



Kevin McCauley
Editor-in-Chief

O'Dwyer's Newsletter



**The Inside News of
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AR POLICE ISSUE MARKETING SERVICES RFP

The Arkansas State Police has issued a request for proposal for agencies providing advertising and marketing services. The law enforcement agency wants a communications partner to develop, conduct and manage a statewide highway safety media plan for Arkansas' highways.



The ASP's envisioned marketing plan would include coordinating media, highway safety communications and public education activities to influence safe traffic behavior.

Anticipated annual budget is \$1.9 million with \$1.5 million expected to be allocated toward paid media. The anticipated starting date for the contract is June 1 and is expected to run for an initial term of a year, with the possibility of renewal for up to six additional one-year consecutive terms.

Deadline for proposals is Feb. 15 at 2:00 p.m. (CT). Proposals should be sent to:
Office of State Procurement
1509 West Seventh Street, Room 300
Little Rock, AR 72201-4222
Contact is buyer Brandi Schroeder,
Brandi.Schroeder@dfa.arkansas.gov.

[Download the RFP \(PDF\)](#).

KOFLER TO H+K US BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE UNIT

Hill+Knowlton has recruited Lilly Kofler as US director of behavioral science and the first US hire for its H+K Smarter unit. Most recently, Kofler was behavioral scientist and data lead at Publicis Communications, where she handled healthcare, retail, consumer packaged goods and *Fortune* 100 clients.

Earlier, she worked with Columbia University, collaborating with the Dept. of Energy to apply behavioral science to sustainability initiatives launched across the US Navy.

In announcing the hire, Richard Millar, H+K global president, said: "As communicators, we have always known that people act in ways that are often surprising and seemingly irrational, but it's only in the last decade or so that behavioral science has begun to help us really understand why this is."

The WPP unit has four people in London on its H+K Smarter team. Dan Berry, behavioral insights analyst, heads the group. He joined H+K in 2016 from the UK Dept. of Health.



Lilly Kofler

MOWER WINS WESTCHESTER SHOOTOUT

Mower has been named the agency of record for Westchester County Tourism & Film, the official destination marketing organization for Westchester County.

Mower will conduct travel and tourism integrated marketing and public relations for Westchester County. Mary Gendron, senior vp, managing director and head of Mower's Travel and Tourism specialty, will lead the work.

Prior to Mower being named AOR, much of the work was divided up between Thompson & Bender and Fifteen Degrees. Other agencies who participated in the competitive RFP process for the account included Co-Communications, Fifteen Degrees/Nicholas Lence and Harrison Edwards.



KOREA FOOD CO. SEEKS PR FOR NYC LAUNCH

A global Korean food/lifestyle company is looking for a PR firm for the launch of a quick service restaurant concept in New York during the second half of this year.

The firm will target millennial consumers who are "adventurous and trend-conscious when it comes to experiencing different cultures and food," according to the RFP. The agency will research and analyze current QSR models and reference "outstanding restaurant/pop-up/café experiences as a point of inspiration."

Proposals are due Jan. 31. Work will kick off Feb. 11 with the restaurant launch scheduled for July.

Jackie An at Jackie.An@cj.net is the contact.

FLORIDA'S FORMER AG JOINS BALLARD

Pam Bondi, who stepped down as Florida's Attorney General this month after an eight-year stint, has joined Ballard Partners to launch and chair its corporate regulatory compliance practice.

A frequent guest on Fox News, Bondi is a favorite of president Trump, who considered her for the AG spot vacated by Jeff Sessions.

During her time in office, Bondi played a leading role in negotiating the \$56B National Mortgage Settlement and sued BP and other parties over the Deepwater Horizon oil spill that resulted in more than \$2B in economic relief for people of the Sunshine State.



