

The Many Faces of Preservation Funding: An Examination of Private American Organizations Supporting Preservation Abroad

Drew Barnhart

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
Master of Science in Historic Preservation

Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation
Columbia University

May 2020

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Acknowledgements

I am truly thankful for everyone who has helped, guided, and supported me throughout the process of writing this thesis. First, I wish to express my sincere appreciation for my advisor Will Reynolds. Without his guidance, this thesis would not have been possible, and I am grateful that I have the opportunity to benefit from his professional knowledge, sense of humor, and contagious curiosity. I am also indebted to my readers Erica Avrami and Daniel Reid for their thoughtful comments, critical engagement, and encouragement. I would like to pay special regards to Erica for introducing me to this topic, knowing that it would appeal to my interests.

I whole-heartedly appreciate all of those who I interviewed for their willingness to speak with me and share their passion for their work. These conversations were incredibly enriching, and I learned so much about not only the intersection of philanthropy and preservation but also a great many other subjects.

I would like to express my thankfulness for my classmates at Columbia University. I am so grateful to have friends whose enthusiasm and intellectual curiosity inspires me to hold myself to a higher standard. It has been a true pleasure to share these last two years with you.

I wish to acknowledge the support and love of my parents, who made this entire experience possible. I consider myself incredibly lucky that they care so deeply about my interests, education, and personal development.

Finally, I am incredibly grateful for Paul for his unwavering patience and assurance. His emotional support helped me through the moments when writing this thesis felt impossible.

Researchers seeking the source data used for the quantitative analysis in this thesis may contact the author directly at barnhartdrew@gmail.com.

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1. Introduction

Every year, American institutions, both private and public, contribute tens of millions of dollars to the preservation of foreign heritage. This sum is only a small portion of total U.S. foreign assistance: in 2018 the U.S. government administered \$32.77 billion in foreign aid, while private charitable organizations with international missions collected an additional \$22.88 billion in donations. Yet, the money sent abroad for preservation can have a tremendous impact on foreign heritage and the communities that care for them. Heritage sites are important platforms for the construction and mediation of current social values and identities and can be leveraged to both reinforce and challenge hegemonic norms. Through its engagement with the heritage, historic preservation engages with these tensions and is therefore inherently political.¹ For this reason, U.S. financial contributions to the preservation of foreign heritage deserve to be probed as a distinct kind of American influence abroad.

Previous critiques of this dynamic have focused primarily on how government agencies use heritage funding to further foreign policy objectives, usually as means of diplomacy. However, private nonprofits are also key entities in this arena, as evidenced by the prominence of organizations like the World Monuments Fund and the Getty Conservation Institute. Yet, little has been written about the private American institutions that engage with preservation internationally, and there is a gap in our knowledge about the trends they exhibit, the factors that shape their agendas, and the magnitude of their impact.

This thesis begins to fill that gap specifically by examining the organizations that facilitate the funding of preservation overseas, channeling financial support from U.S.-based donors, foundations, and government agencies to the organizations and communities that care for heritage

¹ See Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 3-4.

abroad. In many ways, these agents act as the representatives of preservation in the philanthropic sector. However, they also fill a diverse set of functions and operate in a complex ecosystem informed by the dynamics of philanthropy, international affairs, and domestic politics. Consequently, the interests that shape their agendas extend well beyond the field of preservation.

In order to better understand these organizations and their cumulative effects on preservation internationally, this thesis probes the following questions:

- What types of organizations are facilitating U.S.-led funding of preservation abroad?
- What trends exist among these various categories of organizations?
- What is the magnitude of their financial impact on preservation abroad?
- What factors and interests shape their priorities?

Methodology

In order to explore these questions, this thesis employs a mixed-methods approach that included background research, discourse analysis, semi-structured interviews, and quantitative analysis. The thesis begins with a literature review that examines existing critiques of American funding of preservation abroad, which focus primarily on government-led initiatives, and lays out an overview of state-led funding to illustrate the long tradition of cooperation between private and public entities in this space, as well as the multifaceted, frequently unpublicized, motivations for funding preservation projects abroad. The literature review then goes on to contextualize the operations of private nonprofits by addressing the current state of philanthropy in the U.S. and how it compares to that of other countries, concluding with a summary of common critiques of American philanthropic practices.

The thesis then progresses to a qualitative analysis of the nonprofits that facilitate the funding of foreign heritage preservation. An important component of this analysis was the

identification of nonprofits that fulfill this function. In order to obtain a mixed sample that was not informed by preconceived notions about the types of entities that operate in this landscape, Foundation Directory Online, a funding-prospects research tool, was used to generate a list of organizations that had received grants to fund preservation projects abroad between 2002 and 2019.² After examining the list of organizations produced by Foundation Directory Online to remove false positives that did not engage with historic preservation or did not send funds abroad, the sample consisted of fifty-two organizations.

In order to gain an understanding of how and why these nonprofits engage with preservation abroad, the various characteristics they exhibit, and ways in which they can be categorized to reveal trends, a review of public-facing materials – primarily websites and annual reports – from all fifty-two organizations was undertaken. The results of this analysis led to the establishment of three categories into which most nonprofits in the sample fell: fundraising-focused organizations; implementing organizations; and religiously-motivated organizations. Recognizing that public discourse frequently differs from internal affairs, all currently operational organizations included in the sample were solicited for interviews. Semi-structured interviews with representatives of eight organizations were conducted to deepen this qualitative analysis, specifically insofar as it addresses the primary audiences, decision-making processes, and priorities of these organizations.

² Foundation Directory Online reports only grants, rather than all contributions, made to organizations. For this reason, organizations' inclusion in the sample was reliant on them having received grants according to the database's standards. While Foundation Directory Online does not explicitly state their definition of what constitutes a grant, they seem to take a rather broad approach, including contributions as small as \$10 made by various types of grant-issuing institutions (foundations, government agencies, and donor-advised funds) with varying degrees of restriction. This selection process and its consequences are explained in further detail in the methodology for the qualitative analysis. In the quantitative analysis, however, grants and donations were grouped together as per reporting requirements for 501(c)(3) organizations.

Finally, a three-part quantitative analysis of organizations' finances was conducted. An analysis of income sources was undertaken to better understand the impact of various categories of funders and activities across the three categories, complementing information obtained from the interviews regarding primary donor audiences. The second part entailed the estimation of the amount of money these organizations contributed towards preservation overseas in 2017 both numerically and as a percentage of their total expenses, which was used to better understand the magnitude of their impacts abroad and in some cases, their internal priorities. Finally, an analysis of revenue over time was used as a proxy to evaluate how the size, and presumably impact, of these organizations has changed over time. All three of these analyses compared results across the categories established through the qualitative analysis to reveal general trends in the field, although some organizations were also considered individually when they exhibited specific noteworthy trends.

More specific information the methodology employed in both the qualitative and quantitative analyses can be found in their respective chapters.

2. Literature Review

American Funding of Preservation Abroad

Although agencies specifically devoted to leveraging preservation for diplomatic purposes are relatively new within the State Department, the U.S. government has a long history of engaging with heritage abroad. Throughout this history, two themes have been consistently present. The first is the strategic use of heritage to augment soft power and pursue foreign policy objectives, often despite official rhetoric that suggests the preservation of foreign heritage is worthy of public funds due to its inherent value or its relevance to American culture. The second is frequent collaboration between private and public entities, making it difficult to untangle the history of U.S. philanthropy from the political actions of the state. In the absence of existing research regarding the history of American nonprofits' funding of preservation abroad, this section examines primarily state-led initiatives and contextualizes the diplomatic implications private organizations' operations and, in some cases, their relationships with government agencies.

Critiques of American Funding of Preservation Abroad

Three authors in particular have examined the political nature of state-led engagement with foreign heritage, primarily focusing on how engaging with preservation abroad contributes to soft power, through which countries exercise their influence to achieve objectives non-coercively.³ In *U.S. Cultural Diplomacy and Archeology: Soft Power, Hard Heritage*, Christina Luke and Morag Kersel, archeologists who worked together in the State Department, examine the ways in which archeology has been a successful tool of U.S. cultural diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy is a loosely defined term that is associated with the leveraging of cultural materials to improve an international actor's (usually, although not always, a nation-state's) image to a foreign public and promote

³ Joseph Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success In World Politics*, (New York, Public Affairs, 2004).

values beneficial to policy objectives.⁴ While many sources examine cultural diplomacy by focusing on either public diplomacy -- the methods employed to communicate directly with a foreign public -- or the programmatic export of culture through exhibitions, performances, and exchanges, Luke and Kersel explore the ways in which archeological pursuits have resulted in the development of long-term relationships between U.S. nationals and foreign populations through collaboration and the prolonged presence of American professionals in foreign countries. In examining the specific ways in which the U.S. Department of State has leveraged archeological heritage for strategic purposes by investing in geopolitically strategic countries and addressing the role research centers play as American enclaves with the capacity to foster in-country networks of archeologists, communities, and government representatives, Luke and Morag show how these seemingly apolitical pursuits serve U.S. national interests.⁵

Tim Winter of the University of Western Australia complicates this understanding of the role of heritage in cultural diplomacy. According to Winter's framework, whereas cultural diplomacy entails the "export of a particular cultural form as a mechanism of soft power," heritage diplomacy relies on, "a set of processes whereby cultural and natural pasts shared between and across nations become subject to exchanges, collaborations and forms of cooperative governance."⁶ In other words, whereas traditional cultural diplomacy relies on the projection of cultural materials and practices to enhance a country's image abroad and establish common values, through heritage diplomacy, cultural sites become platforms for the creation of shared interests and experiences through actions carried out on or to a site. These types of cultural exchanges are facilitated several characteristics exhibited by many preservation projects: their tendency to entail

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Christina Luke and Morag Kersel, *US Cultural Diplomacy and Archeology: Soft Power, Hard Heritage*, (New York: Routledge, 2012).

⁶ Tim Winter, "Heritage diplomacy." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 21, no. 10 (2015): 997 - 1015.

extensive consultation with multiple demographics within a population; the multiple categories of professional and governmental actors stemming from the U.S., local communities, and international pools of experts who work on a site; and the opportunities for public events publicizing a successful project and expressing the newly forged common values. Through this distinction, Winter simultaneously exposes and solves a fundamental problem in the relationship between cultural diplomacy and historic preservation. In most cases, the experience of built heritage cannot be “exported” to another country for the consumption of a foreign population. However, the interactions that take place at historic sites still contribute to a countries’ soft power.

Winter’s concept of heritage diplomacy also extends beyond traditional notions of cultural diplomacy to include instances of international aid and development that impact heritage sites. According to Winter, conservation aid augments soft power not only through the establishment of relationships, demonstration of common values, and creation of shared experiences but also through the transfer of money, expertise, technology, and other forms of assistance that garner goodwill. This is particularly important because, while foreign aid can serve as a type of public diplomacy in that can influence foreign publics’ perceptions of the U.S., it does not necessarily include cultural exchange, making it distinct from cultural diplomacy in many cases. Winter demonstrates clearly how the two can be combined through heritage preservation. Together, writings from Luke, Kersel and Winter explain how heritage sites can be used as platforms to augment a nation-state’s soft power through the building of relationships, the creation and demonstration of common values, and foreign assistance.

In addressing the ways in which aid functions as diplomacy through heritage sites, Winter also introduces the second common theme of U.S. funding of historic preservation abroad: collaboration between private and public entities. This type of collaboration is common not only

in U.S. international engagement with heritage preservation but also in domestic projects, and the tendency for public and private entities to work together within the U.S. may have informed the evolution their relationships in the international arena. Winter takes a broader approach to the definition of diplomacy than many sources, constructing all international actors, both state-funded and those unaffiliated with a government, to be diplomatic representatives of their country of origin. Significantly for this thesis, he explicitly implicates U.S. philanthropic organizations in this statement, emphasizing that even private institutions become “part of a country’s cultural export” when they function abroad.⁷ As cultural exporters, nonprofits act out of a multitude of distinct values and perspectives and may even act in opposition to official U.S. Department of State objectives. However, in the context of an international project that engages with local communities, distinct entities stemming from the same country can easily be conflated.

The ability of nonprofits to contribute to the U.S.’s cultural export, particularly in partnership with the U.S. government, also explored in the field of international relations. Inderjeet Parmar, professor of international politics at City, University of London has explored the role of private foundations and nonprofit organizations in extending American influence at a global scale. He notes that through a “sustained, long-term cooperative relationship with the American state,” foundations and nonprofits have been able to build robust international networks of intellectuals, policy-makers, and other forms of elites. In this way, American philanthropic institutions bolster soft power, contributing substantially to building and embedding American hegemony at a global level.⁸ Parmar’s scholarship highlights the fact that the American philanthropic sector has a strong political influence not only through the ways allocate and channel financial resources but also in

⁷ Tim Winter, “Heritage diplomacy and Australia’s response to a shifting landscape of international conservation.” *Historic Environment* 27, no. 2 (2015): 18-28.

⁸ Parmar, Inderjeet. “Foundation Networks and American Hegemony.” *European Journal of American Studies* 7, no. 1 (February 2012). <http://journals.openedition.org/ejas/9476>.

some cases through explicit collaboration with the U.S. government. This is a theme that will be further explored in the following section.

Chronology of State-Led Initiatives to Fund Preservation Abroad

Examples from the U.S. military and diplomatic history support these observations. As far back as the 1880s, the U.S. Department of State collaborated with domestic institutions to establish overseas research centers for archeology. While these centers served primarily to provide American scholars with opportunities to further their academic work, as stable American outposts in often remote regions of the world, they also fulfilled diplomatic functions -- representing the U.S. to local populations and allowing Americans to observe political and social dynamics abroad.⁹

Throughout the twentieth century, various U.S. governmental entities continued to engage with foreign heritage on an ad hoc basis. Often masked behind claims that heritage was worth preserving based on its inherent worth or its relation to the U.S.'s own cultural inheritance, these missions invariably served to bolster U.S. foreign policy objectives by improving America's image abroad, promoting national security, or providing platforms for engagement with foreign governments.

During World War II, the U.S. military partnered with domestic institutions, including Harvard University and the American Council of Learned Societies, to identify and prevent the destruction of European monuments. When Dwight D. Eisenhower called for European cultural sites to be spared in his *Letter on Historical Monuments*, he constructed European heritage as a predecessor to America's own culture, implying that by destroying places of significance in Europe, Americans would be complicit in the destruction of their own past. He also constructed European monuments as symbols of "civilization," insisting that a just war protected, rather than

⁹ Luke and Kersel, *US Cultural Diplomacy and Archeology: Soft Power, Hard Heritage*, 25.

threatened, the legacy of civilization.¹⁰ However, on a strategic level, military officers believed that if the U.S. military demonstrated respect for another country's culture, local populations would be more likely to cooperate in the event of U.S. occupation and temporary governance.¹¹

This duality of public ideological and private strategic reasons for justifying the use of U.S. resources to save historic structures abroad appeared again during the Nubia Campaign from 1959 to 1980. This international effort to save the Abu Simbel temples in Egypt from flooding resulting from the construction of the Aswan High Dam is often recognized for its role in promoting the concept of the universal value of heritage and for paving the way for the adoption of the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention. The U.S. contributed significant funds to this project. Of the \$25,474,052 donated by UNESCO member states, the U.S. contributed \$18,500,957 -- nearly three fourths of the total. For comparison, France, the UNESCO member state that contributed the second largest amount of money, donated only \$1,267,700 to the cause. In addition to U.S. public funds, the private philanthropic organization the American Committee for the Safeguarding of Abu Simbel raised \$7,460,900.¹²

In justifying the allocation of U.S. public funds to complete the project to the Speaker of the House, President John F. Kennedy appealed to constructed ties between Egypt's history and the current American culture, writing:

“The United States, one of the newest of civilizations, has long had a deep regard for the study of past cultures, and a concern for the preservation of man's great achievements of art and thoughts, we have also had a special interest in the civilization of ancient Egypt from which many of our own cultural traditions have sprung . . . I recommend that we join with other nations through UNESCO in

¹⁰ Lucia Allais, *Designs of Destruction: The Making of Monuments in the Twentieth Century*. Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2018, 71.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 87.

¹² Fekri A. Hassan, “The Aswan High Dam and the International Rescue Nubia Campaign,” *The African Archaeological Review* 24, no 3/4 (September/December 2007): 73-94.

preventing what would otherwise be an irreparable loss to science and the cultural history of mankind.”¹³

However, official records from the House of Representatives' Committee on Appropriations, the body that regulates U.S. government expenditures, reveal a more pragmatic reason for contributing to the campaign. The official reason for the appropriation request reads, “The primary justification for the American contribution for Abu Simbel is the importance of saving for future generations an irreplaceable relic of our own heritage and of the common heritage of man . . .”¹⁴ However, letters addressed to the head of the sub-committee deliberating on the matter reveal an acute awareness of how contributions could be leveraged to improve America’s image abroad, particularly in non-aligned countries during the Cold War. Harvie Branscomb, chair of the U.S. Commission for UNESCO from 1963 to 1965 appealed to the committee by writing:

“We withdrew our offer to build the great dam at Aswan and some 1,200 Russian technicians and their families are now at work at Aswan building this dam. The next best known project in Egypt is the preservation of Abu Simbel. By action on this issue we can now salvage our standing in that part of the world at a fraction of the cost of the dam.”¹⁵

This notable example illustrates that, despite official language pointing to temples’ inherent value as the primary reason for U.S. involvement, the potential of preservation to serve foreign policy objectives was a point of consideration.

