5. Spaces and Identities

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5.1 Introduction: Geographic Discourses and Tourism Practice

While questions of spatial dimension have since long been central topics of (social-) geographic identity research, they have only been approached by human and social sciences in recent years (see Döring/Thielmann 2009; Lossau/Lippuner 2004). In parallel to this interest for the conceptual foundations of geography, also known as 'spatial turn', geography, conversely, performed a 'social' or 'cultural turn', i.e. an increasing import of conceptual and methodological perspectives from the relevant neighbouring disciplines. All in all, this has led to a wide diffusion of discourse-analytical and semiotic approaches with a decidedly spatial perspective (see Blunt et al, 2003; Gebhard et al. 2003; Glasze/Matissek 2009; Shurmer-Smith 2002).

According to Weichhart's very sociopsychologically inspired concept of space-related identities (1990), one can distinguish between two basic concepts: One is the 'identity of a space', i.e. the cognitive-emotional representation of the identity of a certain segment of space, which is perceived individually or collectively (e.g. specific features of a border region in the perception of its population). Secondly, there is the concept of 'space as a component of individual and/or collective identities', i.e. those mental representations and emotionally affective assessments of a space segment which become a part of the individual 'self-concept' respectively the collective 'we-concept' – or determine external group identity as a 'they-concept' (e.g. the everyday relevance of the specific features of a border region forms the basis for specific group identities, for instance: "We/The cross-border workers").

In both cases, the physical and material specificities of the space are secondary or serve – in their selective perception – primarily as a projection screen for assignments of meaning. These are constituted by patterns of action as well as from discursive practice – both in the sense of "everyday regionalisations" – according

to Werlen (1995/1997). Spatial identity aspects thus becomes, via social practices, an element of symbolic social systems and therefore part of social constructions of reality (Berger/Luckmann 1966). Here, the consciousness-shaping discourse is not only constituted by elements of social communication about space (language, including literature, film etc. as well as maps, statistical data etc.). It can also be influenced by material environments (e.g. the building fabric of a city district, the aesthetics of a landscape, traffic congestion) without these assuming a deterministic character. Other semiotic elements are also included, such as direction-signs, flags, emblems, architectural stylistic elements etc. In view of this wide range of corpora and perspectives for possible investigation, the aforementioned authors stress the added value of interdisciplinary investigation designs that are better equipped to meet the conceptual and methodological demands of contemporary research requirements than purely disciplinary approaches.

The current chapter explores such 'geo-graphical' issues from various angles, shedding light on the different ways in which Luxembourg is described, depicted and signified as a space. It seeks to analyse precisely those discourses that 'produce' Luxembourg as a space, thus defining and designating it as such. How then is Luxembourg conceived as an urban, regional, national or international space? How are the different components of this space organised and how can they be reassembled into a unity? How does this space lay claim to autonomy and in which way can it be put into relation with an exteriority? How are itineraries and borders signified, and how are issues concerning the country's size and its ties with other countries put to the fore? The extraordinary diversity of discourses performing this function constitutes an enormous obstacle for conducting a comprehensive study or even a representative one. However, these multiple discourses may be reduced to a limited number of possible practices: the spatial segment 'country' is either a subject matter of language or is it beeing constituted only through language, in particular when one is dealing with practices relating to the fields of politics, economy, education and tourism. Space becomes a subject of discussion, when it involves planning for it, teaching about or promoting it. This chapter examines the manner in which space is vested with value through discursive uses of tourism practices.

There are two main reasons for choosing to focus on tourism. First of all, it appears to be a defining feature of tourist discourses to talk about space as such, whereas in politics or education, for example, space is only one of many discursive topics. More precisely, tourism aims in particular at enhancing, defining and characterising space in a way more direct and explicit than is the case in politics or education. In short, as a subject matter for investigation, tourism is of immediate significance when we direct our attention to questions of identity, in this case to the dynamics of discursive production in defining what is 'Luxembourg'. For the aim is to advertise the country, whereas it should be to describe, to explain, to illustrate it. In other words: the tourism discourse has to convince others of the country's worth, whereas it pretends to provide a mere status report. This

explains the significance that tourism discourse has for a study of the attribution of meaning: they *inform* about something by emphasising its importance, singularity or authenticity *through argumentation*; here 'objectivity' is thus quite clearly constructed and negotiated.

Finally, the theoretical interest in a study of tourism discourses has been reinforced by the corpus analysed here: the collection of tourist maps, guides, brochures and books is – despite its wealth and variety – rather homogeneous and clearly delineated in character, thus ensuring the validity of the sample. The eclecticism of the various approaches used here does not call into question the overall structure. Rather, the different strands of analysis converge as they focus on one common discursive 'object'.

The Levels of Scale

The foremost reason for the (relative) heterogeneity of approaches we chose to study tourism discourses in Luxembourg lies in how the corpus is structured. Indeed, in reviewing the materials under investigation it quickly became clear that, in terms of discourse, Luxembourg 'exists' on at least five different levels: the districts of the city, the city as a whole, the regions, the national unit and the country's position within the Greater Region. However, each of the above-mentioned questions (borders, internal composition, identifiable itineraries, characterisations, etc.) poses itself in a completely different way; moreover, the corpus and textualities change with each level. Consequently, the approaches too had to be differentiated and adapted to the respective corpora and to the questions addressed.

In all cases, the aim was to analyse the representation of space in tourist texts, namely in how far the presentation of places and territories of Luxembourg make sense and carry significance. The smallest geographical level of scale we examined, that of the districts of the capital city, is textualised in the brochures and booklets of the *Luxembourg City Tourist Office*. They present and praise the various areas of Luxembourg City by the means of itineraries illustrated by maps and commented by verbal texts. We therefore needed to examine the interdependency of verbal and visual representation and their underlying contents. For this purpose we employed the tools of semiolinguistics as well as those of pragmatics and speech act theory. We were thus able to study the congruity between the 'official' discourse (which utilizes the epideictic genre of praise and the advisory genre of recommendation) and the 'spontaneous' discourses of respondents in two surveys, one quantitative and the other qualitative. The next geographical level of scale, that of Luxembourg City, is examined primarily with regard to a collection of maps of the capital. Here the methods of choice are those of visual semiotics that allow us to analyse the tabular and iconic strategies of representing the city, i.e. its reduction to a one-dimensional surface and its visualisation, plus occasional paratexts comprised of photographic or drawn images. Subsequently, the coherence of such a collection of

visualisations, its stability and consequently its efficacy was correlated to questions concerning its communicative value.

The regional level of scale was investigated on the basis of the discourses developed by brochures released by the *Office National du Tourisme*, focussing on both their verbal and iconic contents. The compositional analysis draws on stylistics, rhetoric and discourse analysis. In applying the tools of these three connected fields, we were able to clearly reveal the interaction that links writing and visual iconicity with the essence of a relationship that is based on redundancy and the production of prototypes. This is achieved notably by a subtle use of colours and hyperbolic speech acts.

The national level of scale was examined using a corpus composed of a series of guides that reflect how the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg has been represented over time. This requires a historical discourse analysis that takes into account representations of national identity, as seen by other countries, or in relation to these. This approach reveals an image of Luxembourg that is multilayered and often paradoxical.

Finally, we scrutinised the level of scale of the Greater Region by analysing and comparing some hybrid works about that area. These books are both promotional and descriptive; they seek to defend a 'geographical reality' that is neither stable nor fully recognised and whose study assesses the intricate interplay of the given representations.

While the topics addressed at each level of scale are different, the way they are emphasised follows argumentative strategies. Thus, each microanalysis of maps, brochures, guides and books had to take into account the way in which identities of places are *projected*, as opposed to the way in which the residents themselves *appropriate* those same places, in other words how they conceive them, characterise them and which value they accord them in their own lives. In order to incorporate in particular this last aspect and dialectise the studies on tourism textualities, each analysis of the five geographical levels of scale was compared to the results of the qualitative and quantitative surveys conducted with the residents of Luxembourg.

5.2 Between Seduction and Reality: Luxembourg City and its Discourses

"*Le mode selon lequel j'écris – ou même rêve – l'espace, rien ne saurait en dire plus long,*" wrote François Wahl (1980: 46), "*sur le mode que j'ai d'habiter mon lieu*".[1] How do the respondents of the quantitative survey transform the districts of Luxembourg City into a 'place'? How do 'spontaneous' discourses, captured during the qualitative surveys, which provide an insight into 'appropriated' identities, differ from

1 | Personal translation: "With the way I write – or even dream – about space, nothing could say more about the way I inhabit my place".

representations communicated through the 'official' discourse of tourism, which is the source of 'attributed' identities? Targeted at foreigners, the latter attempts to convey knowledge, but also to make things tangible and initiate activities by encouraging a pragmatic attitude.

Observations relating to these questions fall into two categories: (1) the comparison of individual responses to the question on 'places one shows to friends from abroad as a matter of priority' with the frames of reference of Luxembourg City presented in two pamphlets and two leaflets published by the Luxembourg City Tourist Office[2]; (2) the comparison of images of the Bonnevoie area, the Grund and Limpertsberg quarters and the Kirchberg district, as described by the interviewees, with the corresponding 'official' texts[3].

To this end we shall make use of semiotics, rhetoric, pragmatics, and the linguistic speech act theory. To show how the image of the city is shaped by the laudatory discourse of tourism, one must investigate the consistency between content and expressive layers in terms of its verbal and visual expression.

If Someone Were to Show Me Luxembourg City …

The questions asked in the quantitative survey immediately implies an elective strategy (Fontanille 1999: 41-61): the viewpoint from which specific aspects of a country are perceived and which frames the interaction between the subject and the object in question determines the 'best possible example', the contribution which is representative due to its inherent 'radiance', the symbolic 'place' which stands for all others. The point here is not to settle for a single feature, even if it is considered picturesque, nor to surprise, but rather to determine that one specific aspect which can be associated with an 'identifying' value: thus the particular aspect, combining the glamour of the spectacular with the stability of time, should draw the stranger's attention to something unique and create a 'recognition' value.

It is not insignificant that 71 % of those questioned generally preferred Luxembourg City to the rest of the country, or in order of preference, the Old Town (51 %)[4], Grund/Corniche (7 %), the grand-ducal Palace (5 %), the Bock Casemates/Clausen (3 %), the Pétrusse viaduct, the cathedral, the museums and Philharmonic Concert Hall, the Kirchberg district and the *Gëlle Fra* Monument of Remembrance

2 | The brochures *Luxembourg la ville, bonjour!, Luxembourg, Vivez la ville!* as well as the two leaflets: *Panorama City Map* and *City Promenade*.

3 | See the leaflets *Le circuit des roses du Limpertsberg 'RosaLi'* and *Luxembourg, une capitale européenne*. For the purposes of this study we refer only to the French language versions.

4 | Vianden received 6 %, Little Switzerland/Müllerthal 3 %, Northern Luxembourg (*Éisléck*), Remich/the Moselle, Echternach, the Upper Sûre and Southern Luxembourg 2 % each; Diekirch and Clervaux each scored 1 %.

(1 % each)[5]. Without ignoring the risk of over-interpretation arising from the lack of more significant differences, one notes that this emphasis encompasses several dimensions and subordinates the effects of identity to an ethical and aesthetic sense. Certain tendencies are indeed apparent: the selection takes in a broad spectrum of the historical past (the cradle of the city, listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, but also the Gëlla Fra, albeit with less emphasis) before turning to the present (namely to the Kirchberg district); in general, tradition, continuity and the wish for unification (like the grand-ducal Palace or the cathedral for instance) appear to win out over modernity and the opening up to Europe; the beauty of the landscape (the Pétrusse and the viaduct) and focal points of the arts (the museums, the Philharmonic) receive equal emphasis.

The comparison of these data with the discourse of tourism must take into account the pragmatic objectives of the various pamphlets and leaflets published by official bodies. As these are designed to advertise the city in the manner of marketing texts, they are, in the words of Marc Bonhomme, expressed in terms of "*deux genres rhétoriques de discours*"[6]:

> [...] d'une part, le discours épidictique, fondé sur le macro-acte de l'éloge et axé sur le présent de la célébration du produit proposé. D'autre part, le discours délibératif, [...], qui repose sur le macro-acte du conseil en vue d'une décision future du récepteur quant à l'achat/utilisation du produit en question[7] (Bonhomme 2003: 13).

As such they make use of three speech acts for the basic 'schematisation' of the city: in addition to the selection and the symbolisation – both also targets of the quantitative survey – 'streamlining' increases the recognisability of the area; as a thymic correlate, it has a feeling about it of being in control of the territory and conveys a sense of safety (Bonhomme 2003: 14-15).

Because the pamphlets *Luxembourg la ville, bonjour!* and *Luxembourg, Vivez la ville!* are aimed at potential 'consumers', they combine elective and comprehensive

5 | Taking age into consideration, one notes that these places were chosen by 74 % of the over 60s, with the majority being women. Youths (16-20 years) and 30 to 44 year olds came in second at 68 %. One notes further that these places were nominated by 77 % of those belonging to the status-oriented milieu, compared with 73 % from the privileged conservative milieu, 72 % from the privileged liberal milieu, 71 % from the petty bourgeois milieu and 70 % from the meritocratic-oriented milieu; 69 % belonged to an alternative milieu, whereas 67 % belonged to an underprivileged milieu; the hedonistic milieu (62 %) lies ahead of the tradition-oriented milieu (58 %).

6 | Personal translation: "Two rhetorical genres of discourse".

7 | Personal translation: "On the one hand the epideictic discourse which reposes on the macro-act of praise and is aimed at the present appraisal of the proposed product; on the other, the deliberative discourse [...], which reposes on the macro-act of advice with view to the recipient's prospective decision to purchase/utilise the product in question".

strategies: by taking a broad-brush approach, they aim less at a comprehensive enumeration of every feature than at oscillating between attention-grabbing detail and integration into a greater whole more conducive to the creation of coherence. It is about enabling the visitor to understand the city 'at a glance' while at the same time inviting him or her to appropriate the 'reality' on offer, by making a cognitive, but also a pathemic and somatic – in other words an affective as well as a physical – experience of the localities. This is also the general structure of the pamphlets, which, by specifying a marked-out route[8], work their way comprehensively through a set of points arranged into paradigmatic categories either in the introduction or the cover pages.[9] In this way one can see that, in terms of contents, antithetic concept pairs are used systematically and repeatedly: past versus present; tradition – for example, in the context of folk festivals – versus modernity; culture versus nature; art versus finance or commerce, and national versus international. At the same time the 'narrator' appeals to the axiological realms of the good, the beautiful and the real. On the level of expression, systematisation and aestheticisation go together: more likely to be descriptive or prompting, titles, leaders and eye-catchers multiply the rhetorical resources (metaphor, generalisation, hyperbole); these are supported by the color scheme[10] and by full-page illustrations or small decorative images positioned next to small text boxes, which also attempt to serve the logic of the laudatory discourse[11], in particular through the use of evaluative adjectives and quotes from well-known personalities.

8 | See the cover of *Luxembourg, Vivez la ville!* which, with the aid of an arrow sign, creates an expectation for the rest of the pamphlet.

9 | The four strips of images arranged on the front and back covers of the pamphlet *Luxembourg la ville, bonjour!* show the big wheel of the *Schueberfouer*, the Luxembourg City Historical Museum, the National Archives with Corniche and a part of Grund with the Alzette River.

10 | The pamphlet *Luxembourg la ville, bonjour!* uses a different colour for each subject discussed.

11 | See the following examples in particular: "Gibraltar of the North", "A financial centre of international standing" (see *Luxembourg la ville, bonjour!*); "Solid walls, UNESCO World Heritage Site. Experience 1 000 years of fortress history!", "International meeting point. Experience a city of finance, congresses and dynamic commerce!", "The cradle of European unification. Experience a capital city open to the world!", "Festivals and traditions. Experience events galore!", "Trips to the 'green heart'. Experience nature in its purest state!" (see *Luxembourg, Vivez la ville!*). Moreover, the subjective adjectives that refer to the (anonymous) narrator while assuming agreement and consent on the part of the reader are numerous: "[...] you, dear guest, will undertake glorious hikes", "well-known architects are responsible for designing some of the most remarkable buildings in the capital" (see *Luxembourg la ville, bonjour!*).