Pam Bondi

CEOS SAY PROFIT, NOT CSR, IS TOP PRIORITY

While CEOs may be under increasing pressure to speak out on social issues, that doesn't necessarily mean they are making it a priority, according to a new study from the USC Annenberg Center for Public Relations and *Chief Executive* magazine. About 60 percent of the 210 CEOs surveyed for the study said they were unlikely to communicate about any social issue in 2019.

USC
Annenberg
Center for
Public Relations

The main communications goal for most of the CEOs surveyed remains the bottom line, with 44 percent saying that selling their products and services is the top message they are concerned with delivering. Differentiating a company's brand from its competition was cited by 39 percent as the primary goal of their corporate communications.

However, for those CEOs who were planning to speak out, the most pressing topics were considered to be data privacy (18 percent), healthcare (17 percent) and diversity and inclusion (11 percent). "Fake news" was listed as a priority by only five percent of respondents.

The survey also asked CEOs to name the communications channels that they thought would be most valuable to their companies in the future. Social media and influencers topped that list, with 30 percent choosing them. Close behind was owned media, which was selected by 29 percent. Traditional media (11 percent) and advertising (nine percent) both trailed considerably.

The survey is part of USC Annenberg's annual report on the PR industry. An online survey of communications professionals is being conducted through Feb. 8. To take the survey, go to https://usc.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_5d4c3MwfSiFqxv.

RUNSWITCH WORKS COVINGTON CRISIS

RunSwitch, a Louisville PR firm with ties to Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, is providing media support for Nick Sandmann, the Covington Catholic High School student who was in the middle of the social media firestorm triggered by his standoff with a Native American protestor in front of the Lincoln Memorial.

The SM barrage charged Sandmann and his fellow MAGA-hat wearing students with disrespecting Nathan Phillips, 64, who took part in an Indigenous People's Day March. Additional video, however, revealed that members of the Black Hebrew Israelites cult screamed racist and homophobic insults at the Covington students.



Nick Sandmann

Philips, it turned out, fashioned himself as a peacemaker. Borrowing a drum, the Marine Corps vet stepped between the students and BHI members in a bid to form a prayer circle to calm the situation.

RunSwitch distributed a statement from Sandmann in which he said by remaining motionless and calm, he was helping to diffuse tension.

President Trump has weighed in on the matter, calling the Kentucky teenagers "symbols of the fake news media in the US and how evil it can be."

MEDIA MANEUVERS

Gannett, BuzzFeed and Verizon Media Group are all shedding employees. Gannett's cuts will affect up to 400 employees at such papers as the *Indianapolis Star*,



Knoxville News-Sentinel, *Tennessean* and *Arizona Republic*, according to a report in the *New York Post*. BuzzFeed is laying off 15 percent of its workforce, about 215 people out of a staff of 1450. BuzzFeed CEO Jonah Peretti sent out a memo on Jan. 23 in which he said that efforts to diversify the

company's revenue weren't enough to help it achieve profitability. Verizon Media Group, which owns brands that include TechCrunch, HuffPost and Tumblr, will lay off around 800, or about 7 percent of its employees.

Hearst says that it racked up record profits for the eighth straight year in 2018, but it attributes one-third of those profits to its Business Media operations, particularly financial and data company Fitch Group. Hearst president and CEO Steven Swartz says that in 2019 the company expects the Business Media group to account for close to 40 percent of its profits. However, despite the growth of the Business Media group, he said Hearst "still gets the majority of its profits from the consumer media space," and that "our newspaper and magazine companies continue to be solidly profitable."

Coca-Cola has called a timeout on advertising during Super Bowl LIII. After advertising during the big game for the past 11 years, the company is limiting its presence this year to a 60-second spot airing just before kickoff. While CBS is charging between \$5.1 million to \$5.3 million for commercial packages that run during the game, ads that run pre-game cost considerably less, with a price tag that *Variety* reports is "from hundreds of thousands of dollars to a few million."