The mid-twentieth century saw another important development in the U.S. government’s engagement with foreign heritage through the establishment of the U.S. Agency for International

¹³ John F. Kennedy, “Letter Concerning the Participation of the United States of America in the International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia,” 7 April 1961, Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy Onassis Personal Papers. Textual Materials. Nancy Tuckerman Files. Subject Files: Abu Simbel and Temple of Dendur. JBKOPP-SF043-001. John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum.

¹⁴ Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary and Related Agencies Appropriations, *Hearings Before the Subcommittee of the Committee of Appropriations, United States Senate, Eighty-Eighth Congress, Second Session, On H.R. 11134*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965, 842.

¹⁵ Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the Judiciary and Related Agencies Appropriations, *Hearings Before the Subcommittee*, 850.

Development (USAID), an independent government agency that implements the vast majority of U.S. bilateral foreign aid and development assistance. Founded in 1961 to unite and expand existing efforts to administer aid abroad, USAID furthers U.S. national interests by promoting global health, economic development, conflict resolution, and democracy. These missions theoretically help mitigate potentially destabilizing forces that result in threats to national security while also creating new markets for U.S. trade and fostering goodwill among foreign populations.¹⁶

USAID has leveraged heritage to achieve these missions at least since 1964, when the agency partnered with existing American research centers and the Jordanian government to stabilize archeological sites in Jerusalem for tourism development.¹⁷ Today, USAID still engages with heritage preservation to promote economic growth in a wide range of contexts, including Egypt, Jordan, Timor-Leste, and Moldova.¹⁸ In the notable case of Cyprus, USAID has also leveraged the preservation of shared cultural heritage to promote conflict recovery and the establishment of trust between Turkish and Greek Cypriots.¹⁹ In the context of USAID, the support of preservation is not just an isolated event triggered by threats to specific sites, but a tool that can be applied in multiple settings to achieve varied, tangible goals beyond the cultivation of soft

¹⁶ USAID, “Who We Are,” *USAID.gov* <https://www.usaid.gov/who-we-are>, <https://www.usaid.gov/who-we-are/usaid-history>. (accessed April 5, 2020); Jean Aden, “The United States: Aid from the Keeper of Global Commons,” *Foreign Assistance: Different Strokes for Different Folks*, US-Korea Institute at SAIS, 2011.

¹⁷ Kersel and Luke, *US Cultural Diplomacy and Archeology: Soft Power, Hard Heritage*, 37.

¹⁸ USAID, “Fact Sheet: Moldova Competitiveness Project. Tourism Industry,” USAID.gov, <https://www.usaid.gov/moldova/fact-sheets/fact-sheet-moldova-competitiveness-project-tourism-industry-0> (accessed April 2, 2020); USAID, “Sustainable Culture Heritage Through Engagement of Local Communities Project (SCHEP).” USAID.gov, <https://www.usaid.gov/jordan/fact-sheets/sustainable-cultural-heritage-through-engagement-local-communities> (accessed April 2, 2020); USAID, “USAID Tourism Project Helps Form National Committee to Protect Timor-Leste Culture.” USAID.gov, <https://www.usaid.gov/timor-leste/press-releases/apr-23-2019-usaid-tourism-project-helps-form-national-committee> (accessed April 2, 2020); USAID, “U.S. Supports Conservation of Upper Egypt Historical Monuments,” USAID.gov, <https://www.usaid.gov/egypt/press-releases/sep-9-2019-us-supports-conservation-upper-egypt-historical-monuments> (accessed April 2, 2020).

¹⁹ USAID, “Where We Work - History,” USAID.gov, <https://www.usaid.gov/where-we-work/europe-and-eurasia/cyprus/history> (accessed April 2, 2020).

power. In doing so, it leaves behind the pretense that foreign heritage sites have universal value or relevance to American culture. They are framed primarily as a means to an end.

In 1985, the federal government created the first agency with the primary mission of bilaterally engaging with foreign heritage. The U.S. Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad was established with the mission of promoting the preservation of historic buildings, cemeteries, and memorials in Central and Eastern Europe. Although not technically part of its legal mandate, since its inception, this agency has worked primarily with sites associated with populations that were killed or displaced due to genocide, most notably the Holocaust.²⁰ This imperative stemmed from concern for sites being destroyed or suffering degradation under communist regimes.²¹ While there is little critical literature that addresses this program, its founding mission suggests that engaging with heritage abroad may have been seen as a useful, and seemingly innocuous, strategy for facilitating direct U.S. engagement with foreign governments and, in some cases, local communities in the Eastern Bloc. At the very least, it indicates a desire to combat communist ideology through the preservation of sites of remembrance. Interestingly, despite the fact that the commission is an independent agency under the U.S. federal government, it receives most of its funding from private donors. In 1990, the entity even introduced a program through which private individuals or organizations could adopt specific heritage sites that were at risk of falling into ruin.²²

²⁰ U.S. Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad. "About." *HeritageAbroad.gov*. <https://www.heritageabroad.gov/about> (accessed December 16, 2019).

²¹ U.S. Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad, "U.S. Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad," 2016, <https://www.heritageabroad.gov/Portals/0/Brochures/Commission%20brochure.pdf?ver=2016-03-17-050339-777> (accessed April 2, 2020).

²² U.S. Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad, *U.S. Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad Annual Report, 1991* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad, 1991). https://www.heritageabroad.gov/Portals/0/Reports/annual_rpt_91.pdf?ver=2016-02-23-165320-187 (accessed April 2, 2020).

It was the 2000s, however, that a number of State Department programs engaging with heritage preservation came into being in very quick succession, including the Secretary of State's Register of Culturally Significant Property (2000), the Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation (2001), and the Iraq Cultural Heritage Project (2008). While not all of these programs result in the allocation of significant funds to historic preservation abroad, this major increase in programs dealing with historic heritage within the Department of State is indicative of an increasing recognition of the potential of historic preservation to be leveraged as a tool of diplomacy in its own right.

The largest of these initiatives, the Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation describes itself as, "the only cultural preservation program in the U.S. government to provide direct small grant support to heritage preservation in less-developed countries."²³ A Senate report addressing the establishment of the fund describes its significance:

"(t)oo often, U.S. assistance to underdeveloped nations is either invisible to all but a handful of bureaucrats or appears to benefit us at the expense of the recipient country . . . Cultural preservation offers an opportunity to show a different American face to other countries, one that is non-commercial, non-political, and non-military. By taking a leading role in efforts to preserve cultural heritage, we show our respect for other cultures by protecting their traditions."²⁴

Despite these claims that the program is apolitical, the Ambassadors Fund seems to continue a long trend of engaging with heritage strategically.²⁵ As noted by Kersel and Luke, throughout the first decade of this program's existence, funds for preservation were distributed in a way that could be interpreted as deliberately demonstrating American respect for Muslim culture and heritage in conflict areas. This occurred in the context of the War on Terror and the U.S.'s

²³ Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, *The U.S. Ambassadors Fund for Preservation 2001 Report*, Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of State, 2001. <https://eca.state.gov/files/bureau/2001afcpannual.pdf> (accessed April 2, 2020).

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Kersel and Luke, *US Cultural Diplomacy and Archeology: Soft Power, Hard Heritage*, 114.

failure to adequately protect cultural sites in Iraq.²⁶ Furthermore, the authors show that large grant awards, which were first introduced in 2008, have focused on projects through which the State Department has been able collaborate with governments on publicly accessible sites in countries with which the U.S. has a difficult history. Kersel and Luke specifically highlight Guatemala, Cambodia, and Afghanistan.²⁷ These examples illustrate the ways in which the funding of preservation projects is not necessarily intended to maximize their impact on local communities, but rather as a platform through which the U.S. can demonstrate desired values and engage with foreign entities in contexts in which traditional diplomatic measures might be difficult.

American Philanthropic Practices

As previously noted, private American donors, foundations, and nonprofits entities have been a constant presence in the funding of heritage preservation abroad, often working in conjunction with state entities. However, a discussion of the scope and nature of philanthropy in the U.S. is necessary to further understand the way it exerts influence internationally. American philanthropy is a powerful force, both domestically and abroad. As of 2019, there were approximately 1.56 million nonprofit organizations operating in the U.S.²⁸ In 2018, these nonprofits received \$427.71 billion in charitable contributions from individual donors, foundations, and corporations, \$22.88 billion of which went to organizations with international missions.²⁹ To illustrate the magnitude of this funding, according to the World Bank, the total

²⁶ Ibid, 112.

²⁷ Ibid, 112.

²⁸ Erin Duffin, "Topic: Nonprofit Organizations in the U.S." [www.statista.com](https://www.statista.com/topics/1390/nonprofit-organizations-in-the-us/). Statista, July 2, 2019. <https://www.statista.com/topics/1390/nonprofit-organizations-in-the-us/> (accessed May 4, 2020).

²⁹ Giving USA, "Giving USA 2019: Americans gave \$427.71 billion to charity in 2018 amid complex year for charitable giving," *givingUSA.org*, June 18, 2019. <https://givingusa.org/giving-usa-2019-americans-gave-427-71-billion-to-charity-in-2018-amid-complex-year-for-charitable-giving/> (accessed April 2, 2020).

amount of money raised by U.S. charities in 2018 was greater than the GDP of 157 countries, and seventy-six countries had a GDP lower than the \$22.88 billion contributed to internationally-oriented organizations.³⁰ Moreover, these donations are comparable in magnitude to the official foreign aid disbursed by the U.S. government, which in 2018 amounted to only \$32.77 billion.³¹ Overseen by private individuals and organizations, this funding can have a tremendous impact, which is often increased through collaboration with both U.S. and foreign governmental agencies.

The global reach of the American philanthropic sector is enabled and encouraged by a sympathetic domestic tax code that allows individuals, corporations, and estates to deduct itemized contributions to qualified tax-exempt organizations from their taxable income on a one-to-one basis. For example, if an individual who itemized deductions earned \$100,000 in 2019 and donated \$5,000 to charity, they would have to pay taxes only on \$95,000. Given a tax rate of 24% for their income level, the amount of taxes this individual would owe would be reduced from \$24,000 to \$22,800, meaning this \$5,000 donation reduced their tax burden by \$1,200. Because the U.S. has a progressive tax code, this policy provides a larger incentive for charitable giving to those belonging to higher tax brackets than those with lower incomes. Limitations on these deductions vary depending on the donor and recipient organization. For individuals, donors can generally deduct twenty or thirty percent of their income through charitable contributions. Corporations, on the other hand, can only deduct ten percent of their taxable income for a given year.³² Trusts and

³⁰ World Bank, “GDP (Current US\$),” *World Development Indicators* <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD> (accessed April 2, 2020).

³¹ “Map of Foreign Assistance Worldwide,” ForeignAssistance.gov, <https://www.foreignassistance.gov/explore> (accessed April 2, 2020).

³² 26 U.S.C § 170: Charitable, etc., contributions and gifts (2020)

estates face no such limitations and may deduct one hundred percent of their taxable income through charitable donations.³³

These incentives cost the U.S. Treasury billions of dollars each year; in 2018, combined deductions for charitable contributions deprived the state of \$44 billion in tax revenue.³⁴ This loss is justified by the idea that philanthropy serves as what some authors have called “a hidden welfare state,” providing the public with valuable services that would otherwise need the financial support of the government.³⁵ By incentivizing charity, the government subsidizes these services without paying for one-hundred percent of their cost.³⁶ Furthermore, many proponents of philanthropy view the practice as a decentralized method for providing social welfare that exhibits “a market-like mechanism that makes public provision more efficient.”³⁷ According to this line of reasoning, allowing individuals to oversee the allocation of funds for the public good is inherently more effective than giving control over to the state. In short, charitable contributions are to be incentivized because they augment and improve the state’s provisions for the public.

A different line of argument is needed to justify incentives for donating to nonprofits with international missions; one could make the case that by subsidizing donations that provide social services to foreign populations, these tax incentives export a portion of the U.S. tax base for the benefit of citizens of foreign states. To a degree, this line of reasoning is reflected in the U.S. tax

³³ Marcy Lantz and Joylyn Ankeney, “Charitable Deduction Rules for Trusts, Estates, and Lifetime Transfers.” *The Tax Adviser*, December 1, 2019, <https://www.thetaxadviser.com/issues/2019/dec/charitable-deduction-rules-trusts-estates-lifetime-transfers.html> (accessed April 2, 2020).

³⁴ Tax Policy Center, “Key Elements of the U.S. Tax System,” *Tax Policy Center Briefing Book*, <https://www.taxpolicycenter.org/briefing-book/how-large-are-individual-income-tax-incentives-charitable-giving>, (accessed April 6, 2020).

³⁵ Charles T. Clotfelter, “Charitable Giving and Tax Policy in the U.S.” in *Charitable Giving and Tax Policy: A Historical and Comparative Perspective*, eds. Gabrielle Fack and Camille Landais (Paris: Paris School of Economics, 2012), 36.

³⁶ Nicolas J. Duquette, “Founders’ Fortunes and Philanthropy: A History of the U.S. Charitable-Contribution Deduction,” *Business History Review* 9 (Autumn 2019) 553-584.

³⁷ Clotfelter, “Charitable Giving and Tax Policy in the U.S.” 37, 38.

code, as donations to foreign charities are not eligible for charitable gift deductions.³⁸ However, by contributing to U.S.-based organizations that administer grants abroad, American donors can effectively benefit foreign populations while still giving tax-effectively. The reasons for allowing this practice mirror the rationale behind the establishment of USAID. First, conducting philanthropy abroad can serve as a form of cultural diplomacy, bolstering the U.S. soft power by generating goodwill among beneficiaries and strengthening the U.S.'s economic influence among foreign populations. Second, by supporting development and providing humanitarian relief abroad, charitable donations theoretically benefit U.S. national security by promoting stability and alleviating conditions that are prone to producing radicalism, refugees, and international crime. These efforts can even bolster public health efforts and contribute to the eradication of diseases, which in an era of globalization, can benefit populations around the world.³⁹ Additionally, U.S. citizens are engaged in various types of global networks, including religious groups, diaspora communities, and even social media platforms. The ability to give tax-effectively to foreign causes is supported by numerous domestic interest groups with international ties who have influenced U.S. policy makers.⁴⁰

Despite the size of the U.S.'s philanthropic influence, the country's approach to incentivizing charitable donations is not unique and is, in fact, less generous than that of some other countries. According to a 2014 comparative analysis of the tax laws affecting nonprofit organizations in all 193 United Nations Member States, seventy-seven percent of the world's

³⁸ Under some circumstances, donations to nonprofits based in Israel, Mexico, and Canada can be deducted from taxes; Charities Aid Foundation, "Donation States: An International Comparison of the Tax Treatment of Donations." 2016, <https://www.cafonline.org/docs/default-source/about-us-publications/fwg4-donation-states> (accessed April 6, 2020).

³⁹ Mike Mullen and James Jones, "Why Foreign Aid is Critical to U.S. National Security," *Politico*, June 12, 2017 <https://www.politico.com/agenda/story/2017/06/12/budget-foreign-aid-cuts-national-security-000456> (accessed April 6, 2020).

⁴⁰ Charities Aid Foundation, "Donation States," 26.

countries offer some kind of charitable gift tax incentive and sixty-six percent specifically incentivize individual donations.⁴¹ A more in-depth study analyzing a sample of twenty-six countries from across six continents and various income levels indicates that tax deductions, rather than any other form of incentive, are by far the preferred method for incentivizing charitable giving.⁴² Regardless of the type of incentive used, nineteen of the twenty-six countries matched the United States in offering an effective tax relief rate of 100 percent. Furthermore, while nineteen countries had higher limitations than the U.S. on the amount of income that could be deducted through charitable gifts, seven countries had lower limitations, with five of them allowing for all taxable income to be deducted.⁴³ Even in terms of incentivizing charitable contributions outside of national borders, the United States is not particularly special. Fourteen of the twenty-six sample countries included in the study incentivized charitable contributions to domestic organizations that operate or send funds abroad.⁴⁴

If U.S. tax incentives for charitable giving are comparable to those of other countries, why does American philanthropy have such a large role in the global arena? Two important factors are the country's entrenched culture of charitable giving and the sheer size of its economy and population. According to the 2018 World Giving Index, an annual report produced by the Charities Aid Foundation (CAF), the U.S. ranked twelfth out of 144 countries in terms of the proportion of the population that had recently donated money to charity, indicating that, although there are some more generous populations according to this metric, that of the U.S. ranks far above average. In terms of the absolute number of citizens who had recently donated money, the U.S. came in second,

⁴¹ Elaine Quick, Toni Ann Kruse, and Adam Pickering. "Rules to Give By." A Global Philanthropy Legal Environment Index," <https://nexusglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/RULES-TO-GIVE-BY-FINAL-Country-Reports-345-page.pdf>, Nexus, 2016, 10.

