Economic Impact of Government Archives*

공공기록관의 경제적 효과

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<ABSTRACT>

Economic impact analyses have not been widely conducted in archives. This article reports on a two parallel surveys in the US and Canada to assess the economic impact of government archives (state, provincial, territorial, county, and municipal). The surveys utilize indirect measures of economic impact. Responses from 2,534 people in 66 archives were analyzed. Findings indicate that archives were the primary reason that respondents visited an area and that visitors exhibit specific patterns of visiting the archives in conjunction with other cultural organizations in an area. Furthermore, while many respondents used local eateries, fewer rented lodgings or spent money on theater or sporting events. As a result, the archives participating in this survey did have a modest impact on local economies. The article concludes by discussing three major questions about the evaluation of the economic impact of archives which were raised by the findings: 1) Are indirect measures the most appropriate means of assessing economic impact in archives or should archives employ direct measures as used by public libraries? 2) How should government archives formulate their value proposition and should those value propositions focus on other aspects of archives' impact, such as the social impact, to demonstrate archives' important role in society? and 3) Since visitors exhibited distinct visitation patterns, should archives work more with these other aligned organizations and work on larger forms of collective impact that benefit the entire cultural heritage sector in an area?

Keywords: economic impact, government archives, archival metrics

〈초 록〉

기록관의 경제적 효과는 그 동안 널리 연구되지 않은 영역이다. 본 연구는 공공기록관(주립, 주정부, 준주정부, 카운티 및 시립)의 경제적 효과를 평가하기 위해 미국과 캐나다에서 동시에 실시된 설문조사를 기반으로 하였다. 설문조사에서는 경제적 효과에 대한 간점적인 측정 방법을 활용하였고, 66개 기록관의 방문자 2.543명의 설문응답을 분석하였다. 응답자들은 기록관 이용이 기록관이 위치한 지역을 방문하는 주된 이유라고 응답하였으며, 기록관뿐만 아니라 그 지역의 다른 문화유산기관들도 함께 방문하는 양상을 보였다. 다수의 응답자들이 그 지역에 있는 식당을 이용하였으나 숙박시설 이용이나 연극, 영화 및 스포츠 행사에 소비한다는 응답자 수는 적었다. 결과적으로 본 연구의 설문조사에 참여한 기록관들이 지역경제에 미치는 영향은 보통 수준인 것으로 나타났다. 본 연구에서는 설문결과로부터 도출된 기록관의 경제적 효과 평가에 대한 다음의 세 가지 중요한 질문을 논의함으로써 결론에 갈음하고자 한다. 1) 간접 측정은 기록관의 경제적 효과를 평가하는데 있어 가장 적합한 방식인가 혹은 기록관에서도 공공도서관에서처럼 직접적 측정 방식을 활용해야 하는가? 2) 공공기록관의 가치 명제는 어떻게 표현해야 하는가 즉 기록관이 사회에서 가지는 중요한 역할을 강조하기 위해 사회적 영향과 같은 또 다른 측면에 초점을 맞춘 가치명제를 제안해야 하는가? 3) 기록관 방문자들이 보이는 특징적인 방문 양상을 고려하여 그 지역의 문화유산영역 전체에 이익이 되는 집합적인 효과를 이끌어낼 수 있도록 다른 문화유산기관들과 기록관이 협력해야 하는가?

주제어: 경제적 효과, 공공기록관, 아카이브 매트릭스

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1. Introduction

Economic impact analyses have not been widely conducted in archives. As a result, the best methodological approach for these types of investigations is not known. In this article, I present results from two parallel surveys on the economic impact of government archives (state, provincial, territorial, county, and municipal) in the United States and Canada. While my findings indicate that government archives have a modest impact on local economies, the findings also raise larger question about research design, the metrics for measuring impact of archives, and how other types of impact, such as social and cultural, work alongside economic impact to demonstrate archives' important role in society.

