Facebook Live as a Record*making* Technology[1]

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ABSTRACT   Facebook Live allows any registered user of the Facebook social networking platform to stream videos using a mobile phone camera over WiFi or cellular networks without any additional hardware or software. For social movement participants, the technology not only captures collective actions in real time, but also communicates larger movement goals in ways previously unimaginable. Despite advantages, however, the long-term viability of video recordings created with Facebook Live and even the mid-term prognosis about their future use, preservation, and reuse within and outside of Facebook remain to be seen. In other words, using Facebook Live might constitute a new form of communicating or recordmaking, but this practice does not necessarily translate into recordkeeping. Drawing from archival theory, social movement theory, and communications studies, this paper uses the case of Facebook Live to explore some theoretical or methodological implications arising from the disruptive nature of Facebook Live as a recordmaking technology. It also explores the distinction between making records and recordkeeping practices.

RÉSUMÉ   *Facebook Live* permet à tout usager inscrit à la plateforme de réseau social Facebook de diffuser des vidéos en direct sur des réseaux wifi ou cellulaires, à partir de l'appareil-photo de leur téléphone portable, sans le recours à d'autre matériel informatique ou logiciel. Pour les acteurs de mouvements sociaux, non seulement la technologie capte-t-elle des actions collectives en temps réel, mais elle diffuse aussi les grands objectifs de ces mouvements de façon auparavant inimaginable. Malgré ses avantages, cependant, la viabilité à long-terme des enregistrements vidéos créés sur *Facebook Live,* et même le pronostic à moyen-terme de son utilisation future, de sa préservation et de sa réutilisation dans Facebook ou à l'extérieur, reste à voir. En d'autres mots, se servir de *Facebook Live* peut représenter une nouvelle forme de communication ou de *création* de documents, mais cette pratique ne se traduit pas nécessairement en *conservation* de documents. En se basant sur la théorie archivistique, la théorie des mouvements sociaux et des études en communication, ce texte se sert du cas de *Facebook Live* pour explorer quelques conséquences théoriques ou méthodologiques possibles qui découlent de la nature perturbatrice de *Facebook Live* comme technologie de création de document. Il explore aussi la distinction entre les pratiques de création de documents et les pratiques de gestion de documents.

On 28 January 2017 at about 4:30 p.m., a representative from the Working Families Party (WFP), a minor political party in the United States, began streaming live video of a protest unfolding at JFK International Airport in Queens, New York. Protesters had gathered outside Terminal 4 to demand the release of at least 20 legal immigrants who had been detained by the Department of Homeland Security in response to an executive order signed by President Donald J. Trump the previous day. The order effectively limited Muslim people from entering the United States by banning travel into the country from seven Muslim-majority countries. Less than an hour after the feed went live, it had attracted more than one million views; by 6:00 p.m., that number had grown to almost 3 million, with a sustained audience of about 70,000. Perched above the crowd on a pedestrian walkway, the documentarian, a man identifying himself as "Raphael," offered some commentary as he filmed, noting at one point that he was an immigrant and a refugee who had lived in New York City for most of his life. Behind him, the crowd chanted, "No hate, no fear, refugees are welcome here." The live feed ended after nearly three-and-a-half hours and by 7:00 p.m. that night had accumulated 9.4 million views.

The WFP's video of the New York event, which would later be known as the #NoMuslimBan protest, was captured using Facebook Live, a streaming broadcast technology that is now a resident service on the Facebook social media networking platform. Facebook Live allows any registered user of this platform to stream videos using a mobile phone camera over WiFi or cellular networks without any additional hardware or software. Streams appear in the user's news feed, where viewers can add comments in real time. The application tracks the total number of views and fluctuations in the size of the live viewing audience. Once the broadcast is stopped, the user is provided with the option to save the recording to a Facebook wall, where the video can be viewed asynchronously. Any comments made during the live broadcast are saved with a time mark, and asynchronous viewers can add additional comments. The technology, launched to the public in early 2016, takes advantage of the global ubiquity of cellphone cameras and the market reach of Facebook, a for-profit corporation offering online social media and social networking services. As of March 2017, Facebook listed 1.28 billion daily users, with more than 65 percent of these accessing the services using mobile technology.[2]

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2   Facebook (company website), "Newsroom," accessed 18 April 2017, https://newsroom.fb.com/company-info.

Making it possible for members of the public to broadcast live video with relative ease and without additional equipment, Facebook Live is a disruptive new technology; it has a far-reaching impact on the ways in which individuals and groups can communicate with one another and to the public. It allows citizen journalists, activists, and bystanders to record events as they unfold and broadcast them to a wide audience. For social movement participants, the technology not only captures collective actions in real time, but also helps activists share larger movement goals as a way to mobilize movement constituents and, ideally, convert bystanders to movement adherents. This process of mobilizing for collective action for social change is key to growing and sustaining movement momentum. Facebook Live was a critical tool in documenting the 2017 Women's March on Washington and solidarity marches that took place around the world.[3] It has also been used to document smaller actions and communicate these to a much larger public. In fall 2016, for example, E'sha Hoferer began using the application to broadcast updates from the Standing Rock Indian Reservation, where tribe members were engaged in a sustained protest against the approval of the Dakota Access Pipeline to be constructed across their traditional territory.[4] Without a single professional journalist at the remote location, Hoferer's video was likely the first live broadcast of events taking place at the protest site.[5]

Facebook Live is also a mechanism for reporting events from multiple perspectives while bypassing traditional media and avoiding state intervention. In particular, Facebook Live users have used the technology to document police brutality

3   See, for example, "Massive Crowds for Women's Marches Around the World," *Buzzfeed,* 22 January 2017, https://www.buzzfeed.com/buzzfeednews/womens-march?utm_term=.syJ2nnVDV#.bfxMqqZnZ; Issie Lapowsky, "The Women's March Defines Protest in the Facebook Age," *Wired*, 21 January 2017, https://www.wired.com/2017/01/womens-march-defines-protest-facebook-age/; and "Watch Live: Women's March on Washington," *USA Today,* 21 January 2017, https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2017/01/21/watch-live-video-womens-march-2017/96805268.

4   Emily Dreyfuss, "As Standing Rock Protesters Face Down Armored Trucks, the World Watches on Facebook," *Wired,* 25 October 2016, https://www.wired.com/2016/10/standing-rock-protesters-face-police-world-watches-facebook.

