Zeynep Tufekci, *Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017. ISBN: 9780300215120 (cloth); ISBN: 9780300234176 (paper)

In the last two decades, social media platforms have proven consequential in major events across the globe. These effects materialize in the instant popularity that stems from viral videos, to the seemingly undeletable past of job applicants and public figures, or the sheer ease with which a person, object, or cause can garner hundreds of thousands of followers. It is undeniable that social media have changed how many people engage with each other, how companies advertise, and sell goods and services, and how the state interacts with its citizens and other nations more broadly. Some of the more transformative effects social media have had are on social movements. Understanding that technology as a whole has drastically altered everyday life, Zeynep Tufekci's *Twitter and Tear Gas* closely examines the ways in which social media have facilitated an evolution of the ways that social movements are organized and executed, exploring the extent to which they play into the their successes. Tufekci's intimate, on-the-ground fieldwork experience with movements such as (but not limited to) Occupy Wall Street, the Gezi Park protests in Istanbul, and the Tahrir Square uprising in Egypt provide the necessary empirical evidence to illuminate the role social media has played in crafting modern social movements.

Tufekci delves into the conversation surrounding the question of "What happens when movements can evade traditional censorship and publicize and coordinate more easily?" (p.xxvii). As she will note, the answer to this question is not an easy or simple one. However, her book effectively situates an empirically grounded analysis of how social media platforms have morphed social movements, enabling them to navigate around traditional censorship and thus altering their trajectories to be different from those of traditional movements. The aim of this book is to "examine the transformations brought about by digital technologies in the trajectories of social movements and the public sphere" (p.xxix), positioning the analysis "within the context of specific affordances of digital technologies and specific features of giant software platforms

like Facebook, Twitter, and Google that have become central to social movement organizing around the world" (ibid.). Tufekci skillfully fulfills her main goal of providing empirically rich analysis of how digital technologies have impacted and transformed the trajectories of social movements.

Twitter and Tear Gas is broken into nine chapters, organized into three sections. The first section "looks broadly at digital technologies and social movement mechanisms" (p.xxix). It does so by first defining and examining "the networked sphere" and what it means for social movement trajectories (Chapter 1), then by conceptualizing "attention" and juxtaposing the monopolized mass media and accessible social media platforms (Chapter 2). This section then transitions into discussing the mechanics of how networked movements operate and how this affects the trajectory of that movement (Chapter 3), and concludes by exposing what digital platforms mean for networked social movements in authoritarian regimes (Chapter 4).

The second section specifically focuses on technology itself. Tufekci dives deep into the theory that surrounds the use of technology as the platform for organizing social movements (Chapter 5), followed by an examination of how and why a few social media platforms have become the giants of the "networked sphere" (Chapter 6). It concludes by illustrating how social media defines identity and anonymity, and what these mean for the movements' trajectories (Chapter 7).

The final section interrogates and develops theories that examine the paths of networked movements and how networked spaces reconfigure these trajectories. In Chapter 8, Tufekci develops the capacities and signals theory "that guides all the analyses in this book, and uses comparative cases from Occupy Wall Street to the civil rights movement to understand what this might mean for narrative, electoral, and disruptive capacities movements can develop" (p.xxxi). The final chapter, "Governments Strike Back", investigates the networked public sphere through the lens of power, the state, and the countermeasures each may put forth to challenge movements' new capacities.

As a researcher of and participant in a social movement that began with the help of a social media platform, this work especially intrigued me. While it should be mentioned that

Tufekci states that pre- and post-internet movements cannot be judged by the same criteria, the contemporary empirics contained within this work are consistently compared with cases from the past such as the American civil rights movement of the 1960s. Tufekci argues that the ease with which some contemporary movements are established can contribute to their demise:

> … with this speed comes weakness, some of it unexpected. First, these new movements find it difficult to make tactical shifts because they lack both the culture and the infrastructure for making collective decisions … Second, although their ability (as well as their desire) to operate without defined leadership protects them from co-optation or "decapitation", it also makes them unable to negotiate with adversaries or even inside the movement itself. Third, the ease with which current social movements form often fails to signal an organizing capacity powerful enough to threaten authority. (p.71)

While the Occupy Wall Street protests, the Gezi Park protests in Istanbul, and the Tahrir Square uprising in Egypt provide excellent examples that illustrate these points, not all modern social movements born from a social platform do. Some examples that come to mind are the Tea Party's rise to power which resulted in successful elections to the United States Congress as well as various state and local governments; the populism that fueled Donald Trump's successful 2016 presidential campaign; and the contemporary gay rights movement that has led to marriage equality in several countries.

Useful from Tufekci's work is the idea that social platforms provide a "public space" to organize, just as a meeting room would for more traditional movements. While Tufekci does not explicitly state that social media platforms prevent the establishment of the essential leadership requisite for a movement to flourish, this could be made clearer. As stated previously, I have participated in a social movement that would have never existed if it had not been for a social media platform. It was the platform that allowed spatially-dispersed LGBT servicemembers active in the US military to connect and effectively mobilize to eventually compel the government to repeal the Don't Ask, Don't Tell policy. These people were not able to organize

in a single room or publicly protest/speak for many different reasons, including being stationed all across the globe and fear of being discharged as it was illegal (ultimately punishable by prosecution under the Uniform Code of Military Justice) to be out and in the military at the time. Ease of organizing led to the success, rather than failure, of this particular movement.

Tufekci's greatest contribution resides in her signals and capacity theory. The capacity of a movement is its ability to put forth and convince others of a particular world view (narrative capacity); its ability to interrupt business as usual (disruptive capacity); and its ability to replace politicians or change the makeup of institutions (electoral capacity). The signal is a direct or indirect sign(s) of what a movement is capable of achieving. It is through this original contribution that the conversations involving social movements and social movement theory can be discussed and continued in a way that was not necessarily evident before. Tufekci's empirically rich work highlighting the unique opportunities (and threats) social media platforms represent to movements is sure to be a key piece cited within any interrogation of social movement literature moving forward.

Rob Mobley
Department of Geography
UCLA
rjmobley31@g.ucla.edu

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