

# Contents

<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Part One: Play of Freedom</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>2 Governmentality</b>	<b>15</b>
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
<b>3 Mobile Protest Media: Resisting Government</b>	
– Governing Resistance	53
Power and Resistance	57
From Resistance to Counter-Rationalities	59
From Counter-Rationalities to Mobile Protest Media	62
<b>4 Mobile Protest Media Case Study:</b>	
<b>The Lawyers' Movement</b>	<b>66</b>
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
<b>5 Distributed Action and Centralized Surveillance</b>	<b>101</b>
Mobile Media Facilitates Collective Actions	103
Layers of Distributed Action	107
<b>Part Two: The Liberal Paradox</b>	<b>111</b>
<b>6 Surveillance</b>	<b>113</b>
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
<b>7 Re-Entry of Mobile Media Sovereignty</b>	<b>135</b>
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
<b>8 Mobile Surveillance Media Case Study</b>	<b>168</b>
Introduction: Section 129 of the German Criminal Code	169
The MG Investigations	171
Conclusions from the Documents	179
<b>Part Three: Bottom-Up Strategies</b>	<b>183</b>
<b>9 Necessities for Trusted Telecommunication</b>	<b>185</b>
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