3.5 'Sovereignty' and 'Discipline' in the Media. On the Value of Foucault's Governmentality Theory: The Example of an Interdiscursive Analysis of the Migration Discourse in Luxembourg

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"Mass media are technologies of government. They elevate certain subject areas to the status of systematic knowledge and intermesh regulating practices with practices of self-conduct. They are technologies of government in a twofold sense: they are subject and object of governmental rationalities. They are thus at the same time governmentalized and governmentalizing practices"[72] (Wedl 2008: 1).

Following Juliette Wedl's thesis quoted above, the central question of this case study is how Foucault's governmentality concept can be harnessed for media theory and practice. The goal of this paper is therefore to determine in particular the practical value of Foucault's comprehensive concept of governmentality for media and media analyses, something which has been little discussed hitherto. Its value for media analyses will be shown by focusing on the two poles of governmentality theory, 'sovereignty' and 'discipline'.

Using an interdiscursive analysis of the migration discourse in Luxembourg media during the period from 1990 to 2010, the initially theoretical statements on the value of Foucault's governmentality concept will be given practical application. Interdiscourse analysis sees itself as "a further development and modification of discourse analysis as developed by Michel Foucault and is an applied discourse analysis that concerns itself with the link to practice and empiricism"[73] (Amann/ Bourg *et al.* 2010: 165). Hence the present case study forms a point of intersection between two largely separate receptions of Foucault in sociological research: the political and sociological governmentality debate and the discursive analysis of media texts (see Wedl 2008: 1).

This contribution will first consider the relevance that 'migration in Luxembourg' has for politics, media and research as a subject of investigation. This will be followed by a discussion of the theoretical and practical value of Foucault's governmentality theory within the scope of an interdiscursive analysis

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72 | Personal translation of: "Massenmedien sind Regierungstechnologien. Sie erheben bestimmte Gegenstandsbereiche in den Status systematischen Wissens und verschränken regulierende Praktiken mit Praktiken der Selbstführung. Regierungstechnologien sind sie in doppelter Weise: Sie sind Subjekt und Objekt gouvernementaler Rationalitäten. Sie sind somit zugleich gouvernementalisierte und gouvernementalisierende Praktiken."

73 | Personal translation of: "Eine Weiterentwicklung und Modifikation der von Michel Foucault entwickelten Diskursanalyse und ist als eine angewandte Diskursanalyse um den Bezug zur Praxis und Empirie bemüht."

of Luxembourg media's discourse on migration. The case study concludes with the results of the empirical survey and their evaluation in the context of Foucault's governmentality theory.

3.5.1 The Importance of 'Migration in Luxembourg' to Politics, the Media and Research

Migration is a topic that is generating controversial public discussion in Europe. As a consequence migration movements, and the appurtenant questions of integration, are regularly part of the political and media agenda in many European countries.

In Luxembourg, too, traditionally portrayed as a country of immigrants (see Scuto 2008; Kmec/Lentz 2012), the topic of migration is currently a part of political and public reality. One significant reason for this is that 61.2 % of Luxembourg's population have a migrant background (see STATEC 2013). Since sociopolitical topics and debates are usually seen as worth reporting, depending on their topicality and news value in the sense of an informative function of media (see Jarren/Meier 2002: 101), they receive ample coverage in Luxembourg's media. Nonetheless, the representation of migrants in Luxembourg's media has thus far been only marginally studied.

While the public image of migrants in the media of the Federal Republic of Germany has been under study since the 1970s (see Delgado 1972) and in the USA since the 1930s (see Inglis 1938), academic papers on the situation in Luxembourg (see Bailey 2012; Skrijelj 2012; Cirikovic 2013), are few and far between, unpublished and limited to a single immigrant group (for example, Muslims or refugees). Instead, studies of migration in Luxembourg have so far concentrated on historical migration (see Scuto 2008; STATEC 2008: 573ff.; STATEC 2013: 159ff.), some of which make cross-border comparisons of migration in Luxembourg and the SaarLorLux region (see Leiner 1994; Trinkaus 2014). The subject of the present case study is the trilingual (German, French, Luxembourgish[74]) daily newspaper with the highest circulation in Luxembourg: the *Luxemburger Wort*, which has been appearing since 1848.[75]

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74 | The articles written in Luxembourgish are largely announcements of events, as well as local and private ads, which were left out of the research for pragmatic reasons. Accordingly, the sample only takes account of German and French articles.