The Economic Impact Survey is part of a larger long-term project - the Archival Metrics Project (http://archivalmetrics.org). The Archival Metrics Project grew out of a need to develop metrics and evaluation tools created by archivists for archives, rather than have instrumentation and metrics developed by libraries, in particular, thrust upon archives. As a result, this project has produced eight evaluation toolkits for government and college and university archives. The topics of the toolkits range from standardized survey instruments to a focus group toolkit to the Economic Impact Survey Toolkit. Specifically, the toolkits are for the evaluation of: 1) Researchers, 2) Student Researcher Survey, 3) Online Finding Aids, 4) Websites, 5) Teaching support, 6) Economic Impact, 7) Website / Access Tools, and 8) Focus Groups. These are freely available to be downloaded from the web. A typical survey toolkit includes: a questionnaire or protocol, administration instructions, data analysis guidelines or Excel and SPSS templates, a survey codebook, and a sample report one is able to generate from the tool.

2. Literature Review

There are four primary reasons to investigate economic impact: 1) Economic impact is one dimension of the "Value Proposition," 2) Link between government funding and services is important to understand, 3) Understanding users' attitudinal and behavioral patterns is key to serving one's audience, and 4) Knowing the "eco-system" of cultural and archival organizations provides insight into potential strategic programmatic and economic alliances. In this section, I delve deeper into each of these factors and provide an overview of previous studies in this area.

2.1 Value Proposition

Economic impact is one dimension of the "Value Proposition." In the United States there is an ongoing discussion about the 'value proposition' for libraries, special collections, and archives (e.g., Dupont and Yakel 2011). In these discussions, value is often defined in terms of the value to stakeholders. Value and impact are both difficult to define and to measure. While neither can be determined solely by quantitative means, operational metrics can be structured to better support research into value propositions and impact.

For colleges and universities archives and special collections, value is being defined in terms of contributions to research and in particular contributions to teaching and impact on student learning. Previously, output measures were the norm counting the number of courses taught by a special collections librarian or archivist, the number of students in those sessions, or the number of students using the university archives for a course paper. Currently, the new focus on value means that colleges and university administrators are looking for ways to demonstrate directly how a special collections library or archives contributed to student outcomes and learning (e.g., Association of Research Libraries (ARL) 2010; Oakleaf 2011). ARL identifies potential outcome measures as internship success, job placement, professional/graduate school acceptance and learning assessment as grade point average (GPA) and professional or educational test scores (i.e., the Graduate Record Exam (GRE)). Initial field experiments of students exposed to the archives have successfully shown that exposure to the archives does have an impact on student learning (Krause 2010; Duff and Cherry 2008).

Understanding value of government agencies is more difficult. Ithaka S+R, a non-profit organization affiliated with the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, examines value and sustainability of cultural heritage organizations. It completed a report on the United States Federal Depository Library Program (FLDP) entitled, "Modeling a Sustainable Future for the United States Federal Depository Library Program's Network of Libraries in the 21st Century: Final Report of Ithaka S+R to the Government Printing Office" which was rejected by the Government Printing Office which oversees the FLDP libraries (Housewright and Schonfeld 2011). In essence, responses to the report demonstrate a deep disagreement concerning the nature of the value of the libraries in the Federal Depository Library Program focusing on three aspects: 1) valuing the Program for participating libraries, not in terms of values to users, 2) undervaluing digital collections, and 3) separating collections and services (Free Government Information 2011).

Value is complex and difficult to assess, the Economic Impact Survey provides information on one dimension of archives value. This is not the only dimension and how much weight economic value should have will be considered will be addressed in the conclusion.

2.2 Linking Government Funding and Services

In the United States the link between government funding and services has been best demonstrated by public libraries in a series of studies examining return on investment (ROI). These studies of public libraries use a variety of measures including unobtrusive measures gathered from normal library operational data (circulation statistics, logs from computer usage), surveys of patrons, and public tax data. They also attempt to ascertain the value of library services to users by determining "what it would cost users to buy the same services in an open marketplace" (NorthStar Economics Inc. 2008, 8).

Researchers face difficult choices when deciding how to identify the value or price of information services in the open marketplace. For example, an examination of how reference services are values is revealing both for the inconsistencies and a lack of consensus on measurement. South Carolina used a multiplier based on half of the median hourly wage (\$12) of a professional librarian, applied this to the number of reference transactions, and figured that an average reference transaction lasted 30 minutes (Baron et al. 2005, 59). Wisconsin also based their calculations on the average hourly wage of their librarians (\$23) and retrieved the number of reference questions from operational data but assumed that an average reference transaction was only 15 minutes (NorthStar Economics Inc. 2005, 25). Suffolk County, New York, just adopted the Google Answers rate of \$29 (Kamer 2005, 5). These discrepancies go beyond regional differences but reflect fundamental differences in how to price information services and the nature of the service being valued.