⁴² Charities Aid Foundation, "Donation States," 5.

⁴³ Ibid, 37-39.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 30.

demonstrating the way the country's size magnifies its culture of giving.⁴⁵ It is also worth noting that the U.S. has the largest GDP in the world – as of 2018, it beat that of the second largest economy, China, by nearly \$7 trillion. The populations that are considered more generous than that of the U.S. based on CAF's metrics, such as Australia, New Zealand, Myanmar, and Indonesia, have GDPs that are less than one-tenth the size of that of the U.S.⁴⁶ While the U.S. tax code and culture encourage charitable gifts, the size of the economy enables U.S. philanthropy to exert a tremendous economic influence.

In addition to the size of the U.S. economy, cultural and historical factors also influence the scope and nature of U.S. philanthropy. Scholars on American philanthropy often point to the writings of Puritan minister Cotton Mather (1663-1728) and Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) as evidence that Americans have long relied on non-governmental organizations to meet social needs, resulting in a culture in which charitable giving and volunteering is a norm.⁴⁷ Even today, the U.S. government spends less on public goods than comparable developed countries, relying more heavily on voluntary contributions than compulsory taxes than other nations. Whereas government social spending amounted to 16.2 percent of the U.S. GDP in 2007, the average for OECD countries totaled 19.2 percent. In contrast, voluntary social expenditures amounted to 10.5 percent of the U.S. GDP, dwarfing the average of 2.5 percent among other OECD countries.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Charities Aid Foundation, "CAF World Giving Index 2018: A Global View of Giving Trends," 2018, https://www.cafonline.org/docs/default-source/about-us/publications/caf_wgi2018_report_webnopw_2379a_261018.pdf?sfvrsn=c28e9140_4, 42.

⁴⁶ World Bank, "GDP (Current US\$)," *World Development Indicators*

⁴⁷ See Robert A. Gross, "Giving in America: From charity to philanthropy," in *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History*, ed. Lawrence J. Friedman and Mark D. McGarvie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 29-48; and Brian O'Connell, *America's Voluntary Spirit: A Book of Readings* (New York: The Foundation Center, 1983).

⁴⁸ Clotfelter, "Charitable Giving and Tax Policy in the U.S.," 35.

Despite the early evidence of the role of charity and volunteering in American society, it was not until after the Civil War that American philanthropy as it is conceived of today came into existence. As wealth generated through the Industrial Revolution resulted in high levels of inequality, industrialists such as Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller donated unprecedented amounts of money to charity. The benefits these wealthy philanthropists brought to society were deemed so valuable by the government that, when the first modern tax code was passed in 1917 in response to World War I, senators proposed deducting charitable contributions to specific causes from taxable income, not to encourage more philanthropic activity, as is commonly believed, but to prevent the new tax from eroding existing activity.⁴⁹ This not only cemented the importance of charitable giving in U.S. federal legislation, but also established the U.S. as a model for other countries seeking to incentivize charitable giving.⁵⁰

These industrialists also influenced how the American philanthropic sector engaged with foreign populations, shaping our current notions of humanitarian assistance. Before the turn of the century, charitable gifts had largely been used for “temporary relief for the destitute.”⁵¹ However, influenced by the fledgling field of social science, philanthropists of the late 19th and early 20th centuries increasingly sought to use their private wealth to promote societal progress by addressing issues they perceived as being the root cause of society’s problems. Generally, this meant operating through the fields of education, healthcare, and policy reform.⁵² This new mission drove the wealthy to challenge legal restrictions to philanthropic bequests, and through the successful reform of existing regulation, they created a new type of open-ended philanthropy that sought to benefit

⁴⁹ Ibid, 558, 559.

⁵⁰ Pickering, Adam. Interview with Ted Hart, “Do Incentives Work? A Global View of Tax Incentives and Charitable Giving,” *CAF America Radio Network*, <https://www.cafamerica.org/wp-content/uploads/Adam-Pickering-Do-Tax-Incentives-Work-A-Global-View-of-Tax-Incentives-and-Charitable-Giving.pdf>, (accessed April 6, 2020).

⁵¹ Olivier Zunz, *Philanthropy in America: A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 9.

⁵² Ibid, 9.

all of society through progress. Whereas previous regulations generally mandated that bequests have a direct impact on the welfare of the less fortunate, those challenging the law advocated for a more expansive and nebulous definition of charity that could be reinterpreted by future generations as the nature of societal problems evolved.⁵³ These legal reforms, which took place between 1893 and 1914, fundamentally changed Americans' understanding of what constitutes charity, allowing endeavors like the funding of preservation projects, which do not necessarily offer direct relief to immediate problems, to be incentivized through the U.S. tax code because they can be framed as contributing towards societal progress.

These developments applied just as much to the international arena as they did domestic issues. While Americans had raised funds to benefit populations overseas since the early 19th century, these initiatives had largely served to provide relief for specific humanitarian disasters, such as the Greek War of Independence in 1821, Irish Potato Famine from 1845 to 1849, and the Armenian Massacres of 1894–1896.⁵⁴ However, as support for long-term solutions gained preference over immediate assistance, donor organizations providing overseas assistance became increasingly preoccupied with funding plans to pursue social progress along the lines of healthcare, education, and policy reform, pushing for the replication of successful programs across different cultural contexts.⁵⁵

This imperative to define, prioritize, and pursue broad social goals coupled with the resources to have an outsized impact define the character of American philanthropy. However, these attributes have also generated criticism, namely that, through philanthropy, private wealthy individuals exert too much influence on public policy, which critics suggest results in a quasi-

⁵³ Ibid, 16, 22.

⁵⁴ See Merle Curti, *Philanthropy Abroad*, (New York: Routledge, 2017).

⁵⁵ Zunz, *Philanthropy in America*, 10.

plutocracy that reinforces, rather than reduces, inequality while depriving the state of income from taxes. They contrast philanthropy, through which the wealthy contribute to causes as they see fit, with the social welfare implemented by a democratic state, which allows citizens have equal votes in how funds are used towards the public good.⁵⁶ An implication of this criticism is that wealthy donors have disproportionate power in defining which public goods receive support and the ways in which these goods are pursued. In other words, when foundations, through their funding, and nonprofits, acting in response to this funding, take on the responsibilities of the state, private individuals make decisions that impact the welfare of the masses.

Critics also express concern that the agendas of philanthropic organizations are informed by the perspectives and values of only a small portion of society. For example, in *Decolonizing Wealth: Indigenous Wisdom to Heal Divides and Restore Balance*, author Edgar Villanueva argues that philanthropy is shaped by and reinforces colonial dynamics. He draws on statistics to show that most of the people in positions of control of foundations are white, male, and wealthy, and when seeking grants or other support, nonprofits and individuals need to develop and present their programming in a way that appeals to these gatekeepers.⁵⁷ Villanueva writes that often, these foundations look for organizations and programming with established track records, data that proves their effectiveness, and the potential for scalability. As a result, they disproportionately grant funding to organizations that already have the resources to develop these characteristics, overlooking organizations run by or rooted in particularly vulnerable communities.⁵⁸ He also posits that private foundations tend to favor technocratic solutions that construct “quantification and

⁵⁶ Robert F. Arnove, *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad*, (Boston: Indiana University Press, 1982), 1.

⁵⁷ Edgar Villanueva, *Decolonizing Wealth: Indigenous Wisdom to Heal Divides and Restore Balance* (Oakland, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc., 2018) 5, 57, 61, 75.

⁵⁸Villanueva, *Decolonizing Wealth*, 75.

systematic decision-making . . . as the basis for purposive action.”⁵⁹ In his eyes, the result is a system in which elites and experts have disproportionate authority in defining social progress in comparison with that of populations their philanthropy targets.

Recent critics writing against a backdrop of rising inequality in the U.S., have argued that this dynamic serves to preserve wealth and reproduce disparity. In *Winners Take All: The Elite Charade of Changing the World*, Anand Giridharadas highlights the many ways in which the philanthropic sector attempts to address societal problems through the free market, overlooking the ways in which the market has produced the inequality that stokes these problems in the first place.⁶⁰ He suggests that by promoting market-based solutions to a wide range of societal problems, private foundations and donors might divert attention and investment from potential structural changes that could produce a more equitable society while reinforcing the dynamics that have allowed donors to amass wealth in the first place.

In summary, American philanthropy is a powerful force. It has the financial resources of an independent nation state and provides foreign assistance at a scale comparable to that of the U.S. government. Rooted in historical tradition, it encourages the systematic pursuit of broad social goals generally based on technocratic definitions of progress and an affinity for market-based solutions. Private philanthropic organizations supplement the role of the U.S. government both at home and abroad, contributing to the country’s soft power and hegemony through their capacity to fund and implement projects, often in partnership with U.S. governmental agencies. However, despite the ways in which philanthropic institutions work in conjunction with the state, some critics suggest that private funding, especially when it reduces the state’s revenue from taxes, does not

⁵⁹Arnové, *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad*, 18.

⁶⁰Anand Giridharadas, *Winners Take All: The Elite Charade of Changing the World*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2018).

necessarily result in more just and democratic governance and may serve to further consolidate wealth by reinforcing inequitable dynamics. While critics these have focused on the ways in which this allows elites to define progress domestically, their arguments can be translated to an international scale, suggesting that American donors may have a disproportionate role in setting the agenda for a variety of societal endeavors overseas. Understanding these characteristics of the American philanthropic sector, how they have been informed by historical developments, and how they have been critiqued provide a context for examining the nonprofits addressed in the following chapters.

3. Qualitative Analysis

Methodology

Generating A Sample List of Organizations

This analysis relied heavily on Foundation Directory Online for the creation of a sample of organizations for analysis and access to organizations' tax records. Operated by Candid, this database provides information about and the funding histories of foundations, other nonprofits, corporations, and federal agencies. Primarily used for researching funding prospects, it extracts information from tax-exempt organizations' publicly-available annual returns – specifically Form 990 for public charities and Form 990-PF for private foundations – to create searchable profiles for tax-exempt organizations that issue or receive grants.⁶¹ For the purposes of this research, Foundation Directory Online was used to identify U.S.-based organizations that support historic preservation abroad that could be included in the sample for analysis. This tool was useful for generating a robust list of potential subjects, including lesser-known organizations that may have otherwise been overlooked. It also grants users access to organizations' 990 forms from 2002 onward, which proved beneficial for the quantitative analysis.

While Foundation Directory Online offers many advantages, it also has some notable limitations. Because its classification system relies largely on how organizations report their activities to the IRS, organization and grant characteristics are not perfectly standardized, leading to some inaccuracy in the search results. While false-positives were gradually eliminated from the sample through research, there was no way to identify organizations that may have been beneficial to the analysis but were excluded from the search results due to variations in reporting.

⁶¹ Candid, "What is a Form 990 or a 990-PF? How can I learn about using them? *Grant Space* <https://grantspace.org/resources/knowledge-base/what-is-a-990-990-pf/> (accessed April 2, 2020).

Furthermore, for an organization to be included in the database, it must either have given or received a grant. Unfortunately, Foundation Directory Online does not explicitly state its definition of a grant. However, it does report amounts as small as \$10. Regardless, organizations that receive donations only from individuals who do not channel donations through a foundation or fund their own projects would theoretically be excluded from this dataset.

To generate the initial list of potential organizations to be included in the sample, Foundation Directory Online's search feature, which allows users to search for grants using a number of filters, was used. Results from these searches display not only the grants matching specific criteria, but also the organizations that gave or received them. To generate the initial sample for this research, the following specifications were used: First, grants had to address the subject area of historic preservation. Second, to find organizations with missions outside the United States, search criteria for geographic focus of grants was limited to Europe, Asia, Oceania, Africa, Latin America, South America, and Central America. Multiple ways of describing the Americas were used to avoid the exclusion of organizations due to ambiguity in how U.S. residents often describe countries in Central America and the Caribbean. Finally, search results were filtered to include only recipient organizations that were located in the United States.

These search criteria yielded 199 results for grant recipients, which were then narrowed down to only fifty-two. Many organizations were eliminated due to incorrect reporting of their geographic focus, which occurred for a number of reasons. This error frequently happened when a municipality in the United States had the same name as a location in another country. For example, the Oxford Historical Society of Connecticut was reported as supporting historic preservation in Oxford, England. Misreporting also occurred when a site that was located in the United States but had ties to another country received preservation funding. The Peabody Essex

Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, for example, received a grant for the conservation of a Chinese merchant house that had been dismantled, brought to America, and re-erected within the museum as a part of its exhibit. While this house is a piece of Chinese heritage, its conservation benefits American museum-goers and institutions more than Chinese populations abroad.

Results were also evaluated based on the extent to which the organization actually supported the conservation of the built environment rather than related endeavors like art and document conservation, museum exhibitions, and the preservation of endangered languages. Organizations that engaged only with excavation or the conservation of movable artifacts were excluded, as were organizations that dealt with purely intangible heritage without engaging with some spatialized component of that heritage. This was evaluated both by examining organizations' websites and annual reports to understand their missions and projects and by looking into the specific grant that caused their inclusion in this list. If grant descriptions were vague or not related to preservation and the organization's public material did not indicate a specific involvement with historic preservation, they were eliminated from the sample. However, if an organization's public-facing material did not indicate a specific commitment to historic preservation but they had received multiple grants specifically for the preservation of a site or structure, they were included. This allowed for organizations that use conservation of the built environment to support larger humanitarian goals to be included in the sample, as well as some organizations that engage primarily with moveable objects but also work with the conservation of sites.

Besides excluding organizations that did not send funds abroad or did not comply with a specific definition of historic preservation, three other categories of actors were eliminated from this sample, namely universities, museum-affiliated organizations, and professional and academic associations. Although universities contribute to preservation projects abroad, at the outset of this

research, much of the money they spend on historic preservation was assumed to be used primarily to facilitate student travel, which does not necessarily have the same impact as the funding of professionally-led projects. Given the already-large scope of the thesis, this assumption was not confirmed, making the intersection of philanthropy, U.S. higher education, and the preservation of foreign heritage, an avenue for future research. Organizations affiliated with foreign museums like American Friends of the British Museum, were excluded because, while several did receive grants specifically intended for the preservation of the sites and monuments, these projects generally appeared to be one-offs. Their commitment to the conservation of the built environment was so minimal in comparison with their other activities that it did not add to this thesis's analysis.

Similarly, professional and academic associations were excluded because those that appeared in the sample were focused on developing networks of experts and professionals through conferences, the production and dissemination of information, and providing educational opportunities to preservation students and professionals, such as workshops or international exchanges rather than specifically supporting preservation projects abroad. When generating the sample of organizations, multiple well-known professional associations – specifically Association for Preservation Technology International (APT); the International Committee for Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites and Neighborhoods of the Modern Movement, US Chapter (DOCOMOMO US); and the United States Committee of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (US ICOMOS) – were listed on Foundation Directory Online as having received grants for historic preservation-related activities in other countries. However, upon inspection, these grants were specifically intended for enabling participants from other countries to attend the organizations' annual conferences. When examining these organization's public-facing material and Forms 990, there was no evidence of them actually contributing to projects overseas.

Professional and academic organizations that were not included in the sample generated by Foundation Directory Online Council of American Overseas Research Centers (CAORC) and American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR), do however, contribute directly to preservation projects abroad, so this category of organization should perhaps be considered for further research.

The fifty-two organizations that remained after this process of elimination were those that were considered in the subsequent analyses. At the time of writing, forty-six were still operational, whereas six were disbanded or had lost their tax-exempt status in the U.S. However, these organizations were still included in the analysis because they had still contributed to the landscape during the period of interest.

Table 1: The Fifty-Two Sample Organizations

Aga Khan Foundation USA	Holy Archangels Orthodox Foundation
American Associates of the Saint Catherine Foundation	International Coalition of Sites of Conscience
American Friends for the Preservation of Czech Culture	International Survey of Jewish Monuments
American Friends of Pro Patrimonio*	Jewish National Fund
American Friends of Versailles	Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust
American Fund for Westminster Abbey	Kham Aid Foundation*
American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee	Miracle of Nazareth International Foundation
Benjamin Franklin House Foundation*	Mostar Fund*
Cultural Conservancy Sacred Land Foundation	Patrons of the Arts in the Vatican Museums, Inc.
Dubrovnik Preservation Foundation	Royal Oak Foundation
Ephesus Foundation	Safed Foundation
Falmouth Heritage Renewal	Sambotha Inc.*
Finca Vigia Foundation	Save Venice
French Heritage Society Inc.	St Paul's Cathedral Trust in America
Friends of Benjamin Franklin House US	Sustainable Preservation Initiative
Friends of Dresden Inc.	The Bridge Fund
Friends of FAI-The Italian Environment Foundation	The Irish Georgian Society
Friends of Florence	The National Trust for Scotland Foundation USA, Inc.
Friends of Ir David	The Versailles Foundation
Friends of Khmer Culture Inc	Tibet Fund
Friends of Sulgrave Manor	Trust for African Rock Art
Friends of the Via	Tsoknyi Humanitarian Foundation
Fundación Amistad*	Turquoise Mountain Foundation
Give2Cuba	Venetian Heritage
Global Heritage	Western Wall Heritage Foundation
Historic Bahamas Foundation	World Monuments Fund

* Indicates that the organization is no longer operational or has lost tax-exempt status in the U.S.