5   E'sha Hoferer's Facebook account (https://www.facebook.com/esha.hoferer) has been removed from the social media platform. Some video documentation can be accessed through the Standing Rock Class Action website, accessed 16 October 2017, http://www.standingrockclassaction.org/?page_id=2732; and 1 Nation TV, accessed 16 October 2017, http://1nwedontend.com; however, a video created using Facebook Live on 27 October 2016 is no longer available.

against African Americans.[6] On 6 July 2016, shortly after the application was launched, Diamond Reynolds used it to record her interactions with police after they shot and killed her boyfriend, Philando Castile, in his car during a routine traffic stop in Falcon Heights, a small suburb of St. Paul, Minnesota.[7] In the video that was streamed live to her Facebook news feed, Reynolds can be heard saying, "I ask everybody on Facebook, everybody that's watching, everybody that's tuned in, please pray for us."[8] The video was then shared widely over social media and even picked up by traditional media reporting on the incident. A bystander also used Facebook Live to record the scene after Alfred Olango was shot by police in San Diego on 27 September 2016.[9] Later that day, the local media outlet Fox 5 used Facebook Live to broadcast a press conference about the shooting, which streamed through its Facebook fan page.[10] The technology, which Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg envisioned as a way for users to share their "most personal and emotional and raw and visceral" experiences (e.g., your child's first steps or a marriage proposal), has become an unlikely tool for creating records

6   Tonia Sutherland reminds us that the widespread circulation of digital records documenting anti-black violence and, in particular, the deaths of black Americans, also shapes our interactions with black and brown bodies in the non-virtual world. She argues, for example, that the practice of uploading and sharing images of dead black bodies on social media recalls the trauma of lynching rituals, wherein anti-black violence was commodified through commercial lynching photographs sold as mementoes to white Americans. See Tonia Sutherland, "Making a Killing: On Race, Ritual, and (Re)Membering in Digital Culture," *Preservation, Digital Technology & Culture* 46, no. 1 (2017): 32–40. See also IMWIL! Emancipatory Media and Journalism, "Media Coverage and the Political Economy of Black Death," interview with Safiya Umoja Noble, video, 19:43, https://youtu.be/ymWhmz3KSvk; and William C. Anderson, "From Lynching Photos to Michael Brown's Body: Commodifying Black Death," *Truthout,* 16 January 2015, http://www .truth-out.org/news/item/28580-from-lynching-photos-to-michael-brown-s-body-commodifying-black -death.

7   Kathleen Chaykowski, "Philando Castile's Death on Facebook Live Highlights Problems for Social Media Apps," *Forbes,* 7 July 2016, https://www.forbes.com/sites/kathleenchaykowski/2016/07/07/minnesota- womans-facebook-live-videos-highlight-unsolved-issues-of-social-apps-hosting-live -streams/#79dd1e126a6d.

8   The video created by Diamond Reynolds has been republished on YouTube by a number of private account holders and by several online news media agencies, including the Young Turks. Reynolds' own Facebook account is not publicly available.

9   Like the Diamond Reynolds video, the Facebook Live video created by Alfred Olango's sister has been republished on YouTube by several private account holders and online news media agencies.

10   Fox 5 San Diego has used Facebook to publish a number of live video broadcasts reporting on the Olango killing and subsequent investigations. See Facebook, "Fox 5 San Diego," https://www.facebook.com/ fox5sandiego.

of events that have the potential to hold accountable perpetrators of crimes and mobilize social movements in ways previously unimaginable.[11]

Yet, while the immediate impact of Facebook Live appears to democratize the process by which video broadcasts are created and disseminated, the long-term viability of these video recordings and even the mid-term prognosis about their future use, preservation, and reuse within and outside of the Facebook platform remain to be seen. In other words, using Facebook Live might constitute a new form of communicating or record*making,* but this practice does not necessarily translate into record*keeping.* Documents are rarely systematically created, used, or maintained beyond their initial purpose to communicate to a public about a particular series of actions unfolding in real time. The spontaneity of the communication and the apparent volatility of the medium itself recall Hugh Taylor's early warnings about the challenges with electronic recordkeeping. Faced with the impossible task of managing the glut of information produced by new and unpredictable technologies, Taylor recommended a return to "conceptual orality" and encouraged archivists to think more about the "forms and patterns of knowledge" that are created through recordkeeping practices than the records themselves.[12]

In this paper, I want to explore this distinction between recordmaking, which I define here as the use of any kind of media to communicate to others information about an individual or collective experience or action, and recordkeeping, which entails a broad range of activities related to the creation, use, preservation, and access of records. Recordkeeping as a practice ensures that records are authentic and reliable, have integrity, and are useable in the present and a potential future state. While the making of a record is obviously part of the recordkeeping process, this act does not on its own constitute recordkeeping. Thus, this paper is not a case study of Facebook Live nor a fulsome engagement with the full suite of technological challenges or opportunities that live video broadcasting presents for archivists. Rather, Facebook Live provides a starting

11   Quoted in Mat Honan, "Why Facebook and Mark Zuckerberg Went All In on Live Video," *Buzzfeed,* 6 April 2016, https://www.buzzfeed.com/mathonan/why-facebook-and-mark-zuckerberg-went-all-in-on-live -video?utm_term=.yppyoo1d1#.lwE3llPbP.

12   Hugh Taylor, quoted in Terry Cook, "Hugh Taylor, Imagining Archives," in *Imagining Archives: Essays and Reflections by Hugh A. Taylor,* ed. Terry Cook and Gordon Dodds (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2003), 23. For a full discussion of conceptual orality, see Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Routledge, 1982).

point to discuss the ways in which social movement recordkeeping practices have been impacted by the proliferation of digital and social media technologies. The bigger question that this paper grapples with is the extent to which the ephemeral nature of social media impacts our capacity to collect, preserve, and use records created with these technologies.[13] I also draw from Taylor's social historiographical approach to archival representation to better understand how social movement participants and bystanders use various media to communicate their work, and how Facebook Live might be contextualized more broadly in the history of social movement communications and recordkeeping. This context will not only help archivists incorporate live video broadcasts into social movement recordkeeping more generally, but will also provide some insight into how these broadcasts might become records in the first place. The goal is to offset the limitations of such a brief examination of social movement recordkeeping practices with an opportunity to sketch out some theoretical or methodological implications arising from the disruptive nature of Facebook Live as a recordmaking technology.