Calculating ROI, the value of all services received for each taxpayer dollar also varies greatly among public libraries. Yet, this is a standard measure in the public library economic impact studies. In the table 1, the calculated rates for ROI from a variety of studies. These range from \$3.00 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania to \$6.54 for every tax dollar invested in the Florida Public Libraries.

These types of direct investment studies are rare in archives. The one study of note examining return on investment, however, identified impressive numbers. Pung, Clarke, and Patten (2004) found that the British Library generated economic value worth 4.4 times its annual government funding. Further research along these lines is definitely needed.

⟨Table 1⟩ Comparison of Return on Investment Calculation for Selected Public Libraries in the United States

Public Library Agency (Author, Date)	Coverage	ROI
Florida Public Libraries (Griffiths, et al. 2004)	Statewide	\$6.54
Vermont Public Libraries (Vermont Department of Libraries 2007)	Statewide	\$5.36
South Carolina Public Libraries (Baron et al. 2005)	Statewide	\$4.48
Suffolk County New York (Kamer 2005)	County	\$3,93
San Francisco, CA (Berk and Associates 2007)	City - Library System	\$3.34
Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh (Carnegie Mellon Center for Economic Development (CED) 2006)	City - Library System	\$3.00

2.3 Understanding users' attitudinal and behavioral patterns

Economic behavior is one perspective on user behavior which has been absent from user studies in archives. Three surveys conducted by the British Library: of users of the library's reading rooms, of users of the library's remote document supply and bibliographic services, and of the general public who do not use the library's services show interesting user behaviors (Pung, Clarke, and Patten 2004). In all the surveys (of both users and non-users), participants gave their perceptions of value of the library's services. Specifically, respondents were asked the amount of money they would be willing to spend for library services and whether there were any services that they had previously used which they were willing to give up. The researcher found that both users and non-users were willing to spend more to use library services than they were currently being assessed through taxes. Interestingly, in addition to economic value, the survey of the general public (both users and non-users) throughout the United Kingdom, found that 84% of the non-users believed that the British Library had a value for society as a whole. This hints at broader societal values that should be considered alongside economic value (Pung, Clarke, and Patten 2004, 88).

2.4 Ecosystems of Impact

Archives do not exist in a vacuum so understanding the "eco-system" in which a particular archives exists is important. Kania and Kramer (2011) argue that understanding how all facets of the economy intersect in an area is essential to creating collective impact and addressing problems and issues that no one organization can address.

large-scale social change comes from better cross-sector coordination rather than from the isolated intervention of individual organizations. Evidence of the effectiveness of this approach is still limited, but these examples suggest that substantially greater progress could be made in alleviating many of our most serious and complex social problems if nonprofits, governments, businesses, and the public were brought together around a common agenda to create collective impact. It doesn't happen often, not because it is impossible, but because it is so rarely attempted. Funders and nonprofits alike overlook the potential for collective impact because they are used to focusing on independent action as the primary vehicle for social change (Kania and Kramer 2011).

While Kania and Kramer are addressing social problems, cultural organizations can also benefit from a more collaborative approach to public programming, managerial initiatives (collaborative projects), and coordinated public advertising.

Government archives are part of an eco-system of both cultural heritage institutions in an area as well as government agencies in an area. Examining economic impact across the entire cultural sector rather than as the impact of a single institution and designing interventions on the ecological level rather than the individual institutional level may be a better approach. This was done in a longitudinal study (in 1997 and again in 2000) by the Western States Arts Federation (WESTAF) (Buehler and Trapp 2001). Findings of these surveys of 441 nonprofit arts organizations in Oregon showed growth; cultural organizations contributed more than \$100.2 million to the economy in 2000 through such factors as construction and employment. The Association of King County (Washington) Historical Organizations (AKCHO, n.d.) conducted a similar but one-time only survey. This study included archives among the other cultural attractions, museums and heritage sites and calculated that \$8,633,381 went directly into the county's economy through staff salaries, and an additional \$662,897 was collected in sales taxes associated with site visits.