75 | Luxembourg's media landscape consists of the two dailies with the highest circulation, the *Luxemburger Wort* and the *Tageblatt*, their French-language counterparts, *La Voix du Luxembourg* (up to the end of September 2011) and *Le Quotidien*, as well as the liberal daily, the *Lëtzebuerger Journal* and the Communist *Zeitung vum Lëtzebuerger Vollek*. The weekly press comprises the three weeklies *Woxx*, *Le Jeudi* and *d'Lëtzebuerger Land,* the family and television magazines *Télécran* and *Revue*, the publications published in Portuguese *Contacto* and *Correio*, as well as the satirical newspaper *Den neie Feierkrop*.

The study limits its observations moreover to the period from 1990 to 2010[76] and does not concentrate – as earlier research literature – on specific nationalities or generations. Instead, the paper is based on a typologization of migration according to status groups[77]: 'foreigners' (*étrangers*), 'refugees' (*réfugiés*), 'asylum seekers' (*demandeurs d'asile*) and 'migrants/immigrants' (*migrants/immigrés*), 'ethnic German emigrants'' and finally, the *sans papiers*.[78] The question now is: how can this media topic be understood in terms of Foucault's governmentality theory?

3.5.2 On the Benefit of Foucault's Theory of Governmentality for an Interdiscursive Media Analysis

Foucault did not himself publish any work on media studies nor did he explicitly envision the governmentality concept to be used for media texts. Although one can find repeated references to his terms and methodical approaches in sociology and media studies (see Parr/Thiele 2007: 85), there seem to be only very few media-related concepts directly inspired by Foucault's governmentality theory and these are only to a very limited degree application-oriented (see Stauff 2005; Schneider 2006; Wedl 2008). Applying Foucault's concept of governmentality to the subject of media by means of analysing interdiscourses offers therefore an approach that has hitherto received little attention.

Drawing on Foucault, every order of knowledge has its own specific choices or options of representation. These options determine their subjects, that is, their

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76 | Because Luxembourg's laws concerning foreigners were revised in the early 1990s and the topic of 'migration' thus took a place on the political agenda, it must be assumed that the mass media were interested (see Willems/Milmeister 2008: 75). In addition, not all relevant issues of the *Luxemburger Wort*, in the sense of a complete count, could be considered for practical reasons in the research. Instead, the systematic 'constructed week' sampling method was chosen, in which each nth element is selected according to a stipulated interval, starting from a specific point in time. For the analysis, we selected the first Monday in January of the first year, the second year, and so forth, the Tuesday of the next week and then one weekday further on for each following week throughout the period under study.

77 | Depending on specifications of laws regarding foreigners concerning the length or purpose of their stay, which usually precedes a public discussion of national migration policy, a distinction is made between various legal status groups. The designations of the status groups are thus related on the one hand to legal categorizations, on the other to designations emerging from public discussions of migration policies.

78 | The phenomenon of the *sans-papiers*, which arose around 1980, goes back to French immigrant society and France's colonial past (see Schwenken 2003: 129). In its German counterpart – criminalized immigrants – the term does not occur in the discourse of Luxembourg media and is therefore not quoted in German.

possibility, composition, interrelation and visibility (see Wedl 2008: 5). In these orders of knowledge, the sayable becomes visible, just as the unsayable is excluded. A discourse in Foucault's sense therefore is also marked by its limitations, that is, by prohibitions, exclusions of the sayable or the visible. At the same time, there are always connections to other discourses. Collective symbols are seen as connecting links between the discourses. These include interdiscursive elements which at a specific point in time occur in several discourses. They serve as a source of evidence and interpretability.

In interdiscourse analysis these recurring interdiscursive elements are analysed in terms of collective symbols and metaphors. Based on Foucault, Jürgen Link defines discourses as follows:

"Contrary to natural languages, discourses are much more strongly variable historically and culturally and stipulate [cross-linguistically] specific spaces of sayability and knowledge, as well as their boundaries. They are institutionalized, regulated manners of speaking as spaces of possible statements which are coupled to actions"[79] (Link 2006: 410).

