2021, Timothy J. Richards published his paper *Agribusiness and Policy Failures* in an online journal named *Applied Economics: Perspectives and Policy*, edited by the *Agricultural & Applied Economics Association*. He looked at "failed regulatory interventions" and counted setting a minimum wage for "guestworkers" among them, a standard trope he deemed indicative of "a paranoia that is not based in fact" (Richards 2022: 353). The paper also states that "[n]onimmigrant guestworker visas have been a part of US labor policy since 1917", thus pushing back the timeline constructed in the American discourse to arrive at the point when Max Weber committed 'Gastarbeiter' to paper for the first time.

Similar timelines can be found in some historical narratives of immigration law in America. Andrew M. Baxter and Alex Nowrasteh published their *Brief History of U.S. Immigration Policy from the Colonial Period to the Present Day* in 2021, sponsored by the libertarian think tank *Cato Institute*. Baxter and Nowrasteh paint a harrowing picture of failed "guest worker programs" beginning with the "Bracero Program", which did, in their interpretation, do little but produce "illegal" migration (Baxter/Nowrasteh 2021).

[78] The contrast between the two ideas of migration and belonging can also be seen from the contrast between Ronald Reagan's speech when enacting the IRCA, cited above (Reagan 1986a), and an address he gave when presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Mike Mansfield and George Schulz one day before he left office on January 19, 1989.

At the other end of the spectrum, critical scholars deconstruct political and popular myths about migration and diversity in the United States. One such scholar is Aviva Chomsky, a Professor of History at Salem State University, Massachusetts. Her book *They Take Our Jobs, and 20 Other Myths about Immigration* has seen several editions since it was first published in 2007. The updated 2018 version delivers a critical interpretation of immigration and its narratives in the United States, providing important analytical links between historiography and migration studies. At the same time, the book testifies to the ambivalent use of the term 'guest worker' in academia. The concept of "guest-worker programs" with Mexico is applied to the period from 1917 to 1960 and linked to "slavery" and "Jim Crow laws" (Chomsky 2018: 9, 14). Alongside an analysis of debates referring to the concept up to the present day, Chomsky identifies three such recruitment schemes: the recruitment of temporary migrant workers from Mexico between 1917 and 1922; from 1942 to 1964; and the 1952 introduction of the H-2 temporary visa, "a large but generally ignored guest-worker program" (ibid.: 204).

Chomsky's work, among others, reveals the degree to which the term has been Americanized and detached from the historical contexts from which it is derived. It also underlines how the American use of 'guest worker' by now differs from practices in Europe, even though similar meanings are still somewhat present. This also hints at how the American discourse has partially departed from the more emancipated vocabulary used in international law, where bilateral labor agreements are still negotiated in large numbers as a basis for temporary work programs mobilizing migrant workers, or radical but reflected scholarship that diligently avoids using discriminating historical terms. Moreover, to a certain degree, historians in the United States seem to continue to neglect one essential aspect of temporary work programs elsewhere: bilateral labor agreements, whose history is actually closely linked to the figure of the 'guest worker'. All in all, the yet broadening use of the term 'guest worker', in progressive as well as conservative narratives points to the stark ambivalence the term has acquired. It can be used to call out abusive migration policies past and present, but also to describe a policy model seen as useful.

Each use of 'guest worker', however, runs the risk of reproducing the social order implied by the term. Even scholars arguing for improved protections for temporary migrant workers in today's migration systems and global crisis, like Leanne McCallum and her coauthors in their paper *Louisiana Guestworker Health and Safety a Necessary Component of Health Equity*, published in January 2022, cling to the established terminology while putting forward robust arguments to rethink and improve protective measures and standards for migrant workers (McCallum et al. 2022). Are we really dealing with a historical term that became adopted as a technical term for a while, a process-generated concept speaking to us from primary documents, or a still acceptable and thus usable category to label migrant workers?

Reflexive discussions of the term 'guest worker' – its use and meanings, not only in primary documents, but also in old and new scholarly publications, especially those historiographical in nature – in the United States, for now at least, appear rare. Of course, many publications also use the term in considerate ways or even critically. Alexandra Délano, Assistant Professor of Global Studies at The New School in New York, for example, puts 'guest worker' only once in her monograph *Mexico and Its Diaspora in the United States: Policies of Emigration since 1848*, first published in 2011, and only as part of the compound "guest worker program" when discussing the negotiations about migration between Mexico and the United States in the 1970s examined in this paper. She thus refers to the concept that dominated the discourse at the time (Délano 2011: 31). However, in her sharp analysis of power relations in North American migration policies, Délano relies on a vocabulary expressing

distance from the language of her primary documents. This approach indicates a more reflected practice – the use of the expression 'guest worker program' to identify migration policies and their intentions that were not only designed to produce temporary migrant workers, but also to characterize migrants precisely by everything the meaning of 'guest worker' conveys.[79]

Avoiding the label 'guest worker' when writing about people read as migrants or migrant workers breaks the cycle of reproducing the notion that something like a 'guest worker' exists beyond the mindset of those who came up with the category. What exists are people on the move for work – or betterment. They gain access to mobility options through many different migration channels, ranging from those characterized as irregular to highly regulated recruitment systems, often ending up in exploitative and abusive situations. In the process, they are referred to, among other terms, as 'guest workers' for specific purposes, namely, to mark them as permanently excluded from any form of belonging. We need to focus more on further deconstructing the historical semantics of concepts 'in action' such as those discussed here.

The work of Lauren Stokes, Professor of History at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois, seems to point in that direction. Stokes not only looks at the social history of Western Germany as migration-induced diversity transformed its society during the 1970s and 1980s, but also at how historiography reflects this transition in its narratives. Initially, she did not distinguish sharply between the construction of 'Gastarbeiter' in the primary documents she uses and her own narrative. Statements such as "guest workers are invited to work in the receiving country when they are young and healthy, but to perform the time-consuming and expensive tasks of raising children and growing old elsewhere" indicate a *verbatim* use of the term and do not clearly mark it as a process-generated construct (Stokes 2019a: 373). In her most recent paper, however, published in German in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* in 2022, Stokes adopts, for the most part, the German approach, placing 'Gastarbeiter' in quotation marks to mark it as a 'Quellenbegriff' – a process-generated term drawn from primary documents and thus inevitably rooted in the past they reflect (Stokes 2022). Similarly, her earlier discussion of the discursive production of 'refugees' and 'refugee crisis' in Germany, presented in an article published in 2019, provides a detailed and critical deconstruction of its key terms and categories (Stokes 2019b). This approach does not yet fully extend to the contribution of the category of 'guest workers', nor to the production of the meaning of migration in the United States. Sarah Song, Professor of Law and Political Science at the University of California in Berkeley, has delivered a deconstruction of the relationship between democracy and the rights of migrants put in different legal categories in her 2019 monograph *Immigration and Democracy.* However, in line with much existing research, she treats the concept of the 'guest worker' as a legal category rather than a discursive construct producing the meaning of temporary labor migration from the perspective of power, assigning specific social roles to those categorized as migrant workers (Song 2019: 156f., 175).

The struggles we face reflecting on our terminologies as we progress with critical research can probably also be seen in the latest contribution to the debate by the Austrian migration scholar Rainer

[79] In the same manner, Romeo Guzmán (2022), for example, avoids the concept in his article on the role of Mexican consuls during the interwar years. In the same issue of the *Journal of American History*, however, Mireya Loza labels migrants from Mexico between 1917 and 1922 "guest workers" without any reflection on the meaning of the term (Loza 2022).

Bauböck and the American academic Martin Ruhs. Both are veteran migration researchers and internationally renowned scholars who are currently re-thinking temporary labor migration programs once again in the hope of resolving some of its enduring issues. They use "guest worker program" and "guest worker" primarily to refer to policies labeled as such in discourses and practices of the 20th century while pointing out that the early 21st century has witnessed a drive to re-design them as "temporary labor migration policies" (TLMPs). The authors draw attention to the renewed terminology they use in their analysis, historicizing previous labels when referring back to the debates of the late 20th century. In this way, they propose to implement increased justice for migrants in TLMPs while ensuring that, although such programs will always aim to generate "temporary" migration, receiving countries will have to prepare for the inevitable outcome that part of that migration will turn into settlement and immigration (Bauböck 2010: 295f.).

This exploration into the conceptual history and the historical semantics of 'Gastarbeiter' – 'guest worker', centering on the translation of a keyword of past and present migration from German into English, draws to a close with much work still to be done. I conclude with several questions for further research and draw attention to the need for more empirical work on the history of the concepts instrumental to the production of migration and the manifold translations they undergo.

What is the relationship in documents from the past and current research and discourse between the texts used as primary documents in this paper, which all relied on the concepts 'guest worker' and the alternative material that avoided using this label? Which concepts became dominant, where and when, and what alternative concepts were sidelined, marginalized, and silenced? Would it be possible to understand concepts such as 'guest worker' through ideas such as plasticity? Can the historically accumulated and produced layers of meaning attributed to a given term be profoundly changed from negative to neutral or even made positive? Can concepts really be selectively separated from their history? Or are the layers and path dependencies of accumulated meanings prevalent, like this analysis using historical semantics informed by critical positions voiced in postcolonial studies and reflexive migration studies would suggest?