Traditional Recordkeeping and Social Movements

Some forms and patterns of social movement activity can be observed in the records of labour unions and other labour organizations. Philip S. Foner dates the American labour movement to 1768 in New York City, when the earliest recorded strike erupted after journeymen tailors protested against wage reductions.[14] The first sustained trade union organized in Philadelphia in 1794, with other craft unions forming soon thereafter, to demand shorter working days and protected pricing for artisan goods. By the mid-1880s, trade unionism emerged within a larger social movement that set its goals on fair treatment and secure jobs for workers and larger socio-economic reforms. The founding of the American Federation of Labor furthered the movement by mobilizing resources, both human and financial, to support collective actions of the working class.

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13   For a more fulsome discussion of the ephemeral nature of social media records, see Shawn Walker, *The Complexity of Collecting Digital and Social Media Data in Ephemeral Contexts* (PhD dissertation, University of Washington, 2017), accessed 9 January 2018, https://digital.lib.washington.edu:443/researchworks/handle/1773/40612.

14   Philip S. Fosner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States: From Colonial Times to the Founding of the American Federation of Labor,* vol. 1 (New York: International Publishers, 1979).

Although disrupted by the First and Second World Wars, union membership continued to grow throughout the United States until the 1980s, when a reform campaign imposed by then president Ronald Reagan led to declining numbers.[15]

As administrative instruments of the early labour movement, unions developed sophisticated recordkeeping practices to manage their membership, financial accounting, and repertoires of collective actions. Their records included minutes, office correspondence, membership lists and files, publications, and contracts. In addition, they often collected records of employers, including collective bargaining partners, as well as documentation from labour critics and opponents. Archives and libraries have been diligent in collecting this material as evidence of social, political, and economic experiences of working people. As of October 2016, the Society of American Archivists (SAA) listed 56 separate collections of labour history in the United States, held within special collections, public libraries, museums, and other collecting institutions around the country.[16] The Labor Archives of Washington, for example, which was founded in 2010 as a unit of the Special Collections of the University of Washington Libraries, brings together more than 300 distinct collections of materials documenting the individuals and organizations involved with the labour movement in the Pacific Northwest.[17] The archives includes the kinds of administrative records described above, in addition to collections of personal papers from labour leaders, attorneys, workers, and labour rights supporters.

Social movements emerging in the latter half of the 20th century have also produced rich archival collections that document forms and patterns of collective actions. The Civil Rights Movement, for example, which mobilized in the 1950s and '60s, organized to secure legal recognition and federal protections for African Americans, using non-violent tactics such as sit-ins, marches, and boycotts. Collective actions were supported by organizations such as the Regional Council of Negro Leadership, which led boycotts and campaigns

15 Henry S. Farber and Bruce Western, "Ronald Reagan and the Politics of Declining Union Organization," *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 40, no. 3 (2002): 385–401.

16 Society of American Archivists, "Labor Archives Section Directory: Labor Archives in the United States and Canada," accessed 18 April 2017, http://www2.archivists.org/groups/labor-archives-roundtable /labor-archives-section-directory-labor-archives-in-the-united-states-and-canada.

17 See University of Washington Libraries Special Collections, "Labor Archives of Washington," accessed 14 May 2017, http://www.lib.washington.edu/specialcollections/laws.

against anti-black racism by Mississippi police,[18] and the Montgomery Women's Political Council (WPC), a political organization founded in 1964 by Mary Fair Burks to provide leadership opportunities for black women in Alabama.[19] After Rosa Parks was arrested for refusing to give up her seat on a bus to a white man, WPC responded by announcing a strike against the Montgomery City Lines bus service. Within 10 hours of the arrest, Burks, two students, and a staff member from the Alabama State College mimeographed and distributed 50,000 leaflets calling for a boycott of the bus.[20] The resulting action led to the desegregation of Montgomery buses and raised the profile of the Civil Rights Movement outside of the American South. Copies of this leaflet, along with newspaper clippings documenting the boycott and personal papers collected by boycott leaders and participants, are now held at the Alabama Department of Archives and History in Montgomery.[21] These records have been digitized and can be accessed and down-loaded through the department's ContentDM platform. Other materials related to the Civil Rights Movement have been collected by institutions such as the Queens College Special Collections and Archives, which has interviews, lectures, photographs, sound recordings, speeches, and video recordings relating to civil rights activities.[22] In 2009, the United States Congress passed the *Civil Rights History Project Act,* directing the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC) to identify existing collections for oral histories documenting the Civil Rights Movement and to record new interviews with participants.[23] The project, which now has a permanent

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18   See David T. Beito and Linda Royster Beito, *Black Maverick: T.R.M. Howard's Fight for Civil Rights and Economic Power* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

19   See David J. Garrow, ed., *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It: The Memoir of Jo Ann Gibson Robinson* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1979).

20   Ibid.

21   See Alabama Department of History and Archives, "Alabama Textual Materials Collection," accessed 14 May 2017, http://digital.archives.alabama.gov/cdm/search/collection/voices/searchterm/Montgomery %20bus%20boycott/field/subjec/mode/exact/conn/and/order/sort.

22   See Library of Congress American Folklife Center, "The Civil Rights History Project: Survey of Collections and Repositories," accessed 14 May 2017, https://www.loc.gov/folklife/civilrights/survey/view _collection.php?coll_id=2839.

23   See *Civil Rights History Project Act of 2009,* Pub. L. No. 111–19, H.R. 586 (2009), http://uscode.house .gov/statutes/pl/111/19.pdf. The survey information is available at Library of Congress American Folk Center, "The Civil Rights History Project: Survey of Collections and Repositories," accessed 16 October 2017, http://www.loc.gov/folklife/civilrights/survey/index.php. The interviews are a permanent part

home at the NMAAHC and the Library of Congress, demonstrates the extent to which the state values this cultural heritage and promotes the continued investment in the preservation of social movement records. The primary use of paper as a social-movement recordmaking technology has allowed archivists to integrate these collections into existing recordkeeping practices with relative ease.

Archiving Multimedia Social Movement Documentation

Records documenting the women's movement, student protests, anti-Vietnam War protests, gay liberation, and anti-nuke actions also demonstrate forms and patterns of communications used by social movement participants. These collections, many now held in archives or special collections, not only document collective actions, but they also reveal the increasing range of record formats that have developed since the mid-1970s. As recordmaking technology advanced, social movement participants adopted more sophisticated recordkeeping practices, including the use of photography, film, and other audiovisual recordings.