Foucault's discourses should be seen as special discourses, since they transfer special knowledge to narrowly limited spaces of sayability and knowability. However, these special discourses have to be transformed and framed, by means of integrational mechanisms, into re-integrated, interdiscursive processes so as to be generally understandable (see Parr 2009: 100). In other words:

"While the discourses analysed by Foucault were largely concerned with the formations of positive knowledge and institutionalized studies (jurisprudence, medicine, the humanities, etc.), interdiscourse analysis is concerned with discursive complexes which are specifically not limited by specialization, but have overarching effects and can therefore be called 'interdiscursive'"[80] (Amann/Bourg et al. 2010: 165).

Link's concept of interdiscourse thus starts from a systematic and 'free' definition of the term discourse, contrary to Foucault's conception of discourse, yet also includes power analysis, a component of Foucault's concept (see Link 2006: 410).

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79 | Personal translation of: "Diskurse sind im Unterschied zu natürlichen Sprachen historisch-kulturell sehr viel stärker variabel und legen [sprachübergreifend] jeweils spezifische Sagbarkeits- und Wissensräume sowie deren Grenzen fest. Es sind institutionalisierte geregelte Redeweisen als Räume möglicher Aussagen, die an Handlungen gekoppelt sind."
80 | Personal translation of: "Während es bei den von Foucault analysierten Diskursen weitgehend um Formationen positiven Wissens und institutionalisierte Wissenschaften (Recht, Medizin, Humanwissenschaften etc.) ging, interessiert sich die Interdiskursanalyse für Diskurskomplexe, die gerade nicht durch Spezialisierung begrenzt sind, sondern übergreifend wirken und deshalb als 'interdiskursiv' bezeichnet werden können."

Power analysis also forms the foundation of Foucault's governmentality concept with its polarized and simultaneously overlapping power-analytic approaches of 'governmentality', 'discipline' and 'sovereignty'. Originally, Foucault's governmentality theory, with its power dimensions of 'sovereignty', 'discipline' and 'governmentality', was aimed at technologies of control of the population. These technologies arise from the question, first posed in the sixteenth century, of how to 'properly' govern the subjects of a state (see Wedl 2008). Foucault examines governmental technologies of control that concern power over a territory (sovereignty), mechanisms of control and disciplining of bodies (discipline) and socially desirable development (governmentality) (see sections 2.2, 2.3 and 3.1). The aspects of 'sovereignty' and 'discipline' lend themselves well to revealing (media) power, control and disciplining mechanisms and can be employed in the present media analysis, which uses no other methods of data collection (e.g. survey) nor external data (intra-extra-media comparison) (see Maurer/Reinemann 2006: 38).

The 'governmentality' pole is secondary in this case study for reasons of research methodology: this is not a reception study. There is no (qualitative) empirical material from which to derive governmental self-relations, which indeed take place on a large scale in the interaction between media and recipients. However, this concept would become relevant in terms of theory, empirics and methodology if the reception of media were taken into account.

With reference to the media, the power logic of 'sovereignty', originally concerned with the possibilities of exercising power over a territory, can therefore be defined as follows: first, in the sense of a Fourth Estate as an influence of the media on political or economic actors, as when investigative journalists uncover scandals and test the legitimacy of the political or economic exercise of power (see Kunczik/Zipfel 2005: 73). Second, media can influence recipients through their manner of reporting. The media's power therefore unfolds its effect in the moment of reception and is enhanced by specific journalistic control mechanisms.

The exercise of mass-media power discussed above can also be examined via the analytical approach of 'discipline'. It is likewise evident in journalistic control mechanisms particularly concerning attributions to specific status groups used in the *Luxemburger Wort*. Attributions are one of the components of the identity concept employed in the present volume (see section 2.3).

We can use media analysis for examining the way the issue of migration is covered in the media – as shown in the following – with the aim of identifying possible journalistic control mechanisms, but not for diagnosing explicit media effects.