Jeanine Dahinden, a leading scholar in reflexive migration studies, has recently pointed out that the "epistemological and theoretical underpinnings of migration studies […] reproduce hegemonic structures" (Dahinden 2022: 2), linking her argument to observations made by Adrian Favell (2022) in his monograph *The Integration Nation*. He argues that it is essential for the "integration nation" to selectively mark a small fraction of migrants as "immigrants" and grant them conditional access to society. To Favell, this is a reaction – or perhaps survival strategy – of the nation-state and marks its attempts to stay afloat by managing global diversity. On the flip side, however, other groups of migrants must be categorized according to their social role as non-permanent and non-belonging, regardless of their presence in society. This labeling is best done in a way that inscribes a wish not to belong in the figure created for the purpose. Does this then explain the fatal attractiveness of the figure of the 'guest worker'?

This text has traced how the term was coined and became prominent between the end of the First World War and the early 1960s, first in Nazi Germany, then in Western Germany, and finally internationally. We witnessed how 'Gastarbeiter' was translated into 'guest worker' during the renegotiation of migration to the United States from the late 1960s to the early 1980s. We have discussed the meaning of 'guest worker' in terms of transitions and interactions – as a term that was established in the United States as part of entangled discourses between scholarship, policy making,

and public discourse. We have finally asked ourselves how researchers today can emancipate themselves from mistaking process-generated terms for analytical concepts? How can we avoid adopting political concepts rather than deconstructing them?

Research on keywords in the production of what migration means to society is an exercise in historical semantics to reconstruct the paths that have led to past and present sets of meaning through its reproduction and ruptures, and to understand translation processes with discourses, actors, and contexts in mind. It also is a reflexive inquiry into our practices as scholars of migration and society and, as such, is meant to help us question the terms, concepts, and categories traveling across time, space, cultures, and fields within and with which we often operate with little regard for their complicated histories.

'Gastarbeiter' – 'guest worker' is one of many concepts constantly in motion and in translation – in this case, respectively from Germany to the United States, and from German to (American) English. But words and meanings traveled in the opposite direction as well. When German scholars searched for concepts to understand migration-induced transformations in their society during the 1970s, they studied the American idea of 'assimilation' and imported it into the formative stages of migration research in Germany. There, it met older German ideas of 'assimilation' to become a cornerstone of early attempts to understand and regulate the transformation of German society by migration. The echoes of such translations remain with us to this day.

10. Literature

Aachener Anzeiger (1943): Die Bewährungsprobe des nationalsozialistischen Volkes. January 30.

Abraham, Gary (1991): Max Weber – Modernist Anti Pluralism and the Polish Question. In: New German Critique, 53, pp. 33–66.

Alba, Francisco et al. (1997): Binational Study on Migration between Mexico and the United States. Mexico: University of Texas Press.

Alexopoulou, Maria (2019): "*Ausländer*" – A Racialized Concept? "Race" as an Analytical Concept in Contemporary German Immigration History. In: Arghavan, Mahmoud/Hirschfelder, Nicole/Kopp, Luvena/Motyl, Katharina (eds.): Who Can Speak and Who Is Heard/Hurt? Facing Problems of Race, Racism, and Ethnic Diversity in the Humanities in Germany. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, pp. 45–68.

Amarelle, Cesla/Fornalé, Elisa (2015): Challenges and Features of Migration and Trade Policies towards Latin America. In: Panizzon, Marion/Zürcher, Gottfried/Fornalé, Elisa (eds.): The Palgrave Handbook of International Labour Migration. Law and Policy Perspectives. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 535–554.

Amenda, Lars/Rass, Christoph (2012): Fremdarbeiter, Ostarbeiter, Gastarbeiter. Semantiken der Ungleichheit und ihre Praxis im "Ausländereinsatz". In: Kramer, Nicole/Nolzen, Armin (eds.): Ungleichheiten im "Dritten Reich". Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, pp. 90–117.

Ansay, Tugrul (1991): The New UN Convention in Light of the German und Turkish Experience. In: International Migration Review, 25 (4), pp. 831–847.

Atkins, Goeffrey (1962): 'Guest Workers' Help Germany. In: The Sunday Star, August 19.

Bachmann-Medick, Doris (2015): The 'Translational Turn' in Literary and Cultural Studies. The Example of Human Rights. Frankfurt a. M.: Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg.

Bachmann-Medick, Doris (2016): Cultural Turns. New Orientations in the Study of Culture. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Bade, Klaus J. (ed.) (1984): Auswanderer, Wanderarbeiter, Gastarbeiter. Bevölkerung, Arbeitsmarkt und Wanderung in Deutschland seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts; Referate und Diskussionsbeiträge des Internationalen Wissenschaftlichen Symposiums "Vom Auswanderungsland zum Einwanderungsland?" an der Akademie für Politische Bildung, Tutzing, 18.–21. Oktober 1982. Ostfildern: Scripta-Mercaturae-Verlag.

Bade, Klaus J. (2017): Migration, Flucht, Integration. Kritische Politikbegleitung von der "Gastarbeiterfrage" bis zur "Flüchtlingskrise". Erinnerungen und Beiträge. Karlsruhe: von Loeper Literaturverlag.

Badische neueste Nachrichten (1950): Deutsch-französische Sozialabkommen. July 13.

Bailey, Rayna (2008): Immigration and Migration. New York: Facts on File.

Ballotpedia (1986): Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. Online: https://ballotpedia.org/Immigration_Reform_and_Control_Act_of_1986 (accessed 17.10.2022).

Bauböck, Rainer (2010): Cold Constellations and Hot Identities – Political Theory Questions about Transnationalism and Diaspora. In: Bauböck, Rainer/Faist, Thomas (eds.): Diaspora and Transnationalism. Concepts, Theories and Methods. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp. 295–322.

Bauer, Mary (2013): Close to Slavery. Guestworker Programs in the United States. Montgomery: Southern Poverty Law Center.

Baumann, Ansbert (2022): Mehr Integration? In: Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, 70 (1), pp. 63–86.

Baxter, Andrew M./Nowrasteh, Alex (2021): A Brief History of U.S. Immigration Policy from the Colonial Period to the Present Day. In: CATO Policy Analysis, 919, pp. 1–32.

Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften (2022): Section I. Max Weber-Complete Edition. Online: https://mwg.badw.de/en/mwg-volumes/section-i.html (accessed 17.10.2022).

Berlinghoff, Marcel (2013): Das Ende der 'Gastarbeit'. Europäische Anwerbestopps 1970–1974. Paderborn: Schöningh.

Berlinghoff, Marcel/Rass, Christoph/Ulz, Melanie (2017): Die Szenographie der Migration. Geschichte. Praxis. Zukunft. Osnabrück: IMIS-Beiträge (52).

Blackburn, Gilmer W. (2012): Education in the Third Reich. A Study of Race and History in Nazi Textbooks. New York: Sunny Press.

Böhmer, Anselm (2022): Grenzen der Ungleichheit. Befunde und Perspektiven von Kohäsion und Spaltung einer Interviewstudie mit "Gastarbeitern" in Deutschland. In: Baier, Florian/Borrmann, Stefan/Hefel, Johanna/Thiessen, Barbara (eds.): Europäische Gesellschaften zwischen Kohäsion und Spaltung. Rolle, Herausforderungen und Perspektiven Sozialer Arbeit. Opladen: Verlag Barbara Budrich, pp. 85–96.

Böhning, Roger (1991): The ILO and the New UN Convention on Migrant Workers. The Past and Future. In: International Migration Review, 25 (4), pp. 698–709.

Böke, Karin (2000): "Gastarbeiter" auf Deutsch und auf Österreichisch. Methodik und Empirie eines diskurslinguistischen Vergleichs. In: Niehr Thomas/Böke, Karin (eds.): Einwanderungsdiskurse. Vergleichende diskurslinguistische Studien. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, pp. 158-194.

Bolaffi, Guido (2002): Dictionary of Race, Ethnicity and Culture. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Bommes, Michael/Thränhardt, Dietrich (2012): National Paradigms of Migration Research. In: Boswell, Christina/D'Amato, Gianni (eds.): Immigration and Social Systems. Collected Essays of Michael Bommes. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp. 201–231.

Boswell, Christina (2009): The Political Uses of Expert Knowledge. Immigration Policy and Social Research. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre (2001): Science de la Science et Réflexivité. Cours du Collège de France, 2000–2001. Paris: Raisons d'Agir.

Bourdreaux, Richard (1981): Workers Oppose Reagan Immigration Plan. In: The Associated Press, April 18.

Branigin, William (2019): Remembering Joe Alex Morris Jr., the L.A. Times Correspondent who Died Covering the Iranian Revolution. In: Los Angeles Times, February 18.

Brettell, Caroline B. (2018): Conceptualizing Migration and Mobility in Anthropology. An Historical Analysis. In: Journal of Transient Migration, 2 (1), pp. 7–25.

Briggs, Vernon M. (1986): The "Albatross" of Immigration Reform. Temporary Worker Policy in the United States. In: International Migration Review, 20 (4), pp. 995–1019.

Briggs, Vernon M. (2004): History of Guestworker Programs. Online: https://cis.org/Report/History-Guestworker-Programs (accessed 17.10.2022).

Browne, Malcolm W. (1976): Cars of Jobless Migrant Workers Jam Europe's Roads. In: The New York Times, February 25.