Condé Nast will be putting all of its titles behind a paywall by the end of the year. *The New Yorker*, *Vanity Fair* and *Wired* already require consumers to subscribe in order to access more than four articles each month. The new paywalls, affecting such publications as *Architectural Digest*, *Vogue* and *GQ*, will not uniformly follow that plan. "Some brands may have specific content that will be gated, and some will have a wider metered paywall," Bob Sauerberg, the exiting CEO of the company, said in a memo. The paywalls are part of what the company says is a plan to generate \$600 million in new revenue. Condé Nast is reported to have lost \$120 million in 2017.

Netflix has officially joined the Motion Picture Association of America, the trade association representing Hollywood's six major film studios (Disney, Paramount, Sony, Fox, Universal and Warner Bros.). "Adding Netflix will allow us to even more effectively advocate for the global community of creative storytellers," said MPAA chairman and CEO Charles Rivkin in a statement. Netflix is the first internet streaming service to become a member of the group.

CRISIS. THE ULTIMATE TEST

Crises provide the ultimate challenge for organizations and management teams. Conventional management



Chris Nelson

practices are inadequate to maintain stakeholder confidence, and the pressure of time can overwhelm decision-making. And the world is only getting riskier. Research conducted by Oxford Metrica during the past 25 years showed that major crises were occurring more often than a casual observer might think. And the frequency and challenge of crises are getting steadily

worse for three reasons:

- **Complexity.** In the past 20 years, multinational companies have introduced far more complexity to their business models. Consider what your car can do today that it couldn't just five, 10 or 20 years ago. And now, it could be hacked. We have more complex manufacturing processes, producing more intricate and advanced staples of everyday life. Yet, more complexity generally means more opportunities for parts or sub-systems to fail, especially with new technology that cannot yet boast years of real-world user experience.

- **Interconnectivity.** As individuals and as companies, we've become dependent on sprawling support structures that we don't fully understand. Today's international supply chains often have multiple layers of sub-contractors with little transparency beyond the prime, and many companies have outsourced their entire IT operation, providing administrator credentials and source code access to vendors. A rogue vendor employee with that access could be devastating. Furthermore, a crisis in the supply chain can produce knock-on impacts across entire industries. And a crisis in one company could affect a range of industries. With everything connected, the dominos are in place.

- **Lack of understanding.** As technology and business have advanced, most of us no longer know how the things we rely on function — from household gadgets to complex supply chains to telecommunications to cutting edge science and technology operations. As a result, crises occurring in that support structure undermine our collective sense of security and safety.

Moreover, stakeholders lack the expertise to understand the corporate explanation either for what happened or the solution. What may appear simple or straightforward, might actually be very complicated, fraught with technical nuances and the potential for unintended consequences. As a result, stakeholders may evaluate corporate responses incorrectly.

What companies should be doing

The crisis plans companies have relied on no longer provide adequate preparedness. As the world gets riskier, crisis preparedness must become an ongoing discipline that builds, monitors and constantly evolves the organization's overall readiness.

Here are a few things we recommend to clients:

- **Integrate corporate risk functions.** Ensure enterprise risk management, business continuity planning, legal/compliance and crisis management work together

to ensure the organization is truly resilient. Each has a critical role in identifying risk, mitigating it and preparing the company to respond to crisis scenarios.

- **Make it accountable.** Boards of directors should be more demanding of crisis preparedness as they protect shareholders' interests. Risk and resiliency reports to the board should include input from all the functions listed above, and the reports should come with evaluations of progress against measurable objectives on a quarterly basis.

- **Know your stakeholders.** Truly understand critical stakeholders and, more specifically, how they might react in a crisis. Market researchers and political pollsters today have protocols to determine how stakeholders will respond in a crisis and how they'll react to various combinations of actions and messages from the company. Rather than guessing whether a message will work, companies should proactively test responses to a crisis.