Collections documenting responses to the AIDS crisis offer some of the better examples of the range of recordkeeping technologies used by social movement actors in the 1980s and 1990s. In part, this is due to technological innovations, such as inexpensive hand-held audio recorders and personal video cameras. The sophistication of records media also reflects the savvy of records creators, who are more familiar than ever before with the ins and outs of communications media. As Deborah B. Gould explains in her history of AIDS activist group ACT UP, participants had access to communications media and recording devices that groups acting prior to the 1980s did not.[24] She describes the ways in which movement actors purposefully recorded their meetings and demonstrations using handheld video cameras, which produced raw footage that could later be edited into promotional films that were broadcast on public television and distributed around North America on inexpensive VHS cassette tapes. Activist media was complemented by traditional media, such as op-eds published in the

of the national library and the national museum and are available at Library of Congress, "Civil Rights History Project," accessed 16 October 2017, http://www.loc.gov/collection/civil-rights-history-project/about-this-collection.

24 Deborah B. Gould, *Moving Politics: Emotion and ACT UP's Fight against AIDS* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2009).

New York Times[25] and interviews with ACT UP members included on the nightly news reports on cable television. Subsequent demonstrations were aided by Gran Fury, an anonymous art collective that produced artistic media for ACT UP, including posters featuring the now famous slogan "Silence = Death," which has become the symbol of AIDS activism.[26] In addition, ACT UP affinity group DIVA-TV (Damned Interfering Video Activist Television) videotaped and documented AIDS activism, including a controversial 1989 protest at New York City's St. Patrick's Cathedral in response to Cardinal O'Connor's position on AIDS and contraception.[27] In all, DIVA-TV produced more than 160 video programs aired on public access television channels and screened at film festivals.[28]

Like many of the records created by and about ACT UP, the DIVA-TV programs and camera-original videotapes are currently held in a special collection at the New York Public Library, where they have been remastered and archived.[29] The collection, which includes 630 VHS tapes, has been central to the retellings of the AIDS crisis in at least two documentaries: *United in Anger: A History of ACT UP* (2012) and the Academy Award–nominated film *How to Survive a Plague* (2012). In New York City alone, there are multiple collections documenting responses to AIDS, including the Women's Action Coalition Records, 1991–1997, and the ACT UP New York Records, 1982–1997, both at the New York Public Library,[30] as well as the Alan Klein Papers, the Jay Blotcher Papers, and the Bill Bystra ACT

25   Ibid. AIDS activist and playwright Larry Kramer published an op-ed in the *New York Times* the day after ACT UP's first demonstration on 24 March 1988, at the intersection of Wall Street and Broadway in New York City. The demonstration, which closed down the streets, resulted in the arrest of 17 protestors on charges of civil disobedience. Kramer's op-ed, which had been planned prior to the demonstration, defended ACT UP and outlined the group's demand for greater access to experimental AIDS drugs and better coordination of federal and state agencies to fight the disease.

26   Douglas Crimp, *AIDS Demographics* (San Francisco: Bay Press, 1990).

27   DIVA-TV's documentation of the St. Patrick's Cathedral protest was distributed widely. As a case in point, its film *Like a Prayer* (1991), which documented the 1989 ACT UP protest, was screened at a gay and lesbian film festival in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, in 1995. As an audience member, it was the first time that I learned about ACT UP.

28   DIVA-TV Damned Interfering Video Activist, Netcasts: *Fight Back, Fight Aids: 15 Years of ACT UP,* directed by James Wentzy (2002), video, 76:00, accessed 31 January 2018, http://actupny.org/divatv/netcasts/index.html.

29   New York Public Library, "AIDS Activist Videotape Collection, 1983–2000: Table of Contents," accessed 19 February 2017, http://digilib.nypl.org/dynaweb/ead/human/mssroyal.

30   See New York Public Library, "Archives & Manuscripts," accessed 14 May 2017, http://archives.nypl.org/search/results?utf8=%E2%9C%93&q=AIDS.

UP Photography Collection at the Fales Library and Special Collections of New York University.[31] Two ACT UP members, Jim Hubbard and Sarah Schulman, have also established the ACT UP Oral History Project, which collects interviews with surviving members of the New York branch of the activist collective.[32] As of November 2015, there were 187 recorded interviews with movement participants that can be accessed on the project website as streaming QuickTime videos or as downloadable PDF transcripts.[33]

ACT UP's early attention to recordkeeping and its continued commitment to preserve the stories of AIDS and its impacts suggests that activists had already acquired an archival gaze.[34] According to Kimberley Anderson and Harrison W. Inefuku, an archival gaze "fixes an act, and in doing so, assigns the act with a sense of permanence and historicity."[35] Members of ACT UP and its affinity groups created documentation about their work not only as a means to communicate out its movement goals, but also with an intention of permanence and a sense of historicity imbued in the records. That is, members looked to this documentation with an archival gaze; documenting their work was a critical part of doing this activist work. This archival gaze is also no doubt influenced by the nature of the movement itself; AIDS was responsible for the deaths of thousands of young people, many of whom were looking for ways to memorialize their own lives even in the thralls of activism insistent on saving them.

Social Movement Recordmaking and Social Media

The patterns and forms of social movement recordmaking have been drastically altered since the advent of social media tools and the proliferation of smart cellphones and other Internet-enabled mobile devices. Amelia Acker and Brian Beaton have found that mobile ICTs (information and communication technologies) have

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31   See New York University Libraries, "Fales Library and Special Collections," accessed 14 May 2017, available at http://library.nyu.edu/locations/fales-library-special-collections.

32   See ACT UP Oral History Project, http://www.actuporalhistory.org.

33   Ibid.

34   Kimberly Anderson and Harrison W. Inefuku, "Focusing the Archival Gaze: A Preliminary Definition and Model," *Digital Scholarship and Initiatives Conference Presentations and Posters* 18 (2016), http://lib .dr.iastate.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1017&context=digirep_conf.

35   Ibid.

even enabled completely new forms of political behaviour, allowing movements to mobilize without the kind of organizational and administrative apparatuses that previous movements have required.[36] Michelle Caswell has looked at the ways in which archivists are starting to manage records generated through cell-phones and has begun the discussion about how this technology has altered recordkeeping practices overall.[37] Yunshan Ye et al. have reported on how teams of information and IT professionals are strategizing ways to capture and preserve "at risk" web sources.[38] Their research project, which focuses on Chinese social media, found that social media posts could be harvested through a variety of techniques; however, these static captures could not adequately capture the dynamic nature of social media or its historical contexts. Anne J. Gilliland has looked at the changing requirements for recordkeeping in a networked society, presenting an opportunity for archivists to reconceptualize our fundamental concepts, such as appraisal and archival representation.[39] In her view, digital and social media technologies produce a bundle of records and associated metadata that behave not as archival fonds, but rather as an "archival corpus," created around a principle of pertinence.[40] This idea of archival corpus resonates with the ways in which contemporary social movements build momentum around particular identity markers, often represented by hashtags, or actions and events, and not necessarily around a specific social movement organization or provenance.