This overview of motivations and attempts to uncover value demonstrates a great many methodological approaches to examining economic impact of cultural organizations in the United States. This article will now turn to the study at hand, which employed yet another methodological approach.

3. Methods: Economic Impact Survey in the U.S. and Canada

Economic impact can be measured through direct or indirect benefits. Direct benefits are expenditures for goods and services. For example, an archives spends money on salaries, supplies, etc., all of

which affect a local economy. An archives' direct benefits would also be the monetary value of a patron's use of the archival services, such as a real estate developer may locate a deed documenting his assertion that no easement exists beside his building, thus he will not have to pay millions of dollars to create an alternative common passageway.

Indirect benefits of archives also affect the local economy, but in different ways. Indirect benefits are often part of the rationale for vying for a major sporting event, such as the Olympic Games. The hope is that the Games will generate revenue for a country. When a patron visits an archives, she may also eat lunch at a nearby restaurant or stay in a local bed and breakfast. Indirect benefits are generally harder to discern than direct benefits, but economic impact analysis can measure both indirect and direct benefits, and indirect benefits may be greater than direct benefits in many cases. Over time, direct and indirect benefits can lead to induced benefits: the process by which income levels in a local area rise due to the personal income spent there as a result of tourism. Our survey focused on indirect benefits and we added a question on social impact.

While more difficult to measure, the Economic Impact Survey utilized indirect measures to assess the economic impact of government archives. Indirect benefits were selected for two reasons. First, several government archives in the United States had previously used indirect benefit surveys (Georgia Archives 2007; Carmichael 2009; AKCHO, n.d.) but these studies had been limited and I wanted to see whether the results could be replicated and whether the measure was reliable when tested systematically on a much larger scale. Second, due to the preponderance of genealogists using government archives in the U.S. and Canada, these were perceived to have more synergy with other types of cultural heritage institutions (e.g., national parks, heritage sites) which also tended to use indirect benefits rather than public libraries, which used direct measures. Finally, this decision was seen as the first in a series of studies of economic impact which would employ both indirect and direct measures.

3.1 Developing the Questionnaire

The Economic Impact Questionnaire had 12 questions. Most of the questions were derived from several other instruments: the United Kingdom: Museums, Libraries and Archives Council (Public Services Quality Group 2011) and the British Library surveys (Pung, Clarke, and Patten 2004), as well as those done by the State of Georgia (Carmichael 2009; Georgia Archives 2007) and King County, WA (Association of King County Historical Organizations, n.d.). New questions were also added.

The survey has two sections: 1) "Your trip generally" and 2) "Your visit to this archives". Two rounds of pilot testing were done. The first round was for face validity and we used an expert panel of government archivists to asses wording and applicability. The second round of testing was a pilot test of the instrument with typical patrons. We made minor changes to the instrument as a result of this second round of testing. We also determined that the questionnaire would take 5 minutes to fill out. A copy of the questionnaire appears as Appendix A.

3.2 Administering the Instrument

The survey was done in two waves. First, the U.S. Council of State Archivists (COSA) helped us implement and promote the U.S. survey which was administered from August 31 to September 12, 2009. Second, the Council of Canadian Archives (CCA) translated the instrument into French and assisted us to deploy the survey in Canada from July 26 to August 7, 2010. In both cases, government archives volunteered to implement the survey. If an organization agreed, they were asked to offer the survey to every new researcher who arrived to work with the collection. Respondents were asked to fill out the questionnaire one time and all members of a group were asked to participate.

3.3 Respondents

In total, 66 government archives agreed to participate in the 2 countries, 43 in the U.S. and 23 in Canada. Primarily state and provincial archives participated but other governmental units did have a presence. To participate, archives "registered" with me and then were given a master copy of the survey which they duplicated. Archives were asked to offer the survey to every unique patron who came to the archives during the 2 weeks in which the questionnaire was administered. In total, 2,534 people filled out the questionnaire; 1,966 in the U.S. and 568 in Canada.