3.5.3 Discursive Analytical Findings

An analysis of the frequency with which the issue was topicalized (agenda setting) showed that 2001 marked a high point in migration coverage in the *Luxemburger Wort* (see Fig. 1).
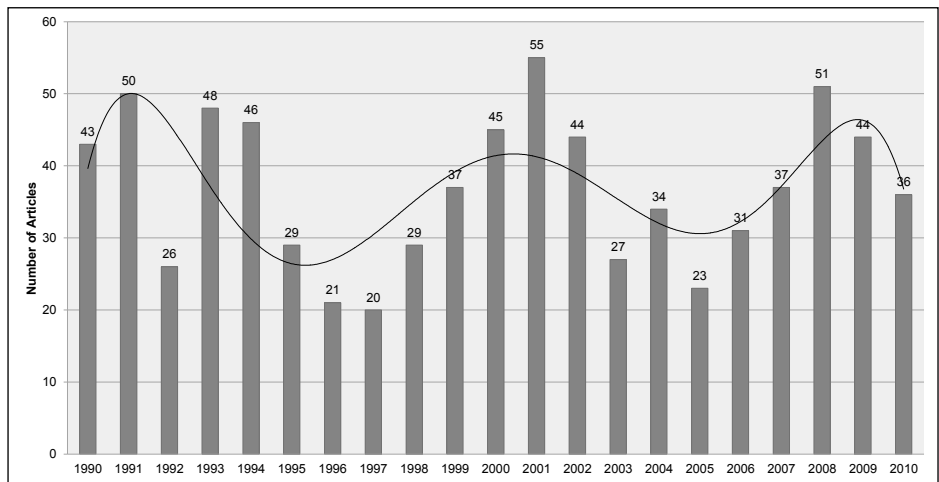

Figure 1: Distribution of articles in the Luxemburger Wort *from 1990 to 2010*

Since the complex issue of migration can be structured in various ways, it seemed practical to assign topics to either a primary or a secondary category. The former places articles into the context of national, regional, cross-border or global migration policy, while the latter subsumes immigration issues (for example, family reunification, asylum procedures, labour migration, measures taken to secure borders) on the one hand, and on the other matters concerning migrants already living in the EU, such as integration, discrimination, racism, (dual) citizenship or participation (see Schwenken 2003: 123).[81]

For the peak year of 2001, this yields the following distribution of topics: of the 55 articles, 52 % cover Luxembourg's migration policy and 20 % European migration policy. The focus of the national migration discourse for 2001 is on the regularization problems of the *sans-papiers*, the 'illegals'. The fact that there is a stronger focus on the attribution of 'illegals' could be put down to the law on asylum procedure adopted in Luxembourg in 1996, which was intended to limit the right of recently immigrated migrants to reside and work, and thus, according to Willems/Milmeister (2008: 76), led to a rise in illegal immigration. On the

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81 | Although, depending on the article, multiple entries are possible, a classification only according to the various migrations policies is also conceivable, however, without addressing further topics which require secondary categorization.

other hand, illegal immigration was on the European Commission's agenda in 2001 and thus also on Luxembourg's, which may also explain this national focus.

Drawing on Benjamin Bühler (2012: 34), who distinguishes three temporal aspects of the border – the "institution of the border", the "crossing of the border" and the "extension of the border" – (see section 2.1), we can note that for the topic of 'illegal immigration', which in 2001 received particularly wide coverage in the *Luxemburger Wort*, the main focus was on the crossing of the border. The *sans papiers* are considered illegitimate border trespassers due to the fact that they have traversed the outer borders of the EU in the sense of a forbidden border crossing. At times, this leads to a tighter regulation of the border, as for instance by the border security measures explicitly prioritized by the EU in 2001.

While most other studies of migration coverage in print media rate the percentage of migrants as subjects participating in society to be less than 10 % (see Kreutzer 2009: 336), the *Luxembourger Wort* focuses comparatively frequently on the participation of migrants, as shown by its percentage of 13 % for the period under review. These are largely accounts by those directly affected. This shows that in the articles migrants are not only talked 'about', but also 'to'; migrants are given a chance to tell their own individual stories. That migrants are not presented primarily as objects of the coverage, but as subjects, may be due to the fact that the *Luxemburger Wort* considers itself to be a newspaper committed to Christian-humanist principles (see Hellinghausen 1998: 233).

Elements of discourse that can be the object of interdiscourse analysis need to be identified via contextual relationships. Interdiscursive elements, such as collective symbols, are considered to be "complex, iconically motivated, paradigmatically expanded signs"[82] (Parr 2008: 204), which unite two sides, an image (*pictura*) and what is actually meant, the meaning concealed behind it (*subscriptio*). For the present analysis of interdiscursive or collective symbols, it is necessary to make an inventory by first ascertaining the *pictura* elements and then assigning the appurtenant *subscriptio* elements.