- **Dynamic risk identification systems.** With a thorough understanding of stakeholders, companies can also understand how shifts in public opinion — especially regarding social issues — could affect stakeholders' perceptions. Seeing these shifts is the first step. Applying information on stakeholder wants, needs and preferences then allows companies to understand why one issue may affect their business more than another, or produce greater outrage in a crisis.

- **Practice, practice, practice.** Crisis management skills are no different than any others: they only stay sharp when used regularly. Companies should conduct tabletop exercises monthly, even if they're smaller in scale and only require an hour of time and minimal preparation.

- **"Red team" your organization.** CEOs regularly ask us what vulnerabilities they face. While risk management may have an answer, it may not be specific enough to be actionable. Once a year, major companies should ask their external crisis consultants to produce a "red team" report, detailing scenarios in which the top three risk areas turn into public crises. The narratives "red teaming" produces turn conceptual risk areas into real world problems that executive teams can solve. That makes mitigation strategy and priorities much clearer.

- **Rehearse major policy decisions.** The toughest crises today require complex solutions that take a long time to enact and require substantial cost and effort. This often includes revisiting or changing major company policies, unwinding deeply integrated vendor or supplier relationships, or even shifting the company's business model or cost structure. These decisions can only be fully evaluated in the moment, in the context of a specific crisis scenario, and the surrounding narrative. Companies should do executive simulations on an annual basis, and each one should focus on rehearsing these tough decisions.

As the world becomes steadily more dangerous for companies, corporate resiliency programs need to meet the challenges rather than simply being a tool to satisfy regulatory burdens. And the investment required pales in comparison to what it costs to dig out of a badly handled crisis.

Chris Nelson is Senior Partner and Crisis Lead, Americas, at FleishmanHillard.

LOBBYING TOPPED \$3.4 BILLION IN 2018

Clients spent \$3.42 billion on lobbyists last year, the highest levels in nearly a decade, according to a report released by nonpartisan research group the Center for Responsive Politics. It's the largest sum spent on lobbying activities since the industry's record-breaking peak in 2010, the year that Obamacare was passed by Congress and signed into law, according to the CRP's report.

Shelling out \$280 million, the pharmaceutical sector spent more on lobbying than any other industry last year, surpassing its previous 2009 lobbying record of \$272



million. The trade groups and companies inside this sector also broke records: the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America spent \$28 million in 2018, also beating its 2009 record of \$27 million. PhRMA members Pfizer, Amgen, Bayer, Johnson & Johnson and AbbVie were ranked as top pharmaceutical-industry spenders.

Insurance followed pharmaceuticals at a distant second (\$157 million) and the equipment and electronics manufacturing industry took third (\$145 million).

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce came in as the top single spender, dropping nearly \$95 million on lobbying expenditures last year, while law and lobbying giant Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld continued its reign as K Street's most profitable firm, bringing in \$38 million in billings last year, even though this revealed a nearly \$14 million year-over-year decline.

Conservative groups saw their lobbying spending grow by 78 percent last year, while liberal groups' spending shrank by 35 percent, according to the report. Top conservative spenders included Tea Party-affiliated FreedomWorks. George Soros' Open Society Policy Center saw the greatest year-over-year gains, spending \$31.5 million last year, nearly double its 2017 expenditures of \$16.1 million.

Data for Center for Responsive Politics' report was supplied by the Senate Office of Public Records and published on the non-profit's online database, OpenSecrets.org.

B-M'S FELLING JOINS KING OF SENATE

Matthew Felling, who was senior director at Burson-Marsteller's Washington office, has joined the office of Maine's Independent Senator Angus King as strategic communications director.



Matthew Felling

It marks the return to Capitol Hill for Felling, who did a stint as strategic communications director for Lisa Murkowski (R-AK). For Murkowski, Felling dealt with healthcare, military issues, sustainable fisheries and the needs of the Alaska Native population.

Prior to Murkowski, Felling was news anchor and lead political reporter for the CBS TV affiliate in Anchorage.