	United States	Canada	Totals
Respondents	1966	568	2534
Participating Archives	43	23	66
States / Provinces / Territories	35	8 ^a	
Counties (U.S. only)	5	n/a	5
Cities	3	6	9

a. Some Canadian Provincial archives have multiple branches

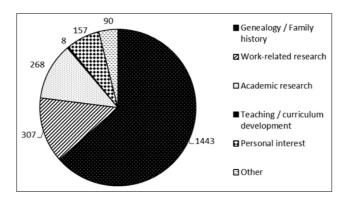
4. Findings

Four areas of findings will be presented in order to understand the economic impact of government archives: 1. Reasons for visiting, 2. Visitor profiles, 3. Economic impact, and 4. Social impact.

4.1 Reasons for Visiting

A majority of respondents (79% in the U.S. and 67% in Canada) specifically planned a trip to visit the archives. All other activities in the area resulted from that decision. The archives drew people into an area who would not have otherwise visited or participated in any other activities in an area.

Respondents visited the archives to pursue many different types of research. Overall, the principal research category was genealogy in both the U.S. and Canada; 64.5% of respondents (n = 1,443) stated that genealogy/family history brought them to the archives. Respondents from municipal archives exhibited a different pattern. At city archives, only 34.1% of the researchers were genealogists; 18.6% were pursuing work-related questions (as opposed to 13.2% in the state and territorial archives), 19.8% academic, and 20.4% personal interest visits (largely property investigations).



 \langle Figure 1 \rangle Purpose of the Visit - All Respondents (n = 2273)

4.2 Visiting Patterns

Visiting patterns include the distance travelled to the repository, the amount of time spent in the area for research and other activities, and the number of people in the travelling group. In order to assess the distance travelled to the archives two measures were developed. The first measure asked respondents whether they were from the area of the archives or not. In both the U.S. and Canada, most respondents said they were from the area. Overall, 57.2% (n = 1,449) indicated that they were from the area in which the archives was located. This was not initially meant to be a perceptual question. On closer analysis, however, respondents' perceptions of 'living in the area' was both relative and problematic.

The second measure of distance was more objective. Respondents indicated their home zip (U.S.) or postal (Canada) codes. Through this, the distance between respondents' homes and the archives could be calculated. The mean number of miles travelled was 214; in Canada 250. This becomes intriguing when we examine the 1041 self-identified distance (those who indicated that they lived out of the area of the archives) respondents. Of those 1041 respondents, 40.2% rented lodging (hotel, cottage, hostel, etc.) but another 25.1% (261 people) people stayed at home even though they claimed to live outside the area of the archives. This indicates that people are making very long day trips to do research in the archives. This has definite economic implications as people appear to be doing long day trips and avoiding the expense of an overnight stay but must be incurring other expenses for food and travel. Combined with the first question we surmise that considerable planning is going into these visits.

Given the amount of distance travelled to do research, it is interesting to note that 68.1% (n = 1,561) of all respondents, 66.2% of those living in the area and 70% of those from afar, planned to spend a day or less at the archives. However, when we examined those staying 2 to 3 and 4 to 5 days, a larger percentage of respondents from outside the area intended to spend longer than one day in the archives. This difference may indicate the nature of the archival project, such as tourists working on one large research or genealogical project. Or, local respondents who have ready access to the archives can more easily divide their larger projects (e.g., genealogy or work-related projects) into day-long bits and visit the archives periodically over a longer span of time.

We asked a series of questions to gain more insight into visiting patterns, such as the number of people in a group, mode of transportation, and length of stay in the area. The typical group size was 1.70 people, although the data ranged from 1 to 26 as our survey captured several large groups. Of note, the mode was 1, indicating that a vast majority of respondents (1,423 or 56.2%) came alone. Another 30.3% of the respondents (n = 768) came with one other person. There were also some issues with the wording of this question, which asked respondents to count the number of people in their group, "including yourself". A number of respondents marked "0" on the survey, which we converted to "1", since obviously someone visiting the archives was filling out the survey.

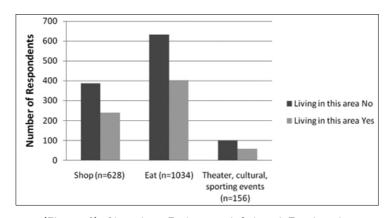
Of the 2,451 respondents who indicated a mode of transportation, most (n = 1,978) drove to

the archives. However, in both U.S. and Canadian cities, there was a greater likelihood of respondents using public transportation, taking the train, or walking to the municipal archives than for provincial/state archives.

