

of such interdiscourses. The power-oriented measures of control and discipline identified with the analytical approach of 'discipline' are revealed in the present case study in the attributions conveyed on the 'migrant' by the media. An analysis of the agenda setting showed that the 'illegals' constituted a temporarily prevalent attribution in the migration discourse of the *Luxemburger Wort*. In addition, the *Luxemburger Wort* surprisingly often ascribes a status of 'subject' to the migrants by increasingly focusing on the fate of individuals and letting them tell their own personal stories. Although it was possible to show by way of example that media can indeed be considered "as processors of order, as technologies of government, at the same time as a power factor, a regulatory force"<sup>89</sup> (Schneider 2006: 86), it would require an analysis of Luxembourg's entire range of public opinion and media outlets on migration coverage as well as additional longitudinal, cross-sectional and reception studies of other (media) discourses in order to prove or disprove conclusively the assertion made at the beginning of this paper that media are technologies of government in the sense of the governmentality concept.

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## 3.6 CONCLUSIONS

The case studies presented in this chapter combine extremely heterogeneous subjects of research under the perspective of Foucault's discussion of a specific power logic which achieves its impact and its extensive validity primarily through a variable combination of the various power logics of sovereignty, discipline and governmentality. We can see the interrelationship of these power logics as a tendentially historical sequence of technologies of power proceeding from the 'extrinsic' pole (sovereignty) to the 'intrinsic' pole (governmentality). On the other hand, the three logics still constantly intertwine with one another.

Hence it was argued that the varied architectural history of Vianden Castle in the Middle Ages was closely tied to the establishment of a system of domination which was able to assert its sovereignty to a great degree in the form of symbolic representations. As the case study on spaces of im-/morality showed, the problem

<sup>89</sup> | Personal translation of: "[...] als Prozessoren von Ordnung, als Regierungstechnik, zugleich als ein Machfaktor, eine Ordnungsmacht."

of prostitution became acute in Luxembourg c. 1900 as a disciplinary-legal problem. At the same time, the authorities also operated with governmental security mechanisms, and techniques of self-regulatory, governmental conduct developed which had distinct gender-specific traits. The entirely different topic of biogas generation in the Greater Region places the actors between the poles of sovereignty and governmentality, between a system of public-law standards and the practices of individual operators. Finally, the analysis of a part of the recent migration discourse in Luxembourg's media focused in particular on the aspect of how interests of sovereignty are asserted by using specific journalistic sets of symbols, with the media also producing both disciplinary and governmental effects insofar as the underlying assumptions of normality are hardly ever questioned – also and especially by the journalists.

The four case studies concentrate on historically and topically very different social practices, which nonetheless have in common the construction of a political space. They perceive themselves as facets aimed at the national territory of Luxembourg as well as the entire border region. The studies also propose considering political spaces, such as 'Luxembourg' or the 'Greater Region', not in their static limitations and as definitive places, but focussing more closely on the many and varied practices of territorial policies subsumed under them. It was clearly shown that historically there are no territorial constants. Not only did the borders of the sovereign territories change in the course of time, but the sovereign areas of power themselves were continuously being redefined, by means of multifaceted practices of the exercise of power, in which the building of castles played a key role. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the borders of the national states solidified, as the problematization of prostitution shows. Undesirable conduct was associated with the 'foreign' and the 'sick', which were to be kept away from the '*Volkskörper*', or 'body of the people' – quite physically through expulsions of non-Luxembourgers whose lifestyle was deemed morally and/or politically suspicious. The police, judiciary and parliament equated the borders of the national state to those of the bourgeois order and consolidated them. A hundred years on, national borders, while seemingly weakened within the Schengen Area, continue to play an important part both discursively as well as in practice. Thus the analysis of recent articles on migration in the press shows that the collective symbol of the 'body of the people' may have been abandoned, but other metaphors – such as that of the 'flood' – continue to establish the distinction between external and internal as naturally given and implicitly carry a warning against 'inundation'. Here, the media reflect parliamentary debates and legislation while influencing them at the same time. At the legislative level, national borders are still a potent force within the territory of the EU, as the analysis of biogas production in the border region between Germany and Luxembourg shows. While some producers creatively circumnavigate these borders, others have internalized the guidelines. Borders are moreover not only recognized and designated between states, but also between farmers who produce energy and those who do not, between corporations

and individual biogas producers, as well as between national states and the overarching framework of the EU.

This perspective, together with the specific instruments of Foucault's concept of power, provides us with propositions that can be taken up by subsequent studies. The hypothesis of the successive shift of technologies of power from sovereignty to governmentality will most certainly prove a rewarding starting point for clarifying, in terms of power politics, the problem of transition of a limited national space into cross-border spaces. In contrast to constructions of national identity, such transnational spatial constructions and models for everyday life in cross-border contexts presuppose flexible, complex governmental governance which demands from all actors a high degree of self-regulating forms of conduct.

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