He also did a two-year stint at Hill+Knowlton Strategies in Washington.

PORT OF L.A. FLOATS MEDIA MONITORING RFP

The Port of Los Angeles is floating an RFP for media monitoring and assessment services to enable it to track news coverage, quantify & analyze data and develop a robust contact base.

Located 20 miles south of downtown L.A., the Port encompasses 7500 acres, 43 miles of waterfront and 27 cargo terminals.

It generates \$36B in annual wages/tax revenues and supports 940K jobs.

The Port, which ranks as the nation's No. 1 container facility and driver of global economic activity is "consistently highlighted in the news," according to its RFP. It requires a firm with 24-hour monitoring of nationwide print, broadcast and social media and the ability to immediately capture and access the coverage.

Responses are due Jan. 29.

The original proposal along with four print copies and a digital copy (via USB) go via hand or mail delivery to:

Contracts and Purchasing Division

ATTN: Tricia Carey

REF: Media Monitoring Services

500 Pier "A" Street

Wilmington, CA 90744



PEOPLE ON THE MOVE

The Pollack PR Marketing Group has promoted equity partner and senior vice president **Will Ostedt** to executive vice president and creative director. As the agency's first creative director, Ostedt will oversee PPMG's creative initiatives for both B2B and consumer clients. He will become the liaison between the agency's digital services, branded as LAB186, and its PR and marketing services. Based in the agency's Los Angeles office, Ostedt will lead the agency's creative output and work closely with its account teams of professionals in both the agency's Los Angeles and New York City offices.



Will Ostedt

HudsonLake has hired **Kim Cerda** to head up its organizational change and culture practice. Cerda joins HudsonLake from Toyota Financial Services where she was most recently vice president of human resources and operational excellence. In this role, she oversaw human resources strategy and operations, talent acquisition, organizational development and employee reward programs.

New York-headquartered **ENroute Communications** has signed **Guillermo Gonzalez** to lead efforts to expand its Latin America portfolio. Gonzalez was most recently general director of the San Miguel de Allende Tourism Board. In his new post, he will develop and execute proactive campaigns for the agency's travel accounts, as well as working on trade relations for its clients. With a focus on increasing the agency's portfolio of clients in Latin America, Gonzalez will be based out of the company's Mexico office. ENroute also has offices in London and San Jose, Costa Rica.

FOOD NEWS A PRIORITY AMONG AMERICANS

More Americans now consider food and nutrition news to be more important than any other type of news, according to the annual Food News study commissioned by New York agency Hunter Public Relations.

Hunter's annual study, which surveys consumers on their opinions regarding the most memorable food-related news items each year and what impact or behavioral changes these stories provoke, found that the

importance of food news surged among Americans last year.

More than a third of respondents (35 percent) said they consider food and nutrition stories to be very important, and nearly half (47 percent) said they

think food and nutrition news is more important than any other type of news. This sentiment was notably high among members of the Millennial and Gen Z generations, where 83 percent said they consider food news to be very important and 64 percent said they find these stories to be more important than other news.

Headlines on food safety and recalls are always popular, and last year was no exception. Almost half of respondents (44 percent) said they consider food safety news to be the most important food-related topic. The second most important food-related topic addressed in 2018 was food nutrition/health & wellness (23 percent).

The study also noted that many of 2018's top food stories appeared to be uniquely sharable in design, either via social media or in daily conversation among friends, family or coworkers. Nearly half of Americans (47 percent) said they regularly share their food experiences via social media. However, this behavior surges to nearly three in four (74 percent) when respondents identify themselves as being part of the Millennial or Gen Z generations.

Hunter's Food News Study, now in its 16th year, was conducted in partnership with Libran Research & Consulting, and surveyed more than 1,000 U.S. residents between October and early November.