Analysis of Public-Facing Discourse

The first method of analysis was an evaluation of how organizations present themselves, their values, and their missions to the public through a review of publicly-available materials from all fifty-two organizations. These public-facing documents reveal how organizations frame the preservation of another country's heritage as an endeavor worthy not only of the support of private American donors, but also, in a sense, American public funds, as contributions to these entities can be deducted from taxable income and many also received grants directly from the federal government. This analysis drew from websites, annual reports, and other documents published by these organizations, as well as the missions the organizations reported to non-profit information services like GuideStar and Foundation Directory Online, which filled gaps for smaller organizations that did not have their own websites. Throughout the course of this analysis, the primary values of each organization, as each organization presents itself, were noted. Common themes included:

- member or donor benefits, such as free entrance to historic sites or newsletters;
- the tax-deductible nature of contributions to the organization;
- economic development of local communities;
- the promotion of civil society, independence, or a sense of pride among a local community;
- traditional skill or craft training for members of a local community;
- female empowerment;
- appeals to transnational or diasporic communities;
- spreading awareness or conducting advocacy on behalf of a type of heritage;
- the universal value of heritage;
- and the use of heritage to establish cross-cultural connections.

Interviews

The second method for collecting information was semi-structured interviews with representatives from a handful of organizations in the sample. Questions addressed topics including perceptions about the landscapes in which organizations operate, organizations' support bases, and processes for project selection. All forty-two of the organizations that currently operate were solicited for an interview. Representatives from eight organizations agreed to participate:

- Brooks Lobkowitz, the Founder and President of the American Friends for the Preservation of Czech Culture (AFPCC), which provides funding to the Lobkowitz Collection, an assemblage of paintings, documents, and decorative objects housed in four castles across the Czech Republic, as well as the birth house of composer Antonín Dvořák;
- Maryetta Anschutz, a fundraising consultant for St. Paul's Cathedral Trust in America (SPCTA), which supports St. Paul's Cathedral in London;
- Linda Norris, Global Networks Program Director of the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, an organization dedicated to building the capacity of cultural institutions to use the past to address current issues related to justice and human rights;
- Michael Kerrigan, the Executive Director of the Irish Georgian Society (IGS), an organization dedicated to preserving architecturally significant buildings in Ireland;
- Melissa Conn, the Director of the Venice office for Save Venice;
- Lobsang Nyandak, the President of the Tibet Fund, a humanitarian organization that provides aid and programming to Tibetans in exile;
- Yiannis Avramides, Senior Manager of the World Monuments Watch at the World Monuments Fund;
- And a Director of Advancement at an organization that preferred to remain anonymous.

Findings

The analyses of the sample organizations' public-facing material, as well as interviews with individuals at organizations revealed that a diverse array of private institutions help facilitate the flow of American funds into preservation projects abroad. These organizations vary across a multitude of characteristics.

Some of these attributes are relatively straight-forward. Organizations can vary in terms of their scope, addressing heritage at a site-specific, national, regional, or international scale. When not international in scope, they also differ in terms of the regions of the world in which they operate, which often correlates with their other attributes. Those engaging with heritage in Europe and Israel, specifically, tend to have different priorities and practices than those operating in other regions of the world. Organizations also varied in terms of their sources of financial support. While they all benefited from private donations from Americans to some degree, in some cases private philanthropy was their or their parent organization's primary source of revenue for preservation work, whereas other organizations saw charitable contributions as a helpful supplement to tourist revenue or government grants.

At least sixteen organizations engaged with religious heritage in some direct way, although their specific relationships with religious heritage varied. Some organizations directly supported religious sites, but received private American donations based largely on the architectural or historical value of the site, as was the case with the Saint Paul's Cathedral Trust in America.⁶² Others engaged with religious heritage from a more humanitarian perspective, recognizing the importance of religious sites and traditions to community resilience. This is exemplified in the case of the Tibet Fund, which has provided assistance to Tibetan Buddhist monasteries and nunneries

⁶²Anschutz, Maryetta. (Fundraising Consultant, St. Paul's Cathedral Trust in America), interview by author, March, 24, 2020.

that were rebuilt by refugee communities in India, Nepal, and Bhutan, with the understanding that religious tradition is essential to the exiled community's ability to maintain their cohesion and distinct identity.⁶³ Three organizations used preservation to further an evangelical mission, using the historic built environment to support and spatialize Christian narratives and values. This is most clearly evident in the case of Miracle of Nazareth Foundation Inc., which supports the reconstruction of a first-century Israeli village on the outskirts of Nazareth with the goal of physically contextualizing the teachings of Jesus. Finally, there were multiple organizations that pursued preservation for Jewish nationalist ends, selectively supporting projects in Israel to bolster a Jewish identity, a topic further elaborated on later in the chapter.

Another notable aspect in which organizations differed was the degree to which they prioritized preservation as a central component of their work. Of the fifty-two organizations surveyed, forty-five treated preservation as either their ultimate goal, or the primary means through which they pursued a related goal, an approach exemplified by the Global Heritage Fund, which seeks to leverage preservation for sustainable development. Among twelve organizations, heritage preservation served a secondary role, often as one of many approaches in toolkit used to achieve a broader mission. These missions varied considerably and included pursuits such as furthering religious ministry and developing Israel as a Jewish nation-state, strengthening democracy and civil society, and providing humanitarian aid. These various missions also resulted in differing means of presenting themselves to their potential American donors through public documents. Organizations drew on a variety of discourses when framing their support of foreign heritage as an endeavor worth American investment, focusing on themes such as the benefits available to

⁶³ Nyandak, Lobsang. (President, Tibet Fund), interview by author, March, 24, 2020.

donors; Americans' connections, forged either through family or tourism, with heritage overseas; humanitarian motives; and religious affiliation.

Differing missions also resulted in variation among organizations' consistency of commitment to supporting the preservation of foreign heritage. Some organizations that employed heritage as a means to achieve a broader mission fluctuated significantly in terms of the frequency with which they set aside funds for preservation and the size of these funds, such as the Aga Khan Foundation USA, Give2Cuba, and the Bridge Fund. In any given year, these organizations might not have contributed to preservation at all. Other organizations, like the Cultural Conservancy Sacred Lands Foundation, had a stronger commitment to preservation in general, but supported projects both domestically and abroad, leading to variations in the amount of money actually funneled into sites overseas.

There was also a divergence in terms of the type of heritage that various groups supported. While all organizations had some sort of place-based component to their heritage preservation, some were committed solely to the preservation of the built environment whereas others were more likely to work with cultural landscapes that engaged with both the physical environment and intangible heritage. Finally, organizations either engaged directly with project implementation or served primarily as fundraising apparatuses, benefiting organizations overseas which oversaw implementation.

When examining the variations in these attributes across various organizations, a typology of organizations with similar tendencies across multiple characteristics began to emerge. The three broad categories into which organizations tended to fall were Europe-focused fundraising organizations; international project-implementers, which often have a focus on capacity-building; and organizations motivated by religious agendas, operating or sending funds largely to Israel.

While this typology does not perfectly describe every private organization operating in this arena – some organizations do not clearly fit into any one category – it can help describe general trends and characteristics, enabling a better understanding of how organizations engaging with preservation can influence the diplomatic and political landscape and allowing for a critique of current practices.

Table 2: The Fifty-Two Organizations Divided into the Typology

Fundraising Organizations

American Associates of the Saint Catherine Foundation
 American Friends for the Preservation of Czech Culture
 American Friends of Pro Patrimonio*
 American Friends of Versailles
 American Fund for Westminster Abbey
 Benjamin Franklin House Foundation
 Dubrovnik Preservation Foundation
 French Heritage Society Inc.
 Friends of Benjamin Franklin House US*
 Friends of Dresden Inc.
 Friends of FAI-The Italian Environment Foundation
 Friends of Florence
 Friends of Sulgrave Manor
 Historic Bahamas Foundation
 Patrons of the Arts in the Vatican Museums, Inc.
 Royal Oak Foundation
 St Paul's Cathedral Trust in America
 The Irish Georgian Society
 The National Trust for Scotland Foundation USA, Inc.
 The Versailles Foundation
 Trust for African Rock Art
 Venetian Heritage

Implementing Organizations

Aga Khan Foundation USA
 American Joint Distribution Committee
 Cultural Conservancy Sacred Land Foundation
 Falmouth Heritage Renewal
 Finca Vigia Foundation

Fundación Amistad

Give2Cuba
 Global Heritage Fund
 International Coalition of Sites and Conscience
 Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust
 Kham Aid Foundation
 Safed Foundation
 Sambotha Inc.
 Save Venice
 Sustainable Preservation Initiative
 The Bridge Fund
 Tibet Fund
 Tsoknyi Humanitarian Foundation
 Turquoise Mountain Foundation
 World Monuments Fund

Religiously-Motivated Organizations

The Ephesus Foundation
 Friends of Ir David
 Jewish National Fund
 Miracle of Nazareth International Foundation Inc.
 Western Wall Heritage Foundation
 Holy Archangels Orthodox Foundation

Other

Friends of Khmer Culture Inc.
 Friends of the Via
 International Survey of Jewish Monuments
 Mostar Fund

* Indicates that the organization is no longer operational or has lost tax-exempt status in the U.S

Fundraising-Focused Organizations

The first type of organization is that which fundraises on behalf of affiliated organizations or institutions located in another country, enabling Americans to donate to foreign entities while still benefiting from income tax deductions. Often including the phrase “friends of,” in their name, these organizations may raise funds for specific projects but are directed by affiliated institutions in terms of the kinds of projects that become subjects of fundraising campaigns. This creates a dynamic in which American donors generally have an indirect influence on the preservation projects supported by these organizations. Because these organizations respond to the agendas of foreign institutions, their fundraising efforts align with priorities set by these other entities. Still, understanding the interests and tendencies of American donors has the potential to shape how the affiliated entities abroad shape their agenda.

This category is by far the largest in terms of number of organizations: twenty-two out of the fifty-two organizations included in the analysis matched this description. In terms of scope, these organizations support national heritage, specific cities, or individual sites rather than having international or regional focuses, and their geographic focus tends to be concentrated in Europe. Twenty of the twenty-two organizations in this category send money exclusively to that region, with the majority of its organizations supporting heritage in the United Kingdom (8), Italy (3), or France (3). Only the Historic Bahamas Foundation, which supports the Antiquities, Monuments, and Museum Corporation in Nassau, and the Trust for African Rock Art, which fundraises on behalf of a parent organization by the same name located in Nairobi, Kenya, had focuses outside of Europe.

In addition to sending funds to their affiliates overseas, these organizations also often provide programming that raises awareness or attempts to cultivate an appreciation for the type of

heritage they support. These activities often take the form of lectures, conferences, and tours to the very sites the organizations' fundraising efforts help preserve. Through their emphasis on their tax-exempt status and educational opportunities, these organizations frequently underscore the ways in which they serve their American donors in their public-facing materials. This tendency is all the more evident when an organization offers memberships, which frequently come with perks like free admittance to certain heritage sites. In addition to focusing on the benefits they offer American donors, the public material of these organizations will sometimes also explicitly thank Americans for the large amount of support they provide, placing an emphasis on donors that is not evident in other categories.

A typical example of the kind of rhetoric that focuses strongly on American donors and the ways in which an organization benefits them can be found on the National Trust for Scotland Foundation's website. When describing the organization's mission, this website states:

"The National Trust for Scotland Foundation USA encourages Americans to connect with the things that make Scotland unique – from coastlines to castles, from art to architecture, from wildlife to wilderness – and to protect them for future generations."⁶⁴

On the same page, under a header reading "How We Help," the function of the organization is described as follows:

"As an independent American not-for-profit corporation, The National Trust for Scotland Foundation USA exists to support the work of Scotland's largest conservation charity. We make grants for projects that protect Scotland's natural, built, and cultural heritage, while providing American donors with valuable tax benefits."⁶⁵

⁶⁴ National Trust for Scotland Foundation USA, "What We Do," *ntsusa.org*. <https://ntsusa.org/about-us/what-we-do/> (accessed April 6, 2020).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

Through these statements, the National Trust for Scotland Foundation USA frames the preservation of Scottish heritage as being valuable to American donors primarily because of the potential for Americans to engage with it on a personal level through the programming provided by the organization itself. The second statement, intended to succinctly capture the primary function of the organization, explicitly highlights the fact that donations are tax deductible. While all organizations in the sample of fifty-two offer the same tax benefits to donors, organizations belonging to this category are the only ones that advertise it as one of their central functions. Across organizations in this category, these tendencies assert the centrality of the American public to their missions.

Organizations belonging to this group also frequently borrow from the parlance of cultural diplomacy, maintaining that by educating the American public about a foreign culture and enabling Americans to demonstrate their friendship with another country by financially supporting its heritage, they are contributing positively to bilateral relations between the United States and the recipient country. This is clearly evident in the mission statement of the American Friends of Versailles. According to this statement, “Versailles is the largest museum in the world with great historical ties to the United States, and more Americans visit the Chateau annually than almost any other individual museum within the United States.” The organization uses this background information to then present itself as uniquely positioned to “improve and promote positive goodwill between [the] two nations on a long-term basis.”⁶⁶ Claims like this once again draw attention to the ways in which these organizations benefit the American public.

Another striking example of this kind of rhetoric is found on the website of St. Paul’s Cathedral Trust in America (SPCTA). While this organization could be included among those that

⁶⁶ American Friends of Versailles, “Goals and Mission Statement,” *americanfriendsofversailles.org*. <http://www.americanfriendsofversailles.org/goals.html> (accessed April 6, 2020).

fundraise on behalf of religious heritage sites, its public presentation solidly aligns it with “friends of” groups, especially in the way that it appeals to Anglo-American solidarity. The main banner on the website’s homepage prominently reads, without context, “Long after the devastation of the war, St. Paul’s Choristers still sing in honor of American lives lost.”⁶⁷ When navigating the website to learn more, a separate page explains that “the American Memorial Chapel at St. Paul’s was dedicated to the American troops who gave their lives to fight against tyranny during World War II,” and for this reason “[i]t stands as a testament to the unbreakable bond between two nations,” explicitly framing the cathedral as a symbol of allyship between the United States and the United Kingdom.⁶⁸

Representatives of three organizations belonging to this category agreed to participate in interviews. The first was Michael Kerrigan, the Executive Director of the Irish Georgian Society (IGS), an organization dedicated to preserving architecturally significant buildings in Ireland. Founded in 1958, the organization can be seen as Ireland’s response to England’s National Trust and has been a registered tax-exempt organization in the U.S. since 1968. The second interview participant was Maryetta Anschutz, a fundraising consultant for St. Paul’s Cathedral Trust in America (SPCTA), which has been providing support for St. Paul’s maintenance, educational programs, and choir since 1996. The final interviewee was Brooks Lobkowicz, the Founder and President of the American Friends for the Preservation of Czech Culture (AFPCC), an organization founded in 1993 to support the Lobkowicz Family Collections, which include multiple publicly-accessible historic structures in the Czech Republic.

⁶⁷ St. Paul’s Cathedral Trust in America, Homepage, *stpaulusa.org*, <https://stpaulsusa.org/>. (accessed April 6, 2020).

⁶⁸ St. Paul’s Cathedral Trust in America, “The Story,” *stpaulusa.org*, <https://stpaulsusa.org/story/>. (accessed April 6, 2020).

A common theme among the interviews with representatives from SPCTA, IGS, and AFPCC was the type of demographics that support the organizations and why these groups are attracted to them. Across all three organizations, representatives spoke primarily of private individual donors or family foundations, almost to the exclusion of any other type of supporter. Mr. Kerrigan described the average supporter of the IGS as being highly educated, cultured, and well-travelled – individuals who are “trained to appreciate such places,” referring not only to preservationist or architectural historians but anyone who had cultivated a taste for European architecture.⁶⁹ According to Mr. Kerrigan, this audience often overlaps with those of other well-known organizations supporting cultural preservation in Europe, including the Royal Oak Foundation, Save Venice, and the Versailles Foundation. Similarly, Ms. Anschutz described the typical SPCTA supporter as older, well-travelled, and with a significant amount of disposable income, mentioning that the organization also received support from corporate donors who wanted the Cathedral to “roll out the red carpet,” when they hosted prominent guests in London.⁷⁰ Ms. Lobkowitz was perhaps most succinct when she described AFPCC’s primary base as, “socially prominent New Yorkers and Bostonians.”