Of the German-language articles, 33 % of the articles exhibit interdiscursive elements while 67 % have none. These interdiscursive elements constitute for the most part collective symbols, especially flood metaphors. Collective symbols form the "overall sphere of symbolism, imagery, use of metaphors, descriptive stereotypes and clichés"[83] (Keller 2011: 33). Additional collective symbols found in the sample are '(in-)flow', 'facilitator', 'siege', 'boat' and 'dyke'.

The German collective symbols can be found in in-house reports (14 %) and press agency reports from the *Deutsche Presseagentur* (dpa) (11 %). This means that not only Luxembourgish, but also German sociopolitical symbol-generating

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82 | Personal translation of: "[...] komplexe, ikonisch motivierte, paradigmatisch expandierte Zeichen."

83 | Personal translation of: "[...] Gesamtbereich der Symbolik, Bildlichkeit, Metaphorik, der anschaulichen Stereotypen und Klischees."

conditions are relevant to the interpretation of results. Collective symbols are also found in the French-language sample of the *Luxemburger Wort* (30 %), again largely flood metaphors, albeit distinctly fewer than in the German-language sample.

What is remarkable is that the German boat metaphors found in the *Luxemburger Wort* only appear in the dpa reports and only in reference to Germany, resulting in a corresponding ascription of the *subscriptio* element. This yielded the general ascription of *pictura* and *subscriptio* elements on the media migration discourse in the *Luxemburger Wort* shown in Table 1.

Pictura ('image')		Subscriptio ('meaning')	
p1	Flood/*flux*[84]	s1	Sum of the status groups
p2	(in-)Flow or wave/*vague*	s2	Sum of the status groups
p3	Facilitators/people smugglers	s3	Criminal gangs which enable illegal immigration
p4	Siege	s4	Successful (illegal) (mass) immigration to Luxembourg
p5	Boat	s5	Germany (since the *pictura* element is only found in dpa reports and with an explicit reference to Germany)
p6	Dyke	s6	National border of Luxembourg

Table 1: Description of the pictura *and* subscriptio *elements (own compilation)*

Needless to say, these collective symbols do not occur simultaneously in the articles.

In the following in-house article by a local editor of the *Luxemburger Wort* two *pictura* and *subscriptio* elements occur:

"If the flood of foreign players to Luxembourg is not stopped, then in a few years it could well be that practically no Luxembourgish player will be found any more on a referee sheet. No fewer than 102 foreigners lined up on the first day of play last Wednesday for the various

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84 | French 'flux' has a similar meaning to that of German 'Flut' for the present analysis of migration discourse in the media. First, however, 'flux' has a more neutral connotation, for instance, as in traffic flow. Only in the second sense does 'flux' capture the same ideological idea as the German term 'Flut'. This embodies the idea of a flood caused by a rainstorm as well as a metaphorical flood, powerful tides that are threatening and uncontrollable.

national division clubs. So only 63 of the total of 165 players sent in were Luxembourg nationals. On the first day, a mere two Luxembourgers played for the promoted team from Schifflange. The two players Duarte and Del Bon were merely substitutes. This means that Schifflange started the match with eleven foreigners. Three Luxembourgish players were used by Hobscheid and Mertzig. At least there were four home-grown players on the field for F91 Düdelingen, Wiltz and Rümelingen. So the clubs are investing more and more money in foreign players instead of promoting domestic junior talent"[85] (*Luxemburger Wort* 1999).

While the first *pictura* element 'flood' corresponds to the *subscriptio* element 'sum of the foreign athletes', the second image element 'home-grown' stands for Luxembourgish footballers. "[B]y way of the metaphorical use of words from a specific range of origin, [the group of topics related to migration] is cognitively pre-structured and interpreted for the recipient"[86] (Niehr/Böke 2010: 331). Thus the interdiscursive element 'flood' can be ascribed to the 'water' type of metaphor, which can be subsumed under the target field of 'labour migration'. A connection is made between maritime elements and the discussion of immigration in general and the development of the foreign population in particular. Applied to civil society discourse, this expresses the idea that migrants are a heavy burden on the labour market and – in the case of the article quoted – enter into a competitive situation with domestic footballers.