WELLS FARGO UNVEILS IMAGE PUSH

Wells Fargo launched a new image campaign tagged "This is Wells Fargo" to highlight its commitment to customer service in the wake of the "fake accounts scandal" that resulted in payment of a \$575M settlement at the end of 2018. Created by BBDO, the new print, broadcast, online and mobile campaign succeeds the "Re-established" marketing push that debuted last year.

For the first time in its 167-year history, Wells Fargo team members will be featured in the advertising, providing customers with easier, more personal and helpful financial solutions. As part of the image overhaul, the San Francisco-based bank will unveil a new visual identity by the end of January.

"This is Wells Fargo and the changes to our stagecoach and logo will pay homage to our history while signaling our transformation to a contemporary, dynamic and ever more innovative bank," said Jamie Moldafsky chief marketing officer.

Edelman represents Wells Fargo.



SARD VERBINNEN RULES DEAL ROOST

Sard Verbinen retained the top spots in Mergermarket's rankings of PR advisors in the US and global markets for 2018, both in terms of the number of deals and total deal value.

Globally, SVC saw the number of deals it brokered rise by 12, with a related 17.2 percent jump in total value. Though its US numbers dipped slightly (with one fewer deal and a 6.6 percent drop in deal value), SVC recorded healthy gains in Europe, Asia-Pacific and Japan.

Coming in second in terms of global deal value was Brunswick Group, followed by Finsbury Hering Schuppener, Joele Frank Wilkinson Brimmer Katcher and FTI Consulting. Following SVC, the global leaders in total deal count were Kekst CNC, FTI Consulting, Brunswick Group and Finsbury Hering Schuppener.

In the US, Joele Frank, Brunswick, Finsbury and Kekst CNC joined SVC in the top five as regards total deal value. In terms of deal count, Kekst CNC took the No. 2 spot, followed by Joele Frank, Brunswick and FTI.

Mergermarket's rankings measured deals with a value of over \$5 million, or deals with an undisclosed value where the target's turnover exceeds \$10 million. If the deal is for a stake of less than 30%, the value must be greater than \$100 million.

BGR TURNS ON ALTICE

BGR Government Affairs is representing Altice USA, which markets its broadband communications and video services under the Optimum and Suddenlink brands. Netherlands-based Altice made a splash in the US via its \$17.7B acquisition of Cablevision from the Dolan family and public shareholders in 2015.

BGR's lobbying team includes Jonathan Mantz (national finance director for Hillary Clinton presidential run in 2008), Erskine Wells (deputy chief of staff to Mississippi Sen. Roger Wicker), Andy Lewin (aide to Democratic Congressman Dennis Moore, Max Sandlin) and Justin Rzepka (staffer for Nevada Republican Sen. John Ensigh).



ACCOUNTS IN TRANSIT

Finn Partners has been named communications agency of record for BlackRidge Technology, which was founded to commercialize patented network security technologies originally developed to cloak battlefield assets for the Department of Defense. The agency will work to elevate BlackRidge's profile among IT security decision makers in the government, critical infrastructure and industrial IoT (energy, utilities), health care and finance and insurance sectors. The agency's work for BlackRidge is being directed out of its Portland, San Francisco and New York offices.

Brandware has been selected as the PR firm for Client Command, an automotive marketing company. The agency's work will include brand messaging, media relations, thought leadership programs, content creation and social media support. Headquartered in Atlanta, Brandware has teams in Los Angeles; Charleston, SC and Huntsville, AL.

COMMENTARY

Good luck to former Starbucks chief Howard Schultz, a progressive corporate leader who may throw his hat into the presidential ring by running as an independent.

When it comes to accepting responsibility for his action, lifelong Democrat Schultz must do a better job than President Trump did.



Howard Schultz

The tweeter-in-chief promised to “take ownership” of his useless partial shutdown of the federal government—and when things heated up he quickly tried to pawn the shutdown calamity on Chuck and Nancy’s refusal to cave on Trump’s fixation on building a war than nobody wants.