Across the interviews, three main reasons for private donors’ support emerged. First was a pre-existing appreciation of art, architecture, and preservation, cultivated either through travel or through education. The second, echoing the rhetoric found on organizations’ websites, was the sense of personal connection that American donors forged with the sites they support. All three interview participants mentioned the importance of facilitating donor interactions with project sites. IGS and AFPCC have achieved this through coordinated tours to Ireland and the Czech

⁶⁹ Kerrigan, Micheal. (Executive Director, Irish Georgian Society), interview by author, March 19, 2020.

⁷⁰ Anschutz, Maryetta. (Fundraising Consultant, St. Paul’s Cathedral Trust in America), interview by author, March, 24, 2020.

Republic respectively. Mr. Kerrigan noted that the small tours offered to IGS donors are very effective at cultivating a deeper appreciation of Irish culture and sense of community among donors, who are entertained in country houses across Ireland.

In the case of St. Paul's Cathedral, Ms. Anschutz stated that donors were encouraged not just to visit the site, but also to engage more deeply with the Cathedral through tours through the attic, interactions with staff, or exposure to innovative preservation techniques – experiences that, while accessible to anyone who specifically seeks them out, are not part of the average tourist's visit. From her perspective, experiences that enable donors to interact with a side of the Cathedral's history that is less public encourage them not only to forge a stronger personal connection with the site but also to provide support for others having the same experiences. In her words, having had these more personal experiences, “donors want people to care in 50 years,” and ask themselves, “What can I do to build that kind of affection?”⁷¹ Presumably, the answer is to donate to the Cathedral so that it remains accessible to future generations.

The third recurring aspect of these organizations that seem to attract donor support is the ways in which they engage with pre-existing social networks and forge new ones. During interviews with both Mr. Kerrigan and Ms. Lobkowicz, it became clear that both IGS and AFPCC had been founded by well-connected, charismatic leaders who were able to leverage their own social connections to establish the organization. Ms. Lobkowicz in particular stressed the fact that AFPCC had grown out of the support of a small group of family friends, and that, as that original base has grown smaller, the organization has been facing the challenge of institutionalizing and reaching a broader audience, in part through events.⁷² This narrative bears a resemblance to Mr.

⁷¹ Anschutz, Maryetta. (Fundraising Consultant, St. Paul's Cathedral Trust in America), interview by author, March, 24, 2020.

⁷² Lobkowicz, Brooks. (Founder and President, American Friends for the Preservation of Czech Culture), interview by author, March 29, 2020.

Kerrigan's account of how the IGS became established in the U.S. The organization was founded by Desmond Guinness, a member of an aristocratic Irish family. He grew the organization's American presence through parties and social events hosted by his personal connections in New York, Chicago, and Palm Beach. While the organization has now institutionalized, Mr. Kerrigan still credits this social element as an important reason individuals support the organization, mentioning that people stay engaged because their friends are also involved.⁷³ In this way, these organizations form communities around individuals with similar interests and backgrounds, using a pre-existing appreciation for a site or type of heritage to cultivate engagement that extends beyond the support of preservation.

IGS, SPCTA, and AFPCC all use American donations to supplement other private revenue streams. In the case of St. Paul's Cathedral and the Lobkowitz family properties, tourism provides their primary source of income. Within Ireland, the IGS is a membership-based organization, and membership fees are essential for the organization's general operating costs. Despite these other sources of revenue, American donations are significant for the sites these organization's support, albeit to varying degrees. According to Ms. Anschutz, while the vast majority of St. Paul's revenue comes from ticket sales, American contributions comprise between a third and a fourth of all charitable donations towards St. Paul's general budget, amounting to between \$700,000 to \$1,300,000 per year. However, that amount is not reflected in the SPCTA's 990 forms – The organization's 2017 990 form lists a total revenue of only \$64,841. In addition to this sum, American donors support capital projects outside the general fund such as the preservation of the cathedral's American Chapel. Ms. Anschutz noted that the governing body of St. Paul's Cathedral

⁷³ Kerrigan, Micheal. (Executive Director, Irish Georgian Society), interview by author, March 19, 2020.

tends to ask SPCTA to fundraise for capital projects with less public appeal with the assumption that American donors are generally more generous than those in the United Kingdom.⁷⁴

In the case of IGS, American donors have an even more significant role. According to Mr. Kerrigan, while membership fees in Ireland are essential to the organization's operating costs, their biggest source of funding is American donors. In his words, "Irish Georgians have the content, we [Americans] have the money." This results in a dynamic in which the organization selects their projects in part based on what kind of support they anticipate receiving from American donors. To illustrate this Mr. Kerrigan used the example of one 18th-century house that the organization was considering acquiring to ensure its conservation. When IGS determined that this specific property would not likely gain significant support among Americans, they decided to advocate for its preservation without acquiring it outright.

According to Mr. Kerrigan, a variety of factors influence American donors' support of a project. First and foremost, they tend to be more supportive of what he calls "brick and mortar" projects, tangible endeavors that engage directly with a building's historic fabric, rather than the organization's more abstract pursuits, including supporting scholarship on architectural history, advocacy, or even general operating costs. Ms. Anschutz echoed this sentiment when it came to addressing American's affinity to contributing to capital projects rather than St. Paul's Cathedral's general budget. In her words, "Americans want something they can feel good about." Both Mr. Kerrigan's and Ms. Anschutz's responses seem to allude to a sense of instant gratification that drives their American donor base to support specific projects rather than contributing unrestricted funds.

⁷⁴ Anschutz, Maryetta. (Fundraising Consultant, St. Paul's Cathedral Trust in America), interview by author, March, 24, 2020.

Beyond an affinity for tangible projects, Mr. Kerrigan also identified a number of other characteristics that, from the perspective of the IGS, indicate a high potential for interest among their American audience. To illustrate these traits, he used the example of the City Assembly House in Dublin. The City Assembly House became the focus of the IGS's restoration program in 2013 after having been vacant for a decade, and now serves as the headquarters for IGS.⁷⁵ According to Mr. Kerrigan, this project was appealing to American donors on many levels. The building had a compelling local history, and American donors understood the importance of it being saved for its historical and social importance. Beyond that, the preservation of the building had a clear purpose; Americans supported the need of the IGS to have a headquarters. Aesthetic value and the clear potential for a building to be transformed into something visually appealing is also an important component to fundraising success, an attribute Mr. Kerrigan stressed not only in relation to the City Assembly Hall, but also to other projects. He also posits that, as a red-brick Georgian building, the City Assembly Hall may have been more appealing to Americans because it is reminiscent of colonial structures with which the IGS's donor base would be familiar in the U.S. Mr. Kerrigan's observations show that the organization is aware and does cater to their American support base, indicating that these donors do indirectly influence the parent organization's interaction with the built environment.

Ms. Lobkowitz of AFPC, however, expressed the most compelling narratives of American donors having a direct influence on the preservation and interpretation of the Lobkowitz properties. According to her, the first large donation the foundation received was from an acquaintance who visited one of their properties not long after the AFPC had been founded. While touring the property, this acquaintance saw a run-down building, which had previously been

⁷⁵ Kerrigan, Michael. (Executive Director, Irish Georgian Society), interview by author, March 19, 2020.

a priest's house, and, expressing a desire to convert the building into a facility for students, contributed \$100,000 for the building's renovation. The family, which has the enormous burden of caring for multiple historic sites and collections, accepted the condition of adapting the building for student use in return for help restoring and maintaining the property. A similar exchange occurred after the family opened Nelahozeves Castle. Upon touring the site, a friend of the family saw the need for an audio-guide, narrated by Lobkowitz family members including their own personal connections to the site, and contributed \$75,000 for its creation. Ms. Lobkowitz told additional stories of Americans who had visited the family's properties and encountered an object, such as a painting or altar, that resonated with them, prompting them to give to that specific object's restoration and maintenance. While she admits that this does not occur frequently, perhaps only once a year, these are concrete instances of individual donors having direct impacts on the use and interpretation of historic resources in another country, facilitated by an American-based nonprofit.⁷⁶

Mr. Kerrigan's and Ms. Lobkowitz's anecdotes indicate that American donors can certainly shape the projects undertaken by entities overseas through "friends of" organizations. Ms. Anschutz, however, was not of the opinion that American donors have a significant influence on the preservation St. Paul's Cathedral, pointing out that their contributions were too small a portion of the overall budget to have a significant impact, an observation that likely holds true across many of the sites that also receive tourist revenue. Even in the case of the AFPCC, the sums contributed by donors with specific visions are minor compared with the cost required to run the Lobkowitz properties. While Americans can exert influence through these "friends of" organizations, either directly by proposing specific projects or indirectly through the sum or their

⁷⁶ Lobkowitz, Brooks. (Founder and President, American Friends for the Preservation of Czech Culture), interview by author, March 29, 2020.

collective tendencies, it is relatively minor in the context of the agendas of their parent organizations abroad.

The larger influence, perhaps, is that which is exerted over American donors by these organizations. In an effort to cultivate support, these organizations place an emphasis on education about a particular culture, travel to recipient countries, and the establishment of networks of Americans that spread and reinforce each other's affinity for that country or culture. While many of these fundraising organizations highlight their contributions to cultural diplomacy in their public-facing material, their portrayal of cultural diplomacy frames the practice as being equally beneficial to both Americans and foreign nationals in recipient countries. However, this analysis of these organizations suggests that they are especially effective at garnering goodwill for the recipient country among a wealthy class of American donors.

According to the framework proposed by Tim Winter, this practice is more similar to traditional cultural diplomacy than heritage diplomacy. While historic sites still cannot be "exported," in the context of these organizations they become a rationale for events and educational programming in the U.S. Furthermore, when donors visit the sites, they tend not to function as platforms for intercultural collaboration, but rather as locations where donors can be entertained, further developing an affinity for a foreign country through the consumption of its culture. Admittedly, these organizations may still contribute to U.S. diplomacy in small ways. When donors tour recipient countries and sites, they still interact with heritage professionals, which has the potential to contribute to two-sided intercultural friendships, and financial support from donors can also help improve the U.S.'s image abroad, particularly when it is advertised at heritage sites. However, the activities of these "friends of" organizations are not just effective at raising

money for heritage sites but also conducting cultural diplomacy on behalf of the countries whose heritage they support.

Project-Implementing Organizations

The second type of organization is that which actively engages with project implementation. Rather than simply raising money on behalf of a foreign entity, these organizations either manage projects themselves or collaborate closely with other organizations, offering not just funds, but also expertise and a network of connections, leading to deeper engagement between American professionals and foreign nationals of varying backgrounds. Unlike fundraising-oriented organizations which are overwhelmingly concentrated in Europe, organizations that focus on implementing projects have a much broader geographic spread, operating in every region of the world. Organizations belonging to this category vary in terms of scope, with some even focusing on individual sites, like the Finca Vigia Foundation, which works with the preservation of Ernest Hemmingway's house in Cuba. However, it is also the category into which organizations with global scopes, like the World Monuments Fund or the Global Heritage Fund, fall adding to the category's geographic breadth.

Representatives from four organizations belonging to this category agreed to participate in interviews. The first is Linda Norris, of the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (ISCS), an organization that works with institutions around the world to leverage historic sites to address issues surrounding conflict, human rights, democracy, and justice. The second was Melissa Conn of Save Venice. Admittedly, Save Venice shares many attributes with Europe-focused fundraising organizations, but was included in this category because the organization actually implements its own projects. This means its agenda and priorities are driven more directly by its U.S.-based board and it facilitates more collaborative engagement between Americans and Italian workers and

professionals.⁷⁷ The third participant was Lobsang Nyandak, who acts as the president of the Tibet Fund, a humanitarian organization that provides aid and programming to Tibetans internationally. The fourth was Yiannis Avramides, Senior Manager of the World Monuments Watch at the World Monuments Fund (WMF). Finally, a representative of an organization that works to provide economic opportunities in several developing countries was interviewed. However, the organization wished to remain anonymous.

As the organizations that agreed to participate in interviews begins to suggest, the majority of organizations belonging to this category have explicit missions to use heritage to achieve broader social goals, including economic development, the promotion of democracy and civil society, increasing access to healthcare and education, and female empowerment. Even those that do not describe humanitarian endeavors as part of their primary mission usually recognize humanitarian outcomes, such as job creation or support of community values, as a welcome byproduct of a successful preservation project in their public-facing materials.

Organizations with strong humanitarian orientations can be further divided into those that pursue social goals primarily through cultural preservation and those that consider preservation to be just one of many means through which they can help vulnerable communities. Global Heritage Fund, the Sustainable Preservation Initiative, the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, Turquoise Mountain Foundation, Falmouth Heritage Renewal, and Kham Aid Foundation are all organizations that take the former approach, specifically using heritage preservation as a platform to achieve positive social outcomes. As an example of how such a mission can take shape, the Sustainable Preservation Initiative (SPI) uses a combination of business education and preservation to help communities both care for their historic resources and leverage them for

⁷⁷ Conn, Melissa. (Director of Venice Office, Save Venice), interview by author, March 23, 2020.

economic development. With projects in Peru, Guatemala, Jordan, Turkey, Tanzania, and Bulgaria, this organization places an emphasis on cultivating self-reliance and providing opportunities to members of particularly vulnerable demographics including impoverished communities and women.⁷⁸ The International Coalition of Sites and Conscience can be used as an example of an organization with slightly different priorities. A membership-based organization, ISCS works with heritage sites and institutions around the world, providing them with expertise, connections, and sometimes grants, to develop model projects that leverage historic resources to address current issues related to justice, democracy, and human rights.⁷⁹ By using the past to actively address tensions in the present, ISCS seeks to build more thoughtful, just, and democratic societies in the future.

Among organizations that engage with preservation more peripherally are major humanitarian organizations like the Aga Khan Foundation USA, which seeks to improve quality of life in impoverished communities across Asia and Africa through initiatives including sustainable agriculture, rural electrification, access to education, and integrated development, and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, which provides aid to Jewish communities around the world, especially those that are impoverished or in danger, and carries out disaster relief to communities of all faiths. However, there are also a number of smaller organizations with more specific scopes that employ preservation as part of their approach to their broader missions. These include a number of organizations providing assistance to Tibetan communities, specifically Sambotha Inc., the Bridge Fund, the Tibet Fund, and the Tsoknyi Humanitarian Foundation; two

⁷⁸ Sustainable Preservation Initiative, “What We Do,” [sustainablepreservation.org](http://www.sustainablepreservation.org/what-we-do), <http://www.sustainablepreservation.org/what-we-do> (accessed April 2, 2020).

⁷⁹ International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, “About Us,” [sitesofconscience.org](https://www.sitesofconscience.org/en/who-we-are/about-us/), <https://www.sitesofconscience.org/en/who-we-are/about-us/> (accessed April 6, 2020).

organizations sending aid to Cuba, Fundación Amistad and Give2Cuba; and the Safed Foundation, which provides aid to the Israeli city of Safed.

Generally, humanitarian organizations without a specific focus on cultural preservation commit only a very small portion of their budget to preservation-related endeavors. In the interview with Mr. Nyandak, he even went as far as to describe the amount as “negligible,” in comparison to their other commitments. In fact, in any given year, several of these organizations appeared not to have contributed to preservation at all. Still, when they did commit to preservation-related projects, the dollar amount of their contribution was comparable to some of the organizations that solely support preservation-related initiatives.

Rather than appealing to the ways in which they benefit an American public or the connections Americans may feel to a particular place in their public-facing material, organizations that focus on project implementation tend to highlight a constructed notion of the inherent universal value of the sites they help protect. At the same time, whether or not they have an explicit humanitarian mission, they also frequently underscore the value their actions bring to a local community. Two clear examples of these kinds of rhetoric can be found on the websites of the Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust, an organization that generally does not present itself as having humanitarian goals, and the Sustainable Preservation Initiative. The Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust website reads, “The historic temples, palaces, and monasteries of the Kathmandu Valley are a world-class artistic and cultural treasure as well as a significant economic engine supporting tourism, Nepal's most important industry.”⁸⁰ Similarly, the Sustainable Preservation Initiative’s website prefaces their work with the message:

Many of the world's poorest people live in and around fantastic cultural heritage - heritage that is important, not just to their own identity and history but to all

⁸⁰Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust, “Response to the Earthquake Four Years Later,” <https://kvptnepal.org/> (accessed April 2, 2020).

humanity. Heritage sites today face real danger from a number of threats, many resulting from local economic pressures. The future of the world's poor and the world's cultural heritage are in peril. Yet, there is the opportunity for them to help each other.⁸¹

These messages convey the sentiment that these organizations are acting in service not only to the communities whose heritage they are helping to preserve but also to a constructed global community.