Brubaker, Rogers (1991): International Migration. A Challenge for Humanity. In: International Migration Review, 25 (4), pp. 946–957.

Brubaker, Rogers (2013): Categories of Analysis and Categories of Practice. A Note on the Study of Muslims in European Countries of Immigration. In: Ethnic and Racial Studies, 36 (1), pp. 1–8.

Bruchsaler Post (1950): Arbeitsrechtliche Regelungen mit Frankreich. July 19.

Buomberger, Thomas (2018): «Überfremdung». Geschichte eines Schweizer Begriffs. In: History Reloaded. Was uns die Geschichte lehrt. Online: https://blog.tagesanzeiger.ch/historyreloaded/index.php/2616/ueberfremdung-geschichte-eines-schweizer-begriffs (accessed 17.10.2022).

Bureau of Labor Statistics (ed.) (1981): Monthly Labor Review. A Special Issue on Immigration. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Bush, Jeb/MacLarty, Thomas F./Alden, Edward H. (2009): U.S. Immigration Policy. New York: Council on Foreign Relations.

Buss, Andreas (2015): The Economic Ethics of World Religions and Their Laws. An Introduction to Max Weber's Comparative Sociology. Baden-Baden: Nomos.

Busse, Dietrich (2022): 15 Historical Semantic and Linguistic History of Thinking. In: Schiewer, Gesine L./Altarriba, Jeanette/Ng, Bee Chin (eds.): Handbook on Language and Emotion, Vol. 1. Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science, Vol. 46. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 324–338.

Cahnman, Werner M. (2005): Der Pariah und der Fremde. Eine begriffliche Erklärung. In: European Journal of Sociology, 15 (1), pp. 166–177.

Calavita, Kitty (1984): Immigration Law and the Control of Labor. 1820–1942. London: Academic Press.

Calavita, Kitty (1992): Inside the State. The Bracero Program, Immigration, and the I.N.S. New York: Routledge.

Cannon, Garland/Mendez-Egle, Beatrice (1979): New Borrowings in English. In: American Speech, 54 (1), pp. 23–37.

Carlson, Elliot (1975): Europe. The Victims. In: Newsweek (United States Edition), August 25.

Castles, Stephan (1986): The Guest-Worker in Western Europe. An Obituary. In: International Migration Review, 20 (4), pp. 761–778.

Cerna, Lucie/Hollifield, James F./Hynes, William (2015): Trade Migration and the Crisis of Globalization. In: Panizzon, Marion/Zürcher, Gottfried/Fornalé, Elisa (eds.): The Palgrave Handbook of International Labour Migration. Law and Policy Perspectives. London Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 17–40.

Chin, Rita C. (2007): The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Chiswick, Barry R. (1981): Guidelines for the Reform of Immigration Policy. In: University of Miami Law Review, 36 (5), pp. 893–903.

Chiswick, Barry R. (1988): Illegal Immigration and Immigration Control. In: Journal of Economic Perspectives, 2 (3), pp. 101–115.

Chomsky, Aviva (2018): They Take Our Jobs! And 20 Other Myths about Immigration. Boston: Beacon Press.

Christian Science Monitor (1981): Guest Workers for the United States? May 21.

Christoffel, Karl (1944): Volk – Bewegung – Reich. Grundlegung für den Nationalpolitischen Unterricht. Frankfurt a. M.: Moritz Diesterweg Verlag.

Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, Extension of Mexican Farm Labor Program (1961): United States Senate Eighty-Seventh Congress, First Session. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry (1981): Nomination of John R. Block to Be Secretary of Agriculture. Hearing before the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry, United States Senate, Ninety-Seventh Congress. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Committee on Foreign Relations (1981): The U.S. Stake in the Global Economy. Hearings before the Subcommittee on International Economic Policy of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Ninety-Seventh Congress. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare (1952): Migratory Labor. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare (1970): Migrant and Seasonal Farmworker Powerlessness. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Committee on Labor and Public Welfare (1989): Migrant and Seasonal Farmworker Powerlessness. Part 2: The Migrant Subculture. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Committee on Post Office and Civil Service (1981): Hispanic Immigration and Select Commission on Immigration's Final Report. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Census and Population of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, House of Representatives, Ninety-Seventh Congress. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Committee on Rules, House of Representatives (1919): Appointment of a Committee for Investigation of Mexican Situation. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Committee on Science and Technology (1979): U.S./Mexico Relations and Potentials Regarding Energy, Immigration, Scientific Cooperation, and Technology Transfer. Report Prepared by Sub-

committee on Investigations and Oversight and the Subcommittee on Science, Research, and Technology of the Committee on Science and Technology, U.S. House of Representatives, Ninety-Sixth Congress. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington.

Committee on the Judiciary (1975/1976): Western Hemisphere Immigration. Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Immigration, Citizenship, and International Law of the Committee on the Judiciary House of Representatives, Ninety-Fourth Congress. First and Second Sessions on H.R. 367, H.R. 981, and H.R. 10323. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Committee on the Judiciary (1976): Hearings before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the Committee on the Judiciary. United States Senate, Ninety-Fourth Congress. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Committee on the Judiciary (1978/1979): Alien Adjustment and Employment Act of 1977. Hearings before the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, Ninety-Fifth Congress. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Committee on the Judiciary (1979): Refugee Act of 1979. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees, and International Law of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Ninety-Sixth Congress. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Committee on the Judiciary (1980a): Temporary Worker Programs, Background and Issues. A Report. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Committee on the Judiciary (1980b): Caribbean Migration. Oversight Hearings before the Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees, and International Law of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Ninety-Sixth Congress. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Committee on the Judiciary (1981a): Final Report of the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy. Joint Hearings before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Refugee Policy of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary and Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees, and International Law of the House Committee on the Judiciary, Ninety-Seventh Congress. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Committee on the Judiciary (1981b): U.S. Consular Operations in Mexico City and Mexican Government Attitudes on Immigration Reform. A Study Trip. Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees, and International Law of the Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. House of Representatives, Ninety-Seventh Congress. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Committee on the Judiciary (1981c): U.S. Immigration Policy and the National Interest. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Conway, John A. (1975): Help Unwanted. In: Newsweek (United States Edition), June 16.

Cornelius, Wayne A. (1979): Migration to the United States. A View from Rural Mexican Communities. In: Development Digest, 17 (4), pp. 90-101.

Cornelius, Wayne A. (1980): Mexican Immigration. Causes and Consequences for Mexico. In: Bryce-LaPorte, Roy S. (ed.): Sourcebook on the New Immigration. Implications for the United States and the International Community. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, pp. 69–84.

Cornelius, Wayne A. (1981a): Immigration, Mexican Development Policy, and the Future of U. S. Mexican Relation. San Diego: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California.

Cornelius, Wayne A. (1981b): Mexican Migration to the United States. In: Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, 34 (1), pp. 67–77.

Cornelius, Wayne A./Díez-Canedo, Juan (1976): Mexican Migration to the United States. The View from Rural Sending Communities. Cambridge: Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

CSIS, Center for Strategic and International Studies (2015): CSIS Mourns the Loss of Our Colleague Sidney Weintraub. Online: https://www.csis.org/programs/simon-chair-political-economy/csis-mourns-loss-our-colleague-sidney-weintraub (accessed 17.10.2022).

Cullen, Robert B. (1981a): Reagan Likely to Be Successful in Getting Immigration Plan. In: The Associated Press, July 21.

Cullen, Robert B. (1981b): 'Announcement of Immigration Proposals Postponed.' In: The Associated Press, July 24.

Dahinden, Janine (2022): Deterritorialized and Unfinished "Integration Nations"? In: Ethnic and Racial Studies, 46 (8), pp. 1–11.

Dahinden, Janine/Fischer, Carolin/Menet, Joanna (2021): Knowledge Production, Reflexivity, and the Use of Categories in Migration Studies. Tackling Challenges in the Field. In: Ethnic and Racial Studies, 44 (4), pp. 535–554.

Délano, Alexandra (2011): Mexico and Its Diaspora in the United States. Policies of Emigration since 1848. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Del Olmo, Frank (1977): Guest Workers' Proposal Defended. Mexican Laborers Wouldn't Take Jobs from Americans, Expert Says. In: The New York Times, May 28.

Del Olmo, Frank (1980): Nava Foresees Mexican 'Guest Worker' Program. In: Los Angeles Times, April 4.

Departments of Justice, Labor and State (1979): Interagency Task Force on Immigration Policy. Staff Report. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Die Heimat am Mittag (1942): Betreuung der Auslandsarbeiter. March 6.

Dimas, Nicasio (1980): The Tarnished Golden Door. Civil Rights Issues in Immigration. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Dinç, Cüneyt (2011): From Gastarbeiter to People with Migration Background. A Critical Overview of German Migration Sociology. In: Sosyoloji Dergisi, 22 (3), pp. 253–280.

Domestic Council Committee on Illegal Aliens (1976): Preliminary Report. December.

DOMiD, Documentation Centre and Museum of Migration in Germany (2022): Recruiting "Guest Workers" ("Gastarbeiter"). Online: https://domid.org/en/news/migrationhistory-in-pictures-1960-recruitment/ (accessed 14.10.2022).

Ebke, Almuth (2022): Identität. Die Britische neue Linke und die politischen Wurzeln eines umstrittenen Konzepts. In: Historische Zeitschrift, 315 (2), pp. 350–384.

