

# Contents

1	Introduction	1
	Part One: Play of Freedom	13
2	Governmentality	15
	Political Technologies: Pastoral Power	18
	Freedom as Source of Governing and as the Correlative of Security	20
	Government Programs: Techniques, Practices, Failures and Risks	28
	Empirical Statements and Governmental Studies	33
	Governmental Studies, Eurocentrism and ‘Postcolonial’ Societies	35
3	Mobile Protest Media: Resisting Government	
	– Governing Resistance	53
	Power and Resistance	57
	From Resistance to Counter-Rationalities	59
	From Counter-Rationalities to Mobile Protest Media	62
4	Mobile Protest Media Case Study:	
	The Lawyers’ Movement	66
	Pakistan and Musharraf	68
	The Dissemination of Mobile Phones in Pakistan	69
	The Protest Movement	71
	SMS, Online and Broadcast Media	84
	State of Surveillance in Pakistan during the Lawyers’ Movement and Anti-Surveillance Tactics	90
	The Clash of Rule	95

Mobile Media as an Agent of Governmentality	99
5 Distributed Action and Centralized Surveillance	101
Mobile Media Facilitates Collective Actions	103
Layers of Distributed Action	107
Part Two: The Liberal Paradox	111
6 Surveillance	113
What is Surveillance?	115
Big Brother's Effects on Surveillance Studies	121
Surveillance and Location	124
The Concept of Institutionalized Mediation	125
Panspectron and Surveillant Assemblage	128
Interlude: Ricardo Dominguez on Transparent Surveillance	129
7 Re-Entry of Mobile Media Sovereignty	135
Illiberal Government and the Surveillant Assemblage	137
Episteme and Modalities of Neo-Sovereignty	139
Registration of SIM Cards	147
Blocking of Communication	150
Data Retention as Neo-Sovereign Data Production	155
A Panspectron Supplements Liberal Technologies	166
8 Mobile Surveillance Media Case Study	168
Introduction: Section 129 of the German Criminal Code	169
The MG Investigations	171
Conclusions from the Documents	179
Part Three: Bottom-Up Strategies	183
9 Necessities for Trusted Telecommunication	185
Trust in Telecommunication 1: Securing Content	193
Four Criteria for Trusted Communication	195
Trust in Telecommunication 2: Securing Transaction Data	204

Self-Governing Communication Infrastructures	206
10 Conclusion: Mobile Media Pushes the Liberal Paradox	215
Appendices	221
A Empirical Research about Protests: Ethical Considerations	223
B Overview of Interviews	230
C Index: Groups and Initiatives of the Interviewees	237
Brazil	237
India	242
Japan	246
Mexico	247
Pakistan	249
Philippines	251
South Korea	252
Spain	253
UK	254
USA	254
Bibliography	257
Glossary	277