What is noticeable is the broad convergence between preferences expressed by respondents and the selection used in tourism discourse[12]. Not only does the latter mention all of the verbally selected 'identification candidates', but it also enhances their recognition value by providing illustrations[13]. In particular, the two pamphlets open up with large format photographs of Corniche and the Old Town (spread across more than one A4-size page)[14]. If precisely those variables considered to be the essence of the 'style' of the City of Luxembourg are thrown in here and there, they are not only designed to establish those contrasts that are considered important ("small country, strong attraction": see *Luxembourg la ville, bonjour!*; "Vivez une ville pleine de contrastes!": see Luxembourg, *Vivez la ville!*), but also to assign the relicts of the past a position of choice by inserting them in a narrative or even in a fictional account[15]. The fact that the choices of one side are, so to speak, on the same wavelength as those of the other can create the impression that the idealisation of the staged remnants of a turbulent, even spectacular history presented to the foreign visitor is founded upon a broad consensus: history; along with it the actual staging the city's development, reconstructed step by step with the help of outlines and layers, seems to be considered a very convincing 'gateway'.

Ultimate proof of this convergence of outlooks can be found in the leaflet entitled *City promenade*. Not only does the introductory statement conform to the rule, opting for the historical narrative while incidentally making use of familiar metaphors – "the cradle of Luxembourg City", "the European power game" – or borrowing formulations from historians that are thought to hit the mark ("Gibraltar of the North"). Above all, the map, which takes up the second and third pages, re-establishes 'reality' (see Marin 1994) by showing enhancements: for certain places and buildings in the city centre it offers a representation 'in perspective', which contrasts with the otherwise two-dimensional drawings. This essentially concerns locations mentioned spontaneously by the respondents: the Bock Casemates, Corniche, Grund, the grand-ducal Palace, the Cathedral of Our Lady, the Former Jesuit College and the *Gëlle Fra* monument. Thus the high density of references

12 | See Linden & Thewes on the subject of a "convergence between tourism publicity and national advertisement, using 'premium' sights and idealised self-perception". They add: "Not only do these representations influence tourists' views, in the final analysis they also determine the perception that Luxembourgers have of their own country, its past and its geography" (Linden/Thewes 2007: 44).

13 | However, at the pictorial level the *Panorama City Map* includes neither the Place de la Constitution nor the *Gëlle Fra* which is situated there.

14 | In the pamphlet *Luxembourg la ville, bonjour!*, the smaller of the photographs of the Corniche and of the Old Town overhang a strip of two small-format photos; the first shows the Place de la Constitution, the second the Town Hall.

15 | Thus one reads in the pamphlet *Luxembourg la ville, bonjour!*: "These angular streets echoed to the sound of cannon fire and the clanging of swords in the days of yore. Today, visitors can tread in the footsteps of cunning conquerors and heroic defenders [...]".

reinforces the 'referential illusion' and, by facilitating (re)-cognition – for instance one is not just looking at a generic cathedral, but rather at that of Luxembourg – creates a sensory perception. Even before conceptualisation, attention can be focused on the tangible characteristics of the 'concrete image'.

Figure 1: Le circuit des roses du Limpertsberg 'RosaLi' (cover page), with the kind permission of the Luxembourg City Tourist Office.

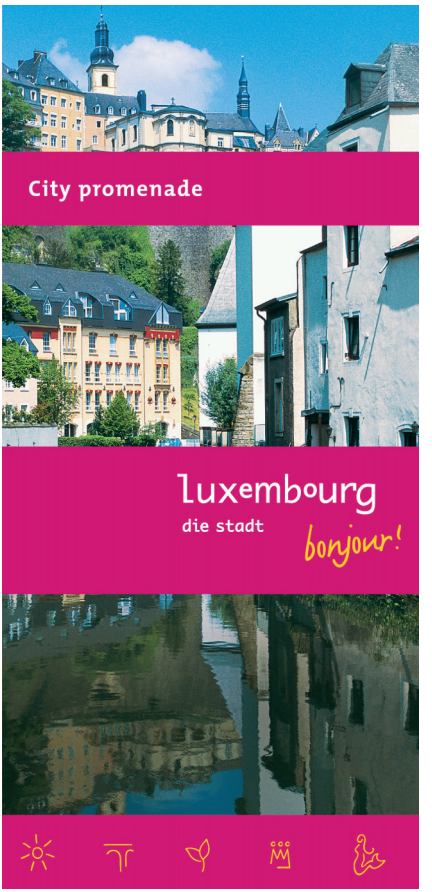

Figure 2: City promenade (cover page), with the kind permission of the Luxembourg City Tourist Office.

The City Centre and its 'Beyond'

What does one call the areas beyond the railway tracks, the green belt, the upper part of town and the Grand Duchess Charlotte Bridge? Comparing the discourses of tourism and 'spontaneous' oral descriptions in relation to the Bonnevoie area,

the Limpertsberg and Grund quarters and the Kirchberg district[16], one can expect significant shifts in emphasis: 'spontaneous' discourse reflects more something experienced, appropriated identities, and at least partially avoids the rhetoric of laudation, which official bodies tend to use, thereby attributing identities.

First of all, we come across a double divide: the external one makes for a differentiation between residential districts (Bonnevoie and Limpertsberg) and those that could sooner be considered areas of transit or encounter (Grund and Kirchberg); the internal differentiation establishes two zones within each residential district based on a spatial differentiation: firstly the upper part and the lower part of Bonnevoie, and secondly Limpertsberg and the Glacis, the latter belonging more to the zone of transit and encounter, largely considered non-residential due to its annual funfair, its bars, cafés and restaurants, and its cinema and theatre.

Let us begin with the Bonnevoie area, which is not mentioned in our tourism discourse. The interviewees consistently mentioned conceptual pairs whose antithetical aspects result almost automatically: for them, the lower part of Bonnevoie is a place for the ordinary people, somewhat run-down in parts, a place with a mixed population, including older people, foreigners (Portuguese, Africans...) and homeless. For some it is a red light district as well as a drug and crime zone, while others see it as an environment conducive to community life. By contrast, the upper part of Bonnevoie is described as the exact opposite: upper class and remodelled, this zone is inhabited, we are told, by people of all ages belonging to the bourgeoisie, and mostly Luxembourg nationals. Could one assume that this selective image does not reflect a reality as much as reproduce rigid representations? Some respondents did not exclude the possibility that they were simply repeating the stereotypes used by the media.

With regards to Limpertsberg, it is considered, in the collective imagination, to be a primarily residential quarter whose green areas increase the quality of life, bourgeois, chic and expensive, located close to the town centre, shielded from abrupt changes. While (too) calm at weekends, it is a busy district on weekdays due to the many schools located there.

In contrast to other residential quarters, one tourist leaflet is dedicated to Limpertsberg: *Le circuit des roses du Limpertsberg 'RosaLi'*. The title is characteristic of a desire for aestheticisation that, instead of obscuring the other facets, puts them in a specific perspective[17]. The introductory text on the 19th century rose-growing operates with an objectivising distancing ('débrayage'); the visitor is then encouraged by means of the presentation of the walking tour in the form of a

16 | Contrary to Limpertsberg and Kirchberg, the Bonnevoie area is not the subject of a pamphlet or leaflet published by the Luxembourg City Tourist Office. There is also no mention of this area in the pamphlets *Luxembourg, Vivez la ville!* and *Luxembourg la ville, bonjour!* (by contrast to the Grund district). In comparing these different districts, we use the criteria on the basis of the selection made.

17 | For example, the University Campus of Limpertsberg is called *'the Campus des Roses'*.

map, the verbal final comment which elucidates the points mentioned, but also the large and medium-sized illustrations, to appropriate the area not only as a cognitive concept, but also somatically, pathemically and aesthetically[18]. The map and the encouraging discourse embody a 'means' in terms of the action to be carried out by the visitor; he or she follows a path corresponding to the map's guidelines, thereby making it into a 'route'.

Ought one to criticise the difference between the quarter's attributed identity set out in the leaflet and the lived identity? They correspond to different experiences of location, but in both cases the individual establishes an intimate relationship with the space.

As far as the Kirchberg plateau is concerned, it is, on the one hand – in contrast with the residential districts of 'old' Kirchberg, Weimerskirch or Weimershof – considered to be distant from the centre, expensive, impersonal, congested during the day, deserted at night, in short, not particularly congenial. On the other hand, the European institutions are emphasised, the international importance of RTL[19] and the banks, in the same way as those places relevant to consumption (Auchan shopping centre, exhibition grounds) and entertainment facilities (cinema). The Philharmony and the *Mudam*[20] lend the district an undeniable artistic ambiance, although slightly more space would show the buildings in a better light.

The Kirchberg plateau appears therefore to have its set place in everyday life,[21] although, as it is exposed to a constant coming and going, its structure is not predispose to be a residential area. In certain instances it can function as a go-between, or even as a meeting point between the foreigners employed in the offices of the European institutions and the rest of the population.

The leaflet *Luxembourg, une capitale européenne*[22] deals with the European dimension at the expense of the others: the laudatory discourse obscures the 'non-European' component, whose importance was, however, emphasised by those interviewed. To better understand its peculiarities, we will compare this leaflet to *Le circuit des roses du Limpertsberg 'RosaLi'* in terms of the map positioning, the images and the personal references.

While the map in the leaflet *Le circuit des roses du Limpertsberg 'RosaLi'* is sandwiched between the text passages, in *Luxembourg, une capitale européenne* it is

18 | See the uniform colour scheme in which the colour pink is used for the map and to frame the images.

19 | *Radio Télévision Luxembourg*.

20 | *Musée d'Art Moderne Grand-Duc Jean* (Grand Duke Jean Museum of Modern Art).

21 | The hospital is repeatedly mentioned. Some respondents emphasised the green spaces.

22 | We count 12 locations: Town Hall, Municipal Circle, *House of Europe*, the *Robert Schuman House*, the *Council of the European Union*, the *European Court of Auditors*, the *European School*, the *European Commission,* the *European Court of Justice*, the *European Investment Bank* and the *Robert Schuman Monument*.

located at the end of the leaflet and graphically emphasised by a thick border; it is accompanied by a list of place names. If one relates the content and presentation layers one can assume that the map in *Le circuit des roses du Limpertsberg 'RosaLi'* contributes actively to the walker's spatial perception of the area, in that the map constantly suggests new options and the accompanying text lists the sites. Significantly, the tour's destination point does not coincide with the starting point. The route is a function of this gap and the resulting tension.

In *Luxembourg, une capitale européenne*, the map provides summary access to an objective 'reality'. In a general view from above – the objective being to provide an 'overview of the European Union' – and therefore also with the possibility to be cognitively in control of the space, the map takes on a primarily didactic function: it aims to present that which suggests itself on the grounds of self-evidence. It comes as no surprise that the tour ends where it starts, the route makes full circle and the initiative of the rambling reader is circumscribed.

This impression is reinforced by the images. The leaflets contain picture strips, those in *Le circuit des roses du Limpertsberg 'RosaLi'* on the lower border and those in *Luxembourg, une capitale européenne* on the upper edge. The function of the photos is fundamentally different in each case. The six-sided fold-up leaflet *Le circuit des roses du Limpertsberg 'RosaLi'*, enables the rambling reader to discover the photos in motion and to continuously adjust his or her gaze[23]. Based on his or her observations en route, the reader is directly involved in determining the course, which is not uniformly structured, but includes changes of tempo and tension (see Fontanille/Zilberberg 1998; Zilberberg 2006).

The leaflet *Luxembourg, une capitale européenne*, on the other hand, is presented as a booklet with its pages carefully stapled in the middle. Most of the images conform to semi-wide or wide shot formats (they depict buildings with or without adjacent surroundings), serving a primarily descriptive function with no dynamic visual demands.

Finally, the analysis is confirmed in particular through the use of personal pronouns (see Benveniste 1966). Through the use of the formal '*vous*' (you) in the French text to address the reader and through the frequent use of the imperative, the discourse in the leaflet *Le circuit des roses du Limpertsberg 'RosaLi'* acquires a clearly encouraging and prompting character: it is about encouraging those readers with the required skill to 'reinvent' the space, and to give it a new form through a different kind of characterisation. In contrast to this, one notices in the leaflet *Luxembourg, une capitale européenne* the dominance of the pronoun 'we' ("*Au rond-point, nous pouvons décider de parcourir le chemin d'environ 2 km menant, à travers le parc, jusqu'à*

23 | Moving from a close-up of a rose to medium close-ups (e.g. the top of a tombstone), but also to medium-long shots (a sculpture) and wide shots, with the central building of the university as the focal point, then another close-up, followed immediately this time by a photograph of a water tower. The rest of the leaflet displays the same pattern of alternating close-ups and wide shots.

l'École européenne […]"[24]). The process of objectivising distancing ('débrayage'), the dissolution of the 'I-realm' and the creation of distance is blocked by a strictly first-person oriented referential system. According to Emile Benveniste, the 'we', which augments the 'I' with a "non-differentiated totality of other people […] expresses an extended and less precise person"[25] (Benveniste 1966: 235). Thus the author of the pamphlet and the reader are caught up in an interpersonal web designed to ensure consensus, even agreement and empathy between them. In particular, the use of the infinitive ("*Quoi de plus logique que de commencer au tout début, dans le système scolaire?*"[26]), which implies neither time nor person, is conducive to an enunciating (in)differentiation that leaves the addressee of the utterance no other choice than to embrace the opinion of the enunciator – consent by enunciative continuity. Although the European institutions are striving for openness, the leaflet attempts to trap the reader in a diffuse 'we': instead of accompanying the reader on his or her walk, rather than constructing the 'European city' step by step, it purports to describe something that already exists, the various facets of which it enumerates. The map provides a complete overview of this, independently, as it were, from the visit itself. From that point on, it is about situating oneself within a sphere, tightly circumscribed by visual and verbal statements; perhaps the imaginery can unfurl from this position. Indeed, given the 'we' that encompasses both the narrator charged with conducting the discourse of tourism and the walking reader, one can assume a non-represented addressee: the addressees belong to Europe and are to be assigned to a world that the 'we' is just in the process of *imagining*.

Based on these brief considerations one is able to see that even if there is no complete overlap between the opinions of the interviewees and the corresponding leaflets, between the appropriated and the attributed identities, there is a basic 'concordance': the experience achieved by the strolling reader in Limpertsberg gives an idea of the relationship of the intimate complicity which connects the resident with his or her place of residence; similarly, by subsuming 'you' in 'we', thereby preventing the recipient from exteriorisation, the leaflet *Luxembourg, une capitale européenne* attempts to generate a consensus, or even a sense of empathy towards the addressee which is never explicitly expressed (Europe and the world); certainly this is not in contradiction to the nature of the Kirchberg district, which is often spontaneously experienced as being an international place and an impersonal one at the same time.

And finally, in the case of the Grund quarter, clear congruities in attitudes are evident: even outside the 'Blues 'n' Jazz Rally', the lower town with its terraces

24 | Personal translation: "At the roundabout, we can decide whether to take the 2km long road through the park, up to the European School […]".

25 | Original version: "[Le 'nous'] annexe au 'je' une globalité indistincte d'autres personnes […] exprime une personne amplifiée et diffuse."

26 | Personal translation: "What would be more obvious than to start right at the beginning, namely with the school system?"

invites a "moment of relaxation" (see *Luxembourg, Vivez la ville!*); respondents across the spectrum confirmed this, highlighting less the residential character and more the congenial side of this renovated neighbourhood, which attracts many (often anglophone) foreigners. To some extent, the cultural offering is also considered a distinctive trait, as is the beauty of the area, which tempts one to take a stroll.