Eilbaum, Nicolás (2022): The Immigrant Sociologist. Paul Siu at Chicago. In: The American Sociologist, 53 (4), pp. 1–12.

Eps, Peter/Hartung, Uwe/Dahlem, Stefan (1996): Von der Anprangerung zum Skandal. Konsensbildung im Fall Werner Höfer. In: Jarren, Otfried/ Weßler, Hartmut/Schatz, Heribert (eds.): Medien und politischer Prozeß. Politische Öffentlichkeit und massenmediale Politikvermittlung im Wandel. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, pp. 103–118.

Espahangizi, Kijan (2022): Der Migration-Integration-Komplex. Wissenschaft und Politik in einem (Nicht-)Einwanderungsland, 1960-2010. Konstanz: Konstanz University Press.

Ezli, Özkan (2022): Narrative der Migration. Eine andere Deutsche Kulturgeschichte. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Falk, Pamela S. (2001): U.S.-Mexico Immigration Negotiations. Temporary Guest Workers and "Regularization" in a Changed International Environment. In: In Defense of the Alien, 24, pp. 124–138.

Fanning, Charlie/Piper, Nicola (2021): Global Labor Migration. In: Labor, 18 (1), pp. 67–86.

Farnsworth, Clyde H. (1974): The Doors are Closing to World's Immigrants. In: The New York Times, December 22.

Favell, Adrian (2022): The Integration Nation. Immigration and Colonial Power in Liberal Democracies. Hoboken: Polity Press.

Fawcett, Edmund (1974): Europe's Imported Work Force. In: The New York Times, June 23.

Felchow, Christian (2010): Fall Werner Höfer. Wie Deutschlands Meister-Moderator über seine braune Vergangenheit stolperte. In: Der Spiegel, June 2.

Fernández-Sebastián, Javier (2011): Introduction – The Relevance of Conceptual History. In: Fernández-Sebastián, Javier (ed.): Political Concepts and Time. New Approaches to Conceptual History. Santander: Cantabria University Press, pp. 1–18.

Feron, James (1971): A Transfer of Polish Workers to East Germany Is Arranged. In: The New York Times, July 25.

Finch Jr., Wilbur A. (1990): The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. A Preliminary Assessment. In: Social Service Review, 64 (2), pp. 244–260.

Fischer-Nebmaier, Wladimir (2009): 'Vom Gastarbeiter' zum 'Ausländer'. Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Diskurses über ArbeitsmigrantInnen in Österreich. In: Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur, 53 (3), pp. 248–266.

Fitzgerald, David/Cook-Martin, David (2019): The Geopolitical Origins of the 1965 Immigration Act. In: Marinari, Maddalena/Hsu, Madeline Y./García, María C. (eds.): A Nation of Immigrants Reconsidered. US Society in an Age of Restriction, 1924–1965. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, pp. 83–102.

Forbes (1975): But Why Are German Businessmen Nervous? July 15.

Forbes (1977): A Very Popular New Issue, November 15.

Foucault, Michel (1995): Power/Knowledge. Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Frankenberger Tageblatt (1930): Nach Frankreich 1930 keine Zulassung mehr. November 27.

Frei, Norbert (2001): Hitlers Eliten nach 1945 – eine Bilanz. In: Frei, Norbert (ed.): Karrieren im Zwielicht. Hitlers Eliten nach 1945. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, pp. 303–335.

Frei, Norbert/Schmitz, Johannes (1989): Journalismus im Dritten Reich, 1st ed. Munich: C. H. Beck.

Galarza, Ernesto (1956): Strangers in our Fields. Washington: Joint United States – Mexico Trade Union Committee.

General-Anzeiger (1935): Gastarbeiter-Austausch auch in der Jagt- und Forstwirtschaft. September 5.

General-Anzeiger (1950): Abkommen über soziale Sicherheit. July 26.

Glick-Schiller, Nina (2007): Beyond the Nation-State and Its Units of Analysis. Towards a New Research Agenda for Migration Studies. Essentials of Migration Theory. Bielefeld: COMCAD, Center on Migration, Citizenship and Development.

Gonzalez, Gilbert G. (2014): Guest Workers or Colonized Labor? Mexican Labor Migration to the United States. New York: Routledge.

Goodsell, James Nelson (1981): Mexico Open to US 'Guest Worker' Plan. In: Christian Science Monitor, June 11.

Grayson, George W. (1981): 'Myths' about Illegal Mexican Immigration. In: Christian Science Monitor, July 6.

Greenhouse, Steven (1981): New Plan, Old Flaws. In: The New York Times, August 23.

Griffith, David (2006): American Guestworkers. Jamaicans and Mexicans in the U.S. Labor Market. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Griffith, David (ed.) (2014): (Mis)managing Migration. Guestworkers' Experiences with North American Labor Markets. Santa Fe: SAR Press.

Guzmán, Romeo (2022): Paper Trails. Repatriates, Mexican Consuls, and Transnational Mobility during the Great Depression. In: Journal of American History, 109 (2), pp. 336–347.

Hahamovitch, Cindy (2003): Creating Perfect Immigrants. Guestworkers of the World in Historical Perspective. In: Labor History, 44 (1), pp. 69–94.

Hahamovitch, Cindy. (2014): No Man's Land. Jamaican Guestworkers in America and the Global History of Deportable Labor. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hahamovitch, Cindy (2015): Slavery's Stale Soil. Indentured Labor, Guestworkers, and the End of Empire. In: Bender, Daniel E./Lipman, Jana K. (eds.): Making the Empire Work. Labor and United States Imperialism. New York: New York University Press, pp. 227–266.

Harvard Law Review (2013): Developments in the Law. Immigrant Rights & Immigration Enforcement. In: Harvard Law Review, 126 (6), pp. 1565–1682.

Hasenau, Michael (1991): Part I – The Genesis of the Convention. ILO Standards on Migrant Workers: The Fundamentals of the UN Convention and Their Genesis. In: International Migration Review, 25 (4), pp. 687–697.

Haynes, Richard/Lanier, Ray (eds.) (1982): Agriculture, Change and Human Values. Proceedings of a Multidisciplinary Conference. Gainsville: Humanities and Agriculture Program.

Hazelton, Andrew J. (2022): Labor's Outcasts. Migrant Farmworkers and Unions in North America, 1934–1966. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Herbert, Ulrich (2001): Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland. Saisonarbeiter, Zwangsarbeiter, Gastarbeiter, Flüchtlinge. Munich: C. H. Beck.

Höfer, Werner (1943): Frontsoldaten und Frontarbeiter – Kameraden der Atlantikschlacht. In: Kalender der Deutschen Arbeit, pp. 90–93.

Höfer, Werner (1961): Wer möchte leben wie ein Hund. In: Neue Illustrierte, June 25.

Hoerder, Dirk (2017): Migration Research in a Global Perspective. Recent Developments. In: Roth, Karl Heinz (ed.): On the Road to Global Labour History. Leiden: Brill, pp. 203–218.

Homze, Edward L. (1967): Foreign Labor in Nazi Germany. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Honnefer Volkszeitung (1952): Gastarbeiter nach Frankreich. May 20.

Honnefer Volkszeitung (1963): Neuer Rekord – 850.000 Gastarbeitnehmer. April 9.

Huffman, Wallace E. (1982): Aliens, Immigration and Commodity Trade. Conflict between Consumers and Workers. In: Haynes, Richard/Lanier, Ray (eds.): Agriculture, Change, and Human Values. Proceedings of a Multidisciplinary Conference. Gainesville, pp. 348–386.

Hume, Ellen (1981): Mexican Guest Worker Proposal Denounced. In: Los Angeles Times, June 10.

Hunn, Karin (2005): Nächstes Jahr kehren wir zurück… Die Geschichte der türkischen 'Gastarbeiter' in der Bundesrepublik. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag.

Huxel, Katrin/Karakayalı, Juliane/Palenga-Möllenbeck, Ewa/Schmidbaur, Marianne/Shinozaki, Kyoko/Spies, Tina/Supik, Linda/Tuider, Elisabeth (2020): Postmigrantisch gelesen. In: Huxel, Katrin/Karakayalı, Juliane/Palenga-Möllenbeck, Ewa/Schmidbaur, Marianne/Shinozaki, Kyoko/Spies,

Tina/Supik, Linda/Tuider, Elisabeth: Postmigrantisch gelesen. Transnationalität, Gender, Care. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, pp. 15–30.

Ilias, Shayerah/Fennelly, Katherine/Federico, Christopher M. (2008): American Attitudes toward Guest Worker Policies. In: International Migration Review, 42 (4), pp. 741–766.

International Labour Organization (1975): Convention C143 – Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention. (143). Online: https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO::P12100_ILO_CODE:C143 (accessed 17.10.2022).

International Migration News (1966). In: The International Migration Digest, 3 (1), pp. 61–87.

Jaco, Susan (1977): Anti-Immigration Campaign Begun. In: Washington Post, May 8.

Johnson, Harvey L. (1961): Some Aspects of Spanish American Culture. In: The Americas, 17 (4), pp. 343–356.

Joint Economic Committee (1979/1980): The Great Depression, Can It Happen Again? Hearing before the Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States, Ninety-Sixth Congress. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Jones, Clayton (1980): Reagan Answer to Mexican 'Illegals. Let Them in and License Them. In: Christian Science Monitor, November 12.