4.3 Economic Impact

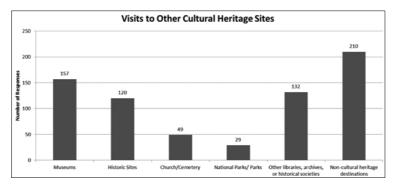
Respondents' expenditures ranged from less than \$100/dollars to greater than \$1500 dollars. At the time of the surveys, the Canadian and U.S. dollars were roughly equivalent during the 2009 survey in the U.S. the U.S. dollar to Canadian dollar ration was 1.0762 and in 2010 during the Canadian survey the U.S. dollar to Canadian dollar ratio was 1.0571 (OANDA 2012). Sixty-four percent of the respondents spent between \$0-\$99 dollars, 25% spend between \$100-\$999 dollars and 11% spent over \$1000 dollars.

Where did these expenditures occur? Examining local businesses and other cultural organizations we can begin to see where some of the spending happened. Seven percent (n = 156) of respondents planned to attend a theatrical, sporting, or cultural event; 28.1% (n = 628) intended to shop; and 46.2% (n = 1,034) eat in a restaurant during their visit. We see from the chart that a greater percentage of those visiting from a distance planned to engage in these activities; local respondents primarily indicated their intention to spend money eating and shopping.



〈Figure 2〉 Shopping, Eating, and Cultural Tourism in Conjunction with the Archives Visit

Forty percent of the respondents who lived outside the area stayed in some type of rented lodging (hotel, cottage, hostel, etc.). Another 22% (233 people) stayed with friends. Although rented lodging makes a larger economic impact, it seems that many of the archives' visitors economized on lodging.

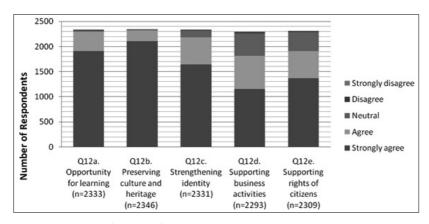


 \langle Figure 3 \rangle Visits to other cultural heritage sites (n = 540)

In addition to local businesses, other cultural and government agencies also benefited economically from visits to the archives. A total of 21.3% or 540 respondents indicated that they intended to visit some other cultural or governmental site in addition to the archives. Responses to this free text question were categorized 6 categories: museums; historic sites; churches or cemeteries; national or state parks; other libraries, archives, or historical societies; and non-cultural heritage institutions (e.g., malls, amusement parks). We placed respondents into more than one category if they listed multiple relevant activities; most (210) fell into the non-cultural heritage destinations. Overall, 157 respondents indicated that they planned to visit museums, 132 listed another library or archives, 120 indicated that they planned to visit a historic site, 49 planned to visit a church or cemetery, and 29 cited a national or state park as a planned destination.

4.4 Social Impact measures

The final question asked respondents to provide their opinion of the social impact of archives based on 5 dimensions: opportunity for learning, preserving culture and heritage, strengthening identity, supporting business activities, and supporting the rights of citizens. The question provided a scale from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree); respondents overwhelmingly agreed with all of these statements (see Figure 4). Support for archives as preserving culture and heritage received the highest ranking with a mean of 1.12 and support for business activities received the lowest ranking with a mean of 1.75; the mean ratings for all statements were very positive. We found no significant difference between the ratings from U.S. and Canadian respondents.



⟨Figure 4⟩ Social Impacts of Archives

5. Discussion

Given these findings, the discussion will focus on three themes: 1) economic impact, 2) user's economic behavior, and 3) the "eco-system" of cultural and archival organizations. These themes build on the findings and suggest new research venues.