The introduction of live video broadcasting technologies provides yet another communication tool that social movement participants can leverage to complement micro-blogging, blogging, video-sharing services, and other distributed

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36   Amelia Acker and Brian Beaton, "How Do You Turn a Mobile Device into a Political Tool?" *Proceedings of the 50th Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences* (2017), accessed 31 January 2018, https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/10125/41436/1/paper0287.pdf.

37   Michelle Caswell, "Instant Documentation: Cell-Phone-Generated Records in the Archives," *American Archivist* 72, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2009): 133–45.

38   Yunshan Ye, Ding Ye, Cathy Zeljak, Daniel Kerchner, Yan He, and Justin Littleman, "Web-Archiving Chinese Social Media: Final Project Report," *Journal of East Asian Libraries* 2017, no. 165, article 11 (October 2017), accessed 31 January 2018, https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/jeal/vol2017/iss165/11. See also Justin Littleman, Daniel Chudnov, Daniel Kerchner, Christie Peterson, Yecheng Tan, Rachel Trent, Rajat Vij, and Laura Wrubel, "API-based Social Media Collecting as a Form of Web Archiving," *International Journal on Digital Libraries* 19, no. 1 (December 2016): 1–18.

39   Anne J. Gilliland, "Reconceptualizing Records, the Archive and Archival Roles and Requirements in a Networked Society," *Book Science* 63, no. 63 (January 2014): 17–34.

40   Ibid., 18.

communications platforms. Drawing from Gilliland's concept of archival corpus, the archival community might best understand videos produced using Facebook Live as a bundle of records and metadata that are also entangled with other social media technologies, as videos are often linked to and promoted through Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and other platforms. Even if the original videos remain ephemeral in nature, they are bound to other records through individual and collective linking or referencing. Facebook Live videos, for example, are often linked to tweets, which if harvested could at least preserve some of the metadata of the original video, if not the record itself. Returning to Taylor's historiographical approach to archival representation, however, suggests that archivists need to also contextualize Facebook Live videos within a broader context of social media communications. To do this, we might invest more into learning from the field of communications studies, which is focused on the socio-political, economic, and semiotic dimensions of communications media. This attention is particularly important considering the abundance of recent scholarship on the use of social media technologies and social movements, which I will only briefly highlight here.

According to Yannis Theocharis and Will Lowe, the presidential campaign of Barack Obama in 2008 was a flash point for digital media use and political participation, particularly among younger voters who had previously shown declining engagement with electoral politics.[41] They suggest that the use of interactive and participatory digital media platforms, such as Facebook and Twitter, removes some barriers to political participation by lowering transaction costs. In other words, these technologies make it relatively easy to share political information across diverse social networks, organize campaigns, and coordinate offline activities. Sending a photograph over social media, for example, is much less expensive than sending a print copy of that photograph through the mail to an affinity group. Theocharis and Lowe also point out that social media played an important role in mobilizing collective actions during the Arab Spring, a democratic movement that originated in Tunisia in 2010 and spread throughout the Arab world in 2011. Activists turned to Facebook during a series of sustained protests that led to the flight of Tunisian president Zine El Abidine Ben Ali and the resignation of Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak.

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41 Yannis Theocharis and Will Lowe, "Does Facebook Increase Political Participation? Evidence from a Field Experiment," *Information, Communication and Society* 19, no. 10 (2016): 1465–86.

Barry Wellman and Lee Rainie have referred to the large population of young men who took part in the Tunisian and Egyptian protests as the "Facebook generation."[42] These activists, networked mainly through mobile phones, used social media to communicate out to participants and adherents the goals and demands of the movement, and to coordinate offline actions. Such widespread diffusion of information directly to individual cellphones and other devices can create a sense of belonging among movement adherents, even if they do not participate in offline activities or may be prohibited from doing so by state intervention or intensified surveillance. By sharing information in this manner, social media facilitate the development of a collective identity for movement participants and adherents, and can build solidarity among affinity groups. The technology empowers participants and adherents to collaborate with others, contribute their own content, and communicate with diverse social networks, thereby increasing the impact of the social movement to which they align. As Theocharis and Lowe report, "Facebook is an ideal medium for fulfilling users' informational needs in this fashion."[43] The platform provides an integrated news feed, which communicates information, both political and social, through postings by a trusted, or at least familiar, network of friends.

Leslie Regan Shade, Normand Landry, and Rhon Terruelle have also discussed the ways in which social media platforms are effective tools for social movement mobilization; however, they expose the messy relationships that these corporately owned technologies have with the people who use them.[44] They note, for example, that Facebook dictates terms of participation, including which content is unacceptable, who can gain access to private accounts, and how users' content can be appropriated for third-party marketing. In 2014, the *Guardian* reported that Facebook had recently come under fire because of its "real name" policy,

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42 Barry Wellman and Lee Rainie, *Networked* (Boston: MIT Press, 2014).

43 Theocharis and Lowe, "Does Facebook Increase Political Participation?," 1469.

44 Leslie Regan Shade, Normand Landry, and Rhon Terruelle, "'Twitter Revolution or Human Revolution?' Social Media and Social Justice Activism," in *Power and Resistance: Critical Thinking about Canadian Social Issues,* ed. Wayne Antony, Jessica Antony, and Les Samuelson (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2017), 406–30. Archivists interested in the use of social media technologies in social movements might also benefit from Megan Boler's collection *Digital Media and Democracy: Tactics in Hard Times* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008). Although the book was published some time ago, many of the contributors anticipate the socio-political challenges of using social media for social movement communications.

which requires all users to identify themselves with their legal names.[45] Users identifying themselves with a pseudonym to protect their identity from state surveillance or other forms of violence, or those who prefer not to identify with their legal names discovered that their accounts had been suspended and/or their content had been removed from the site because of their failure to meet community standards. Although Facebook later softened its policy, the controversy uncovered the power of the company to control the ways in which this communication medium is used. According to Shade, Landry, and Terruelle, terms of use can be "contrary and even antithetical to the public interest."[46] Another concern is the level of surveillance that individuals experience while using this social media platform. It is unclear how much personal information is collected and by whom for the purposes of targeted marketing campaigns or other revenue-generating activities and, more importantly, who is accessing this information. Because Facebook is a corporate entity, it might not be held accountable to the same degree as a state or public agency for how it accesses or uses the information that its users contribute and share.