Jordans, Sylvester (1838): Gastrecht (Fremdenrecht). In: von Rotteck, Carl/Welcker, Karl Theodor (eds.): Das Staats-Lexikon. Encyklopädie der sämmtlichen Staatswissenschaften für alle Stände. Leipzig: Brockhaus.

Jung, Matthias/Niehr, Thomas/Böke, Karin/Dorenbeck, Nils (2000): Ausländer und Migranten im Spiegel der Presse. Ein diskurshistorisches Wörterbuch zur Einwanderung seit 1945. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Kelly, Andrea (2011): Tucson Political Stalwart Joe Sweeney Dies. Joe Sweeney: 1944–2011. In: Arizona Daily Star, April 5.

Kemper, Thomas/Supik, Linda (2020): Klassifikationen von Migration und Sprache. Eine Analyse von Datensätzen und Publikationen der Bildungsforschung und der amtlichen Statistik. In: Karakayalı, Juliane (ed.): Unterscheiden und Trennen. Die Herstellung von natio-ethno-kultureller Differenz und Segregation in der Schule. Weinheim: Beltz Juventa, pp. 46–67.

Kempner, Robert (1943): Studies of Migration and Settlement. The German National Registration System. Washington D.C.

Kirchner, Klaus (1989): Flugblatt-Propaganda im 2. Weltkrieg. 12 Flugblätter aus England, aus den USA, Nachrichten für die Truppe 1945. Bibliographie, Katalog. Erlangen: Verlag für zeitgeschichtliche Dokumente und Curiosa.

Kolben, Kevin (2019): Temporary Migrant Work and the Bonds of Citizenship. In: UCLA Journal of International Law and Foreign Affairs, 23 (2), pp. 267–292.

Kollender, Ellen/Kourabas, Veronika (2020): Zwischen Ein- und Ausschluss der ‚Anderen'. (Dis-)Kontinuitäten rassistischer und ökonomistischer Argumentationen im Diskurs um Migration von der ‚Gastarbeit' bis heute. In: Wissen schafft Demokratie. Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Demokratie und Zivilgesellschaft, 7, pp. 86–99.

Koselleck, Reinhart (1979): Begriffsgeschichte und Sozialgeschichte. In: Koselleck, Reinhart (ed.): Historische Semantik und Begriffsgeschichte. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 19–36.

Krane, Ronald E. (ed.) (1979): International Labor Migration in Europe. New York: Praeger.

Kroeber-Keneth, Ludwig. (1961): Die ausländischen Arbeitskräfte und wir. In: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, June 3.

Kudat, Ayse (1974): International Labor Migration. A Description of the Preliminary Findings of the West Berlin Migrant Worker Survey. Berlin: Arbeitsgruppe Internationales Institut für Vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung.

Kulischer, Eugene M. (1943): The Displacement of Population in Europe. Montreal: International Labour Office.

Kurz, Ursula/Tuchtfeldt, Egon (1970): 'Gastarbeiter'. In: Görres-Gesellschaft/Verlag Herder: Staatslexikon (6). Freiburg: Herder, pp. 90–102.

Lässig, Simone/Steinberg, Swen (2017): Knowledge on the Move. New Approaches toward a History of Migrant Knowledge. In: Geschichte und Gesellschaft, 43 (3), pp. 313–346.

Lechner, Elsa/Renault, Letícia (2018): Migration Experiences and Narrative Identities. Viewing Alterity from Biographical Research. In: Critical Hermeneutics, 2, pp. 1–25.

Lehrer, Jim/MacNeil, Robert (1979): Discussion on Cost of Living. In: PBS NewsHour, December 21.

Lehrer, Jim/MacNeil, Robert (1981): Guest Workers. In: PBS NewsHour, June 9.

Leighton, Michelle/Manke, Marina (2022): Guidance on Bilateral Labor Migration Agreements. In: International Labour Organization, February 17.

Leonhard, Jörn (2008): Von der Wortimitation zur semantischen Integration. Übersetzung als Kulturtransfer. In: Gleixner, Ulrike (ed.): Übersetzen. Werkstattgeschichte (48). Essen: Klartext-Verlag, pp. 45–63.

Leonhard, Jörn (2011): Language, Experience and Translation. Towards a Comparative Dimension. In: Fernández-Sebastián, Javier (ed.): Political Concepts and Time. New Approaches to Conceptual History. Santander: Cantabria University Press, pp. 245–274.

Leonhard, Jörn/Steinmetz, Willibald (2016): Von der Begriffsgeschichte zur historischen Semantik von 'Arbeit'. Cologne: Böhlau Verlag.

Library of Congress (1980): Selected Readings on U.S. Immigration Policy and Law. A Compendium Prepared at the Request of Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, for the Use of the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy, Prepared by the Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, Ninety-Sixth Congress. Washington: US Government Printing Office.

Library of Congress (2022): A Latinx Resource Guide. Civil Rights Cases and Events in the United States. In: Research Guides. Online: https://guides.loc.gov/latinx-civil-rights/irca (accessed 16.10.2022).

Lippman, Leopold D. (1974): Guest Workers, Handicapped Workers. Are They the Seedbed of Conflict? In: The Social and Rehabilitation Record, 1 (9), pp. 20–24.

Los Angeles Times (1979): Curb Urges Importing Labor From Mexico: But Union Official Strongly Opposes 'Guest Worker' Plan. July 26.

Los Angeles Times (1981): Language and Cultural Difficulties Common in West German Schools. Bonn's 'Guest Worker' Policy Brings Problem – Children to Educate. August 19.

Lowe, Boutelle Ellsworth (1935): The International Protection of Labor. International Labour Organization, History and Law. New York: Macmillan.

Lowe, Boutelle Ellsworth (1938): Review. Labor Treaties and Labor Compacts. In: University of Pennsylvania Law Review and American Law Register, 86 (3), p. 328.

Loza, Mireya (2022): "Let Them Bring Their Families" – The Experiences of the First Mexican Guest Workers, 1917–1922. In: Journal of American History, 109 (2), pp. 310–323.

Luckstead, Jeff/Devadoss, Stephen (2019): The Importance of H-2A Guest Workers in Agriculture. In: Choices, 34 (1), pp. 1–8.

Macpherson, Cluny (1981): Guest-worker Movements and Their Consequences for Donor and Recipient Countries. A Case Study. In: Jones, Gavin Willis/Richter, Hazel Varvara (eds.): Population Mobility and Development. Southeast Asia and the Pacific. Canberra, Florida: The Australian National University, pp. 257–282.

Maddux, Thomas R. (1981): Ronald Reagan and the Task Force on Immigration, 1981. In: Pacific Historical Review, 74 (2), pp. 195–236.

Madison, Christopher (1981): U.S. Relations with Mexico – Behind the Smiles, Knotty Problems. In: National Journal, June 27.

Malmquist, David H. (1978): A Lagged Adjustment Model of Foreign Worker Migration to the Federal Republic of Germany. New York: City University of New York.

Marrenbach, Otto (1942): 350 Millionen Menschen schaffen für den Sieg des neuen Europas! In: Ley, Robert. (ed.): Schmiede des Schwertes. Der deutsche Arbeiter im Großdeutschen Freiheitskampf. Reden und Reportagen aus der Kriegsarbeit Dr. Leys. Munich: Zentralverlag der NSDAP, pp. 306–310.

Martin, Philip L. (1980): Guestworker Programs. Lessons from Europe. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Martin, Philip L. (1981): Germany's Guestworkers. In: Challenge, 24 (3), pp. 34–42.

Martin, Philip L. (2012): Immigration and Farm Labor. What Next? In: Choices, 27 (1).

Martin, Philip L. (2015): Low-Skilled Labour Migration and Free Trade Agreements. In: Panizzon, Marion/Zürcher, Gottfried/Fornalé, Elisa (eds.): The Palgrave Handbook of International Labour Migration. Law and Policy Perspectives. London Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 205–230.

Martin, Philip L./Houstoun, Marion F. (1982): European and American Immigration Policies. In: Law and Contemporary Problems, 45 (2), pp. 29–54.

Martin, Philip L./Kuptsch, Christiane/Abella, Manolo I. (2006): Managing Labor Migration in the Twenty-First Century. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Martin, Philip L./Midgley, Elizabeth (1999): Immigration to the United States. Washington, DC: Population Reference Bureau.

Martin, Philip L./Miller, Mark J. (1980): Guestworkers. Lessons from Western Europe. In: Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 33 (3), pp. 315–330.

Martin, Philip L./North, David (1984): Nonimmigrant Aliens in American Agriculture. In: Emerson, Robert (ed.): Seasonal Agricultural Labor Markets in the United States. Ames: The Iowa State University Press, pp. 168–193.

Martin, Philip L./Richards, Alan (1980): International Migration of Labor. Boon or Bane? In: Monthly Labor Review, 103 (10), pp. 4–9.

Martin, Philip L./Teitelbaum, Michael S. (2001): The Mirage of Mexican Guest Workers. In: Foreign Affairs, 80 (6), pp. 118–131.

Massey, Douglas S./Liang, Zai (1989): The Long-Term Consequences of a Temporary Worker Program. The US Bracero Experience. In: Population Research and Policy Review, 8 (3), pp. 199–226.