5.1 Economic Impact

In answer to the major research question for this study, archives do have a real but modest indirect economic impact on the local economy, particularly in terms of shopping, dining, and lodging in the area. Findings in this study were similar to those reported in other economic impact studies from other cultural institutions in the U.S.. In the Arts and Economic Prosperity III study, Lynch (2005) reported that local visitors spent \$19 dollars and nonlocal \$40. In his investigation, the typical attendee spent \$27.79, on average, excluding the price of admission (Lynch 2005, 10). In a study of U.S. National Park Service visitors, Stynes found that half of the spending was for lodging and meals, with average expenditures of \$40.36 for a local day trip (within 60 miles) and \$69.60 by those traveling further than 60 miles (Lynch 2005, 10). In the Wisconsin Public Libraries economic impact survey, respondents spent an additional \$24.63 they would not otherwise have spent had they not gone to the library. In this archives Economic Impact Survey, local visitors generally spend from \$1 to \$100, a figure that is in line with these other studies. In fact, I found better economic indicators in some cases. For example, 46% of the respondents are out during their visits to the

archives, whereas in the National Park Service survey, only 24% of the respondents spent money on restaurants (Stynes 2011). This percentage compares with the findings reported by the Carnegie Library (50%) (Carnegie Mellon Center for Economic Development 2006, 20). One major difference between my study and these others is that the people in our sample self-identified as "living in the area" or "not living in the area," thus our equivalent of "local" encompassed respondents traveling from far greater distances to use the archives. We conjecture that collateral spending would not have occurred without their archives' visits.

The Economic Impact Survey points to the need to examine economic impact measures. This study used indirect measures. Outside the UK, there have been no studies of direct economic measures in archives. Replication of this study is needed as well as the development of other studies that utilize direct economic impact measures. For example, direct measures might be identified by examining users in municipal archives who tended to use the archives for business-related reasons. Creating strong measures, replicable across all types of archives is critical for economic impact studies. For example, we need a reliable means of measuring per-person per-day expenditures. Expenditures have been measured in other areas of cultural heritage tourism (Mak, Moncur, and Yonamine 1977; Frechtling 2006) but archivists do not know if these measures are applicable or appropriate for archives.

There is increasing pressure place economic value on archives. Cohen et al. note that "At this time in history, economic development is perhaps the most persuasive message when making the case for arts support to local, state, and national leaders" (p. 31). Yet, the literature on value propositions provides a number of other impact measures that speak to value: value to the larger institutional mission, value for learning, etc. While archives should pay attention to economic impact, it is both prudent and strategic for archives to pay attention to the many different types of value they provide. In his book on government management, Creating Public Value, Mark Moore points to the importance of the alignment of three elements, the strategic triangle, in creating public value. These three elements are: Legitimacy and Support (authorization); Value, Mission, Goals; and Operational capacity. His discussion on value touches on the many ways in which value can be defined, economic and social as well as individual and collective. However, he argues that all of these values must be balanced and exist simultaneously in order for the creation of public value.

The need for archives to pay attention to multiple means of valuation was born out in the final question on social impact. Responses to this question demonstrated that users perceive archives as having deeper social values that may defy monetary valuation. Focusing on archives monetary value and economic impact alone may conflict with other core archival missions, such as access and publishing material on the Web and opening up government archives. Also, since a majority of respondents

lived in the local area, one could say that that archives were fulfilling an important service to their local citizens and the very tax payers who support the archives.

5.2 Users Economic Behaviors

While there have been numerous studies of user behavior and user needs in archives, these have not covered users' economic behavior in and around the archives. This study is a first attempt to analyze these patterns. This study uncovered very clear patterns of visitations and expenditures resulting from visits to archives and other cultural and government agencies. Archives users are driving extremely long distances, spending the day in the archives and returning home. Enabling these users to make the most of their time in the archives should be a priority. Also facilitating needed services, photocopying, lunch, etc. in order to help these users optimize their time is key. This type of information is useful for archives managers, but better understanding of these usage patterns may also help discern the motivations behind the spending patterns associated with archives visits.

For those archives users who also visited other cultural organizations, I presented generic findings on the types of cultural institutions. Respondents filling out the Economic Impact Survey were asked to list specific museums, sites, and malls, etc. While we could not report these to maintain the anonymity of our sites, individual archives can look at their own data to discern these patterns and feed this information back into programmatic initiatives.

This leads to the final discussion point, we need to look beyond the walls of the archives and extend our research on users and on user visitation patterns across cultural institutions. Only then can we get a richer picture of archives' role in the larger economy.