Schultz must take ownership of the fact that if he does decide to run as an independent, his candidacy will guarantee another four years of Trump.

Do you really want that on your conscience, Howard?

You might ask Ralph Nader if he regrets running as an independent for president in 2000. The consumer advocate siphoned off enough votes in Florida to deny vice president Gore victory and put George W. Bush in the White House after the Supreme Court called off the Florida recount and Roger Stone raised holy hell by staging those phony Republican riots.

Just imagine how things would have turned out if president Gore governed the country for eight years, rather than Dubya, Cheney and Rummy.

Run as a Democrat, Howard.

There are many Democrats looking for a centrist alternative to Alexandra Ocasio-Cortez and the progressive wing. And fighting for the nomination in Democratic primaries, rather than using your billions to make sure that your name is on the ballot in 50 states, will make you a stronger candidate.

Schultz has hired Steve Schmidt, political consultant guru, and ardent anti-Trumper during his “Words Matter” podcast, for his campaign. My sense is that if Schmidt senses that Schultz’s quest for the White House becomes nothing more than vanity run or face-saving exercise, he’ll blow up the entire campaign.

The last thing Schmidt, who worked for Senator John McCain, wants is four more years of Trump.

The sparring match between WPP and founder Martin Sorrell continues with WPP dealing the latest blow. The company wants Sorrell to fork over about \$220K in expenses for a Manhattan apartment, ski trips and family travel expenses.

Team Sorrell claims not so fast because every single pound was scrutinized by WPP’s management, board and audit committee.

That may be the case, counters WPP, but it claims that it’s already recovered some of the disputed expenses and that the dialog with Sorrell continues.

Sorrell took a dig at WPP at Davos, claiming he is “very concerned” about developments at the shop since he was ousted nine months ago. “Obviously, it’s not been an easy period over the last six months or so in relation to major clients and WPP,” he said. Ouch!

Relax, Sir Martin. CEO Mark Read has things well in hand but it takes time to revamp your unwieldy conglomerate into the “creative technology company” needed to compete in today’s fast-paced environment.

Why don’t you take a vacation and let Read figure things out?

The power of social media to build alliances with like-minded people and organize protests is unquestioned.

But as the book, “Twitter and Tear Gas: The Power and Fragility of Networked Protest,” written by Turkish “techno-sociologist” Zeynep Tufekci points out, the initial moment of a movement bursting onto the scene should be viewed as only the first step. She wrote that the failure to generate reforms in the Middle East following the Arab Spring protests may have been due to how easy it was to get people out into the streets.

Organizers were gobsmailed by the number of protestors but lacked the follow-through and hard work required in the aftermath of the demonstrations to achieve political change. They fell into the trap of believing the Arab Spring was the culmination of an organizing campaign, rather than just the beginning.

In contrast to the Arab Spring, Tufekci wrote that US civil rights activists spent years planning the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott and March on Washington in 1963.

David Cole, ACLU legal director, wrote in his review of “Twitter and Tear Gas” that civil rights activists “had to work for years to develop the networks, relationships, organizations and leaders necessary to sustain the boycott and carry out the march.”

Major demonstrations of today can be launched in a matter of weeks, thanks to social media. “It took less than six weeks after the Parkland shootings in February 2018 to mobilize more than one million people nationwide for the March for Our Lives,” wrote Cole. “The Women’s March, the most impressive anti-inaugural protest in history, was put together in a little more than two months.”

A mass protest is now a less meaningful indicator of a movement’s influence, noted Cole. He believes the jury is out on whether the March for Our Lives and Women’s March will achieve lasting reform. It will depend on those movements “working collectively in multiple forums, including courtrooms, state legislatures, corporate boardrooms, union halls and most importantly at the ballot box,” wrote Cole in the Feb. 7 *New York Review of Books*.

His recommendation: “We all need to turn away from our smartphones and screens and engage, together, in the work of democracy.”

—Kevin McCauley