At the end of this swift tour two things are apparent: on the one hand, the logic of the tourism discourse and the realisation of this discourse when someone shows Luxembourg City to a foreign friend are both aspects of the same macro-act of laudatory positivisation or, more specifically still, of aestheticisation. It is clear that, for the most part, preferences voiced in both cases concur and that, at least for a part of the population, the fortress and the Old Town are the first choices. On the other hand, and as far as the city districts are concerned, certain differences between the richly-filled daily life and the tourism-related schematisation were predictable; this is due to the fact that survey respondents were not in the same situation as the spokesmen of the tourism discourse. One notes in particular that leaflets dedicated to Limpertsberg and Kirchberg primarily emphasise aesthetic criteria and also the differences between 'tradition and modernity', 'national and international', which substantiate the official discourse about Kirchberg. The Bonnevoie area is excluded from this characterisation; it is not among the places 'worth visiting'.

In all cases, the discourses are internally coherent. Whether it is about attributed or appropriated identities, in the final analysis they create, each in its own way, artefacts in which 'reality' and representation are blended.

5.3 Representing and Revaluating the City: the *Geo-Graphy* and Visual Identity of Luxembourg City

Preliminary Remark: the City as a Semiotic Construct

A city is not the sum of its streets and buildings, its green spaces and places; instead, it represents a framework within which it becomes possible to consider all of these as belonging together, as parts of a whole. The city is a semiotic construct: a view in which several elements are unified, and which re-unifies them as aspects of one and the same identity. One could make the mistake of thinking that the existence of the city is simply the result of a territorial allocation by a recognised authority, whereby a place is specified: 'the city begins or ends here'. Yet even in such a narrow view (which sees it as sufficient to delineate something to give it an identity), it is still a question of a 'semiotic practice': our starting point was that one needs to specify a location; to mark a space; one also requires an authority to which one can turn for the formulation of such a discourse. Even at this level, one is a long way away from the mere physical presence of a building or a crossroads.

We will address this question in more depth in the following pages. We will investigate how one displays a city with the aid of that special semiotic practice,

which we call 'geo-graphic representation'. We will analyse how various tourism bodies represent Luxembourg City in their maps. Even at this stage it is important to highlight the term 'representation', as 'representation' is about simulating something (re-presenting it) or (re)-producing it. Because a map does not find a ready-made city, it must reproduce it using a series of visual tricks; in this way the map represents a construction space for reading-orientated seeing.

A map is a text; the maps we shall be investigating "textualise" (Greimas/Courtés 1979) Luxembourg City. This means that the so-called physical reality of the 'City of Luxembourg' (that maps, like other semiotic mediations, are allotted the task of representing and reproducing) has been transposed onto a two-dimensional surface of finite extent, and then confronted with the following semiotic constraints: it must be bordered in, before it can represent a specific number of the city's symbolic elements, which must fit together and be read (see Shapiro 1969). Altogether, 'Luxembourg City' is permeated by a series of semiotic constraints arising from the medium of the geographical map media and how it is used (see Goodwin 2003) – which in turn affect the very 'essence' of 'Luxembourg City'. Everything that appears within the framework of the map, which is coloured in specific shade, orientated on a specific alignment, arranged in terms of a specific typeface, graphically represented by a symbol, all of this creates the City of Luxembourg in a 'performative' way[27] (Austin 1972; Ducrot 1984). Employing its own means, the tourist map takes on an active role in producing an ensemble which it refers to as 'Luxembourg City'; it contributes to the public game of 'permissible identifications' of that which constitutes the city.

We shall approach the manner in which the City of Luxembourg is textualised in the form of a touristic map in this double sense. For one thing we shall focus on the series of 'objectifications' of the city: which of Luxembourg's features have been considered and used to produce the maps; which aspects and perspectives were selected during adaptation and orientation? At the same time we are interested in the possible emergence of a 'subjective city' as a result of those features that one selects to represent the city: which 'essence', or at least what structure and what model of the city can be glimpsed behind the individual partial embodiments? To sum it up and to put it simply, one could say that we shall be investigating both the 'drawn' city and the 'intended' city (see Marin 1983).

To this end we shall be examining a body of evidence, which, whilst not exhaustive, is at least representative: a varied collection of maps of Luxembourg that appeared over the past two decades and address different touristic objectives – sometimes the general exploration of the country by a visiting foreigner; sometimes the cataloguing of important locations for consumers resident in Luxembourg;

27 | 'Performative' means: to create something through a speech act. Thus, a promise exists because someone promises, a name exists because someone names; but also a love, because (by various and multimodal speech acts) someone declares and promises.

sometimes the provision of a simple road map of the capital[28]. Sometimes the map is a street map of the city; sometimes it constitutes a page in a guide. We ignored these differences, because, as we shall see, the semiotic effects produced are related. By contrast, we did take the images, whether photographs or paintings, into consideration. They accompany the maps and therefore, together with the map, make a contribution towards the (re)-presentation of the city. If the map and all the figures it contains constitute a 'text', then the images and the figures preceding them constitute a 'paratext' (Genette 1987).

The Profile of Luxembourg City Mirrored in its Maps: 'the Ascent to the Enclave'

The first approach to the re-presentation of the city centres on the way in which it is 'profiled'. In this regard, it is astounding to see how the city is systematically given merely one single 'profile': it is represented as an 'ascent to an elevated island' (where 'the island' in question denotes the city centre, the so-called 'upper town').

Constants and variables are used which all tend to produce the same idea. In terms of this constant tactic it can be observed that: (i) the paratext (i.e. the photos or drawn images that accompany the map) always contains a bridge or bastion; (ii) the text (i.e. the map itself) invariably shows the way into the city centre.

A paratext diverts the reading away from the text it accompanies. The figures of bridge and bastion reveal a clear semiotic intention: the paratext carries the notion of 'entrance to a raised, enclosed place.' As we shall see, the map-text repeats precisely the same content, however using other means. What remains constant is the representation of the 'gateway' to the centre: rather than showing the city centre itself in its entirety, the map shows the gateway to it. Other than that, the map often shows the south-eastern part of the city centre; or alternatively it will show the city centre along with the district surrounding the railway station, Belair, Kirchberg, Grund, etc. One notes also that the bridges and bastions are not the preferred signs in the map's text: either they are just vaguely indicated, or they are omitted altogether. One discovers also that the provision of the means of re-presenting the 'city' is not obvious: the variability of its signifier is recognisable, as is the interplay between various semiotic approaches that characterise the city and enhance it in a specific way.

28 | The documents (maps or guides with maps) studied were: *Baedekers Allianz Reiseführer. Luxembourg*, Ostfildern-Kemnat: Mairs Geographischer Verlag, 1990; *Discover Luxembourg*, 1995; *Marco Polo. Luxembourg: Reiseführer mit Insider-Tips*, Ostfildern: Mairs Geographischer Verlag, 1995; *Luxembourg. Ni vu ni connu,* Luxembourg City Tourist Office, 2000; *Michelin. Belgium/Luxembourg*, Zellik: Le Guide Michelin, 2007; *Panorama City Map. Luxembourg: La ville*, Luxembourg City Tourist Office, 2008; *Plan de la ville de Luxembourg,* Luxembourg City Tourist Office, 2008.

But let us move on to deal with the variable approaches that all converge on the same objective, that is, to depict the centre as an 'isolated enclave toward which one is drawn'. The approaches to visualising something within the map can be categorised as one of three types: (i) chromatic, (ii) iconic and (iii) eidetic. That is, the various approaches display information using (i) colours, (ii) iconic representation and (iii) the lines and axes that structure the surface of the text.The use of colour shows the city as an 'isolated enclave'. A more or less black, but always visible line, which symbolises the railway line, produces the effect of enclosing the centre of town in the east. A band of green, also incorporating a number of very different shades, symbolises the park and appears to round off the city centre to the west. Depending on the map, the green area representing the park will show different dimensions from west to north: this means that it is not so much about depicting a physical reality than about reproducing the city in a certain way.

The iconic approaches have a dual objective: not only do they constitute a complimentary effect of 'isolating' the 'enclave' of the centre, but they also express the 'being drawn' towards this location. With regard to the first objective, one can see that the representation of the walls and bastions, when located to the *south* of the centre, is quite pronounced (this varies by map), whereas the same walls and bastions, when not surrounding the centre, are hardly sketched in, often virtually absent. On the other hand, all the monuments in general, when rendered in three dimensions, are always shown with a south-north orientation, from the bottom up: this reflects the concept of the ascending orientation of the city, of a route that visibly leads upwards.

The eidetic strategies, finally, enclose the centre, making it into a point of convergence. On the one hand everything looks as if the depiction and the highlighting of particular streets signify a rigid enclosure of the centre. In some cases the box containing the detail enlargement of the city centre fulfils the same function. On the other hand, the name 'Luxembourg' does not appear above the whole city map but rather near to the centre. It almost seems as if it serves as a legend only for the city centre, as if it creates the city of Luxembourg as a point of convergence by way of antonomasia.

In conclusion one can note that this variety and redundancy of semiotic devices (chromatic, iconic, eidetic), which are combined in various ways, all pursue the same aim.

The Profile of Luxembourg City Mirrored in its Maps: the Absence of a Strong Identity

The first approach to the re-presentation of the city sought to show how it is structured and shaped, how it is approached in every instance as a 'phenomenon'. The second approach will now turn to the emphasis of an object 'the city' as a purely intellectual concept, a 'noumenon': not an aggregation of features but rather a model; a sketch rather than a set of intentions. It is here that we have the perhaps

most astonishing result of the corpus analysis: a conceptual model for Luxembourg does not seem to exist. Everything evokes the impression that there is no intent, no idealised concept and no strong identification with the city itself behind the plethora of drawings and landmarks of the city.

To comprehend such a semiotic effect, it is important to distinguish between the two, albeit complementary, approaches to re-presentation. Until now, we have dwelt upon the concept of an 'ascent to an elevated island' – an ascent both difficult and steep: the city is grasped, endowed with meaning and enhanced by virtue of this ascent. And it is this representation that shows the city, depicts it. We shall now attempt to develop a model that renders the city 'legible', one which symbolizes it. The first approach concentrated on *spatialisation* (a conceptualisation 'process', and thus a process of reproduction of a specific space); the second is focussed on a topology (on a 'state' that abstracts the routes from the phenomenal properties, i.e. the routes, and provides a system instead: 'city' as a kind of absolute object, an 'essential' city)[29].

The conceptual model of Luxembourg City as a representation seems not to exist. Firstly, there is only one place that is not only a spatial reference point, but can consistently represent and therefore also symbolise the city: the cathedral. Secondly, the delineation of the city is rather vague: every map centres it in a slightly different way – we have seen that the only constant is the fact that one or several entry points to the centre are shown; the centre itself is not assigned to a fixed location within the text of the maps. Thirdly, the contours of the city are also defined in quite a vague way; one could even describe them as virtually undefined: although the City of Luxembourg is always represented as an ascending route leading to the centre, the city limits of Luxembourg, as well as its extent and margins invariably remain vague.

Conclusions: Problems in Communicating 'the City'

We often know the form of a city and know how its nucleus is built around a set of reference points (monuments, places, crossroads, etc.) This kind of city allows the forms, structures and reference points to communicate effectively, and, in so doing, accords itself the meaning of a city. It promotes a model of its 'city essence' – a model that every map, but also every logo, every photo, and every image combined, strive to reproduce in as many variations. Yet for Luxembourg, this attribution of meaning, which produces 'the City' together with a "visual identity" (Floch 1990; Floch 1995) seems to be missing.

29 | This refers to Ricœur's theory of identity (1990), which problematises identities by distinguishing between an '*ipse*' identity (an identity accepted in spite of a series of changes, e.g. in a promise: even if my mood or my life circumstances change, I will always be the one who owes you that which has been promised you) and an '*idem*' identity (a structural, profound, immutable identity, e.g. that of a name, a genetic code, etc.).

'Geo-graphy' is always a communicative practice, in the broadest sense of the term. It is a written artefact, a textualisation, and therefore a conceptualisation and thus a meaning and enhancement. 'Re-production' is a speech act that entails showing; we have seen that it involves a totality of coordinated approaches. This is why the geo-graphy of a city and its re-presentation on a map produce a certain visual identity that is suited to serving as the incentive for more general 'cultural strategies'. With regard to the representation of the City of Luxembourg that we have discussed, one can raise questions as to their adequateness, their effectiveness and their optimum expression (Fontanille 2008). In other words, is 'access to an elevated island' (i.e. the 'tension to be overcome' on the one hand and the 'isolation' of the central object on the other) appropriate? Based on what city-enhancement strategies? And is the absence of a conceptual model of the city and of an 'essential' identity also of use? If so, then why and to what end?

5.4 Between National Unity and Regional Individualism 'Sways the Heart of Luxembourg'

Enlisting the contiguous fields of rhetoric (see Perelman/Olbrechts-Tyteca 2000), stylistics (see Adam 1990; Adam 1997; Herschberg-Pierrot 2003) and discourse analysis (see Adam 1999; Amossy/Maingueneau 2003), the study of three tourist brochures[30] from Luxembourg conducted here takes a vigorously compositional approach, which also plays a factor in the interaction between the written entity and the iconic dimension. The two procedures of encoding and decoding investigated here presuppose an intention to exert a specific influence on others, which also establishes a link with pragmatics (see Bonhomme 2005; Bonhomme 2006) and speech act theory (see Ducrot 1984; Searle 1972). What will interest us in this context is the meaning produced by this tourism discourse and how it is generated (see Bonhomme/Adam, 1997), while at the same time avoiding the pitfalls of radical constructivism. Our aim, therefore, is to comprehend the workings of a discourse originating from the *Office National du Tourisme*[31] (attributed identities) as well as to gauge how the output of this institutional body is shaping personal notions of the country (appropriated identities).

30 | Luxembourg National Tourist Office. 2006. *Les Produits du Terroir et les Métiers d'Art.* Mersch: François Faber; Luxembourg National Tourist Office. 2008. *Hôtels Restaurants et Arrangements* (11/2007 for the year 2008), Luxembourg: Saint-Paul; Luxembourg National Tourist Office. *Sites et Attractions.* (12/2007 for the year 2008), Luxembourg: Saint-Paul.
31 | Personal translation: "National Tourist Office".

Apparent Uniformity, Definite Complementarity

The manner in which the two publications *Hôtels Restaurants et Arrangements* and *Sites et Attractions* present their information only appears to be a neutral one: the editing and presenting of information by regions creates the impression of a ranking according to size with the Luxembourg City region and the centre at the top in a descending order down to the south and the Minette region. By contrast, the third publication considered here, *Les Produits du Terroir et les Métiers d'Art*, favours a thematic classification over an alphabetical or regional one. However, the three brochures share one common aspect: they use the same map of the country, with the different regions set off from each other by colours (we will return to this particular point below). The three thematic areas, which are treated in a complementary fashion, seem to cover all the information likely to be of interest to the curious and pragmatically oriented tourist, while the complementarity of these sources of information also appears to guarantee the coherence of these multiple actualisations of an attributed identity. Linden and Thewes hold that already at the 1937 World Exhibition "*promotion nationale, touristique et économique s'entremêl-[ai]ent [...] dans un vaste effort de synthèse*"[32] (2007: 44).

As is already apparent from the corpus, this study is positioned at the interface between the country and the region, and we will show that the quantitative analysis confirms this extreme fragmentation, which is all the more surprising at a time where there is much talk of building the Greater Region. In other words, we will see how attributed and appropriated identities enter into a dialogue.

A Regional or Regionalist Approach?

The quantitative survey reveals that the respondents attach great value to the notion of proximity, a remarkable attitude in a country where, on account of its small size, almost everything is in relatively close proximity. From the interviewees who responded with "several times a week" to the question, "How often do you visit the following places in your free time?" (the place in this instance being the Oesling, a wooded region in the north of the country), 46 % live in the north and essentially belong to atypical milieus on the fringe of 'mainstream society'[33]. The rest of the population never, or almost never, visits this area[34] with a particularly high percentage among residents in the east (51 %), who themselves have beautiful scenery right in front of their doorstep, followed by residents of Luxembourg City

32 | Personal translation: "Advertising for the country, tourism and economy blend[ed] in a broad endeavour to attain conflation".