5.3 Ecosystem of Cultural Organizations, Governmental Agencies and Businesses

It is worthwhile to examine how archives fit into the larger ecology of cultural heritage institutions in an area. Archives are one component of the cultural heritage sector, but they could capitalize more on connections within their network. We found natural allies in visitation patterns among archives and a core group of other cultural institutions in an area. Examination of the other types of activities in which respondents engaged provides some indication of cultural heritage tourism patterns. Archives could use these data to develop targeted advertising and or outreach campaigns. Collaborating with similar institutions that users visited in tandem could aid both institutions and increase gate count. Collaboration would strengthen all cultural heritage sites in a given region.

This raises a number of issues about how archives might participate in cultural heritage partnerships with nearby organizations. Collaboration and partnerships around user behaviors might be one means of exploring initiatives for collective impact, in the words of Kania and Kramer (2011). In this case, the collective impact would be structured around user behaviors and visitation patterns and the network of cultural organizations may be able to create programs or initiatives that add up to more than the sum of the parts of the individual organizations.

6. Conclusion

Economic and social impact represent two different perspectives on positioning the role of archives in society. This survey demonstrates how we should consider both as we analyze the impact of archival organizations and seek metrics to better measure the impact of archives.

The results from the survey support the economic values of archival collections. Respondents overwhelmingly indicated that their visit to the archives was the primary reason for their trip that day. While the findings indicated that archives did not create an overwhelming economic impact footprint, it did demonstrate that government archives are addressing the information needs of local citizens who are purportedly the taxpayers who support them. This is encouraging and shows that archives in and of themselves are a draw.

More importantly, the respondents also gave the archives high ratings for social value. This was explicit in the final question on the instrument but also implicit as patterns of visitation emerged which showed ecosystems of cultural organizations and other government agencies that may be co-dependent in that they draw from the same audiences. This underlines that archives have a dual mission of promoting culture and accountability to the citizenry.

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Appendix A.

Visiting the Archives

Please help us measure the impact of archives. Archives across the nation are conducting a survey during two weeks in August and September. Your participation is anonymous and will take less than five minutes. Thank you!

Section 1: Your Trip Generally.				
In this section, we ask you about your trip to thisarea				
 Which <u>bestdescribes</u> your reason for visiting this area and the Missouri State Archives? (<i>Please select one only</i>) □ planned the trip specifically to visit this Archives □ planned the trip to engage in other activities (for example, visit friends or relatives, visit an attraction, historic site or event) and to visit this Archives □ planned the trip for reasons unrelated to this Archives □ Other (please specify)				
2. What is your home zip or postal code?				
3. Including yourself, how many people traveled with you today?				
4. How did you and your companions travel? (<i>Please select one only</i>) □ By car □ By plane □ By train □ By bus □ Other (please specify)				
5. How long do you plan to stay?				
□ in this City? □ day(s) night(s)				

	in this State/Province
	1 day(s) night(s)
	I live in this area
6. V	Where are you staying?
(Check all that apply):
	In our own home
	With family or friends
	In a hotel
	In your RV
	At a campground
	Other (please specify)
7. P	Please estimate the total expenditures (e.g., including travel, accommodations, food, entertainment,
S	ouvenirs), you and your travelling companions plan to spend during your stay in this area:
	1 \$1 - \$99
	1 \$100 - \$499
	1 \$500 - \$999
	1 \$1000 - \$1499
	1 \$1500 - or more
8. I	Do you or your travelling companions plan to visit other cultural or heritage sites?
	1 No
	Yes, Please list these sites below
Sec	etion 2: Your Visit to the Archives. <i>In this section, we ask you about your visit to the archives.</i>
9. V	What purpose bestdescribes your research at this Archives? (Please select one only)
	Genealogy / Family history
	Work-related research
	Academic research

□ Teaching / curriculum development
□ Personal interest
□ Other (Please specify)
10. How many days do you plan to spend at this archives?
□ Less than 1 day
□ 2-3 days
□ 4-6 days
□ More than 1 week
11. In connection with your visit to this archives, which of the following are you or your travellin
companions planning to do today? (Check all that apply)
□ Shop or use local services
□ Eat in restaurants
□ Attend theater, cultural, or sporting events
□ Other (Please specify)
□ None of the above

Archives contribute to society by:	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Providing opportunities for learning					
Preserving our culture and heritage					
Strengthening family and community identity					
Supporting administrative and business activity					
Supporting the rights of citizens					

12. Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with the following statements by checking the appropriate box.

Thank you for your Participation!

Please return this form to the Reference Desk when complete.