Despite these challenges and a persistent lack of transparency about how social media platforms treat user-generated content, Shade, Landry, and Terruelle found that activists continue to exploit social media for its communications capacity. Activist groups have used, for example, blogs, microblogs (including Twitter), wikis, and video-sharing sites (including YouTube), in addition to Facebook and other social network sites, to distribute information about their movement goals and to organize offline activities. The use of social media for activist communications has been so prevalent and successful that some governments have even taken measures to restrict or ban public access to these media as part of so-called anti-terrorist strategies. In May 2017, for example, the *Independent* reported that the Egyptian parliament was considering two bills to control usage of social media platforms like Facebook by requiring users to link their accounts to their national ID numbers and charging registration fees.[47] If

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45   Jillian C. York, "Facebook's 'Real Names' Policy Is Legal, but It's Also Problematic for Free Speech," *Guardian,* 29 September 2014, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/sep/29/facebooks -real-names-policy-is-legal-but-its-also-problematic-for-free-speech.

46   Shade, Landry, and Teruelle, "'Twitter Revolution or Human Revolution?,'" 408.

47   Bethan McKernan, "Egypt Could Start 'Charging People to use Facebook' as Part of Restrictive Anti-Terror Bill," *Independent,* 5 May 2017, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/egypt-facebook -charge-anti-terror-bill-sisi-government-north-africa-a7720306.html.

passed, these bills would allow national police to identify any Facebook user who participates in anti-government activity based on their ID numbers. In fall 2016, the *Independent* also reported that Turkey had blocked access to some social media and sharing websites amid a period of political upheaval and after the arrest of 11 Kurdish-backed politicians.[48] Rather than adopting a legal remedy, Turkey used Internet throttling, a technique that slows data transfer to certain websites, to render social media platforms largely inaccessible through publicly available Internet services.

As a result of increased state surveillance or changes in the political opportunity structure, activists may self-censor to the extant that they delete content from their social media accounts to avoid persecution or remove their accounts entirely, rendering them inaccessible to both authorities and their social networks. As Shade, Landry, and Terruelle note, some content may be preserved by third parties residing in less risky socio-political environments; however, much of the documentation simply disappears from the Internet altogether. At Brown University, for example, librarians have produced a lib guide to gather links to various collections of social movement documentation created during the Arab Spring.[49] As of this writing, most content linked to the lib guide has been archived using Archive-It, a subscription-based web archiving platform developed by the Internet Archive, a non-profit digital library founded in 1996.[50] Archive-It is a web-based application that allows partner organizations to archive web content, which is then hosted and stored at the Internet Archive data centres. Brown's lib guide, for example, points to a collection called North Africa & the Middle East, 2011–2013, which documented events in the region with content from blogs, social media, and news sites. The collection was developed by the Internet Archive Global Events, a project team that has also developed the #blacklivesmatter Web Archives and collections such as the 2013 Boston Marathon Bombing and the 2016 Pulse Nightclub Shooting Web Archive.[51] Other content linked to Brown University's Arab Spring lib guide

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48   May Bulman, "Facebook, Twitter and Whatsapp Blocked in Turkey after Arrest of Opposition Leaders," *The Independent,* 4 November 2016, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/facebook-twitter-whatsapp-turkey-erdogan-blocked-opposition-leaders-arrested-a7396831.html.

49   See Brown University Library, "Arab Uprisings 2011–present," accessed 14 May 2017, http://libguides.brown.edu/c.php?g=293860&p=1958241#s-lg-box-5982314.

50   Internet Archive, "About the Internet Archive," accessed 16 October 2017, http://archive.org/about.

51   See Archive-It, "Internet Archive Global Events," accessed 14 May 2017, https://archive-it.org/organizations/89.

has nevertheless disappeared, suggesting that much of the relevant accessible content remains so only because of the intervention on the part of Internet Archive Global Events.

Recordkeeping or Recordmaking?

Considering the proliferation of digital and social media platforms and the pace at which these technologies are developed and torn down, the archival community has started to develop some nimbleness around capture and preservation of important social movement documentation. According to the 2016 Digital Preservation Coalition (DPC) Tech Watch Report, institutions now have several options for obtaining data directly from social media platforms.[52] Archivists can harvest data directly through a platform's API (Application Programming Interface), which enables controlled access to this data. Twitter, for example, provides a Streaming API that facilitates limited or unmitigated access to any publicly posted tweet, although Firehose access may require special permission.[53] Facebook, on the other hand, restricts access to most of its users' content because of its privacy commitments; however, the platform offers a Graph API, which does provide some insight into relationships among "friends" and user-generated content shared on public pages.[54] The DPC report also indicates that many social media platforms have monetized their content by licensing access to API data through a third-party reseller. Twitter's historical data is sold through its official reseller, Gnip.[55] Facebook's data is also sold through resellers such as DataSift, though access to private content remains limited.[56] Purchasing data from authorized resellers is also costly and likely an inaccessible collecting practice for most repositories. In some rare cases, institutions have worked directly with social media platforms to gain access to

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52 Sara Day Thomson, *Preserving Social Media: DPC Technology Watch Report 16-01, February 2016* (Great Britain: Digital Preservation Coalition, 2016), accessed 14 May 2017, http://dx.doi.org/10.7207/twr16-01.

53 See, for example, Gnip's support page for firehose stream users, http://support.gnip.com/apis/firehose/overview.html.

54 See Facebook for Developers, accessed 14 May 2017, https://developers.facebook.com/docs/graph-api.

55 See Twitter Developer: Enterprise Data, https://gnip.com.

56 See Facebook for Developers, https://developers.facebook.com/docs/graph-api/overview.

data. Twitter has two notable agreements, one with the Library of Congress and another with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, to provide access to the entire archives of Twitter, as well as a live feed to real-time posts.[57] While these agreements can be productive in helping institutions acquire social media data, they do not provide any assistance in helping these institutions gain intellectual control over the records, implement preservation strategies, or develop access protocols.[58] The rate at which digital data can become de-contextualized from the patterns and forms of social activity that produce it means that archivists need to move quickly to preserve that bundle of records and metadata that Gilliland describes as the archival corpus.