33 | Status-oriented milieu: 12 %; underprivileged, meritocratic-oriented and alternative milieus: each 10 %. Respondents in these categories are divided almost evenly between men (47 %) and women (45 %).

34 | Again, division by gender is even, with 34 % men and 37 % women.

and the south (each at 40 %)[35]. The percentages of residents of the capital who visit several times per year and those who never or rarely visit are relatively balanced, at 51 % and 40 % respectively.

This tendency to favour one's home region can be detected in the Minette region, the southernmost region of the country, in Luxembourg City and in the Moselle region. Accordingly, 53 % of those surveyed who visit the Minette region several times per week in their free time live in the south[36], as opposed to 3 % in the north; 41 % of these are of Italian origin, presumably on account of it being a former mining region that had experienced large-scale economically motivated immigration from the Italian peninsula. Only 8 % of regular visitors to this region come from Luxembourg City, which after all is not that far away. Of the respondents, 57 % of residents from the north and 45 % from the east never or rarely visit the Minette region[37]. The same applies to residents of the Moselle region, in the south-east, 49 % of whom frequent their region in their free time[38], whereas inhabitants from the north rarely if ever go there (39 %). However, one should note that more than half of the nation's population visit this wine region several times per year. By contrast, the figures are reversed for Luxembourg City: a mere 4 % of all respondents never or rarely travel to the city, and of these, 10 % live in the north, 4 % are men and 9 % are women of 60 years and older. Regarding frequent visits to Luxembourg City during spare time, an unsurprising 66 % of respondents live in the city, 44 % in other places of the central region, 31 % come from the south, 28 % from the east and 12 % from the north. The largest share of visitors comes from the privileged conservative milieu (51 %), as opposed to 10 % from the tradition-oriented milieu. Here again, Luxembourg City clearly stands out, which is not entirely surprising given the cultural and economic resources a capital city commands.

In terms of the tourism discourse, the order in which the regions are discussed in the brochures (starting clockwise from Luxembourg City and the surrounding area) is confirmed by the respondents' answers, particularly with regard to the prominent position of the capital and the surrounding area. The attributed identities emerging from the information contained in these publications combine to create an image of a metropolis with marked centralistic traits, yet geographically shifted toward the south. These identities reappear, internalised and appropriated, in the surveys. They are reflected in the pronounced interest directed towards Luxembourg City, at the expense of other places. On the other hand, the regionally

35 | Among them, 46 % originate from the tradition-oriented milieu and 44 % from the underprivileged milieu.

36 | Divided as follows: 28 % from the hedonistic milieu, followed by 27 % from the petty bourgeois and tradition-oriented milieus.

37 | The majority (36 %) of which are from the tradition-oriented, underprivileged and privileged liberal milieus.

38 | The hedonistic and alternative milieus provide the most visitors to the region, as opposed to the scarcely represented traditional milieus.

oriented manner of perceiving the national territory, which attributes identities, conveys the impression of a far-reaching fragmentation. Considering how this is mirrored in the appropriated identities, this suggests the presence of a regionalistic attitude among the respondents. We were indeed able to establish that the preferred destinations for leisure-time visits were primarily located in the respondents' home region and that there was a marked lack of interest in the other parts of the country (except for the capital), which, given the country's limited size, would not take much time to reach. This tendency towards withdrawal shows certain similarities with regionalistic behaviour. In other words, the official regional tourism discourse corresponds to individual regionalistic attitudes. Linden and Thewes arrived at the same conclusions for the field of advertising:

> En dépit de la superficie très limitée du Luxembourg, les campagnes publicitaires distinguent plusieurs régions spécifiques [...]. Ces représentations n'influencent pas seulement la vision des touristes. Elles finissent par déterminer la perception que les Luxembourgeois ont de leur propre pays, de son passé et de sa géographie. La propagande touristique reflète finalement les histoires que les Luxembourgeois aiment raconter sur eux-mêmes, tout autant qu'elle leur sert de moule[39] (2007: 44).

We will now turn to the question whether the analysis of rhetorical devices and their interaction with the visual information will confirm this first conclusion.

Matching Colours

In all three brochures examined, the use of colours aims at reinforcing the regional representation of the country. The colours are charged with a symbolic meaning which acts as a mnestic device. This procedure contributes to creating the particular redundancy that marks the discursive style of these publications.

Each of them contains the same map of the Grand Duchy: the 'Ardennes and nature parks' region is assigned the colour green, particularly suited for representing nature and flora, this region's major attraction. The region Müllertal is coloured in the sandy brown of its rocks, while the City of Luxembourg and its surroundings are shown in the colour gold. The Moselle region takes its blue from the river reflecting the sky on a sunny day, whereas the mining region of Terres Rouges, is imbued with the brick colour of its ore, as if the mineral wealth reaped from its depths permitted the choice of no other colour. This association is essentially

39 | Personal translation: "Despite Luxembourg's very limited surface area, advertising campaigns distinguish several specific regions [...]. These representations not only influence tourists' perceptions, in the final analysis they determine the image Luxembourgers have of their own country, of its past and its geography. Tourist propaganda ultimately reflects the stories Luxembourgers like to tell about themselves, as well as providing them with a template".

based on a prototypical representation of the regional colour scheme and fosters in the reader a simplified perception of the regional differences, by highlighting each region's most representative feature. This is confirmed in the downsized reproduction of each region at the bottom of the page, named in four languages (French, German, Dutch, and English), shaded in each region's symbolical colour.

In the case of the two publications *Hôtels Restaurants et Arrangements* and *Sites et Attractions*, the exemplary significance of the map's colours is resumed both in the table of contents for the regions and in the page numbering (upper corners, left and right), enclosed in an off-centre square in which the entire country is reproduced in outline. The section of the contour drawing illustrating the region discussed on that page is colour-highlighted according to the colour allotted to that region on the larger map of the country. We noted that this square creates a link between the guide's contents and its cover: it is present on the strip of the three cover pages, playing with a switch between positive and negative mode (red letters on white background, white letters on red background), clearly setting off the abbreviation *lu* in the internet address. The two-coloured index reference of *Hôtels Restaurants et Arrangements* alternating between blue and white, is developed further in *Sites et Attractions*: the locations can be linked to the appropriate region at a glance with the help of symbolic colours. The guide *Les Produits du Terroir et les Métiers d'Art*, by contrast, uses these fine distinctions in a different manner; instead of indicating regions, they refer to the nature of a product (which in a semiotic sense constitutes partial motivation). For example, the clear green indicates viticultural products, whereas the warm orange colour symbolises brandies and liqueurs, and ochre (a variety of orange) the domestic beers. A comparison of the cover with the contents of the brochure shows that the colours used correspond precisely with those in the cover photo, each slightly modified with a tone-on-tone effect.

The colours almost act as a weapon of persuasion. An analysis of how they are used reveals a schematic treatment of the country which is no longer based on a regional (pragmatically neutral) perspective but on a regionalistic (pragmatically biased) one, and whose purpose it is to facilitate the reader's assessment of the space by streamlining it. Bonhomme demonstrated this convincingly in a study of a tourist brochure of the city of Bern: "*Schématiser la ville, c'est en retenir les aspects les plus typiques à travers trois actes énonciatifs [:] a) Sélectionner [...] b) Emblématiser [...] c) Rationaliser [...]*"[40] (2003: 14). The Luxembourg publications base their use of colours on particulars from which they extract prototypical features[41] and guide the reader's decoding effort by employing a redundancy technique that even includes a referential link between the publication's cover and contents. This procedure is

40 | Personal translation: "To create a schematised representation of a city one has to capture the most typical aspects in three enunciative acts [:] a) selecting [...] b) symbolising [...] c) streamlining [...]".

41 | For example, the colour of the iron ore for the aptly named Terres Rouges or the colour of vegetation for the natural park region.

an element of rhetoric that has been expanded to include pragmatics, as conceived by Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (2000), as a specific manner of constructing the object with the intention of guiding the reader's interpretation. Georges Molinié succinctly emphasises the significance of the perlocutionary effect of rhetoric when he writes: "*[E]lle vise à faire penser ou croire aux gens ce que spontanément ils ne pensent ou ne croient pas, [...] à leur faire même désirer ce qu'ils n'imaginent même pas de désirer*"[42] (1993: 2). It therefore requires little to operationalise this type of epideictic discourse for the advertising discourse, which praises an object in order to recommend its consumption.

The analysis of the covers, which may not be elaborated here further, not only convincingly reaffirmed the use of colour symbolism, guide lines and perspectives, which, in the photos, were literally orchestrated with carefully calculated framings. The space which has been structured in this way guides the reader's eye thereby transporting an ideology that attempts to reconcile antithetical meanings: on the one hand a strong and conservative attachment to one's own roots, and on the other, the temptation to yield to the allure of spaces dominated by futuristic vistas.

The Rhetoric of Tourism

As is clear from the above, the three tourist brochures display a highly skillfull application of images, but this is not the only feature that characterises their modus operandi. The rhetoric employed here also plays a significant role, as shown by the text analysis of *Luxembourg, la capitale et ses environs*, which is representative of the style used in the publications studied. Thus the guides *Hôtels Restaurants et Arrangements* and *Sites et Attractions* have similar introductory texts which are clearly marked by poetical tourist clichés.

Luxembourg, aux contrastes enchanteurs, est une ville chargée d'histoire, débordant de trésors artistiques et culturels qui ne demandent qu'à être admirés, regorgeant de sites intéressants et de coins pittoresques qui ne demandent qu'à être explorés, truffée d'anecdotes et de légendes qui ne demandent qu'à être racontées.

Et puis, quelles sont les autres capitales européennes qui peuvent se targuer d'être à quelques jets de pierre seulement de paysages verts impressionnants, où d'accueillants villages ont conservé leurs caractères?

A ce propos, le Prix Europa Nostra décerné au village restauré d'Useldange ne doit rien au hasard. Comme son nom l'indique, la Vallée des Sept châteaux invite à un périple à travers

42 | Personal translation: "[I]t tries to make people think of or believe in what they do not naturally think of or believe in, [...] to make them even want what they did not even imagine they wanted".

l'histoire et la nature, depuis Koerich et son église baroque jusqu'à Mersch[43] (11/2007: 10 and 12/2007: 6).

The lyricism apparent in these few lines of text uses in the first passage a ternary rhythm that involves the syntactic, morphological and lexical levels. It creates a movement that conveys a soothing and harmoniously balanced pace to the reader.

The mention of the city at the very beginning is made in the form of a personification based on its properties and qualities, which are themselves personified via their verbs. For example, the treasures that embody the capital's historic and artistic heritage are endowed with a veritable soul: they solicit the tourist's attention and the assistance from whoever is willing to bring them to life via the language. This interlacing is produced by a ternary concatenation. First, Luxembourg is named in its integral entirety together with one of its salient features, the "enchanting contrasts" (1); this is followed by a reference to its rich history (2), itself composed of the sum of its "artistic and cultural treasures" (3). These are themselves characterised by three distinctive features, creating the effect of a saturation of information that seeks to be as comprehensive and attractive as possible. As Bonhomme (2003: 18) reminds us, "*Loin d'obéir à des procédures logico-déductives plus ou moins complexes (du genre Démontrer à Convaincre), cette orientation persuasive est de nature empathique, faisant appel à la séduction (Grize 1981) et à l' 'évocation' (Dominicy/Michaux 2001)*"[44]. However, it is doubtful whether the introductory text actually achieves the intended result, for it resembles more a caricature of a panegyric, as we will presently show.

The first paragraph, constituting half of the introductory text, is one single compound sentence:

[*Luxembourg*], [first-order apposition: *full of enchanting contrasts*], [copular verb establishing the link between the city and its feature: *is*] [nominal group establishing the strict

43 | Personal translation: "Luxembourg, full of enchanting contrasts, is a city steeped in history, brimming with artistic and cultural treasures that are waiting to be admired, overflowing with interesting sites and picturesque corners that are waiting to be explored, larded with anecdotes and legends that are waiting to be told. And then, which other European capitals can boast of being only a stone's throw away from impressive green landscapes, where hospitable villages have retained their character? Speaking of which, the restored village of Useldange did not receive the Europa Nostra Award for Cultural Heritage by chance. And as the name suggests, the Valley of Seven Castles invites you to take a journey through history and nature, from Koerich's baroque church to Mersch".

44 | Personal translation: "Far from obeying logico-deductive procedures of varying complexity (such as to prove in order to convince), this persuasive orientation is of an empathetic nature, appealing to seduction (Grize 1981) and 'evocation' (Dominicy/Michaux 2001)".

equivalence between the city and the fact of it having a rich history: *a city steeped in history*]

This statement, which could have been expressed with a simple sentence, instead serves as an opening for three participial constructions for which it acts as a distributor. Redundancy is achieved by the repetition of two forms of the present participle ("brimming with/overflowing with") and one form of the past participle ("larded with"), creating a ternary rhythm. Each of these participles transports a set of objects, and each of these, in turn, is formed on the same pattern, which produces the tree structure mentioned above. The three objects are introduced with the preposition "with": in the first segment, the noun "treasures" is specified by two co-ordinated adjectives; the second segment consists of two co-ordinated nouns, each qualified with an adjective; lastly, the third and final segment is constructed of two co-ordinated nouns. Together, these segments combine to form the following pattern[45]:

[with artistic *and* cultural treasures] = 1 N + 2 co-ordinated adj.
[with interesting sites *and* picturesque corners] = 2 SN + co-ordinated adj.
[with anecdotes *and* legends] = 2 co-ordinated N

Here we see how the binary rhythm of each syntagm is combined into the ternary rythm which homogenises the sequence. In this way, the power of the information is supported by the reading pace, which facilitates the assimilation of the contents. From a lexical viewpoint, the narrator has produced a hyperbolic discourse containing certain expressions that border on the trivial ("Luxembourg is brimming with", "overflowing with", "larded with"). Everywhere there is profusion, even overabundance, a wealth that is inversely proportional to the size of the country. This lavishness is also sustained by the ternary rhythm. The three sets of objects (whose syntactic structure is described above) are each expanded by an identical relative clause ("that are waiting to ..."), which, in turn, is complemented by a passive infinitive ("to be admired", "to be explored", "to be told"). This structural redundancy (three instances in four and a half lines) appears counterproductive and is more likely to disorient than create the intended attraction.

The text that follows changes to a radically different style: instead of lyrical hyperbole we now have a discourse affecting spontaneity; the sentences are shorter, they address the reader through the illocutionary effect of the interrogative and seem to digress heavily. This effect is produced by the connectors of a textual 'signposting' (see Freyermuth 2003) – e.g. "and then", "speaking of which" – which point to a pronounced oralisation of the discourse. The second paragraph takes on a more demanding tone, because it addresses the reader, prompting him to

45 | For the commentary on the syntax of the text, the abbreviations used are as follows: N = noun; adj. = adjective; SN = nominal syntagm; V = verb.

answer the pragmatic question (see Searle 1982; Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1991) and requesting that he recognise the legitimacy of the advantages offered by the capital of the Grand Duchy. The need to resort to this type of speech act has a negative implication, as if the narrator anticipated a certain reluctance on behalf of the reader to endorse this laudatory device[46]. The manner in which the question is formulated obscures one of the reasons for the proximity of Luxembourg City to the 'impressive green landscapes': for example, the very idyllic and romantic little town of Esch-sur-Sûre (in the northern part of the country) is less than 50 km from the capital. To put this otherwise would risk diminishing, in the eyes of the potential tourist, the importance of the country regarding its size. This paragraph ends with a mention of the strong character of the surrounding villages. This constitutes a perfect transition to the third and final paragraph, which resumes the previous one with the anaphoric expression 'Speaking of which'. The involvement of the reader, who continues to be engaged in a conversation about this and that, is taken to a further level: the Europa Nostra Award is used as supplementary proof of the historical value of Luxembourg's architectural heritage.

Lastly, the text's lexical elements reinforce its heterogeneity. No cliché of pseudo-poetic rhetoric is omitted[47], whether it be "enchanting contrasts", "picturesque corners" "green landscapes" and other "hospitable villages". These commonplaces are exacerbated by multiple instances of awkwardness in the use of register and display a degree of triviality that impairs the ostensibly refined stylistic effects of the preceding lines. In short, the brief text, hyperbolic and overburdened in its first half, turns into a tonal and lexical patchwork in the second half, which risks jeopardising the aim of these brochures, namely to attract potential tourists.