Another common theme among these organizations that surfaced in interviews as well as public-facing materials was the importance of collaboration between the organization and foreign nationals within the recipient country. During the interview with Mr. Avramides, he highlighted the many distinct groups with which WMF engages when implementing projects abroad, including various levels of the government, civil society, foreign professionals, and local laborers.⁸² Ms. Conn of Save Venice echoed these observations during her interview, mentioning not only the employment of Italian workers but also their process of consulting with various parties including the Italian Ministry of Culture, local priests, and museum directors when developing projects.⁸³ This observation also emerged during the interview with Mr. Nyandak, who detailed the Tibet Fund's labor-intensive process for selecting projects, an endeavor that can include the Central Tibetan Administration, eighteen separate Tibetan civil society organizations, and a variety of local beneficiaries.⁸⁴

These complex networks of consultation and collaboration are made possible, in part, by the fact that these types of organizations tend to have a prolonged presence in specific places. The representative of one organization remarked that the organization consciously limited its

⁸¹ Sustainable Preservation Initiative, "What We Do," sustainablepreservation.org, <http://www.sustainablepreservation.org/what-we-do> (accessed April 2, 2020).

⁸² Avramides, Yiannis. (Senior Manager of the World Monuments Watch, World Monuments Fund), interview by author, April 2, 2020.

⁸³ Conn, Melissa. (Director of Venice Office, Save Venice), interview by author, March 23, 2020.

⁸⁴ Nyandak, Lobsang. (President, Tibet Fund), interview by author, March 24, 2020.

geographic expansion because when it initiates a project, it plans to be in that area for at least a decade. In his words, “To have the impact you want to make, it requires long-term dedication.”⁸⁵

The observations made during these interviews align with the arguments made by Luke, Kersel, and Winter when they address the ways in which heritage sites abroad can become effective loci for the production of US soft power. These projects not only demonstrate US support of a particular culture and generosity towards vulnerable communities but also provide ample opportunity for foreign nationals to develop positive relationships with Americans. Not every organization that is examined in this thesis enables these types of opportunities, but those belonging to the category discussed in this section do. Whereas fundraising organizations largely seem to be contributing to the cultural diplomacy of foreign countries, implementing organizations can effectively contribute to the heritage diplomacy, as described by Winter, on the part of the U.S.

With this in mind, it is not surprising that this category of organizations differed significantly from the others in that they were the only type of organizations to receive government grants, a trend revealed through the quantitative analysis discussed in chapter 4. Of the seventeen organizations belonging to this category that filed 990 forms for 2017, eight received some sort of grant from the government: the Aga Khan Foundation USA, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the Cultural Conservancy Sacred Land Foundation, the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, the Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust, The Bridge Fund, the Tibet Fund, and the World Monuments Fund. Across interviews with representatives from these organizations, different types of relationships with government grants surfaced.

⁸⁵ Interview with non-profit director of advancement by author, March 23, 2020.

Two organizations, the Tibet Fund and the ICSC, receive the majority of their support, 79 percent and 93 percent of their revenue in 2017 respectively, from government grants.⁸⁶ According to Mr. Nyandak, the Tibet Fund receives an average of twenty-three grants from the federal government annually, although admittedly, most of these do not go towards preservation activities. The majority of these grants originate from the U.S. Department of State, specifically the Bureau of Populations, Refugees, and Migrants and the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. However, relatively recently in the organization's history -- over the last nine years -- it has also begun receiving grants from USAID, which Mr. Nyandak says relate more directly to preservation.

This financial support is part of a longer history of sympathetic U.S. policy towards Tibet. Since the 1980s, the U.S. Congress has vocally supported the Tibetan people, passing numerous laws and resolutions addressing Tibet and even hosting the Dalai Lama, even when these measures added tension to already rocky U.S.-China relations. Mr. Nyandak identifies one specific piece of legislation as being particularly important for U.S. support of historic preservation in Tibetan communities -- the Tibet Policy Act of 2002, which is intended to "support the aspirations of the Tibetan people to safeguard their distinct identity."⁸⁷ According to Mr. Nyandak, this act has made it substantially easier for organizations to receive grants for Tibetan cultural preservation. Mr. Nyandak attributes the U.S. Congress's support for Tibet, at least in part, to substantial lobbying efforts carried out by Tibetan Americans, who gather en masse from at least thirty different states to meet with legislators in Washington, D.C. every year in March.⁸⁸ The federal government's financial support for programs engaging Tibetans is not unique to the Tibet Fund; the Bridge Fund,

⁸⁶ Tibet Fund. (2017). Return of organization exempt from income tax [Form 990]. New York: Foundation Directory Online; International Coalition of Sites and Conscious. (2017). Return of organization exempt from income tax [Form 990]. New York: Foundation Directory Online;

⁸⁷ Susan V. Lawrence, "The Tibetan Policy Act of 2002: Background and Implementation," *Congressional Research Service*, November 5, 2015 <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R43781.pdf> (accessed April 5, 2020).

⁸⁸ Nyandak, Lobsang. (President, Tibet Fund), interview by author, March 24, 2020.

an organization that places an emphasis on reaching out to Tibetans who still live on the Tibetan Plateau, also receives the majority of their support from government grants.⁸⁹

The ICSC receives support from an entirely different constellation of federal agencies and bureaus; according to Ms. Norris, much of their support comes from the National Endowment for Democracy and the State Department's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. Clearly, the organization's mission to aid foreign institutions in leveraging heritage sites to address current issues of justice, democracy, and human rights align with the priorities of these federal entities. However, Ms. Norris also attributes the organization's success in attracting federal grants to their unique approach of using place as a frame for thinking about these issues. Furthermore, she notes, the organization has a successful record of engaging with these issues with local organizations. This observation again highlights the diplomatic side of these organizations and gives an explicit example of how diplomatic engagement can be used to spread values championed by the U.S. government abroad, particularly through a dedicated implementer that shares objectives with the government.

While other organizations relied relatively less on federal grants than the Tibet Fund and ISCS, they still received substantial support from government entities. One organization belonging to this category cited USAID as their single biggest supporter, although they also received funds from other countries' development agencies, including Canadian International Development Organization, the Swiss Development Agency, and the British Council.⁹⁰ The World Monuments Fund, which relies primarily on private donations, also has a track record of receiving grants from the Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation.

⁸⁹ The Bridge Foundation. (2017). Return of organization exempt from income tax [Form 990]. New York: Foundation Directory Online;

⁹⁰ Interview with non-profit director of advancement by author, March 23, 2020.

However, government agencies are not the only bodies that are funding these organizations. They also receive grants from large, institutionalized private foundations -- representatives from both ICIS and WMF mentioned the Ford Foundation by name during interviews. Furthermore, these organizations respond to private individual donors who give both restricted and unrestricted donations. With regard to individual donors, interviews with representatives from implementing organizations that engage primarily with heritage revealed that they have a similar support base to fundraising organizations, namely wealthy, well-travelled individuals, who may have a specific interest in a place. Consequently, these interviews also revealed that such donors can have a similar influence on an organization's project selection. Organizations that are cognizant of their donors' interests sometimes select projects anticipating receiving support from a specific audience or individual.⁹¹

However, the influence of governmental and institutional bodies appears to be more direct and conscious. When organizations apply to receive grants from these bodies, they are responding to specific calls for proposals. While these organizations are cognizant of the importance of engaging with local communities during project development, a value reflected through both public-facing material and interviews, they are also responding to parameters defined by grantmaking bodies. Consequently, projects funded by these grants may meet real needs of the community, but the needs that receive funding will still be prioritized by the grantmaking bodies. In the context of organizations working with Tibetans, one might even ask if the explicit prerogative of the government to make grants available to support certain kinds of humanitarian work has actually had an influence on the number of actors that respond to that need. Future

⁹¹ Interview with non-profit director of advancement by author, March 23, 2020; Interview with non-profit director of advancement by author, March 23, 2020; Conn, Melissa. (Director of Venice Office, Save Venice), interview by author, March 23, 2020.

research may be able to answer this question by actually examining the number of private organizations devoted to any one cause or changes in revenue among existing organizations after the federal government commits itself to the funding of that cause.

Organizations Motivated by Religious Agendas

The final category of organizations are those that are motivated by religious agendas or, in the case of Jewish nationalist organizations, political agendas that are shaped by ethno-religious movements. While this category includes both organizations that primarily fundraise on behalf of other entities and organizations that actually implement projects, they warrant an examination separate from the first two categories because their missions are distinct and have very different implications for the ways in which heritage intersects with foreign policy. These organizations are focused primarily on Israel, with one operating in Ephesus, Turkey and another promoting Orthodox Christian ministry in Russia. Unfortunately, no representatives from these organizations agreed to participate in interviews.

Christian Organizations

This category of religiously-motivated organizations can be divided into those that further Christian agendas and those that further Jewish agendas. Of the six organizations that were religiously motivated, half operated from a Christian perspective. The first of these was the Ephesus Foundation which “support[s] the investigation, restoration and preservation of . . . sites, especially those related to the early Christian Church in Ephesus,” and “promote[s] education to the general public regarding the lives of religious figures and the places they lived and died, especially those related to the early Christian Church in Ephesus.”⁹² While these components of the foundation’s mission statement may suggest a slight evangelical tendency in organization’s

⁹²The Ephesus Foundation USA, “Working to Honor Religious and Historic Sites in Ephesus.” *Ephesusfoundaitonusa.org* <http://ephesusfoundationusa.org/> (accessed April 5, 2020).

interests, it is in the descriptions of projects supported by the organization that a strong emphasis the spiritual value of Ephesus's religious heritage becomes clear. Of the six projects supported by the organization, only three of them actually involve the conservation of sites in Ephesus. Two projects involve the commissioning of works of art inspired by Our Lady of Ephesus in Catholic churches in the U.S., and a third entails the publication and distribution of a biography of a stigmatic woman along with writings about the life of the Virgin Mary.

The actual conservation projects supported by this organization include the Tomb of St. Luke; The Church of St. Mary, believed to be the first church to be named after this religious figure and the site of an Ecumenical Council that found her to be not just the Mother of Christ but the Mother of God; and the Cave of St. Paul, where the Virgin Mary supposedly hid when she first arrived in Ephesus from Jerusalem.⁹³ These projects advance a very specific interpretation of Ephesus based on its association with the life of the Virgin Mary.

An even more striking example of U.S.-funded organizations supporting a Christian interpretation of Middle Eastern heritage is the Miracle of Nazareth Foundation Inc., which fundraises on behalf of the Nazareth Village, a reconstruction of a first-century Israeli village involving the restoration of ancient terraces and other archeological remains in Nazareth, run by a Scottish charity known as the Nazareth Trust.⁹⁴ According to the Nazareth Village's website, the purpose of the organization is to create an environment in which Jesus's ministry can be better understood through historical and cultural contextualization. The website states:

“Pilgrims to the Holy Land usually only see the dead stones of ancient ruins. And yet, the geographical and cultural nuances of Jesus' teaching are often crucial for understanding his full

⁹³ The Ephesus Foundation USA, “Projects,” *Ephesusfoundaitonusa.org* <http://ephesusfoundationusa.org/> (accessed April 5, 2020).

⁹⁴ Nazareth Village, “Our History,” *nazarethvillage.com*, <https://www.nazarethvillage.com/about/history/> (accessed April 5, 2020).

meaning. At Nazareth Village, visitors can experience how a first-century audience heard and was impacted by Jesus' words."⁹⁵

Both the Ephesus Foundation and the Miracle of Nazareth Foundation advance very specific interpretations of the historic built environment based on values shared by specific groups of Christians. Unlike organizations belonging to the previous two categories, they are not merely influencing project selection or affecting which narratives are amplified through funding. They are actively imposing their interpretation of a site onto a built environment overseas to advance their own specific religious interests, making a cultural claim to that heritage through the practice of preservation and interpretation.

The Holy Archangels Orthodox Foundation is similar in that its primary mission is to further religious ministry. In fact, it was founded in the 1980s specifically to broadcast Orthodox Christian sermons in the USSR in the hopes of contributing to the reemergence of the Russian Orthodox Church.⁹⁶ However, according to Foundation Directory Online, it has received historic preservation-related grants for the restoration and maintenance of Orthodox churches in Russia. Given the fact that the Orthodox Church has experienced a resurgence since the fall of the Soviet Union and continue to grow today, this funding of preservation work appears to be a type of aid within an international religious community.⁹⁷ That, however, is not to say that is without diplomatic consequences. Numerous sources have addressed how the Russian Federation has leveraged the Russian Orthodox Church to augment its own soft power.⁹⁸ A further analysis of this, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis.

⁹⁵ Nazareth Village, "About," [nazarethvillage.com](https://www.nazarethvillage.com/about/history/), <https://www.nazarethvillage.com/about/history/> (accessed April 5, 2020).

⁹⁶ Holy Archangels Orthodox Foundation, "Home," <http://www.holyaof.org/> (accessed April 5, 2020).

⁹⁷ "Orthodox Christianity in the 21st Century." *Pew Research Forum*, November 8, 2017. <https://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/08/orthodox-christianity-in-the-21st-century/> (accessed April 5, 2020).

⁹⁸ Robert C. Blitt, "Russia's 'Orthodox' Foreign Policy: The Growing Influence of the Russian Orthodox Church in Shaping Russia's Policies Abroad," *University of Pennsylvania Journal of International Law* 22, no 2 (2011);

Despite the interesting possible implications of these Christian organization's engagement with historic preservation, their impact is limited by their small size. According to the IRS Tax Exempt Organization Search, both the Ephesus Foundation and the Holy Archangels Orthodox Foundation file a Form 990-N with the IRS, indicating that their annual gross receipts are less than \$50,000 a year. The Miracle of Nazareth Foundation is the largest of these three organizations, taking in a mere \$118,758 in 2017, money that primarily stemmed from Fidelity Charitable and various Christian organizations.⁹⁹ The Jewish nationalist organizations, on the other hand, have significantly larger budgets and, consequently, a much greater capacity to influence the values reflected in the built environment.

Jewish Nationalist Organizations

In contrast to the explicitly Christian organizations, entities that use preservation to further the identity of Israel as a Jewish nation-state are among the most well-funded of the organizations in the entire sample. These organizations include Friends of Ir David, the Western Wall Heritage Foundation, and the Jewish National Fund. An analysis of these organizations was made difficult by not only the fact that none of their representatives agreed to participate in an interview but also that neither the Friends of Ir David nor the Western Wall Heritage Foundation's U.S. presence have any publicly-available material. As a result, this analysis is based on information made available through their parent organizations in Israel.

The first of these organizations is Friends of Ir David, an organization that supports the conservation of archeological remains in the city of Jerusalem, as well as development of tourism and "residential revitalization" within the city. The Ir David Foundation, the Israeli organization

Daniel P. Payne, "Security, the Russian Orthodox Church, and the Foreign Ministry: Collaboration or Cooptation?" *Journal of Church and State* 52, no. 4 (Autumn 2010): 712-727.

⁹⁹ Foundation Directory Online Search with the following criteria: Organization (Miracle of Nazareth Foundation), Year (2017).

which Friends of Ir David supports, writes on its website that its ultimate goal is to “continu[e] King David’s legacy as well as revealing and connecting people to Ancient Jerusalem’s glorious past,” stating also that its founder, an Israeli military commander, was inspired to create the foundation by, “the longing of the Jewish people to return to Jerusalem after 2,000 years.” This narrative links the preservation of Jerusalem’s heritage with a Jewish identity, implying not just a focus on a specific type of heritage, but a specific vision for Jerusalem’s future as well. Ir David’s activities outside of preservation reinforce this vision, as the “residential revitalization” funded by the organization is, at least in some cases, actually the settlement of Israelis in Palestinian neighborhoods of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁰ This is a noteworthy example of a U.S. nonprofit acting directly in opposition to U.S. foreign policy – Between 1978 and 2018 the U.S. Department of State held that Israeli settlements were “inconsistent with international law.”¹⁰¹

The Western Wall Heritage Foundation is a governmental entity established by Israel’s Ministry of Religion in 1988. This body is responsible for the preservation of the Kotel, or Western Wall; archeological excavations conducted in its vicinity; and the promotion of the site as an educational and tourist destination. According to its website, the goals of the foundation are to “make the Western Wall . . . a source of inspiration for multitudes of Jews, stemming from the desire to deepen and strengthen their connection to it, and to use it to restore Israel’s past glory by consolidating the spiritual, moral, and national character of the Jewish people.”¹⁰² This statement emphasizes not just the religious and historic significance of the Western Wall, but also the ways in which it can be interpreted to bolster Israel’s identity as a Jewish nation.

¹⁰⁰ Jill Jacobs, “You, American taxpayer, are helping to fund Israeli settlement: An American nonprofit is making peace even less likely.” *Washington Post*, October 14, 2014.

¹⁰¹ Colum Lynch and Robbie Gramer, “Trump Crushes Palestinian Hopes Again.” *Foreign Policy*, November 18, 2019.

¹⁰² The Western Wall Heritage Foundation, “About,” [thekotel.org](https://english.thekotel.org/heritage_foundation/), https://english.thekotel.org/heritage_foundation/ (accessed April 5, 2020).