Mattiace, Peter (1981): Governors Praise, Attack Reagan on Refugees. In: The Associated Press, August 9.

Maxwell, Evan (1980a): Illegal Alien Proposal Stirs Hope. Anger. In: Los Angeles Times, July 31.

Maxwell, Evan (1980b): Mexico President Backs 'Guest Worker' Proposal. In: Los Angeles Times, June 10.

McCallum, Leanne/Lackovic, Michelle/Whitcomb, Olivia/Katner, Adrienne/Harrington, Daniel (2022): Louisiana Guestworker Health and Safety a Necessary Component of Health Equity. Lessons

from the COVID-19 Pandemic. In: New Solutions. A Journal of Environmental and Occupational Health Policy, 32 (1), pp. 57–64.

Merz-Benz, Peter-Ulrich (2015): Paul Siu's "Gastarbeiter". Ein Leben zwischen "symbiotischer Segregation" und "sozialer Isolation". In: Reuter, Julia/Mecheril, Paul (eds.): Schlüsselwerke der Migrationsforschung. Pionierstudien und Referenztheorien. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, pp. 97–112.

Messarius, Gustav (1944): Anlernwege und Anlernziele in der Kriegsproduktion. Die fachliche Kurzausbildung Erwachsener im Zusammenhang mit der Laufbahngestaltung. Berlin-Zehlendorf: Lehrmittelzentrale der Deutschen Arbeitsfront.

Mize, Ronald L. (2019): The State Management of Guest Workers. The Decline of the Bracero Program, the Rise of Temporary Worker Visas. In: Marinari, Maddalena/Hsu, Madeline Y./García, María C. (eds.): A Nation of Immigrants Reconsidered. US Society in an Age of Restriction, 1924–1965. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, pp. 123–143.

Montemayor, Robert (1980a): Border Panel Backs Guest Worker Plan. Task Force also Urges Amnesty Program but Rejects ID Card Idea. In: Los Angeles Times, May 3.

Montemayor, Robert (1980b): U.S. Envoy to Mexico Outlines Case for Guest Worker Program. In: Los Angeles Times, August 15.

Mooney, Richard E. (1965): 4 Million Workers Migrate in Europe. In: The New York Times, December 23.

Morris, Joe Alex (1972): 'Modern Slaves'. Europe's Second Class Citizenry. In: Los Angeles Times, October 29.

Morris, Joe Alex (1973a): Turks Crowd into Ghetto in West Berlin. In: Los Angeles Times, April 15.

Morris, Joe Alex (1973b): Germany's Planned Economic Slowdown May Skid into Recession. In: Los Angeles Times, December 10.

Morris, Joe Alex (1975a): If Jobless Situation Worsens, Bonn May Send Foreign Workers Home. In: Los Angeles Times, January 14.

Morris, Joe Alex (1975b): Soaring Oil Prices Turn W-Germany's Dying Coal Industry into Booming One. In: Los Angeles Times, February 7.

Morris, Joe Alex (1975c): 'Guest Workers' Lose Jobs in Recession. Germany Pulls Welcome Mat from under Turks. In: Los Angeles Times, March 30.

Mota, Pedro Infante (2022): Economic Migration. The Last Frontier. In: The Journal of Applied Business and Economics, 24, pp. 93–113.

Muras, Jo/Kuhn, Peter (1961): Gastarbeiter! Sie arbeiten mit. Sie helfen uns. Wir brauchen sie. Menschen zweiter Klasse. In: Neue Illustrierte, June 25.

Murrani, Sana (2020): Contingency and Plasticity. The Dialectical Re-construction of the Concept of Home in Forced Displacement. In: Culture & Psychology, 26 (2), pp. 173–186.

Nafziger, James A. R./Bartel, Barry C. (1991): The Migrant Workers Convention. Its Place in Human Rights Law. In: International Migration Review, 25 (4), pp. 771–799.

Nail, Thomas (2015): The Figure of the Migrant. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

National Commission for Manpower Policy (1978): Manpower and Immigration Policies in the United States. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

National Commission on Employment and Unemployment Statistics (1979): Counting the Labor Force. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

National Defense University (ed.) (1979): Continuity and Change in the Eighties and Beyond. Proceedings of the National Security Affairs Conference. Washington: NDU Press.

National Journal (1982): Guest Worker Experience, March 6.

Newsweek (United States Edition) (1979). Dousing 'a Brush Fire'. December 10.

Nieswand, Boris/Drotbohm, Heike (eds.) (2014): Kultur, Gesellschaft, Migration. Die reflexive Wende in der Migrationsforschung. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

North, David S. (1980): Nonimmigrant Workers in the U.S. – Current Trends and Future Implications. Washington: Department of Labor.

Nowotny, Stefan (2018). Überlegungen zur Geschichte der 'Gastarbeit'. In: Buden, Boris/Dokuzovic, Lina (eds.): They'll Never Walk Alone. The Life and Afterlife of Gastarbeiters. Vienna: transversal texts, pp. 249–268.

Oltmer, Jochen (2005): Migration und Politik in der Weimarer Republik. Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht.

Otzelberger, Manfred (1993): "Schweigen und Arbeiten". In: TAZ, March 20.

Paechter, Heinz (1944): Nazi-Deutsch. A Glossary of Contemporary German Usage, with Appendices on Government, Military, and Economic Institutions. New York: Ungar.

Panagiotidis, Jannis (2019): Migrationsgesellschaft Deutschland. In: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, October 14.

Panizzon, Marion (2010): International Law of Economic Migration. A Ménage à Trois? GATS Mode 4, EPAs, and Bilateral Migration Agreements. In: Journal of World Trade, 44 (6), pp. 1207–1252.

Panizzon, Marion (2011): Migration and Trade. Prospects for Bilateralism in the Face of Skill-Selective Mobility Laws. In: Melbourne Journal of International Law, 12 (1), pp. 95–140.

Panizzon, Marion/Singh, Harjodh (2020): Upping the *Ante*. The Movement of Natural Persons (Mode 4) and Non-Services Migration in EU and Asian PTAs. In: Hoffmann, Rhea Tamara/Krajewski, Markus (eds.): Coherence and Divergence in Services Trade Law. Cham: Springer, pp. 139–168.

Pastor, Manuel/Alva, Susan (2004): Guest Workers and the New Transnationalism. Possibilities and Realities in an Age of Repression. In: Social Justice, 31 (1–2), pp. 92–112.

Pear, Robert (1981a): Panel Asks Rise in Immigration, with Tighter Law Enforcement. In: The New York Times, February 27.

Pear, Robert (1981b): First Reviews on Immigration Proposals. Encouraging Words, Uncertain Prospects. In: The New York Times, February 28.

Pear, Robert (1981c): Plan Would Let Mexicans Work as U.S. Guests. In: The New York Times, May 11.

Pear, Robert (1981d): Program on Aliens Offered to Reagan. In: The New York Times, May 24.

Pear, Robert (1981e): Rise in Immigration Urged from Mexico and Canada. In: The New York Times, May 30.

Pear, Robert (1981f): Alien Worker Programs are Easier to Start than Control. In: The New York Times, June 7.

Pécoud, Antoine (2009): The UN Convention on Migrant Workers' Rights and International Migration Management. In: Global Society, 23 (3), pp. 333–350.

Pécoud, Antoine/De Guchteneire, Paul (2006): Migration, Human Rights and the United Nations. An Investigation into the Obstacles to the UN Convention on Migrant Workers' Rights. In: Windsor Yearbook of Access to Justice, 24 (2), pp. 241–266.

Peirce, Neal/Fillion, Roger (1981): Should the United States Open Its Doors to the Foreigners Waiting to Come in? In: National Journal, March 7.

Petersen, Carl (1928): Die deutsch-französische Vereinbarung über die Zulassung von Arbeitnehmern, die sich beruflich und sprachlich fortbilden wollen. In: Reichsarbeitsblatt, Teil 2, pp. 541–543.

Piore, Michael J. (1979): Birds of Passage. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pongratz, Hans J. (2020): Die Lage der Landarbeiter im ostelbischen Deutschland (1892). In: Müller, Hans-Peter/Sigmund, Steffen (eds.): Max Weber-Handbuch. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, pp. 226-231.

Poutrus, Patrice G. (2020): Umkämpftes Asyl. Vom Nachkriegsdeutschland bis in die Gegenwart. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung.

Power, Jonathan (1979): Migrant Workers in Western Europe and the United States. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Power, Jonathan/Hardman, Anna (1978): Western Europe's Migrant Workers. London: Minority Rights Group.

Prezelski, Ted (2011): Adios, Joe. The Electoral History of Joe Sweeney. In: Tucson Sentinel, April 5.

Quintana, Maria L. (2018): The Bracero Program. 1942–1964. In: Fernández, Lilia (ed.): 50 Events that Shaped Latino History. An Encyclopedia of the American Mosaic. Greenwood: ABC-CLIO, pp. 400–415.

Quintana, Maria L. (2022): Contracting Freedom. Race, Empire, and U.S. Guestworker Programs. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Raines, Howell (1981): Reagan Advised to Admit Mexicans as Guest Workers. In: The New York Times, July 2.

Raphaël, Freddy (1981): Die Juden als Gastvolk im Werk von Max Weber. In: Schluchter, Wolfgang (ed.): Max Webers Studie über das antike Judentum. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, pp. 224–262.