To sum up, this (too) brief analysis of three publications released by the Luxembourg Tourist Office reveals a tendency for redundancy, supported moreover by a process of streamlining and reduction of information into prototypical formulae, with the aim to facilitate access to the facts. Yet the simultaneous use of hyperbole, both scriptural and iconic, impairs the intended aid and betrays the perhaps too overzealously expressed desire to promote and advertise at all costs.

5.5 The Image of Luxembourg as a 'Melting Pot'

The representation of the territory of Luxembourg in tourist guides also requires a diachronic analysis. This section focuses on the evolution of this projected identity in the tourism discourse throughout the 20th century and examines its continuities and discontinuities. At first glance, the tourist guides do not seek to lay down borders, but to cross them by encouraging international flows of people and

46 | This tendency is related to what is referred to as the "Theory of Mind", which can also be described as the "Theory of Mental Representations" (see Freyermuth 2008).

47 | See section 5.5.

capital. However, before these borders can be crossed, they must first be discursively constructed. Luxembourg is 'different' on two levels: on the one hand, the country is endowed with an aura of authenticity linked to the significance of its rural past and its small size; on the other, it is distinguished by its economic modernity and its open culture. These paradoxical traits confer upon it a uniqueness, which according to guides explains the tourists' interest. This representation of the authenticity/modernity paradox is evolving over time, becoming more and more dissonant while – at the same time – the image of an interstitial existence between the German and French 'cultural spaces' is becoming increasingly preponderant and depicts Luxembourg as a role model for Europe.

The historical analysis conducted here is based on a selection of six tourist guides, chosen for their widely differing production contexts: the golden age of the railroad[48], the eve of World War I[49], the inter-war years[50], the 1960s, marked by celebrations of the thousand-year anniversary of Luxembourg City in 1963[51], along with the years of energetic tourism campaigns 1995 (*Luxembourg – European Capital of Culture*)[52] and 2007 (*Luxembourg and Greater Region – European Capital of Culture*)[53]. A second criterion of selection was the ability to trace the evolution of the representation of Luxembourg through the 20th century in the *Woerl* (1914, 1934) and *Merian* (1964, 1995, and 2007). The selection is rounded off with Luxembourg's first tourist guide, published in 1861 by Mathias Erasmy, and by a brief presentation of the country appearing in a 1967 edition of *Reader's Digest* that was printed in 13 languages[54]. Except for Erasmy's work, these texts were written from an external perspective (German for the most part), even if the 1967 *Merian* also included

48 | Erasmy, Mathieu. 1861. *Le guide du voyageur dans le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg.* Luxembourg: V. Bück; Anonymous (1892): *De Luxembourg en Écosse. Guide du Touriste à travers Le Luxembourg. – L'Ardenne Belge. – Les Flandres. La Mer du Nord et la Manche. Le Comté de Kent. – Le Pays de Galles. – Les Lacs Anglais. L'Écosse. Avec 100 dessins originaux de MM. Hoeterickx, Van Gelder, etc.* Published by S. de Ruette for London Chatham & Dover Railway [Brussels], with the approval of the London & North Western Railway, London Chatham & Dover Railway, the Chemins de fer Prince-Henri and the Chemins de fer du Nord de France companies. Luxembourg: Pierre Bruck.

49 | Renwick, George. 1913. *Luxembourg. The Grand-Duchy and its People.* London: T. Fisher Unwin; Anonymous. 1914. *Woerl's Reisehandbücher. Illustrierter Führer durch das Großherzogtum Luxemburg. Mit Plan der Stadt Luxemburg, 7 Kartenbeilagen und 65 Abbildungen*, 2nd ed. Leipzig: Woerl's Reisebücher-Verlag. Kaiserl. u Königl. Hofbuchhandlung.

50 | Anonymous. 1934. *Woerl Reisehandbücher. Großherzogtum Luxemburg [mit Plan der Stadt Luxemburg, 7 Karten und 29 Abbildungen]*, 3rd ed. Leipzig: Woerl's Reisebücher-Verlag.

51 | Merian. 1964. *Luxemburg*. Merian XVII/7.

52 | Schröder, Dirk. 1995. *Merian live! Luxemburg.* Munich: Gräfe und Unzer.

53 | Merian. 2007. *Luxemburg.* Merian 60/03.

54 | Schisgall, Oscar. 1967. *Le Luxembourg, pays de paradoxes.* Selection from Reader's Digest. 01/1967, p. 62-69.

articles by Luxembourgish authors. The guides were not published by the National Tourist Office; they therefore do not attempt to achieve the maximum number of visitors to Luxembourg, but rather to reach the greatest number of readers. The 1892 guide does seek to promote the railroad, but the 'product' is not Luxembourg, even though the same guide must seduce, attract and sell.

This corpus will be compared to qualitative surveys and in particular to the collected responses concerning the European institutions based in Luxembourg. They allow us to decipher the reception of the image of Luxembourg as a role model for Europe and as a space that is open and multicultural. The other side of the coin, the rustic image of a country bound to its traditions, does not appear in the interviews. Comparing the projected collective spatial identities (representations conveyed by tourist guides, among other things) and appropriated individual spatial identities is difficult due to the dissymmetry of the sources. If limited – as we have done – to qualitative surveys, the comparison can only weigh the individual expressions of spatial identity against the most recent guide, that from 2007. All we can do is examine whether the respondents repeat the stereotypes presented by this guide (or other, even older ones) or if their judgments differ from those of the tourist guides.

This research question is new, as most historical, sociological or anthropological studies of tourism tend to evaluate economic impacts and tourism practices. These studies are often concerned with remote tourism, analysed from an angle of meeting the Other (see Cohen 2004: 229-316), whereas tourism in Western Europe is rarely studied from this perspective. Yet more that more than two-thirds of the tourists visting Luxembourg are from an adjacent country (Belgium, France or Germany), the Netherlands or Great-Britain; only 10 % come from a non-European country. These numbers have hardly changed between 1980 and 2006 (Statec 2007: 213, 228). Nevertheless, the Luxembourg tourist guides provide an 'exotic' gaze, for the primary objective of the tourist is ultimately to have a different physical and mental experience (see Hennig 1997). The guides implicitly fulfil tourists' expectations by proposing they visit 'extraordinary' places that offer contrast to the working world – places they can capture on film and then turn into landscapes (Urry 1990: 2-3). Urry and MacCannell moreover consider the tourist experience – characterised by the search for authenticity – emblematic of (post)modernity turning to the past (linked to the emergence of museums) and to other countries where life is imagined to be simpler, more pure (Urry 1990: 82, 104-134; MacCannell 1976: 103, 48; Cohen 2004: 159-178). Therefore, one of the functions of tourist guides is to quench the thirst for authenticity. Our analysis will first show in what terms this *genius loci* is described and will then examine whether the 'natives' subscribe to this description and identify with it (or not).

The Quest for Authenticity

The projected identity of Luxembourg as the last peaceful corner is pushed to the extreme by Renwick's work, in which the first chapter, entitled "A Ruritania of today", is marked by a nostalgia for a lost world: "The world appears to be fast outgrowing its Ruritanias [...] The Empire of Speed [...] is wrecking Arcadia" (Renwick 1913: 13). Very much in contrast to the cult of speed and modernity launched by Marinetti's *Manifeste du futurisme* (1909), the author proposes trips without haste, without maps or directions, and above all without guided tours: "This tiny paradise, this little unspoiled corner of earth which has known Nature's most happy inspirations, is for those whose guide is *Wanderlust*" (Renwick 1913: 14). Industrialisation, however, is not demonised. The verdict, "the canton of Esch is blackened and blurred by furnaces, forges and foundries" does not lack in poetry (alliteration) and admits that the Grand Duchy produces no less than one fortieth of the world's steel, "an extremely large proportion" (Renwick 1913: 19). This paradox had deepened in the description of Luxembourg printed in *Reader's Digest* at the end of the 1960s: Luxembourg is presented as "a modern and prosperous nation that is the seventh largest steel producer in Europe" and is the seat of European institutions, yet remains an "idyllic land", straight out of a fairy tale. It is the last refuge of tranquillity: "*Le monde d'aujourd'hui a grand besoin d'un pays comme le grand-duché, ne serait-ce que pour prouvez qu'il est encore possible de vivre tranquille sur notre planète*"[55] (Schisgall 1967: 64).

By contrast, this notion of tranquillity is ridiculed by Gliedner (see *Merian* 1964). His essay "Ellinger Blätter" denounces the provinciality and the sluggishness ("*Biertischgemütlichkeit*", "*Fettbäuche*", "*bourgeoise eingemachte Gurkenideen*") of the Luxembourgers. The land only remains fertile with chemical fertilisers and the landscape is so lyrical in itself that the poets are considered superfluous. Gliedner's essay is included towards the end of the 1964 *Merian* edition, in which the iconography introduces a subtle division between 'tradition', illustrated by photos of castles and shots of the Old Town, and 'modernity', intersected by representations of factories and advertisements. The historical past is contrasted with economic progress. In the middle of the brochure, the 'traditional' type of representation reaches its peak: a black-and-white photo of an old woman, evocatively entitled "*Beim Kartoffelschälen – Küchenidyll in einem alten Öslinger Bauernhaus*"[56], on the left page, across from the essay "*Mir wële bleiwe wat mir sinn*"[57] by the ethnographer Joseph Hess on the right page (*Merian* 1964: 58-59). Hess states that the Luxembourgish mentality is still rustic and honest, *despite* prosperity and urbanisation. The aspect of 'tradition' thus dominates the 1964 *Merian*, as evidenced also by the picturesque map of the

55 | Personal translation: "The world today is in great need of a country such as the Grand Duchy, if only to prove that it is still possible to live in peace and tranquillity on our planet".

56 | "Peeling Potatoes – Idyllic Kitchen Scene in an old Ösling Farmhouse".

57 | "We want to remain what we are".

country, decorated by the coat of arms and icons representing castles, churches and industrial sites in the same colours and style, so that one cannot distinguish them at first glance. The industrial sites are incorporated into the Arcadian image of Luxembourg despite the dissonances introduced by some authors.

Figure 3: Picturesque map of the country (Merian 1964: 97).

The 1995 *Merian* repeats the advertising strategy of the *Syndicat d'initiative touristique* (now the *Office national du Tourisme*), which has been promoting both 'soft' local tourism and 'hard' business tourism since the 1960s. The slogans "*Découvrez Luxembourg, le cœur vert de l'Europe*"[58] and "Luxembourg, a Must for Congress and Incentive" (Pinnel 1989: 951) are reflected in the juxtaposed images of the façade of a shiny bank ("*Am Boulevard Royal, auch 'Wall Street' genannt*"[59])

58 | Personal translation: "Discover Luxembourg, the Green Heart of Europe".

59 | Personal translation: "On the Boulevard Royal, also referred to as 'Wall Street'".

and of cows on a lush meadow ("*Beschaulich: Idyll im Ösling*"[60] [both Merian 1995: 6f.]). This idyllic and pastoral landscape, a symbol of authenticity and innocence, is no longer presented at face value in 2007. Rather, hyper-reality is introduced by romantic clichés, swans and floating mist included, reminiscent of the hamlet of Marie-Antoinette or Castle Neuschwanstein (see Baudrillard 1994). The most bucolic article, both by its illustrations and by its title "*In der Ruhe liegt die Kraft*"[61], has the subtitle "*Sinnlich, still und leise zeigt Luxemburg seine Stärken: ein Land zum Auftanken*"[62] (*Merian* 2007: 86), introducing refuelling (the literal meaning of *Auftanken*) – at least by association – and thus the automobile and "the Empire of Speed" rejected by Renwick. The underlying irony is repeated by subtitles such as "*Burgen-Land*"[63], an allusion to the Austrian federal province of Burgenland (*Merian* 2007: 5), or Stölb's article "*Das Land der Schlichter und Banker*"[64], a reference to Germany as "*Land der Dichter und Denker*"[65] (*Merian* 2007: 14-15). Like the 1964 *Merian*, the 2007 version juxtaposes heritage and innovations, but in reverse order, commencing with the modern and cosmopolitan ("*Kulturhauptstadt*", "*Banker*",

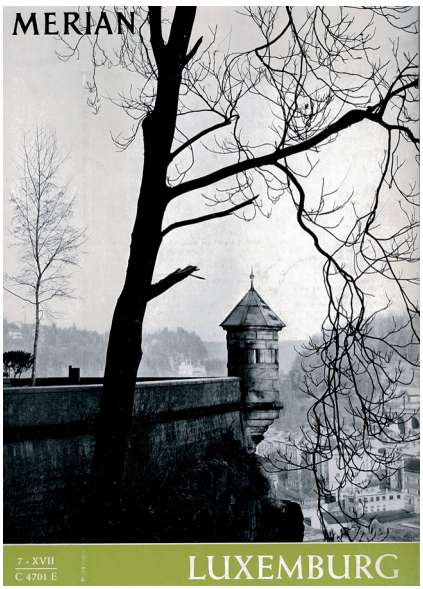

Figure 4: Cover of the 1964 Merian

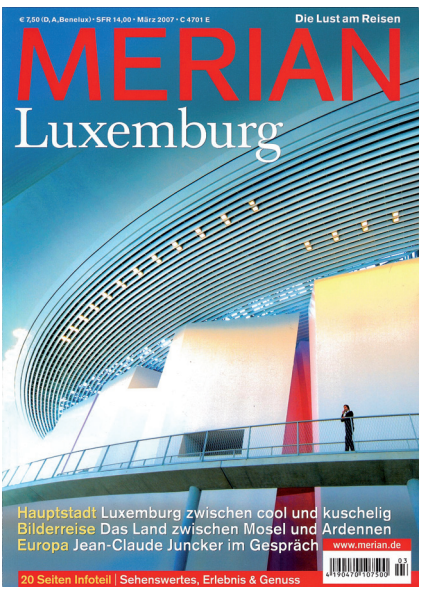

Figure 5: Cover of the 2007 Merian.

60 | Personal translation: "Tranquil: Idyllic Ösling Landscape".

61 | Personal translation: "Strength lies in Silence".

62 | Personal translation: "Luxembourg's strong points: sensuous, calm and quiet – a country for recharging your batteries".

63 | Personal translation: "Castle-Land".

64 | Personal translation: "The Land of Mediators and Bankers".

65 | Personal translation: "The Land of Poets and Thinkers".

"*weltoffen*", "*feiern*", "*Nassauer*", "*Kirchberg*", "*Europa*", "*Migranten*", "*berühmt*"[66]), followed by the past ("*Familienerbe*", "*Sigismund*", "*Ruhe*", "*Sattel*", "*Steinzeit*", "*Vianden*," "*bodenständig*"[67]) in the next section (*Merian* 2007: 4). Yet these keywords derived from the titles of the articles presented in the table of contents are ironic: the "Stone Age" indicates to the early stages of RTL, prehistory does not refer to the time before the invention of writing, but before the emergence of modern media.

Contrary to the cover of the 1964 *Merian*, which displays an element of the fortress, the cover of the 2007 version depicts the interior of the Philharmonic[68] and emphasises the headline "*Luxemburg zwischen cool und kuschelig*"[69] by the choice of colours: blue (a cool colour for *cool*), and red (a warm colour for *kuschelig*). Associated with the white pillars, this results in the national tri-colour red-white-blue. The projected identity is one of a country either in transition, or wedged in an interstitial space between traditions and ambitions. This in-betweeness is not only temporal (between the past and the future), but also spatial (between the local and the global), even mental (between withdrawal and opening). The image of an 'open' country is based on the representation of being linguistically and culturally in-between (Germany and France), which is highlighted as an 'extraordinary' feature that characterises Luxembourg.