The final organization in the sample that uses preservation to support Jewish nationalism is the Jewish National Fund. Founded in 1901 to purchase land for Jewish occupation in Ottoman Palestine, the organization today has the primary mission of “ensur[ing] a strong, secure, and prosperous future for the land and people of Israel.” The Jewish National Fund supports this mission through a variety of initiatives: encouraging Israelis and American Jews to move to specific regions in Israel; supporting research on agriculture, forestry, and water management; promoting Zionist education; and, of course, preserving heritage.¹⁰³ The Jewish National Fund has an enormous budget, taking in over \$73 million dollars in 2017, and while it is difficult to assess what percentage of the Jewish National Fund’s budget goes towards heritage preservation, the organization claims that the support of its donors has enabled more than 150 heritage sites to be conserved and opened to the public. While the website mentions that the history of these sites span from ancient times to the mid-twentieth century, most of those highlighted on the website derive their importance from their role in the conflicts surrounding the formation of Israel as an independent nation. Examples include Ammunition Hill Memorial, the site of a decisive fight in the Battle for Jerusalem in 1967; Ayalon Institute, the location of a secret Israeli military factory that operated between 1945 and 1948; and the Women of Valor Center, a memorial to the women who fought during the Battle of Nitzanim against the Egyptians during the Israel’s War of Independence.¹⁰⁴

It is difficult to determine where these organizations are receiving their support from. According to their 990 forms, all of them rely almost exclusively on private grants and contributions. The one exception to this rule is the Jewish National Fund, which in 2017 earned

¹⁰³ Jewish National Fund, “Home,” JNF.org <https://www.jnf.org/menu-2/our-vision>, <https://www.jnf.org/menu-2/our-work> (accessed April 5, 2020).

¹⁰⁴ Jewish National Fund, “Heritage Site Preservation,” JNF.org <https://www.jnf.org/menu-2/our-work/heritage-site-preservation> (accessed April 2, 2020).

\$17,064,617 on investment returns. However, even this large figure is less than 18 percent of the organization's total revenue for the year. Using Foundation Directory Online, one can see which entities are making grants to these organizations. However, even the grants reported by Foundation Directory Online amount to only a small sum of their revenue. According to Foundation Directory Online, Friends of Ir David received \$2,588,820 in grants in 2017, primarily from Fidelity Charitable, various family foundations, and Jewish community foundations. However, this amounts to only about one-fourth of the total number of gifts and grants declared on its Form 990 for the same year, which amounted to \$10,730,913.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, the Western Wall Heritage Foundation received \$2,382,774 in grants according to the Foundation Directory Online, \$2,051,094 of which came from Fidelity Charitable.¹⁰⁶ In total, the grants and gifts listed on their 2017 Form 990 amounted to \$6,510,600. Foundation Directory Online identifies \$14,857,217 worth of grants being given to the various U.S. Chapters of the Jewish National Fund, and like Friends of Ir David, most came from Fidelity Charitable, family foundations and Jewish community trusts.¹⁰⁷ In comparison, the number of gifts and grants listed on their Form 990 totaled \$72,327,711. Without interviews or more detailed internal records, one can only speculate about what kind of donors are supporting these organizations and why, although one might assume that they are supported by private individuals who strongly identify with the organizations' missions, likely in part because of their religious or cultural identity.

The fact that funding flows from the United States to historic preservation projects that bolster Jewish nationalist claims in Israel, including projects that fall under the jurisdiction of the

¹⁰⁵ Foundation Directory Online Search with the following criteria: Organization (Friends of Ir David), Year (2017).

¹⁰⁶ Foundation Directory Online Search with the following criteria: Organization (Western Wall Heritage Foundation), Year (2017).

¹⁰⁷ Foundation Directory Online Search with the following criteria: Organization (Jewish National Fund), Year (2017).

Israeli government, is in many ways unsurprising and adheres to trends outside the realm of preservation. The countries have long been tight-knit allies, tied by mutual interests, and the U.S. has historically provided substantial aid to Israel – In 2018 alone, U.S. agencies provided \$3,128,373,727 in aid to the country, over \$3 billion of which took the form of Foreign Military Financing.¹⁰⁸ That year, Israel ranked second in terms of countries receiving the most assistance from the U.S., behind only Afghanistan.¹⁰⁹ This commitment on the part of the U.S. government carries over to a tax code that incentivizes charitable contributions to Israel over those to most other countries.¹¹⁰

In addition to the ways in which U.S. policy models and incentivizes this behavior, it is also important to acknowledge that the U.S. has a larger Jewish population than any other country in the world with 41 percent of the world’s Jewish population residing in the country.¹¹¹ Historically, segments of this population have been very generous in contributing money towards Jewish causes, including those that intersect with history and memorialization. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, for example, was funded largely through the efforts of private Jewish donors.¹¹²

Given this context, it is not necessarily noteworthy that Jewish communities in the U.S. are supporting Jewish heritage in Israel nor that groups within the U.S. are offering support to and legitimizing Israel's Jewish identity. However, it is worth acknowledging the scale of these commitments across multiple entities and calling attention to the fact that the spatialization of

¹⁰⁸ U.S. Department of State, “U.S. Relations with Israel,” State.gov <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-israel/> (accessed April 1, 2020); USAID, “Foreign Aid by Country,” *USAID Data Services*, <https://explorer.usaid.gov/cd/ISR> (accessed April 6, 2020).

¹⁰⁹ Katharina Buchholz and Felix Richter, “Infographic: Where U.S. Foreign Aid Is Going,” *Statista Infographics*, February 3, 2020, <https://www.statista.com/chart/17610/countries-receiving-us-foreign-aid/> (accessed May 4, 2020).

¹¹⁰ Charities Aid Foundation, “Donation States,” 30.

¹¹¹ “Jews.” *Pew Research Center*, April 2, 2015, <https://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/jews/> (accessed April 6, 2020).

¹¹² Amy Sodaro, *Exhibiting Atrocity: Memorial*, (Newark: Rutgers University Press, 2018) 42.

histories that do not necessarily serve to support Jewish nationalism or Judeo-Christian values, specifically Palestinian histories, are not being supported. There are greater implications involved in the issue of heritage funding in Israel that are related to both the country's long-standing relationship with the U.S. and the unique geopolitics of the region. However, that is beyond the scope of this thesis, making it a potential subject for future research.

5. Quantitative Analysis

The previous section of this thesis explained one way of describing general tendencies among the entities facilitating the flow of American funds to the preservation of foreign heritage and some of the ways these tendencies intersect with soft power and foreign policy. This quantitative analysis examines several metrics, drawn primarily from Foundation Directory Online's repository of 990 forms, to understand the financial magnitude of these trends and how they have changed over the last fifteen years.

Methodology

This quantitative analysis consists of three components. First is an analysis of organizations' income sources and the estimated amount they sent abroad for preservation projects in 2017, the most recent year for which 501c3 organizations must have submitted their 990 forms in order to maintain their tax-exempt status. Income sources were analyzed as reported on the 990 forms, where they are categorized as originating from membership dues, fundraising events, government grants, other gifts and grants, program services, or investments. Some organizations had other sources of income that were not uniformly reported across organizations. For the purposes of this analysis, these were categorized as "other." The various income sources for all organizations within a category were added together to reveal the overall composition of that category's total income.

Estimating the amount organizations sent abroad involved a much less straight-forward process. Tax-exempt organizations are required to report the grants and assistance they give to all foreign entities, including organizations, individuals, and governments in Part IX, line 2 of their 990 forms and their "Statement of Overseas Activities." For organizations that engage primarily with preservation and are channeling money to affiliated organizations overseas, this number was

used as the estimate of the amount of money they were contributing to preservation abroad, although it is likely that at least some portion of these funds actually went towards operational expenses of the affiliated organization, educational programming, or other endeavors. In rare occurrences, when an organization's "Statement of Overseas Activities" did differentiate between grants for preservation projects and grants for other types of programming, this was also considered.

Some organizations that clearly sent money abroad did not report anything under Part IX, line 2 of their 990 forms or a "Statement of Overseas Activities," listing it instead under other parts of their 990 form. In these cases, research into the organization's current projects and a thorough reading of the 990 form were required to identify the most likely places that these funds were reported, and consequently, there was room for error for these organizations.

A more critical approach was also required for organizations that engage with missions beyond preservation. In these cases, the numbers reported on the 990 forms did not always differentiate between grants for historic preservation projects and those used for other types of programs, so websites, annual reports, and financial reports were used to help determine how much of this number went towards preservation projects. On occasion, annual reports and financial reports provided direct dollar amounts, which were then used for the analysis. In other cases, they provided the percentage of program spending that went to cultural or preservation projects, which allowed the amount listed under Part IX, line 2 to be narrowed down. In cases when there were no documents that could help determine the exact amount used for preservation, the grants an organization received for projects related to preservation abroad as reported by Foundation Directory Online were used for the analysis. However, as previously noted, Foundation Directory Online only reports grants, not individual donations. If an organization used funds from another

source – endowment funds, membership fees, program revenue, or individual donations, for example – this would not have been counted. Organizations that had disbanded or lost their tax-exempt status were excluded from the analyses of income sources and the amount of money used for preservation abroad.

The third component of the quantitative analysis is a longitudinal examination of organizations' revenues, a measure that is used as a proxy to understand how the magnitude of an organization's commitments changed over time. This analysis includes data over fifteen years, from 2002, the earliest year for which Foundation Directory Online consistently has 990 forms, through 2017. While organizations' individual revenues are considered to a degree, the changes in the total revenue of organizations belonging to each category are prioritized to reveal overall trends. Unlike the first two analyses, this inquiry includes data from all of the organizations that submitted 990 forms between 2002 and 2017, including those that lost tax-exempt status during this time period.

For five organizations, a quantitative analysis of their financing was not possible. These five organizations – the International Survey of Jewish Monuments, the Safed Foundation, the Historic Bahamas Foundation, the Ephesus Foundation, and the Holy Archangels Orthodox Foundation – file 990-N forms rather than 990 forms. 990-N forms are used by organizations whose gross receipts are less than \$50,000 and require that organizations report very little information, only their basic contact and identification information and confirmation that they generally take in \$50,000 a year or less.

Estimated Amount Spent on Preservation in 2017

This analysis is intended to establish a basic understanding of the magnitude of these various organizations' financial commitments to preservation abroad in 2017. This year was used to assess average patterns in spending because it is the most recent year for which 501(c)(3) organizations must have submitted their 990 forms in order to maintain their tax-exempt status; evaluating later years would have resulted in an incomplete dataset. While this analysis examines into how much organizations actually contributed towards preservation, a relatively difficult metric to estimate in some cases, a later analysis puts this data into context by looking into changes in organizations' revenues, a much more accessible piece of information, over time.

In 2017, the forty-two organizations included in the quantitative analysis spent an estimated \$27,562,924 on the preservation of heritage abroad, based on data from their 990 forms, annual reports, and Foundation Directory Online. The average estimated amount spent on foreign heritage by an organization was \$672,266, but the specific amount varied significantly across organizations, falling anywhere from \$6,510,000 to nothing. After examining this metric across all organizations included in the quantitative analysis, each organizational typology will be explored individually.

Looking at the ten organizations that contributed the highest estimated amounts towards heritage preservation abroad, several trends stand out. The first is that all three Jewish nationalist organizations rank very highly according to these estimates. Out of all the organizations in the sample, the Western Wall Heritage Foundation contributed the highest amount to preservation projects outside the U.S. According to their 2017 990 form, they sent \$6,510,000 in grants to Israel for the conservation of the Western Wall, including money that was used for educational purposes at the site. This is slightly more than the organization that contributed the second largest confirmed amount, the World Monuments Fund, which reporting having spent \$6,252,084 outside the U.S. Friends of Ir David ranks third, having received \$2,588,820 in grants to be used for historic

preservation according to Foundation Directory Online. However, as is further discussed below, this is likely a conservative estimate. Likewise, the Jewish National Fund received \$737,000 in grants for historic preservation according to the Foundation Directory Online. This amount alone makes it the organization that is estimated to have spent the seventh most on preservation abroad, but the actual amount is likely greater than the \$737,000 reported by Foundation Directory Online

Project-implementing organizations are also heavily represented among those that have sent the highest amounts of money to heritage overseas. Of the ten organizations that contributed the highest estimated amounts, half are project-implementing organizations: the World Monuments Fund, Save Venice, the Global Heritage Fund, the International Coalition of Sites and Conscience (ICSC), and the Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust. Notably, the only fundraising-focused, or “friends of,” entities among the ten highest contributing organizations were the American Fund for Westminster Abbey and the Friends of Florence, which sent \$900,000 and \$597,566 overseas for restoration projects respectively.

On the other end of the spectrum, twelve organizations are estimated to have contributed less than \$100,000 to preservation abroad, not including those who filed 990-N forms, which excluded them from this analysis. Among these organizations are several smaller “friends of” organizations and multiple non-profits that pursue more general humanitarian missions. In the case of the latter, it is difficult to estimate exactly how much of their budget could be going towards preservation, but for several -- Give2Cuba, the Aga Khan Foundation USA, and the Bridge Fund -- there was no concrete evidence that they had contributed any part of their budget in 2017 to historic preservation. Additionally, three other organizations did not send any money abroad for historic preservation that same year: The Cultural Conservancy Land Foundation, which devoted all of its 2017 grants to domestic entities; the American Friends of Versailles, which had an

uncharacteristically low budget that year; and the Dubrovnik Preservation Foundation, which after several years of decline spent only \$2,700 in 2017, suggesting that it could soon be disbanded.

Fundraising-Focused Organizations

As discussed previously, there is generally a lot of ambiguity in estimating the amount each organization included in the sample is sending abroad for historic preservation. However, it is relatively straightforward to estimate this metric for fundraising-focused, or “friends of,” organizations because, compared with other types of organizations, it is relatively safe to assume that most, if not all, of the money they report sending abroad on their 990 forms is actually going towards preservation-related activities through their affiliated organizations overseas.

In total, the twenty-two organizations falling under this category sent a sum of \$5,374,957 abroad for preservation, and on average, these organizations spent 57.30% of their total expenditures on supporting foreign heritage. However, this percentage varied significantly across the organizations. 100% of Friends of Dresden’s expenditures went towards preservation-related grantmaking abroad, for example, although admittedly all other organizations had at least some overhead. As described above, American Friends of Versailles and the Dubrovnik Foundation contributed nothing to historic preservation abroad for differing reasons.

Surprisingly, the largest organizations in this category in terms of revenue, the Royal Oak Foundation, sent less than 20% of its overall budget overseas for preservation-related activities. The Royal Oak Foundation, which spent a total of \$1,974,042 in 2017, sent only \$359,331, 18.20% of its overall budget, abroad to preserve properties in England. The organization’s other large expenses included over \$600,000 in employee salaries, payroll taxes and other benefits; \$317,778 for lecture tours; \$139,419 for occupancy; and \$113,750 for the compensation of officers, directors, and trustees. The fact that the Royal Oak Foundation spent a comparable amount on

lecture tours in the United States and the preservation of historic properties in England supports the argument that such organizations play a role in increasing the soft power of the country whose heritage they support through their activities in the United States.

Table 3: Estimated Amount Spent on Foreign Heritage for Fundraising-Focused Organizations

Organization	Estimated Amount Spent on Foreign Heritage in 2017 (USD)	Total 2017 Expenditure (USD)	% Total Expenditure Spent on Foreign Heritage
American Fund for Westminster Abbey	900,000	913,411	98.53%
Friends of Florence	597,566	792,880	75.37%
The Irish Georgian Society	560,047	945,843	59.21%
Friends of FAI-The Italian Environment Foundation	419,000	569,907	73.52%
French Heritage Society Inc	418,986	1,971,733	21.25%
American Associates of the Saint Catherine Foundation	416,642	437,572	95.22%
Venetian Heritage	410,387	517,337	79.33%
Royal Oak Foundation	359,331	1,974,042	18.20%
Friends of Sulgrave Manor	278,451	339,344	82.06%
The National Trust for Scotland Foundation USA, Inc.	268,735	745,468	36.05%
American Friends for the Preservation of Czech Culture	200,000	209,740	95.36%
Patrons of the Arts in the Vatican Museums, Inc.	200,000	251,008	79.68%
The Versailles Foundation	135,419	882,229	15.35%
Friends of Dresden Inc.	47,187	47,187	100.00%
Benjamin Franklin House Foundation	25,500	29,412	86.70%
St Paul's Cathedral Trust in America	7,800	37,015	21.07%
American Friends of Versailles	0	192,609	0.00%
Dubrovnik Preservation Foundation	0	2,700	0.00%
Trust for African Rock Art	129,906	250,813	51.79%
Total / Average %	5,374,957	11,110,250	57.30%

Project-Implementing Organizations

In total, project-implementing organizations sent an estimated \$12,010,721 abroad for preservation-related activities, although it is important to note that this estimate is likely less accurate than that of the fundraising-organizations. Implementing organizations with preservation-focused missions contributed the majority of this sum, \$10,985,301, whereas general humanitarian, non-preservation-oriented organizations can only be confirmed to have put \$859,580 towards preservation abroad.