Rass, Christoph (2010): Institutionalisierungsprozesse auf einem internationalen Arbeitsmarkt. Bilaterale Wanderungsverträge in Europa zwischen 1919 und 1974. Paderborn: Schöningh.

Rass, Christoph (2012a): Temporary Labour Migration and State-Run Recruitment of Foreign Workers in Europe, 1919–1975. A New Migration Regime? In: International Review of Social History, 57, pp. 191–224.

Rass, Christoph (2012b): Staatsverträge und "Gastarbeiter" im Migrationsregime des "Dritten Reiches". Motive, Intentionen und Kontinuitäten. In: Oltmer, Jochen (ed.): Nationalsozialistisches Migrationsregime und "Volksgemeinschaft". Paderborn: Schöningh, pp. 157–183.

Rass, Christoph (2018): Migrationsforschung und 'Migrationskrise'. Eine Debatte aus den USA der 1930er Jahre. Antrittsvorlesung anlässlich der Berufung auf die Professur für Neueste Geschichte und Historische Migrationsforschung der Universität Osnabrück, 21. Juni 2016. IMIS Working Paper 02, Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien (IMIS) der Universität Osnabrück. Osnabrück: IMIS.

Rass, Christoph (2020a): 1955. Das deutsch-italienische "Anwerbeabkommen" – ein Wendepunkt der Migrationsgeschichte? In: Fahrmeir, Andreas (ed.): Deutschland. Globalgeschichte einer Nation. Munich: C.H. Beck, pp. 700–704.

Rass, Christoph (2020b): International Migration. In: Berg-Schlosser, Dirk/Badie, Bertrand/Morlino, Leonardo (eds.): The SAGE Handbook of Political Science. Melbourne: SAGE Reference, pp. 1474–1489.

Rass, Christoph (2021): "Foreign-born" und "Migrationshintergrund". Zur historischen Bedingtheit von Kategorien der Differenzproduktion. Online: https://nghm.hypotheses.org/2670 (accessed 14.10.2022).

Rass, Christoph/Huhn, Sebastian (2022): Displacement und Displaced Persons. In: Bannasch, Bettina/ Bischoff, Doerte/Dogramaci, Burcu (eds.): Exil, Flucht, Migration. Konfligierende Begriffe, vernetzte Diskurse? Berlin: De Gruyter, pp. 38–49.

Rass, Christoph/Tames, Ismee (eds.) (2020): Negotiating the Aftermath of Violence Induced Mobility in the Wake of the Second World War. Rethinking Sources, Methods and Approaches from the Intersection of War and Migration Studies in the Digital Age. Cologne: GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences.

Rass, Christoph/Ulz, Melanie (eds.) (2015): Migration und Film. Osnabrück: Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien (IMIS).

Rass, Christoph/Ulz, Melanie (2018a): Armando Rodrigues de Sá revisited. Bildwissenschaftliche und historische Analysen im Dialog. In: Rass, Christoph/Ulz, Melanie (eds.): Migration ein Bild geben. Visuelle Aushandlungen von Diversität. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, pp. 419–446.

Rass, Christoph/Ulz, Melanie (eds.) (2018b): Migration ein Bild geben. Visuelle Aushandlungen von Diversität. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.

Rass, Christoph/Wolff, Frank (2018): What Is in a Migration Regime? Genealogical Approach and Methodological Proposal. In: Pott, Andreas/Rass, Christoph/Wolff, Frank (eds.): Was ist ein Migrationsregime? What is a Migration Regime? Wiesbaden: Springer VS, pp. 19–64.

Reagan, Ronald (1986a): President Reagan's Remarks at Ceremony for Immigration Reform and Control Act. November 6, 1986. Online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FvZ0QHpxmRs (accessed 16.10.2022).

Reagan, Ronald (1986b): Statement on Signing the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. Online: https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/speech/statement-signing-immigration-reform-and-control-act-1986 (accessed 16.10.2022).

Reichert, Joshua S. (1981): Temporary Worker Programs. Not so Temporary after All. In: Christian Science Monitor, June 15.

Reston, James (1977): The Poverty of Power. In: The New York Times, February 18.

Reubens, Edwin Pierce (1979): Temporary Admission of Foreign Workers. Dimensions and Policies. A Special Report of the National Commission for Manpower Policy. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Reyes, David (1980): 'Guest Worker' Proposal Draws Mixed Reaction. In: Los Angeles Times, April 7.

Richards, Timothy J. (2022): Agribusiness and Policy Failures. In: Applied Economic Perspectives and Policy, 44 (1), pp. 350–363.

Riding, Alan (1979): Visit to Mexico. Strains in Open. In: The New York Times, February 19.

Rieder, Maximiliane (2019): Gastarbeiter. Online: https://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/Lexikon/Gastarbeiter# (accessed 14.10.2022).

Rist, Ray C. (1978a): Guestworkers in Germany. The Prospects for Pluralism. New York: Praeger.

Rist, Ray C. (1978b): Migration and Marginality. Guestworkers in Germany and France. In: Daedalus, 108 (2), pp. 95–108.

Rist, Ray C. (1978c): The Invisible Children. School Integration in American Society. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Rist, Ray C. (1979a): Desegregated Schools. Appraisals of an American Experiment. New York: Academic Press.

Rist, Ray C. (1979b): Guestworkers and Post-World War II European Migration. In: Studies in Comparative International Development, 14 (2), pp. 28–53.

Rist, Ray C. (1979c): On the Education of Guest-Worker Children in Germany. Public Policies and Equal Educational Opportunity. In: Comparative Education Review, 23 (3), pp. 355–369.

Rist, Ray C. (1979d): The European Economic Community (EEC) and Manpower Migrations. Policies and Prospects. In: Journal of International Affairs, 33 (2), pp. 201–218.

Rist, Ray C. (1980): Die ungewisse Zukunft der Gastarbeiter. Eingewanderte Bevölkerungsgruppen verändern Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta.

Rodriguez, Christina M. (2007): Guest Workers and Integration. Toward a Theory of What Immigrant and Americans Owe One Another. In: The University of Chicago Legal Forum, 22, pp. 219–288.

Röhr-Sendlmeier, Una M. (1992): Der Schulunterricht für Migranten in Deutschland – Maßnahmen und bildungspolitische Konzepte von 1950 bis 1990. In: Macha, Hildegard/Roth, Hans-Joachim (eds.): Bildungs- und Erziehungsgeschichte im 20. Jahrhundert. Festschrift für Heinrich Kanz zum 65. Geburtstag. Frankfurt: Lang, pp. 297–321.

Rose, Arnold Marshall (1969): Migrants in Europe. Problems of Acceptance and Adjustment. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Ruhs, Martin/Chang, Ha-Joon (2004): The Ethics of Labor Immigration Policy. In: International Organization, 58 (1), pp. 69–102.

Sabrin, Amy (1981): Mexico Favors 'Guest Worker' Program but Would Boost Numbers. In: The Associated Press, June 4.

Sala, Roberto (2005): "Gastarbeitersendungen" und "Gastarbeiterzeitschriften" in der Bundesrepublik (1960–1975) – ein Spiegel internationaler Spannungen. In: Zeithistorische Forschungen/ Studies in Contemporary History, 2 (3), pp. 366–387.

Salazar-Porzio, Margaret/Troyano, Joan Fragaszy/Safranek, Lauren (eds.) (2017): Many Voices, One Nation. Material Culture Reflections on Race and Migration in the United States. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press.

Samuelson, Paul A. (1975): Gold through the Golden Door. In: Newsweek (United States Edition), May 26.

Schmid, Josef (2001): Intendant Klaus von Bismark und die Kampagne gegen den "Rotfunk" WDR. In: Archiv für Sozialgeschichte, 41, pp. 349–381.

Schrover, Marlou (2018): Labor Migration. In: Hofmeester, Karin/van der Linden, Marcel (eds.): Handbook Global History of Work. Berlin: De Gruyter, pp. 433–468.

Seeger, Murray (1976a): Europe Host to Migrant Army. 10 Million Laborers in Imported Work Force. In: Los Angeles Times, February 15.

Seeger, Murray (1976b): East Europe Quietly Imports Workers. Labor Needed but Aliens Sometimes Prove Troublesome. In: Los Angeles Times, February 18.

Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy (1981): Newsletter. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Select Committee on Population (1978a): Immigration to the United States. Hearings before the Select Committee on Population, Ninety-Fifth Congress. Washington: US Government Printing Office.

Select Committee on Population (1978b): Legal and Illegal Immigration to the United States. Report Prepared by the Select Committee on Population, U.S. House of Representatives, Ninety-Fifth Congress. Washington: US Government Printing Office.

Shabecoff, Philip (1977): Carter Said to Seek Amnesty for Aliens in Country 7 Years. Families Would Be Admitted. In: The New York Times, July 21.

Shaffer, Gregory C. (1988): An Alternative to Unilateral Immigration Controls. Toward a Coordinated U.S.-Mexico Binational Approach. In: Stanford Law Review, 41 (1), pp. 187–232.

Shopmeyer, Kim D. (1977): Immigrant Workers and Internal Colonialism. Some Consequences of the Migration of Foreign Labor to Western Europe. Detroit: Wayne State University.