Image of an Open and Multicultural Country

The hybrid character of Luxembourg is a topos that dates back to the first tourist guide. Even if Erasmy defines Luxembourgers as a "*race allemande d'origine germanique*"[70], he insists on the 'intermingling' of peoples and judges their mentality as 'imitating' that of their neighbours a bit too much. Even the physical space is closely linked to adjacent spaces:

> Les montagnes luxembourgeoises appartiennent au système des Ardennes et des Vosges [...] Le noyau des Ardennes se trouve dans le Luxembourg belge [...] Les sources des fleuves entre les bassins du Rhin et de la Meuse. La principale chaîne de montagne franchit la frontière et rattache Ardennes à Eifel[71] (Erasmy 1861: 3).

66 | Personal translation: "Capital of culture, banker, cosmopolitan, celebrate, Nassauer, Kirchberg, Europe, migrants, famous".

67 | Personal translation: "Family heritage, Sigismund, tranquillity, saddle, Stone Age, Vianden, down-to-earth".

68 | See section 5.4.

69 | Personal translation: "Luxembourg, between cool and cuddly".

70 | Personal translation: "German race of Germanic origin".

71 | Personal translation: "The mountains of Luxembourg belong to the Ardennes and Vosges system [...] The core of the Ardennes lays in Belgian Luxembourg [...] The sources of rivers between the Rhine and Meuse basins. The principal chain of mountains forms the border and links the Ardennes to the Eifel".

Renwick also emphasises the intermingling of peoples and languages. According to him, the Luxembourger is bilingual (French and German) and uses moreover a strange dialect:

> And what a mixture that patois is! Just as the country itself carries traces of all the peoples who have swept across it and dwelt in it, so the people's language has borrowed from at least a dozen tongues [...] Spoken, the patois sounds like curious Dutch and bad German coming from a worn gramophone (Renwick 1913: 21).

The 1964 *Merian* combines multilingualism with Europeanism, personified by the 'great European' Robert Schuman, born in Luxembourg. In his contribution titled "Unser Europa begann in Luxemburg"[72], Friedländer formulates it as follows:

> Diese [moselfränkische] Mundart war wohl seine eigentliche Muttersprache, denn er sprach deutsch nicht ganz wie ein Deutscher und französisch nicht ganz wie ein Franzose. In Schuman waren zwei nationale Kulturen verschmolzen[73] (Merian 1964: 70).

In the same issue, writer Nic Weber, co-founder of the *Cahiers luxembourgeois* and the *Journées littéraires de Mondorf*, describes the cultural in-between in a humorous fashion as a "*Löwe zwischen Geflügel*"[74], accompanied by a pen and ink drawing showing the heraldic lion of Luxembourg quibbling with the French cock and the German eagle (*Merian* 1964: 5). There is no trace of conflict in the 1995 work, which presents Luxembourg as the birthplace of the "*Vater des europäischen Gedankens*"[75], Robert Schuman, "*überzeugt vom Geist eines gemeinsamen Europas*"[76], and deducts that "*der europäische Geist ist tief verwurzelt*"[77] in Luxembourg (Schröder 1995: 8) and that the cultural borders have been abolished (Schröder 1995: 7). The first chapter is logically titled "*Eine Region stellt sich vor*"[78] (Schröder 1995: 4-9) and not 'A country presents itself'. The natural borders have also been abolished: the Moselle is cited as a typical example of a border that does not separate, rather unites (Schröder 1995: 6). In the brief chronology, the year 1995 – in which Luxembourg is the European Capital of Culture – is summarised as follows: "*Mit dem grenzüberschreitenden Programm spiegelt sich der Gedanke einer multikulturellen Gesellschaft in Kunst und*

72 | Personal translation: "Our Europe began in Luxembourg".

73 | Personal translation: "This (moselle-frankish) dialect was his actual native language, for he did not speak German quite like a German, nor French quite like a Frenchman. In Schuman two national cultures coalesced".

74 | Personal translation: "Lion between fowls".

75 | Personal translation: "Father of the European idea".

76 | Personal translation: "Imbued with the spirit of a common Europe".

77 | Personal translation: "The European spirit is profoundly rooted".

78 | Personal translation: "A region presents itself".

Kultur wieder"[79] (Schröder 1995: 123). The 2007 *Merian* includes the Portuguese of Luxembourg in this multiculturalism, but presents them from an ethnicised angle, "*Saudade an der Sauer*"[80] (60-68). The editorial states that Luxembourg is a country in-between ("*Zwischenland*") and the cover title "*Bilderreise: Das Land zwischen Mosel und Ardennen*".[81] Imagery of bridges, mediation and intermingling is recurring and presented as typically Luxembourgish (4). Europeanism is one of the key themes in the 2007 *Merian*. The cover announces an interview with Jean-Claude Juncker about Europe. In the table of contents, the Prime Minister is presented as a "*Visionär*"[82] who "*für ein vereintes Europa kämpft*"[83], illustrated by a profile portrait, looking straight ahead and flanked by the European flag (5). The interview itself is titled "*Grenzen in Europa? Ein Horror!*"[84] and ends with a history of relations between Luxembourg and the EU titled "*Das Zugpferdchen – Luxemburg ist Vorreiter der Europäischen Union und einer seiner stärksten Antreiber*"[85] (58). We have highlighted the projected identity formulated in the guide published in 2007, as it is the only one that could be compared to the appropriated identity discourse as it appears in the qualitative interviews.

An Ambivalent and Politically (In)Correct Image

The Eurobarometer surveys show that Luxembourg's commitment to the European Union is relatively high. In early 2009, 74 % responded positively to the question, "Generally speaking, do you think that [your country]'s membership of the European Union is...? A good thing", compared to the European average of 52 % (see European Commission 2009: 85). However, this general appreciation conceals the discontent and much more ambivalent assessments, which are articulated in the qualitative interviews with a, "Yes, but...". They largely overlap with the results of a study from 2006 on the vote for or against the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe, which received 56.52 % of the vote in July 2005 (Dumont et al. 2007). The analysis of four focus groups, particularly regarding the response strategies seeking to position themselves in relation to the 'politically correct' (Dumont et al. 2007: 150), facilitates a comparison with the opinions offered in qualitative surveys conducted in Spring 2009. Thus, a question in our study that

79 | Personal translation: "The crossborder programme reflects the spirit of a multicultural society in art and culture".

80 | Personal translation: "Saudade on the Sûre".

81 | Personal translation: "A Journey in Pictures: The Land between the Moselle and the Ardennes".

82 | Personal translation: "Visionary".

83 | Personal translation: "Fights for a united Europe".

84 | Personal translation: "Borders in Europe? Utter horror!"

85 | Personal translation: "The Little Draught-Horse – Luxembourg is leading the charge for the European Union and is one of its strongest driving forces".

was considered 'delicate' – i.e. "What significance do the European institutions in Luxembourg have for you?" – received some reticent responses, considered unspeakable ("forbidden" or "horrible") or preceded by an apology:

> Mit zunehmendem Alter denke ich, hm [zögert] ist's... normalerweise streng verboten, man ist sofort in der rechtsextremen Kiste, ausländerfeindlich und und und. Ich seh trotzdem nicht, wo denn die Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen hier, den Luxemburgern, den Deutschen, den Franzosen hier von Nordfrankreich, den Belgiern und so weiter *und* den Portugiesen zum Beispiel sind. Weder in der Kultur noch in der Sprache noch in gar nix. Außer, dass alle gute Christen sein sollten[86] (Female, 50 years old, Luxembourger, Rambrouch).

> Voilà, mais avec des interférences aussi qui ne sont pas sur le plan politique non plus, mais sur le plan très concret. C'est-à-dire que euh [rire gêné], mais, ah, mon dieu, c'est horrible de dire ça comme ça, mais c'est, euh, quand on cherche un appartement à Luxembourg-Ville, euh, euh, dans, dans, de discu, enfin, je sais pas si c'est une légende urbaine ou si c'est authentique, que certains prix élevés de l'immobilier à la location au Luxembourg vient également de la présence de ces fonctionnaires européens[87] (Male, 30, French, Esch-sur-Alzette).

These responses reveal two recurring elements: insistence on cultural diversity, considered threatened by Europeanisation, and more concrete grievances tied to the impact of European officials on the real estate market. Of 28 persons asked about the European Union, half had a favourable opinion, a quarter were sceptical and a quarter ambivalent. This sample is not representative, but allows – by qualitative methods – to further examine the arguments that have been advanced. Amongst the positive evaluations of the European institutions in Luxembourg, two arguments prevail. The first is linked to the image of Luxembourg, a small country particularly recognised as the seat of some institutions and as a founding country. This thought perfectly overlaps with the tourism discourse. The second argument is more common: the institutions are considered an important creator of jobs and

86 | Personal translation: "As I get older, I think, hm [hesitates] it's... usually strictly forbidden, you're automatically in the right-wing extremist camp, xenophobic, and and and. I still don't see what they're supposed to have in common, the Luxembourgers, the Germans, here the French from Northern France, the Belgians and so on *and* the Portuguese, for example. Neither in their culture, nor in their language, nor in anything. Except that they should all be good Christians".

87 | Personal translation: "Well, but there are also interferences which also aren't on a political level, but on a very concrete one. That's to say that, uh [embarrassed laugh], but, uh, my God, it's horrible to say it like that, but it's, uh, when you're looking for a flat in Luxembourg City, uh, uh, in, in, in conversation, after all, I don't know if it's an urban legend or if it's real, that some high prices for renting properties in Luxembourg are also because of the presence of these European officials".

'advantageous' for the country or the state. This argument is also advanced by the 'ambivalent' respondents, who qualify the remark by saying, for instance, that the benefits are limited to the "upper layers" (Male, 39 years old, Portuguese, Strassen). In addition, Luxembourg's European and multicultural character is called into question:

Die normale Bevölkerung identifiziert sich nicht damit. Das ist eine einzelne Gruppe von Europäischen Bürgern, die da arbeiten, die sich unter sich aufhalten und selten integriert sind. Oder sich integrieren wollen. Und deshalb ist auch wenig Kontakt dann da, von Menschen die da arbeiten mit der richtige Bevölkerung. Und deshalb, ja, das sind zwei Welten, die so parallel laufen. Ja, habe ich den Eindruck.
Und meinen Sie denn, dass das für das Land selber eher vorteilig oder nachteilig ist?
Ist schade, eigentlich – finde ich. Es ist zu verstehen, aber es fordert sicher nicht die multikulturelle Gesellschaft und Akzeptanz von Ausländern in Luxemburg. Macht das eher noch wieder ein Beispiel mehr, wo keine sich integriert und sich nicht anpasst. Ich glaube die Bevölkerung ist da eher... Ja, es bringt... Luxemburg ist mal wieder in den Schlagzeilen, wenn da irgendwas los ist. Aber sonst?[88] (Female, 30 years old, Dutch, Lintgen).

The idea of parallel worlds is also repeated by another respondent, who feels:

C'était, un moment donné, j'avais lu, c'était à propos des Etats-Unis où ils disaient: 'le melting-pot est terminé, on est passé à un système de mosaïque.' Et, j'avais l'impression que ça faisait un petit peu pareil sur le Luxembourg où il y avait une petite mosaïque euro, euh, dans la mosaïque, il y avait des petits bouts européens qui ne se, à côté il y avait les gens de la finance ou les, ou les Portugais, les Français, les Luxembourgeois de souche, et les Belges. Et ça vivait côte à côte de manière sympathique et sans accrocs. Mais côte à côte, pas ensemble[89] (Male, 30, French, Esch-sur-Alzette).

88 | Personal translation: "The normal population doesn't identify itself with it. It's a single group of European citizens who work there, keep to themselves and are rarely integrated. Or want to integrate. And that's why there's so little contact between people who work there and the actual population. And that's why, yes, those are two worlds running parallel. Yeah, that's the impression I get". *So do you think that this is good or bad for the country itself?* It's unfortunate, actually – I think. It's understandable, but it certainly doesn't help this multicultural society or foreigners being accepted in Luxembourg. It actually just makes it another example of no one integrating or adapting. I think people think... sure, it draws... Luxembourg makes the headlines once again if something happens. But otherwise?"

89 | Personal translation: "There was, one time, I read, it was about the United States where they said, 'The melting pot is over, it's become a mosaic.' And I had the impression that was kind of like Luxembourg where there was a small European mosaic, uh, in the mosaic, there were little bits of Europe that didn't, nearby there were the finance people, or the, or the Portuguese, the French, or the native Luxembourgers, and the Belgians. And they lived side by side so nice and smoothly. But side by side, not together".

Most respondents who consider the 'level of integration' low and society as compartmentalised often live themselves in mixed marriages and complex multilingual milieus. The responses – mixing experiences, prejudices and received images – can differ from the tourism (and political) discourse of Luxembourg, which sees it as a model for Europe (see Majerus 2007) and considers its history an intercultural success story.

Since the first tourist guides in the 19th century, Luxembourg has been presented as an oddity. The authors (all male) see themselves as explorers, ethnologists or sociologists studying a country and its residents who live on an island of tranquillity and/or prosperity. This image finds itself in apparent contradiction with that of a cultural intersection (Germanic and Romance), of a linguistic and ethnic melting pot. However, the two clichés are combined to emphasise Luxembourg's exceptional character. The paradox lies rather in the opposition between the small size of the country (particularly described in pastoral terms) and its economic and political force within the European Union. This paradox is deepening over the years, but this diachronic analysis reveals in particular the surprising continuity of the projected identities. As for the appropriated identities, we were only able to analyse the attitudes towards Europe, and it is clear that the opinions collected are far more diverse and more critical. If some people subscribe to the image of an open and tolerant Luxembourg, others observe the emergence of parallel societies, with no contact between them.

5.6 The "Greater Region" – Spatial Constructions between Desire and Reality

Any investigation into tourist discourses in Luxembourg must necessarily also deal with the question of how the cross-border cooperation area, the so-called 'Greater Region'[90], is represented within the discourse, negotiated and appropriated. For this – in contrast to the local, regional and national levels – there is no large corpus of established tourism literature available consisting of general guidebooks, tourist maps and plans and special themed guidebooks. Nevertheless, it is precisely this corpus, focussed as it is on the external representation and image construction of a newly set out region that seems to be particularly suited to the current study, given that it is strongly implicated in identity attribution processes.

90 | The 'Greater Region' refers to a cross-border area of cooperation, which, next to the Grand Duchy includes the French region of Lorraine, the German federal provinces of Rhineland-Palatinate and Saarland and the Belgian Wallonia region (including the German- and French-speaking communities). With over eleven million inhabitants and an area of 65,000 km^2, it is the largest sub-state cooperative zone in Europe: see also www.grossregion.net

Corpus of Investigation and Conceptual Preliminary Remarks

Despite many years of efforts aimed at a stronger cross-border coordination and orchestration of tourism marketing and management, there are very few overviews that could be used for this study. For this reason this microanalysis is focussing on two recent works. One is a concise tourist guide[91] published by a Luxembourgish publishing company to mark the year in which Luxembourg was the European Capital of Culture (*Luxembourg and Greater Region – European Capital of Culture 2007*). The other is a rather essayistic anthology comprising a multi-faceted portrait of the Greater Region[92] collated by a team of authors consisting of scientists, people engaged in the cultural sector and journalists with cross-border commitments. Whilst the work of Mendgen et al. (*Im Reich der Mitte/Le berceau de la civilisation européenne. Savoir-faire/savoir-vivre,* henceforth to be referred to as the 'IRDM') is a richly appointed collaborative opus, the first source (*Die Großregion entdecken/ Découvrir la Grande Région,* or the 'DGRE' in the following) was masterminded by a single author. Both are bilingual works written in German and French, whereby, in the IRDM, the manuscript language of the authors varies, while the DGRE was written entirely in German and was then translated. The further analysis is based on the respective original version (on issues relating to bilingualism: see below).

The DGRE is a handy travel guide that was published as 'official contribution' to the Capital of Culture 2007. The IRDM can best be understood as a 'background contribution', the editorial part of which exceeds the scope of the DGRE, and which can only be considered a part of the tourism discourse in the widest sense of the term. Notwithstanding this fact it does at times lapse into a style characteristic of 'promotionally' oriented texts, due not in a small way to the emphasis and institutional positions of some of the authors.

