

of written laws and customs and the development of a system of reciprocal obligation and litigation. Originating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the territoriality of national boundaries, the second stage that Foucault described, was what he called „the administrative state“. This administrative state corresponded to a „society of regulation and discipline“ (ibid. 104). The third one, Foucault terms as „the governmental state“, which is not defined by its territoriality anymore, „but in terms of the mass of its population with its volume and density, and indeed also with the territory over which it is distributed“ (ibid.). As crucial techniques of governance to this kind of state, Foucault identifies the „instrumentation of economic savior“ (ibid.) and control exercised through apparatuses of security.

The definition of governmentality given by Foucault himself, sums it up in an unparalleled way:

„By this word i mean three things: 1. The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security. 2. The tendency which, over a long period and throughout the West, has steadily led towards the pre-eminence over all other forms (sovereignty, discipline, etc.) of this type of power which may be termed government, resulting, on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses, and, on the other, in the development of a whole complex of savoirs. 3. The process, or rather the result of the process, through which the state of justice of the Middle Ages, transformed into the administrative state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, gradually becomes, governmentalized“ (Foucault 1991: 102-103).

With governmentality as a concept the centrality of the notion of a population to be governed and administered becomes clear. The notion of population in turn is directly linked to medical statistics, life events and the control of the body, which leads to the concept of biopolitics. While in earlier writings Foucault had framed government control under the hypothesis of a „generalized disciplinary society“ (Sellenart 2007: 490), he adjusted this perspective linking tech-