Sigmund, Paul E. (1981/1982): Latin America. Change or Continuity? In: Foreign Affairs, 60 (3), pp. 629–657.

Siu, Paul C. P. (1952): The Sojourner. In: American Journal of Sociology, 58 (1), pp. 34–44.

Smale, Allison (1982): West German Director Found Dead. In: The Associated Press, June 10.

Solimano, Andrés (2010): International Migration in the Age of Crisis and Globalization. Historical and Recent Experiences. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Song, Sarah (2019): Immigration and Democracy. New York: Oxford University Press.

Stötzel, Gerog/Wengeler, Martin (1995): Kontroverse Begriffe. Geschichte des öffentlichen Sprachgebrauchs in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Stokes, Lauren (2019a): "An Invasion of Guest Worker Children". Welfare Reform and the Stigmatisation of Family Migration in West Germany. In: Contemporary European History, 28 (3), pp. 372–389.

Stokes, Lauren (2019b): The Permanent Refugee Crisis in the Federal Republic of Germany, 1949. In: Central European History, 52 (1), pp. 19–44.

Stokes, Lauren (2022): Vom Auffinden der Gastarbeiter in der Gastarbeitergeschichte. In: Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft, 70 (1), pp. 40–49.

Strout, Richard L. (1981a): Congress May Move to Put More Teeth in Much-Flouted Immigration Law. In: Christian Science Monitor, March 26.

Strout, Richard L. (1981b): Mexican and US Presidents. A Great Deal to Talk About. In: Christian Science Monitor, June 8.

Stueck, Hans J. (1971): At the French-West German Border, Lots of Amity and a Little Friction. In: The New York Times, March 6.

Suchorab, Krystian (2020): Zum phraseologischen Potenzial der Ausdrücke mit dem Lexem Flüchtling und seinen Synonymen. In: Gondek, Anna/Jurasz, Alina/Kałasznik, Marcelina/ Szczęk, Joanna (eds.): Deutsche Phraseologie und Parömiologie im Kontakt und im Kontrast. Beiträge der 2. internationalen Tagung zur Phraseologie und Parömiologie in Wrocław/Polen, 23.–25. Mai 2019. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, pp. 309–322.

Sulzberger, Cyrus Leo (1976): A Migrant Labor Pool. In: The New York Times, May 22.

Supik, Linda (2022): Migration erklärt so wenig. Für eine statistisch eindeutige und separate Erfassung von Migration, Zugehörigkeit und Rassismus. Online: https://rat-fuer-migration.de/2022/09/08/migration-erklaert-so-wenig-fuer-eine-statistisch-eindeutige-und-separate-erfassung-von-migration-zugehoerigkeit-und-rassismus/ (accessed 17.10.2022).

Surak, Kristin (2013a): "Die Gastarbeiter" (Guestworkers). In: Merkur, Zeitschrift für europäisches Denken, Sonderheft 9/10, pp. 1024–1035.

Surak, Kristin (2013b): Guestwork Regimes. In: A Taxonomy New Left Review, 84, pp. 84–102.

Sylvester, Ed (1980): Board Supports Mexican Guest Worker Program. In: Los Angeles Times, May 28.

Tchen, John Kuo Wei/Siu, Paul C. P. (eds.) (1987): The Chinese Laundryman. A Study of Social Isolation. New York: New York University Press.

Thakkar, Sonali (2020): The Reeducation of Race. In: Social Text, 38 (2), pp. 73–96.

The Associated Press (1980a): Baja Governor Opposes Guest Workers. May 30.

The Associated Press (1980b): People in the News. June 10.

The Associated Press (1981): Plan Gets Poor Reviews from Hispanics & Haitians. July 30.

The Evening Star (1950): GW Awards Degrees To 677. Student, 21, Receives Doctorate. February 23.

The New York Times (1974): France Restricts Foreign Workers. Bars Added Influx until Fall as Unemployed Guard. July 5.

The New York Times (1981a): Director of U.S. Hispanic Group Assails Plan to Import Workers. May 18.

The New York Times (1981b): We've Lost Control of Our Borders. Opinion. August 2.

Trimborn, Harry (1975): Residents Expect Them Back. Reds Run out of North Portugal Town. In: Los Angeles Times, August 15.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph (1995): Silencing the Past. Power and the Production of History. Boston: Beacon Press.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph (2003): Global Transformations. Anthropology and the Modern World. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US.

United States Commission of Civil Rights (1978/79): Immigration Policy and Procedure. Hearing Held in Washington, November 14–15. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

University of Toronto Discover Archives (2022): Hawkins, Freda – Discover Archives. Online: https://discoverarchives.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/hawkins-freda (accessed 17.10.2022).

UPI, United Press International (1981): Reagan's Statement on Immigration. In: The New York Times, July 31.

U.S. Congress (1940): Interstate Migration. Hearings. House Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. Congress, Ninety-Ninth Congress (1986): 'Public Law 99-603'. Washington DC, November 6.

U.S. Congress, House of Representatives (1920): Temporary Admission of Illiterate Mexican Laborers. Sixty-Sixth Congress, Second Session. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

U.S. News & World Report (1979): Europe Turns Its Back on Migrant Workers. October 29.

U.S. News & World Report (1981): Allow Mexican Guest Workers? NO. 'Migrant-Labor Tap Is Much Easier than to Close'. October 5.

Variety (1969): Mannheim Film Fest. Katzelmacher. October 22.

Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus (1893): Mitteilungen aus dem Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus (3). Berlin.

Von Bergen, Drew (1981): Mexican Guest Worker Proposal Denounced. In: United Press International, June 9.

Wage and Hour Division (2022): US Department of Labor Enforcement Initiative Seeks to Reduce Violations of Guest Worker Program by Southeast Employers. Online: https://www.dol.gov/newsroom/releases/whd/whd20220824 (accessed 17.10.2022).

Walker, Henry T. (1976): Gold Mountain Guests. Chinese Migration to the United States, 1848–1982. Stanford: Xerox University Microfilms.

Weber, Max (1921a): Das antike Judentum. Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck).

Weber, Max (1921b): Hinduismus und Buddhismus. Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck).

Weber, Max (1952): Ancient Judaism. Glencoe: Free Press.

Weber, Max (1988a): Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie. Die Wirtschaftsethik der Weltreligionen. Vergleichende religionssoziologische Versuche, 9th ed. Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck).

Weber, Max (1988b): Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 2nd ed. Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck).

Weinfeld, Abraham C. (1937): Labor Treaties and Labor Compacts. Bloomington: The Principia Press.

Weise, Julie/Rass, Christoph (2024): Migrating Concepts. The Transatlantic Origins of the Bracero Program, 1919–42. In: American Historical Review, 129 [forthcoming].

Wengeler, Martin (2000): Von "Belastungen", "wirtschaftlichem Nutzen" und "politischen Zielen". Die öffentliche Einwanderungsdiskussion in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz Anfang der 70er Jahre. In: Niehr, Thomas/Böke, Karin (eds.): Einwanderungsdiskurse. Vergleichende diskurslinguistische Studien. Amsterdam: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, pp. 135–137.

Wengeler, Martin (2003): Topos und Diskurs. Begründung einer argumentationsanalytischen Methode und ihre Anwendung auf den Migrationsdiskurs (1960–1985). Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Werneke, Diane (1979): Readings in Labor Force Statistics. Washington: National Commission on Employment and Unemployment Statistics.

Whitney, Craig R. (1974): Germany's 'Guests' Stay. In: The New York Times, January 27.

Wickramasekara, Piyasiri (2008): Globalisation, International Labour Migration and the Rights of Migrant Workers. In: Third World Quarterly, 29 (7), pp. 1247–1264.

Wickramasekara, Piyasiri (2018): Core Elements of a Bilateral Agreement or a Memorandum of Understanding on Labor Migration. Bangladesh: International Labour Organization.

Wieser, Harald (1987): Tod eines Pianisten. In: Der Spiegel, December 13.

Wildt, Michael (2019): Die Ambivalenz des Volkes. Der Nationalsozialismus als Gesellschaftsgeschichte. Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag.

Wimmer, Andreas/Glick-Schiller, Nina (2003): Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and the Study of Migration. An Essay in Historical Epistemology. In: International Migration Review, 37 (3), pp. 576–610.

Woesthoff, Julia M. (2004): Ambiguities of Anti-Racism. Representations of Foreign Laborers and the West German Media, 1955–1990. East Lansing: Michigan State University.

World News Digest (1980): Guest Worker Idea Scored. New York: Facts on File.

Wright, Michael/Herron, Caroline Rand (1980): The Nation in Summary. Immigration Panel Suggests Answers. In: The New York Times, December 14.

Yang, Philip Q. (2000): The Sojourner Hypothesis Revisited. In: Diaspora. A Journal of Transnational Studies, (9) 2, pp. 235–258.

Zolberg, Aristide R. (1989): The Politics of Immigration "Reform". In: Revue Française d'Études Américaines, 41, pp. 263–276.

Zweite Bekanntmachung über die deutsch-niederländische Vereinbarung über die Zulassung von Arbeitnehmern, die sich beruflich und sprachlich fortbilden wollen (Gastarbeitnehmer). February 22 (1935). In: Reichsarbeitsblatt, Teil 1, p. 246.

Institut für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien (IMIS)

Universität Osnabrück
D-49069 Osnabrück
www.imis.uni-osnabrueck.de