Given that the identities examined here tend to be appropriated, this section also includes the results of the qualitative interviews as well as the standardised survey.

The basis of the micro-analytic examination of the two works, both from the perspective of human geography and the cultural geography, is based on a (de)constructivist outlook and a pragmatic concept of discourse. In a further development of Foucault's rather holistic concept of discourse, the latter is limited to discourse practices relevant to the research subject (see Hajer 1995 and 2003) as manifested for example in written texts or spoken language, and which can lead to the development of specific discourse strands ('story lines','narratives'). These are made up of selective discursive events (e.g. a politician's speech) or discourse fragments (e.g. discourse pattern of a publication) and through reproduction and/

91 | Scholz, Ingeborg. 2007. *Die Großregion entdecken / Découvrir la Grande Région.* Luxembourg: Guy Binsfeld.

92 | Mendgen, Eva , Volker Hildisch and Hervé Doucet, eds. 2007. *Im Reich der Mitte / Le berceau de la civilisation européenne. Savoir-faire / savoir-vivre.* Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre.

or interlinkage, achieve a dominant and therefore, in the current case, identity-forming character (see Strüver 2005; Mattissek 2007). Furthermore, from a methodological point of view, a pragmatic form of critical discourse analysis was chosen, which essentially operates at a semiotic and/or content-associative level to identify specific 'story lines' or narrative patterns based on recurring concepts, metaphors and discourse fragments (see key quotations) and to attempt an initial interpretation[93].

The main focus of the analysis was a review of those editorial parts relevant for the question, i.e. in the IRDM above all the contributions by Mendgen/Hildisch (p. 13-20) and Gengler (p. 67-73), and in the DGRE primarily the introductory passages (p. 8-13).

The Dominating Topoi of Identity Attribution

An initial review of both works quickly reveals a series of recurring discourse elements in the form of interdiscursive metaphors and images[94], which can essentially be summarised under the following topoi: 'centrality', 'space appropriation', 'uniqueness' and 'showcase character'. Following Weichhart (1990), this concerns 'identity features of the space', meaning cognitive-emotional representations of the Greater Region in processes related to the consciousness of an individual or a group of individuals (space-centric perspective), and the 'space as a constituent part of individual or collective identity patterns', i.e. those conceptual representations and emotional-affective assessments of the Greater Region which become a part of the individual 'self-concept' and/or collective 'we-concept' (person-centric perspective).

'Heart', 'Navel', 'Back' – On the Anatomy of Europe and the Greater Region

An almost inflationary use of paraphrases is made in both sources, designed to invest the Greater Region with a special geographical, cultural or even political economic significance within Europe. At the same time the purely geometrical location is often given an additional qualitative nuance in the sense of a surplus of significance compared with other regions of Europe. Already the immodest title of the German version *Im Reich der Mitte* ("Middle Kingdom") seems like a tongue-in-cheek reference to a disproportionally larger cultural region. The French version *Le berceau de la civilisation européenne* ("The cradle of European civilisation") clearly resonates with ambitious positioning attempts. By contrast, the English title *The Center at the Edge* seems comparatively restrained and almost like a geographical concept. What remains more or less implicit in the various titles is presented

93 | This approach cannot and does not aspire to meet the demands of, for example, a linguistic discourse analysis in the narrower sense.

94 | See also chapter 6.

explicitly in the main body of the text as a portrait "of the real geopolitical and historical heart[95] of Europe" (IRDM: 14). According to this view, the Greater Region is undoubtedly a "*Teil des dicht besiedelten 'europäischen Rückens'*"[96] (DGRE: 8). The latter possibly derives from the French, "*dorsale européenne*"[97] (Brunet, 1989), better known in Germany as '*Blaue Banane*'[98], an area with the highest density of economic activities and urban spaces in Europe.

As if the civilisation-historical significance of being part of the 'centre' needed further underlining, a quote made by the Romanian theologist and philosopher Mircea Eliade in 1957 is pressed into service in a very prominent position: "*l'Homme de la société pré-industrielle souhaite vivre aussi près du centre du monde. Il sait que sa patrie se situe vraiment au centre de la Terre, que sa ville est le nombril de l'univers*"[99] (IRDM: 225). It remains unclear in this context whether this pre-modern mentality is also intended as a maxim for the present.

Processes of Appropriation – or: "*Une réalité vécue*"?

A remarkably vigorous 'person-centric perspective' is adopted in both sources to emphasise patterns of perception and identity attributed to the Greater Region – in some cases with the addition of an almost programmatic imperative. Non-substantiated statements like "The people accept this borderless Greater Region as something completely natural" (IRDM: 16) or, "'*SarLorLux' est une réalité vécue*"[100] (IRDM: 67), culminate in the announcement of a newly discovered species which has almost an ethnographic ring to it:

> A l'instar du 'SarLorLux', il existe le 'SarLorLuxois' ou la 'SarLorLuxoise'. Depuis de nombreuses années, des centaines de milliers d'individus assimilent cette vaste étendue à une véritable région. Ce chiffre ne cesse pas de croître et nous voyons, nous entendons, nous rencontrons partout ces personnes[101] (IRDM: 67).

The DGRE is significantly more restrained in this respect:

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95 | The collective symbolism of the heart metaphor also has an important inter-discursive role in the representation of Luxembourg in the international media (see Parr 2009).

96 | Personal translation: "Part of the densely-settled 'back of Europe'".

97 | Personal translation: "European backbone".

98 | Personal translation: "Blue banana".

99 | Personal translation: "Man in premodern societies wants to live as close as possible to the centre of the world. He knows that his country really is at the centre of the Earth and that his town constitutes the navel of the universe".

100 | In English something like: "The SarLorLux concept is a lived reality".

101 | Personal translation: "Just as there is the 'SarLorLux', there is the 'SaarLorLuxois' or the 'SaarLorLuxoise'. Since many years hundreds of thousands of people have equated this huge expanse with a veritable region. Their numbers are increasing, and we see, hear and meet these people everywhere".

Qu'est-ce que les habitants de la Grande Région savent les uns des autres? Existe-t-il une conscience identitaire commune? L'absence – provisoire – de cette dernière est assez souvent regrettée. Ce petit guide touristique ne doit toutefois pas servir aux lamentations. Mieux vaut se préoccuper des opportunités de forger une conscience identitaire. Une identité n'est pas une saute d'humeur, mais un sentiment qui résulte de l'expérience, du contact, de la communication et de la connaissance[102](DGRE: 13).

According to this, a common cross-border consciousness of identity is still to be created and/or "forged", although "experience and contact [...] on a broad scale are already the current reality in the Greater Region" (DGRE: 12).

Unique Showcase Region and "Laboratoire de l'Europe"

Closely linked to the topos of centrality is the just as frequently emphasised special character or even uniqueness of the Greater Region. Superlatives – "the first cross-border capital of culture" (IRDM: 13) – are just as enthusiastically pressed into service as arrogant characterisations, for example, when the (romanticised) population is attested a "multi-lingual facility and innate intercultural competence" (IRDM: 16). Here, too, an appeal is made to the "common" historical perspective to identify present needs:

2.500 Jahre gemeinsamer Geschichte verbinden die einzelnen Regionen miteinander. Da mutet die Bezeichnung 'Großregion' für ein Gebilde derartiger kultureller Reichtümer an wie ein blasses Provisiorium – und das ist es auch. Versuche einer klangvolleren Namensgebung sind bislang gescheitert. So muss die Großregion weiterhin mit ihrem nüchternen Namen leben, kann ihre Energien aber nun darauf verwenden, sich selber und der Mitwelt zu vermitteln, wer sie eigentlich ist (DGRE: 8).[103]

In this context, uniqueness is often clearly understood as a value in itself, in the sense of an exemplary pioneering region standing for cross-border integration. Paraphrases such as "mini Europe", "*laboratoire de l'Europe*" etc. are very often encountered. Even when the Greater Region as a whole is not attributed showcase

102 | Personal translation: "What do the inhabitants of the Greater Region know about each other? Is there a common consciousness of identity? The latter's absence – so far – is often lamented. However, the limited space of this travel guide should not be misused for such lamentations. Let us better ask: What potential is there for forging an identity? Identity does not drop miraculously into our laps, rather it is something that is born from experience, contact, communication and knowledge".

103 | Personal translation: "2,500 years of a common history link the individual regions. Seen in this light, the term 'Greater Region' seems a feeble, provisional term for a polity of such cultural richness – and so it is. Attempts to create a more illustrious sounding name have so far failed. Thus the Greater Region must continue to live with its sober name, but can now direct its energies into showing itself and the rest of the world who it really is".

character, at least a part of its population is: "Experts consider the cross-border commuters as a veritable avant-garde of the Greater Region" (DGRE: 12).

As already implied above, the bilingual layout of the two works analysed raises further questions, and not only in terms of methodology. The caution that needs to be exercised as a matter of course in taking a discourse-analytical approach to a multi-lingual corpus applies all the more when sense-extending or sense-distorting divergences exist between the two language versions. By way of example, the following table contains some chapter headings and subheadings from the IRDM; the original version in each case is emphasised in italics:

German version	French version
Im Reich der Mitte (Personal translation: In the Middle Kingdom)	Le berceau de la civilisation européenne (Personal translation: The cradle of European Civilisation)
Eine (Groß-)Region rauft sich zusammen (Personal translation: A (Greater) Region is wrestling to find common ground)	*La Grande Région – un terrain d'entente?* (Personal translation: The Greater Region – a common ground of agreement?)
Renovatio Lotharingiae? (Personal translation: The rebirth of Lotharingia?)[104]	*Renovatio Lotharingiae ou l'affrontement définitif* (Personal translation: The rebirth of Lotharingia or the final confrontation)
Erste Phase der Industrialisierung (Personal translation: First phase of industrialisation)	*Un esprit nouveau* (Personal translation: A new spirit)
Lothringen, zwischen Frankreich und Deutschland (Personal translation: Lorraine, between France and Germany)	*Entre France et Allemagne, la Lorraine déchirée* (Personal translation: Between France and Germany: a torn Lorraine)

Table 1: Examples of discrepancies between the German and French versions of IRDM (original version emphasised in italics).

Since nobody would accuse either the translators or the publishers of acting intentionally and since it is only a matter of a few divergences, primarily on the level of the (sub) headings, these effects should not be overrated. Only a systematically comparative fine analysis, which was neither intended nor possible within the

104 | Lotharingia: Lotharingia is the name given to the kingdom of Lothair II (855-869) and to a duchy in the 10th century that geographically overlap with today's Greater Region. The only other historical periods when these composite territories were under the same rule were under Napoleon and the National Socialist Occupation, which are difficult to use as historical antecedents.

present framework, could show whether divergences could be detected here that might serve different discourse strands within the two languages.

In summary, the preeminent pattern of discourse in both sources is the obvious attempt to stress the qualitative peculiarities (historical importance, linguistic-cultural complexity, pioneer character etc.) and the 'centrality' (geographic, political, commercial, cultural) of the Greater Region. The frame of reference is a more or less abstract Europe (continent/the EU/'cultural zone') within which the Greater Region and its inhabitants are attributed a special, exemplary role. The sources evaluated in the following enable a first empirical review of the sensitivities of the inhabitants of Luxembourg, frequently labelled as model Europeans.

Perception of the Neighbouring Regions

Starting with the assumption that individuals can hardly establish cross-border identity patterns without personal experiences with or in the respective neighbouring regions, a part of our questionnaire and the qualitative interviews first dealt with behavioural routines, perception and attitudes with respect to the surrounding subregions of the Greater Region. By way of example, the frequency with which respondents to the standardised questions visit the neighbouring countries is about the same for all of them, albeit slightly higher for the bordering states of Rhineland-Palatinate and Saarland, whereby the age and gender of the those questioned does not influence visiting frequency. Neither are there appreciable differences between the various milieus (see below) in this respect. In terms of personal preferences regarding 'a sense of wellbeing' during visits to neighbouring countries, the interviewees tend to make balanced statements. In this respect though, a clear age gradient is evident in that statements by older interviewees were more likely to indicate positive feelings towards France whereas it was primarily younger interviewees who indicated positive opinions about Germany[105]. This may be related to age-specific consumer and leisure behaviour, but may also reflect historically conditioned prejudices and resentments. However, this gradient is not evident in answers to the counter question about feeling uncomfortable, which produced even more balanced results.

More evident still than the age gradient, however, are the milieu-specific preference patterns that, for instance in the case of the tradition-oriented milieu, are clearly in favour of Germany (42 % as opposed to 18 % for France, 15 % for Belgium and 18 % non-specific). This applies in equal measure the alternative (32 % for Germany, 16 % for France, 8 % for Belgium and 36 % non-specific) and the status-oriented milieu (41 % for Germany, 26 % for France, 7 % for Belgium and 19 % non-specific). Here, too, the answer pattern to the counter question is more balanced, although the underprivileged milieu (28 % for Germany, 23 % for

105 | See in-depth Section 4.2.

France and 17 % for Belgium) and the privileged liberal milieu (23 % for Germany, 15 % for France and 19 % for Belgium) clearly feel less comfortable in Germany.

However, the findings of the qualitative interviews show that, in many cases, answers and comments were very nuanced, as illustrated by the following selection of quotes:

Nee, ich bin jetzt am Überlegen, ob's Deutschland oder Frankreich ist. Wenn ich ausländerfeindliche Sachen in Deutschland beobachte, dann sage ich mir, oh, Gott sei dank wohne ich hier nicht. Und die gibt's auch in Trier. Und in Frankreich, da laufen manchmal so Gestalten rum, wo ich sage, hm, der wird Dir ja jetzt nicht was tun. Also, ich würde sagen, in beiden fühle ich mich nicht unbedingt wohl[106] (Female, 32 years old, Luxembourger, Leudelange).

Also während der Zeit, wo ich arbeitete, hab ich mich am wohlsten gefühlt in Belgien. Und wenn ich dort arbeiten und leben müsste, noch heute, wäre ich nur aus persönlichen, mir persönlichen Gründen, hätte ich mich wahrscheinlich in Belgien etabliert. Aber durch meine Frau, die mag das nicht. Nein. Aber, und wenn ich hier wählen könnte, heute, würde ich auch nicht in Luxemburg leben. Würde ich auf der deutschen Seite leben. Und ich hab in Deutschland, bekomm ich relativ schnell Kontakt, egal, wie man das jetzt sagt. Und in Belgien auch. Fran… nach Frankreich will ich nicht gehen. Auf keinen Fall. Das ist etwas …"[107] (Male, 67 years old, Luxembourger, Echternach).

Ça a toujours été [la France], même en tant que gosse. On est parti souvent en, en France en vacances avec mes parents. Moi, je me sens bien en France. Les gens sont beaucoup plus relax qu'en Allemagne. En Allemagne, c'est toujours ehem, il faut que ce soit comme ça euh. Je ne sais pas, ils sont… deutsche Gründlichkeit, ne?[108] (Female, 54 years old, Luxembourger, Walferdange).

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106 | Personal translation: "No, I'm trying to think whether it's Germany or France. When I see xenophobic stuff in Germany, I say to myself, oh thank God I don't live here. And they do have it in Trier. And in France, you get these weird characters walking about at times, where I say, hmm, bet he's going to do something bad to me now. So, I would say, I don't feel totally comfortable in either".

107 | Personal translation: "Well, at the time when I was still working, I felt most comfortable in Belgium. And if I still had to work and live there today, for personal reasons, personal to me, I would probably have settled down in Belgium. But because of my wife … she doesn't like it. No. But … and if I had the choice here and now … I also wouldn't live in Luxembourg. I'd live on the German side. And in Germany, I've got … can get contacts relatively quickly, or however you say it. And the same in Belgium. Fra … I don't want to go to France. No way. That's something …"

108 | Personal translation: "It's always been [France], even when I was a kid. We often went to, to France on holiday. I like being in France. People are much more relaxed than in Germany. In Germany, it's always, uhm, everything has to be like this, ah. I don't know, they're … *deutsche Gründlichkeit*, [German thoroughness], you know?"