One project, Documenting the Now (DocNow), is responding to the urgency with which social media records must be preserved by developing both applications to aid in capture and ethical guidelines for working with user-generated content.[59] Funded through the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and supported by the University of Maryland, University of California at Riverside, and Washington University in St. Louis, DocNow has already developed tools for archiving and making accessible Twitter feeds, including the open-source DocNow app that can be used to collect tweets and associated metadata. A second project, WITNESS, provides training and support for those using video documentation to expose human rights violations and/or participate in collective action for social change.[60] WITNESS develops tools and applications to ensure that records creators use video technology ethically and safely, and supports under-represented communities using video records as evidence of human rights violations.[61]

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57   Thomson, *Preserving Social Media,* 8.

58   In December 2017, the Library of Congress announced that it could no longer manage the volume of tweets now produced through the Twitter platform and would amend its collecting policy to accept only a selection of these records. The Twitter collection remains embargoed until "access issues can be resolved in a cost-effective and sustainable manner." There is no indication that the Library of Congress had invested in any resources to identify a resolution to this challenge. See Library of Congress, "Update on the Twitter Archive at the Library of Congress," December 2017, https://blogs.loc.gov/loc/files/2017/12/2017dec_twitter_white-paper.pdf.

59   See DocNow, accessed 16 October 2017, http://www.docnow.io.

60   See WITNESS, accessed 16 October 2017, https://witness.org.

61   WITNESS has produced the "Activists' Guide to Preserving Video," which includes best practices and guidelines for preserving and making accessible user-generated video content. See WITNESS, Resources: WITNESS Guides, "Activists' Guide to Archiving Video," accessed 16 October 2017, https://archiving

Together, these projects have demonstrated that social media communications do not have to be fleeting, but that the records made with these technologies can be captured, contextualized, and managed across time.

In this digitally saturated environment, Facebook Live is simply yet another technology among a growing list of digitally enabled or networked communication or recordmaking media that archivists must grapple with. As I noted previously, making records is a significant activity in the context of recordkeeping practices. Still, recordmaking does not, on its own, meet the threshold of necessary activities to constitute what has been traditionally called recordkeeping. The remainder of this paper attempts to surface a useful distinction between recordmaking and recordkeeping with reference to the previous sections on social movement recordkeeping and social media communications. This definition is informed by recordkeeping practices undertaken by social movement participants and bystanders, but is applicable to any community or organization that engages in communication strategies that use digital and social media technologies.

According to the SAA, recordkeeping refers to the "systematic creation, use, maintenance, and disposition of records to meet administrative, programmatic, legal, and financial needs and responsibilities."[62] This definition is echoed in many governmental environments, including the United Nations, which defines recordkeeping as "making and maintaining complete, accurate and reliable evidence of business transactions in the form of recorded information."[63] Social movements have been largely supported by organizational apparatuses, commonly called social movement organizations, which take on the work of gathering, sustaining, and distributing resources for the purpose of supporting collective actions. In mature social movements, recordkeeping is undertaken as part of the everyday work of a social movement organization as a way of creating a record of social movement actions, strategies, and events. Like government

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.witness.org/archive-guide. See also "Four Ways to Save Live Video Broadcasts," accessed 16 October 2017, https://archiving.witness.org/2016/07/four-ways-save-live-video-broadcasts.

62 Society of American Archivists, *A Glossary of Archival and Records Terminology* (online), s.v. "recordkeeping," accessed 14 May 2017, http://www2.archivists.org/glossary/terms/r/recordkeeping.

63 United Nations Archives and Records Section, *Glossary of Recordkeeping Terms,* s.v. "record keeping" accessed 9 January 2018, https://archives.un.org/content/glossary-recordkeeping-terms#r. This definition aligns with ISO15489-1: 2016, which defines the concepts and principles from which approaches to the creation, capture, and management of records are developed.

and other public organizations, social movement organizations are responsible to their members and can demonstrate usefulness and responsiveness through good recordkeeping practices. Labour unions, for example, are the organizational apparatuses of the labour movement, and as such perform recordkeeping practices to ensure that they maintain a complete, accurate, and reliable record of the work that they do on behalf of their members. Similarly, social movement organizations such as Greenpeace or EGALE (Equality for Gays and Lesbians Everywhere) would engage in recordkeeping practices as a matter of course.

Less mature social movements and/or social movements that have come to rely less on formal organizational apparatuses may not undertake systematic record-keeping activities. As social movements coalesce, it is often individual participants or informal groups that adopt a range of media technologies to communicate their experiences, actions, and goals. This is recordmaking activity. Some of these records have been subsequently collected and preserved by participants with an archival orientation. In addition, social movement organizations and/or archivists may actively collect records related to a particular event or action as part of their organizational mission or collecting mandate. As discussed above, early records of the Civil Rights Movement were not necessarily created within the context of an organizational apparatus. Records such as the Montgomery bus boycott leaflets or other personal papers were eventually brought together by social movement participants and organizations, and then later many of these were donated to archival repositories. As communications technologies evolved, the formats of records changed, but the collecting principles were more or less preserved. The VHS tapes created by DIVA-TV, for example, represent a different kind of recordmaking technology; however, they do not challenge long-standing recordkeeping practices. Activists created these records as both a by-product of their collective actions and as a means to document and distribute information about their collective actions. Records as evidence of responses to the AIDS epidemic have, as result, facilitated further study and a transfer of knowledge about movement tactics and strategies, as well as broader and contextual understanding of the impact of the epidemic on particular communities.

As Acker and Beaton have shown, the use of mobile devices for distributed communication has led to new forms of political action that bypass the need for more formal or bureaucratic social movement organizations. Despite a demonstrated utility of these devices and their resident technologies to facilitate entirely new repertoires of collective actions, they produce a range of techno-

logical and socio-political challenges that make it difficult to easily transition from recordmaking to more fulsome recordkeeping practices. Facebook Live manifests many of the recordkeeping challenges that social media technologies present. To borrow again from Taylor's notion of conceptual orality, Facebook Live videos stand in as digitally mediated utterances; they are instances of communications that do not necessarily result in anything resembling a traditional record with context or structure that is easily extractable from the social media platform within which they were created. More traditional recordmaking practices – for example, recording minutes from a meeting or capturing a photograph of an event – create records that stand in for the utterances or actions that took place. Facebook Live video is not, however, bound up in the same physical structure as a video captured on VHS, which can be reproduced and shared, mailed across the country, or placed into a Hollinger box for safekeeping. Rather, Facebook Live videos are by default entangled with the Facebook platform and require immediate and complicated interventions to ensure that they are fixed in any way that might make it possible to preserve them or use them again in the future. In fact, a video captured through the Facebook Live technology is not even preserved beyond its broadcast instance unless the creator makes a conscious decision to post it to their wall. It is as though the entire record-making process remains nothing more than an utterance unless it is fixed upon completion of the speech act itself – the making of the video.