As a rule, foreign athletes are considered to be 'desirable' migrants, as many German studies on media-migration research have established (see Bonfadelli 2007: 99). The text example "Akzente in der Nationaldivision" (Accents in the National Division) shows that this is the case for Luxembourg if the number of foreign athletes remains within limits. The fact that the Portuguese and French

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85 | Personal translation of: "Wenn die Flut der ausländischen Spieler nach Luxembourg nicht gestoppt wird, dann kann es gut sein, dass in einigen Jahren fast kein Luxembourgischer Spieler mehr auf einem Schiedsrichterbogen zu finden ist. Nicht weniger als 102 Ausländer wurden am vergangenen Mittwoch am ersten Spieltag bei den verschiedenen Nationaldivisionsvereinen aufgestellt. Von den insgesamt 165 eingesetzten Spielern waren also nur 63 Fußballer im Besitz der Luxembourgischen Nationalität. Am ersten Spieltag kamen gerade mal zwei Luxembourgische Spieler beim Aufsteiger aus Schifflingen zum Einsatz. Die beiden Akteure Duarte und Del Bon wurden sogar nur eingewechselt, dies bedeutet, dass Schifflingen die Begegnung mit elf Ausländern begonnen hat. Bei Hobscheid und Mertzig kamen drei Luxembourgische Spieler zum Einsatz. Beim F91 Düdelingen, Wiltz und Rümelingen standen immerhin vier Eigengewächse auf dem Spielfeld. Die Vereine investieren also immer mehr Geld in ausländische Spieler, anstatt die eigene Jugend zu fördern."
86 | Personal translation of: "[...] über den metaphorischen Gebrauch von Wörtern aus einem bestimmten Herkunftsbereich [wird der Themenkomplex Migration] für den Adressaten kognitiv vorstrukturiert und interpretiert."

names of the two footballers Duarte and Del Bon indicate that they are of foreign origin is not mentioned.

So what do these findings from interdiscourse analysis mean with a view to Foucault's governmentality theory? Power effects as understood by Foucault can be revealed in (media) discourses with the help of interdiscourse analysis, since collective symbols are used to draw on the everyday knowledge of recipients from all social strata. Mass media therefore contribute to the construction of the sayable through cross-strata interdiscursive elements. They constitute a key locus of truth production, yet they not only organize knowledge, but also generate it by presenting and ordering social reality through visual or textual statements. They "thus treat problems which at the same time are constructed by being treated as problems in the media"[87] (Wedl 2008: 6). By drawing on governmentality theory, Wedl describes this generation of knowledge as an interconnection of technologies of self-conduct and external conduct: since mass media are not isolated from political, economic and statal conditions, nor from the discourses, and are thus to a certain extent 'externally guided', they are embedded in sociopolitical circumstances of dominance. At the same time, they are not subject to any direct constraint and are therefore in a certain sense free, they therefore 'govern' themselves. As a critical public, they exercise a controlling function over other social institutions, such as the economy, the state and politics, in the sense of the 'sovereignty' approach of governmentality theory (see ibid.).

3.5.4 Conclusion

Seeing media as technologies of government means asking "how the media contribute to problematization, knowledge production, control of subject areas"[88] (Stauff 2005: 92). This section's aim is to discuss in theory and practice how, by way of journalistic control mechanisms of the interdiscourses used in the migration discourse in the *Luxemburger Wort*, media emerge as technologies of government in the sense of the governmentality concept. As the example of the collective symbol of 'flood' showed, certain discursive elements 'wander' out of a specific everyday discourse as metaphors and *through* a large number of discourses (for example, through the political and media discourses), whereby they become fundamental ideological concepts of civil society (see Keller 2011: 33). This civil society discourse is also a discourse in Foucault's sense, since it makes ritualized forms of speech, ways of acting and effects of power visible. In the sense of Foucault's governmentality concept and his analytical approach of 'sovereignty', these effects of media power develop at the moment of reception

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87 | Personal translation of: "[...] bearbeiten demnach Problemfelder, die gleichzeitig durch die mediale Problematisierung erst konstruiert werden."

88 | Personal translation of: "[...] wie Medien zur Problematisierung, zur Wissensproduktion, zur Steuerung von Gegenstandsbereichen beitragen."

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"[89] (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.

Sources

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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

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