Whilst such sweeping general judgments about the nation in question, are mostly influenced by personal biography or social status, and range from romanticised generalisations derived from positive memories of childhood and holidays to overrating specific negative experiences (as a tourist at a holiday resort for instance), opinions about the directly adjoining regions are more differentiated and less stereotyped. Numerous interviewees stress the differences in their attitudes to the respective border region and to the rest or centre of the neighbouring country (for instance, South Wallonia versus Flemish North Sea coast or Brussels, Lorraine versus Côte d'Azur or Paris), whereby positive and negative judgments are encountered with about equal frequency. With conspicuous frequency, Belgium or the Belgian population are used as a reference to describe what one dislikes about the two 'big' neighbours, France (often) and Germany (here more seldom). In this respect, affection for the relatively small neighbour may be as significant as historical links, inter-family relations or a feeling of familiarity from 60 years of Benelux cooperation.

Less often, regional variation leads to an integrative judgment about similarities and links of the whole border region (without necessarily meaning the Greater Region within its above-mentioned boundaries). Here, it is primarily commonalities of language as well as other links due to affinities in culture or mentality that tend to be brought to the fore:

[...] d'Grenzregioun einfach. Also déi eicht 50 km iwwert d'Grenz ass dat nämlecht wéi fir d'Belsch. Et kann een net vergläichen Frankräich ass een ganz grousst Land, et kann een net vergläichen mat Marseille, Nice, oder...[109] (Male, 36 years old, Luxembourger, Redange).

Dat ass zum Beispill, hei [...] an all di Streecher do, ass d'Grondsprooch vun deenen Aalen ass nach Lëtzebuergesch, also awer wierklech dat aalt Lëtzebuergescht, also di hu nach Ausdréck dran, wou nach just den Alain Atten mol op dem Radio seet, wou dohannen bei deenen Aalen, d'Fransousen hei vir, deen aalen Loutrénger nach Gang und Gebe sinn. An esou ass et och an der Belsch. Bon, d'Belsch, 't ass e Land 't ass no bei eis[110] (Male, 65 years old, Luxembourger, Dudelange).

109 | Personal translation: "[...] simply the border region. These first 50 km after the border, it's just the same there as in Belgium. It's just not comparable, France is a very big country, one can't compare it to Marseille, Nice, or [...]".

110 | Personal translation: "It's for example, here [...] in all these areas the old people's main language is still Luxembourgish, – the really old Luxembourgish, like, they still use the sort of expressions that Alain Atten, if anyone, might use on the radio once in a while, but that are still in everyday use over there among the old folks, with the French over this way, or among the older people in Lorraine. And in Belgium it's the same. Well, Belgium is a country that is close to us".

Mä wann een awer éischter sou an Baden Baden rageet oder alles wat bei Berlin, München an sou Saachen leit. Dass eppes ganz anescht wei hei an der Géigend, well hei alles wat Moselfränkesch ass dat ass jo am Fong, Groussregioun [sic!] nennen ech dat, fir mech ass dat een Land. Och wann een seet Lëtzebuerg, Däitschland an sou mä et gehéiert zu engem Ensemble. An mä wann een awer wierklech bei hinnen eran geet, et sinn aner Leit, sinn frëndlech, sinn ganz op, si laachen gären[111] (Male, 21 years old, Luxembourger, Esch-sur-Alzette).

All the same, statements like the latter are rather the exception. There was far less talk of commonalities and uniting features than of that which separates and repulses or of the, occasionally attractive, 'other'. Whilst one can often discern a certain awareness of Luxembourg's position within a complex border region situation, indications of an increasing self-understanding as, for instance, a 'Saar-Lor-Luxois'[112] can hardly be found, even implicitly.

Even the blank map (i.e. without captions) of Western and Central Europe[113], used during the interviews, generated few comments on the transnational dimension of feelings related to homeland and belonging. The low number of relevant interview passages justifies only a very careful classification of the findings, but does allow initial inferences concerning appropriated identities.

The inclusion of neighbouring regions within drawings and verbal statements without explicitly referring to the institutionalised Greater Region is an expression of identification with the whole region that is not bound by national borders. In one case, the chosen drawing is deliberately used to move away from nationalistic interpretations:

111 | Personal translation: "But if one were to go to, say, Baden-Baden, or to the areas around Berlin or Munich. That's totally different to the way it is around here, because everything that is Moselle-Frankish is, basically, Greater Region, that's how I call it, to me it's all one country. Even if one speaks of Luxembourg, Germany and all that, it still all belongs together. And if you really go there, they're different people, friendly, very open and they like to laugh".

112 | The bulkiness of this neologism as well as its barely possible translation into English (see above) indicate that its suitability for everyday use is very limited and that a diffusion of the term cannot be empirically verified.

113 | When choosing 'mental maps' as a complementary method, the authors of this chapter were aware of their restricted applicability and the issues relating to the hypostasising region concept upon which it is based. Their use therefore is to be understood rather as an interview stimulus than as an independent and supportable approach. However, it was precisely the interviewees' limited drawing-based abilities that had a marked narrative-generating effect (see the following quotes). Nevertheless, the results of the graphic representation are usually of a specific nature and are limited to Luxembourg or the place of residence. We shall forego a separate description here.

Und da ich nicht so orientiert bin, dass ich nur sage: 'Luxemburg ist gut oder so', das … das bin ich nicht. Da mach ich den Kreis ein bisschen grösser[114] (Female, 55 years old, Luxembourger, Lintgen).

At the same time, in terms of cross-border categorisation, a distinction needs to be made between a rather pragmatic, functionally based *familiarity with* the neighbouring regions which can result in a less rigid demarcation, and a qualitatively more significant, identity-forming *relationship with* the neighbouring regions. Frequent visits to neighbouring regions for professional or private reasons does not necessarily say anything about the emotional relationship with the respective region or must be viewed in a nuanced manner as the following quote makes clear:

L'Allemagne. Oui, bon, on y va régulièrement. C'est pas que je me sens pas bien là-bas, ça c'est pas le cas[115] (Female, 54 years old, Luxembourger, Walferdange).

Often, special affinities with foreign regions, which do not share a border with Luxembourg are spontaneously addressed in several interviews. The likes and dislikes formulated in this context are not always free of clichés or idealisations based on holidays, but they often go beyond this, apparently mostly for biographical reasons (familial links, business trips and other personal experiences). The interviewees sometimes make use of the large-scale layout of the blank map to establish corresponding relational connections with more distant regions.

Lëtzebuerg, an dann wou ech mer nach elo kéint virstellen dat misst dann méi sou heierouter… Am Elsass. […] An dann eh, och ech weess net, jo vläicht och an der Schwäiz, ech weess et net. […] Éischtens emol well ech schonn oft am Elsass war, an ech fannen déi Leit hunn och eng aner Mentalitéit wéi lo, also wat hei d'ganzt Louthrengen hei ubelaangt, also do kann ech mer virstellen datt ech mech doudsécher net géif do doheem fillen, hein. Well eh also déi Mentalitéit déi, déi leit mer guer net. An dann och vun der Landschaft hier, ech nee, do géif ech mech net doheem fillen. D'Elsass kéint ech mer eventuell nach virstellen do, do ze wunnen. An dann och, an dann och d'Schwäiz. Jo vun der Mentalitéit hier, awer lo net iergendwéi, well do lo d'Bierger sinn oder, oder[116] (Female, 37 years old, Luxembourger, Bascharage).

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114 | Personal translation: "And since I'm not the sort to just say: 'Luxembourg is good or something like that', that … I'm not like that. So I'd make the circle a bit bigger".

115 | Personal translation: "Germany. Yes, we go there regularly. It's not that I don't feel comfortable there, that's really not the case".

116 | Personal translation: "Luxembourg and where I could imagine myself as well would be more down here. In Alsace. […] And then, oh I don't know, well maybe also in Switzerland, I don't know. […] For one thing, because I've often been to Alsace, and I think people there also have a different mentality than here, meaning as far as the whole of Lorraine is concerned; well, I'm dead certain I wouldn't feel at home there, no way. Because, uh, the

Divergence or Convergence within the Patterns of Discourse?

In spite of a relatively small corpus of textual evidence as well as findings from standardised questioning and qualitative interviews that can only be partially generalised, it was obvious how little correspondence seems to exist between the postulated everyday relevance of the Greater Region or the international inter-connections on the one side (attributed identities), and, on the other, the peculiarities of this living space, actually perceived as being relevant in terms of behaviour and consciousness (appropriated identities). At the same time, several interview passages indicate to what extent the unsolicited internal differentiation in terms of an assessment of neighbouring countries primarily supports the construction of alterity, but, in an inversion of the argument, also evoke (cross-border) identity characteristics and a – variously justified – concept of togetherness. A fundamental sensibility for having something 'in common with the other' beyond the border can often be recognised. However, whether the trend is more towards divergence or convergence, i.e. a drifting apart or coming together of the discourse patterns, cannot be established with reference to the body of evidence available. Only diachronic long-term studies with a clear focus on the border-regional aspects of identity formation and the relevant methodological tools could produce answers to this question that would lead to further insights. However, it can be taken as read that *the* 'Saar-Lor-Luxois' does not and cannot exist just as one cannot define *the* Luxembourger or any *one* national identity. Whilst tourism marketing's extra-regional target audience may be more receptive to stereotypes and clichéd portraits of a population with which they are not particularly familiar, the, on occasion, very far-reaching constructions of border region identities postulated here are partially contradicted by the empiric findings from the region. Whether 'performing' identity happens intentionally to generate special interest in the region by exaggeration or whether it is rather due to the personal enthusiasm of individual authors cannot be conclusively determined here.

5.7 Conclusion: Spatial Identities – Multiple Readings?

The analysis of geographical representations of Luxembourg through the lens of five micro-analyses was inspired foremost by the tourism practice itself, which uses five different spatial scales: the quarters of Luxembourg City, the city itself, the regions of Luxembourg, the country as a whole and finally the country 'at the heart' of the Greater Region. However, what the micro-analyses have revealed

mentality there, well, it really doesn't agree with me. And then also the landscape, I, no, I wouldn't feel at home there. Alsace though, I could maybe just imagine myself living there. And also there, and then in Switzerland as well. Yes, because of the mentality, but not because it's got all those mountains or anything".

is far removed from a mere scalar distribution; instead, we are faced with five distinct 'geo-graphies' that are as much distinct categories of representations of 'Luxembourg space' as differentiated collections of semiotic values and strategies.

This diversity can undoubtedly be attributed to differences in the tourism discoursive practice itself: the notion of the Greater Region does not engage the same actors, temporalities and lifestyles as those in the various districts of the city; information about exploring the country's regions does not quite satisfy the needs of those who, coming from afar, are merely passing through Luxembourg, or who simply want to be informed about the country in general. This also explains the variety of texts that 'support' each level of the touristic practice: in towns and cities, brochures, booklets or maps are sufficient to satisfy the visitor eager for discovery, whereas it takes rather more to explore or familiarise oneself with the country or its regions; as for the Greater Region, it is not so much destined for ramblings and explorations than for people to live and, increasingly, work in. This is what the supporting texts demonstrate. It thus becomes clear that what emerges beyond the different methods of practical and cognitive understanding is Luxembourg's diversity, multiplicity and even instability.

Nevertheless, even if the five analyses of the various levels underscore this variety and this heterogeneity, we may ask ourselves, in view of the general research subject addressed in this volume, whether anything actually emerges that can be called an 'identity': Something recurrent, stable or some kind of thematic unity, perhaps even a system of values on the one hand, and a congruence of forms of internalisation, styles of representation and argumentative tactics on the other. In other words: following the analyses in this chapter, can we maintain that the five spaces of Luxembourg or the discourses depicting them share some essential commonality? Before we can answer such a question, we must first answer the one raised by each of the five microanalyses concerning the internal cohesion of their respective 'geo-graphical' objects of investigation: what are the 'discursive touristic identities' of the districts of Luxembourg City, of the capital itself, of Luxembourg's regions, of the country as such and of the country within the Greater Region? The answer seems to lie in the fact that the identifying features – if there are any – are to be found not so much in the topics or values as in the manner in which the country and its various levels are topicalised and emphasised. This would mean that there is little discursive national identity in evidence, or even none at all, only a certain amount of homogeneity of discoursive strategies, quite often centred on the local, the distinct and the singular. Consequently, not only is Luxembourg portrayed differently according to the five levels of scale examined here, but even within these categories, geographical and historical differences emerge, boundaries and borders are erected and emphasis is laid on the exceptional, the distinctive and even the exclusive.

From this perspective, the analysis of the districts confirms that the touristic practice on this level is based on the same macro act of emphasising and, specifically, of aestheticising. The results of the survey asking residents which

place they would first show a friend from abroad corroborate the results of the leaflet and booklet analysis, both in regard to key locations such as the fortress and historic city center and to the general approach to aesthetic appreciation. Even the predictable divergences between tourist texts and the respondents' statements implicitly reflect the same requirements: the Bonnevoie district is not accorded the status of an 'attraction', because it does not lend itself, as Limpertsberg does, to an aesthetisation, nor can it draw from the contrasts 'tradition vs. modernity' or 'national vs. international' as the official discourse on Kirchberg does.

The analysis of Luxembourg City through its maps and leaflets also reveals that the emerging question pertains to a selected and distinctive emphasis of the city in general. This means, it is represented only in parts and with a certain remove: on the one hand, it is constantly and with particular emphasis displayed as an access to the centre, and on the other, the latter is presented as an elevated island to which one has to ascend. We therefore have neither a depiction of a totality (since only a part was selected, namely the route to the centre) nor, ultimately, a stable and recognisable reality, since what matters is only the access to the city centre and not the centre itself, let alone the city as such, which appears to contain relatively few historical monuments and to lack a characteristic profile.

The absence of a national discoursive identity in favour of singularising discoursive strategies is confirmed and reinforced when we analyse regional tourism discourses. The study of three booklets from the National Tourism Office sheds light on the rhetoric, which presses the combination of images and text into the service of redundancy and hyperbole. Certainly this is designed to streamline the reader's work as much as possible by allowing selected information to be accessed directly; however, the extreme regional prototyping, conveyed via an exceedingly fragmented structure, has the immediate effect of promoting a country whose diversity would be inversely proportional to its surface area. The results of the quantitative survey undeniably bear out this perception of a both virtual and differentiated entity at the interface between the region and the country.

The national space too, whose touristic representations were analysed along diachronic lines, appears to lack unity; at the same time, the strategies used to explain and enhance remain the same. On the one hand, Luxembourg is seen as an open, welcoming, familiar space that conveys a sense of security; on the other, it is described as unique, different and exotic. Particular emphasis is laid on the specific feature that typifies Luxembourg as a place marked by distinctiveness and difference, given its multicultural and multilingual character, while also stressing calm and tranquillity as the country's salient traits. Therefore Luxembourg is regarded both as modern and traditional, innovative and authentic. The semantic tension is even embraced and emphasised: Luxembourg is regularly depicted as a 'country of contrasts', characterised by its smallness and its great ambitions – first industrial ones, then, in the framework of the European Union, also political ones. This European vision – show-cased in the recent *Merian* guides from 1995 and 2007 – is reflected in half of the interviews conducted by us, whereas the other

half of the respondents was more sceptical, emphasising the dissenting character of their opinions.

The discrepancy between attributed and appropriated identities becomes even more visible at the level of the so-called Greater Region and its respective tourism discourses. The idealising character of the examined publications seems to deviate considerably from discourses observed among residents and their cross-border practices and attitudes. Nevertheless, the majority of the residents reveal elements of identity that reach beyond the national borders of the Grand Duchy. This aspect merits closer investigation, taking into account the context of Europeanisation and globalisation.

Looking at the entirety of levels examined in this study, we are aware that an 'official' tourism discourse, as reflected in most of the documents analysed, is always directed at the enhancement of a particular space. This means it generates strong projections of a common identity. This is why we directed our interest to the strategies of enhancement that were used: to better comprehend the *attributed* identities and assess how they differ from the ones *appropriated* by the people living in these spaces – in Luxembourg City, in the country and in the Greater Region.

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