So, how do users of Facebook Live ensure that their broadcasts become records and that these records exist beyond their initial point of creation? How do archivists interested in collecting social movement records include Facebook Live videos in their collecting practices? Disentangling a Facebook Live video from its native platform is already a challenging prospect. One obvious approach to preserving Facebook Live videos or incorporating this technology into social movement recordkeeping practices would be to make regular backups of Facebook accounts belonging to movement participants and organizations (and relevant counter-movement organizers). This might be similar to keeping a newspaper clipping file on important actors, themes, or events that are associated with a particular movement. Facebook does make it possible for users to download all of their account information, including wall posts, friend lists, messages, and

photo albums, into a discrete .zip file that opens as html in any browser.[64] This download, however, does not capture any third-party content even if linked to by the account holder, which means that only videos created by the user will be captured in the .zip file. In addition, Facebook's dynamic, personalized, and often private accounts make it difficult for any one person, whether an archivist or not, to take a snapshot of social movement activity unfolding across Facebook without relying on the aggregated data available through third-party resellers or the Graph API.

Web archiving pioneer Dragan Espenschied recommends that archiving efforts are best spent on collecting only the discrete objects that the Facebook platform contains, rather than entire accounts.[65] He suggests, for example, that archivists develop better tools to routinely harvest public content and associated metadata, creating that bundle of material necessary to form an archival corpus. Facebook, however, is a proprietary tool and the company is under no obligation to preserve or make accessible user-generated content for any given time. Extricating Facebook Live videos from the platform is possible, but as of this writing, this can only be done through a browser, not using a mobile device, and only by the records creator.

Preserving Facebook content as discrete objects has additional implications. For one, as of this writing, it is not possible to bundle the participatory layer of the record with the video itself. That is, a saved video does not include the comments, "likes," or other feedback information contributed by viewers, nor does it capture the number of views that the video received in real time or when "archived" within the Facebook platform. As a result, the only way to capture this information is to take screen captures of the videos as they are being created or to use a screen-recording application, which can add further complications and efforts to the archiving process. Facebook's stake in the intellectual property inherent in records created with its platform has additional implications for use and reuse of this material. Whereas videos made by DIVA-TV on VHS tapes, for example, are clearly owned by the collective, Facebook's terms of service may

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64   Kunal Pradhan, "Download All Facebook Photos, Status, Wall Posts Together in Zip File," *Terabug.com* (blog), 13 November 2010, http://www.terabug.com/download-all-facebook-photos-albums-status-wall -posts-together. See also Vinayak Nagri, "How to BackUp your Facebook Account," *Shout Me Loud* (blog), 15 February 2015, https://www.shoutmeloud.com/how-to-backup-facebook-account.html.

65   Dragan Espenschied, "Digital Social Memory: Ethics, Privacy and Representation in Digital Preservation," New Museum video, 3:19:08, 4 February 2017, https://livestream.com/newmuseum/digitalsocialmemory.

allow the company to retain the right to use and profit from content without explicit permission. A third consideration involves the safety of records creators and third parties depicted in the videos. As noted in the previous section, many social movement actors remove content from their social media sites or delete their accounts because of increased state surveillance or changes in the political opportunity structure that could lead to persecution. Those wanting to preserve live broadcast video for its enduring value will therefore need to work with records creators, both individuals and their social movement communities, to ensure that access is measured against the risk of harm. This article gives these concerns short shrift, but they are significant obstacles to creating an authentic record of Facebook Live videos and deserve further consideration.

Perhaps the most pressing challenge for those working with social movement documentation created using Facebook Live or other live-streaming video platforms is the relative precariousness of the technology and thus the haste with which records capture and preservation must occur. As noted at the beginning of this section, archivists have developed more agile approaches to capturing and preserving social media records, by either harvesting data directly from platforms or developing new applications to collect records. Using social media as a communication or recordmaking technology has nevertheless challenged archival repositories to think about proactive collecting strategies to build collections documenting contemporary social movement activities. Facebook Live offers significant opportunities for social movement participants and bystanders to communicate out events and actions in real time, bypassing traditional broadcast technologies and systems. The desire to communicate or make records has neither escalated nor fundamentally changed in the years between the labour movement, the protest cycles of the 1960s and '70s, and today's digitally mediated collective actions. The extent to which archivists need to be involved in the early phases of these movements is, however, more palpable. Unlike mimeographed leaflets, audiocassette recordings, or VHS tapes, social media technologies like Facebook Live require immediate and effective methods to ensure that these records are included in broader recordkeeping practices. Archivists who are used to accepting collections months or even years after the events they document have occurred may be uncomfortable or unfamiliar with such direct action. Modern recordmaking simply cannot withstand this lapse in time between creation and donation. Whether archivists embed themselves within social movement communities, make themselves available for consultation,

or develop community-engaged tools and guidelines, the imperative to act and to act with haste is clear. Considering the potential for Facebook Live to capture moments spontaneously or to document events without preparations, the technology also pushes archivists to think about best practices to preserve these records even before they are created. I recognize that this article does little to offer guidance or advice on how to actually do this work. My intent is to build a sense of urgency that should drive our desire to think creatively and collectively and to be mindful that recordmaking is only one part of the recordkeeping practices that we commit to as recordkeeping professionals.

BIOGRAPHY   Rebecka Sheffield is an archival educator and researcher based in Hamilton, Ontario. She holds a graduate degree in archives and records management, and completed a PhD at the University of Toronto's iSchool in collaboration with the Mark S. Bonham Centre for Sexual Diversity Studies. Rebecka is currently appointed as a senior lecturer at the Simmons School of Library and Information Science, Boston, where she has taught records management, digital stewardship, outreach and advocacy, and archival methods and services. She has previously served as Executive Director of the Canadian Lesbian and Gay Archives, where she began as a volunteer archivist in 2007.