On average, 46.58% of preservation-focused organizations' expenditures went towards preservation abroad in 2017. However, this statistic is brought down by two outliers: the Cultural Conservancy Sacred Land Foundation, which gave only domestic grants in 2017, and ICSC, which spent only 16.78% of their budget on preservation-related grants abroad. However, it should be noted that ICSC's grants are only a small portion of how the organization strives to build capacity at cultural sites abroad; they tend to focus instead on building a network of sites with similar values and providing expertise in program development. Excluding these two outliers, preservation-focused organizations contributed on average 70.02% of their budget to preservation abroad.

As previously discussed, it is difficult to know exactly how much non-preservation organizations are giving abroad, but there is no evidence that they are giving a significant amount of their total expenditures. Based on annual reports, the Tibet Fund reserved 5%, or \$559,580 of its program expenses for religious and cultural preservation.¹¹³ Although it is unclear how much of this went towards conserving the built resources and how much went towards preserving intangible culture, this is the most accurate estimate given the current available resources.

¹¹³ Tibet Fund, *2017 Annual Report*, 25. <https://tibetfund.org/docs/2017report.pdf> (accessed April 8, 2020).

The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee's 2017 report also breaks down programmatic expenses, explaining that the organization spent 13.6% on "building Jewish life and community development," the category under which the organization presumably includes historic preservation.¹¹⁴ According to these percentages, the organization could have spent as much as \$40,360,686 on cultural preservation. However, based on information included in the annual report, it seems that a large portion of this sum went towards Jewish youth camps, community centers, and other types of non-preservation-related outreach. According to Foundation Directory Online, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee received \$300,000 in grants for historic preservation in 2017, which were specifically for heritage projects in Poland. This lack of emphasis placed on historic preservation by the organization in its public-facing materials suggests that the \$300,000 in grants that were specifically destined for historic preservation is a closer estimate to the actual amount the organization spent on historic preservation than the \$40,360,686 it set aside for "building Jewish life and community development." However, this is a conservative estimate.

Neither the Aga Khan Foundation nor the Bridge Fund reported the amount they spent on cultural preservation or related activities in annual reports, and Foundation Directory Online did not identify any grants intended to further preservation associated with either organization. With no concrete evidence that either organization contributed any funds specifically to heritage-related endeavors in 2017, for the purposes of this thesis, the estimated amount that they sent abroad for preservation projects is nothing.

While the estimates of how much the Tibet Fund, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and the Bridge Fund are contributing towards preservation abroad are not exact, they do show that there is not significant evidence that any of these general humanitarian organizations

¹¹⁴ American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, *Annual Report 2017-2018*, 16-17. https://www.jdc.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/2017-2018_Annual_Report.pdf (accessed April 8, 2020).

are devoting a large amount of their budget to preservation related-activities. However, in the cases of the Tibet Fund and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, due to their relatively large budgets, when these organizations do commit funds to preservation abroad, the amount they put forth can be comparable to that of the smaller organizations engaging primarily with heritage.

Table 4: Estimated Amount Spent on Foreign Heritage for Project-Implementing Organizations

Organization	Estimated Amount Spent on Foreign Heritage in 2017 (USD)	Total 2017 Expenditure (USD)	% Total Expenditure Spent on Foreign Heritage
World Monuments Fund	6,252,084	12,445,266	50.24%
Save Venice	1,640,437	2,206,423	74.35%
Global Heritage	776,259	1,945,280	39.90%
International Coalition of Sites of Conscience	721,281	4,298,665	16.78%
Kathmandu Valley Preservation Trust	720,311	754,834	95.43%
Tibet Fund	559,580	10,876,506	5.14%
Finca Vigia Foundation	353,929	550,966	64.24%
American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee	300,000	317,102,196	0.09%
Turquoise Mountain Foundation	300,000	341,147	87.94%
Sustainable Preservation Initiative	171,000	324,815	52.65%
Tsoknyi Humanitarian Foundation	165,840	231,876	71.52%
Falmouth Heritage Renewal	50,000	52,394	95.43%
Aga Khan Foundation USA	0	47,638,836	0.00%
Cultural Conservancy Sacred Land Foundation	0	664,827	0.00%
The Bridge Fund	0	684,571	0.00%
Total / Average %	12,010,721	400,118,602	43.58%

Religiously-Motivated Organizations

In total, religiously-motivated organizations contributed an estimated \$9,944,386 to preservation abroad. The vast majority of this sum came from Jewish nationalist organizations; the

Miracle of Nazareth Foundation Inc., the only non-Jewish nationalist organization to report their expenses in a Form 990 only sent \$108,655 abroad in 2017.

As with implementing organizations with general humanitarian missions, it is difficult to determine exactly how much of these organizations' budgets goes towards actual preservation work in any given year, and to a degree these estimates stem from a subjective interpretation of these organization's missions and priorities. In the case of the Miracle of Nazareth Foundation Inc., which exists solely to raise funds on behalf of the Nazareth Village, it can be assumed that all of the funds the organization sends abroad go towards the preservation and interpretation of heritage. Likewise, it seems reasonable to assume that the majority of the \$6,510,000 the Western Wall Heritage Foundation reported in their 2017 Statement of Overseas Financial Activity is actually going towards the conservation and interpretation of the Western Wall, considering those are primary goals of the organization.

In the cases of Friends of Ir David and the Jewish National Fund, these estimates are less straightforward. Friends of Ir David reported over \$9 million in overseas financial activity on their 2017 Form 990. While the Ir David Foundation, which the Friends of Ir David supports, presents conservation in Jerusalem as their primary mission, as previously mentioned, the organization also supports "residential revitalization" in the form of Israeli settlements, and none of the organization's public materials allow for a more exact estimate of how much money is being used for preservation and how much is going towards these other endeavors, so to be conservative, this thesis uses the amount they received in grants specifically for historic preservation as reported by Foundation Directory Online, which adds up to \$2,588,820. Likewise, the Jewish National Fund received \$737,000 in grants for historic preservation according to the Foundation Directory Online. However, the organization reported a total of \$28,053,717 in overseas financial activity.

Without more information, it is impossible to estimate how much of the amount either organization spent abroad actually went towards preservation beyond the grants reported by Foundation Directory Online. These estimates likely underreport the actual amount these organizations are contributing, but comparing the grants reported by Foundation Directory Online to the total amount they sent overseas serves to illustrate the potential margin of error.

Using the previously established organizational typology as a lens through which to understand U.S. financial commitment to preservation abroad suggests that project-implementing organizations contribute the most to overseas heritage with their total estimated contributions adding up to at least \$12,010,721. However, one organization, the World Monuments Fund, contributed over half of this sum, and more exact data on how much the Ir David Foundation or the Jewish National Fund are actually spending on preservation could easily move religiously-motivated organizations, specifically Jewish nationalist organizations, ahead of project-implementers. Fundraising-focused entities, while they are the largest category in terms of the number of organizations and, according to interviews, seem to place the highest focus the on engaging with the American public, actually contributed the smallest amount towards preservation abroad, totaling just \$5,374,957.

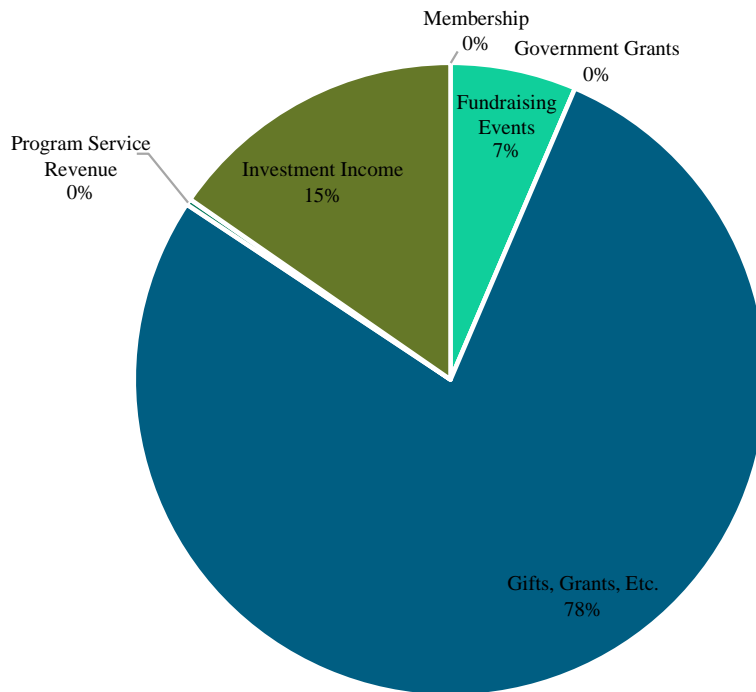
Table 5: Estimated Amount Spent on Foreign Heritage for Religiously-Motivated Organizations

Organization	Estimated Amount Spent on Foreign Heritage in 2017 (USD)	Total 2017 Expenditure (USD)	% Total Expenditure Spent on Foreign Heritage
Friends of Ir David	2,588,820	9,687,068	26.72%
Jewish National Fund	737,000	73,817,124	1.00%
Miracle of Nazareth International Foundation Inc.	108,566	118,758	91.42%
Western Wall Heritage Foundation	6,510,000	7,258,165	89.69%
Total/Average	9,944,386	90,881,115	52.21%

Sources of Income in 2017

Across all categories of organizations, private gifts and grants were the largest source of income. Overall, fundraising organizations relied on them the least, with only 60% of the category's overall income stemming from this source. Conversely, religiously-motivated organizations relied on gifts and grants the most, receiving 77% of their combined income from them. In fact, if one excludes the Jewish National Fund, which is the only religiously-motivated organization to receive a noticeable amount of revenue from investment income or fundraising events, this category relied almost entirely on private donations.

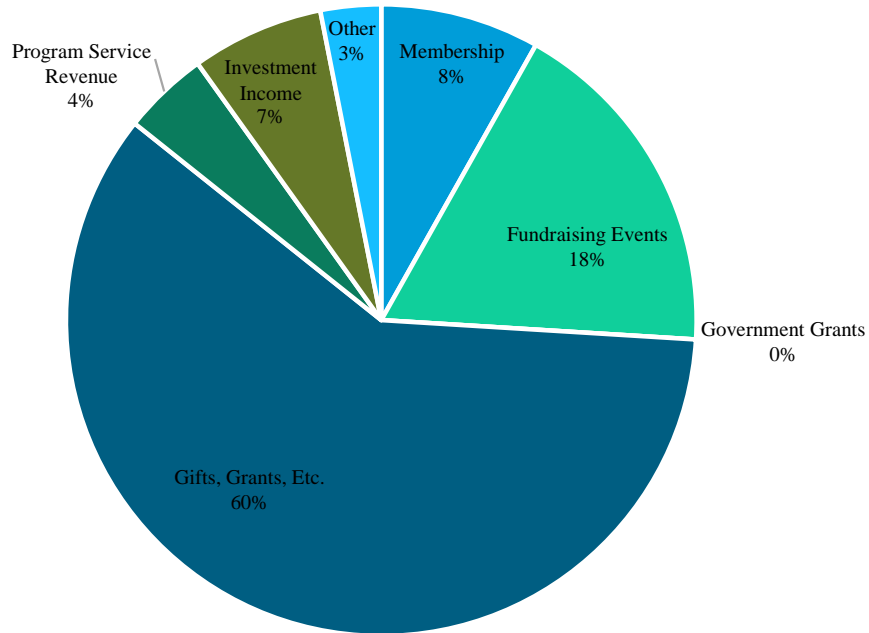
Table 6: Income Sources of Religiously-Motivated Organizations



Compared to the other categories, fundraising-focused organizations received income from relatively diverse sources. In addition to the 60% of revenue originating from private gifts and grants, 30% of this category's income stemmed from activities that provide some sort of benefits to donors: fundraising events (18%), membership (8%), and program service revenue (4%). This supports observations from the analysis of public-facing materials and interviews. Compared with

other types of entities, organizations belonging to this category place a relatively large emphasis on their social functions and the ways in which they provide services to donors.

Table 7: Income Sources for Fundraising-Focused Organizations



Overall, project-implementing organizations received 72% of their income from private grants and gifts and 12% from government grants with the other sources contributing less than 10% to their total income. However, preservation-focused organizations, which appear to contribute significantly more to preservation abroad than the other more general organizations in this category, received a much lower percentage of their combined revenue from private gifts and grants -- only 57% -- and more from other sources, including 19% from government grants, 12% from investment income, and 10% from fundraising events. The relatively large amount these

organizations received from government grants informed the interpretation of this category in the previous chapter.

Table 8: Income Sources of All Project-Implementing Organizations

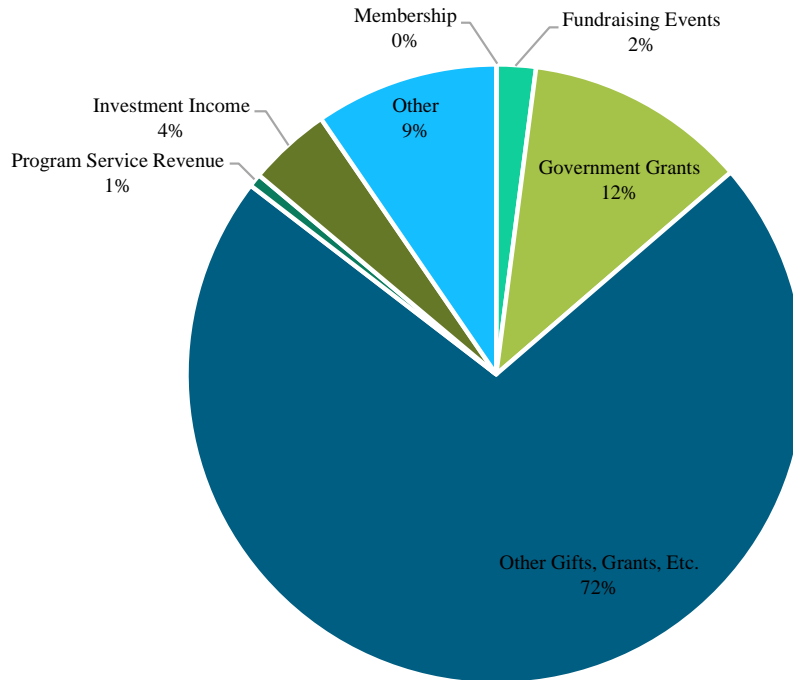
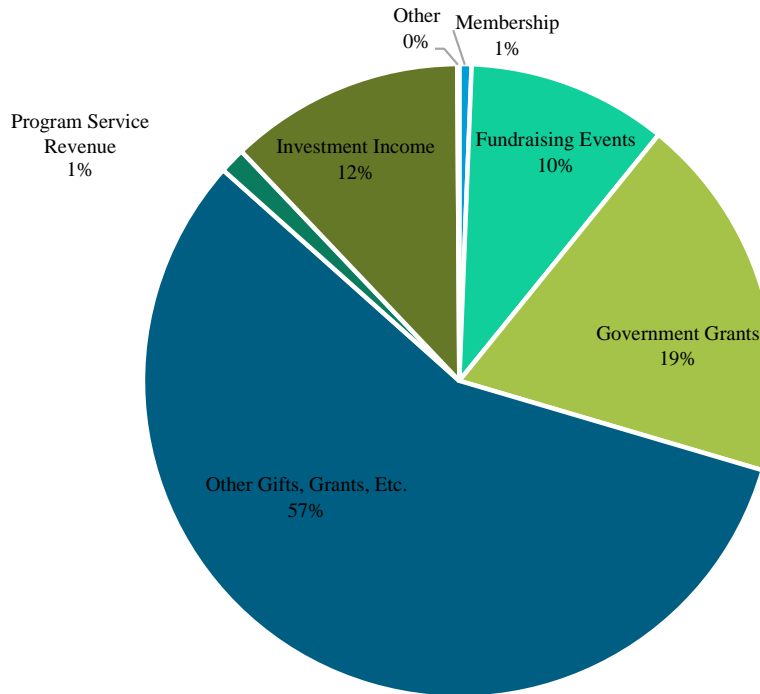


Table 9: Income Sources of Preservation-Focused Implementing Organizations



Changes in Revenue 2002 - 2017

Overall, the combined revenues of all organizations included in this sample more than doubled between 2002 and 2017, growing from \$296,973,311 to \$732,315,752. However, this growth was not equally distributed across all categories of organizations. While the combined revenues of fundraising-focused organizations grew from \$7,680,520 to \$15,287,555, this category also experienced peaks in 2004 (\$17,932,223) and 2014 (\$16,224,872), indicating a large amount of fluctuation with an overall positive trend rather than steady growth.

Table 10: Change in Revenue Across All Organizations, 2002- 2017

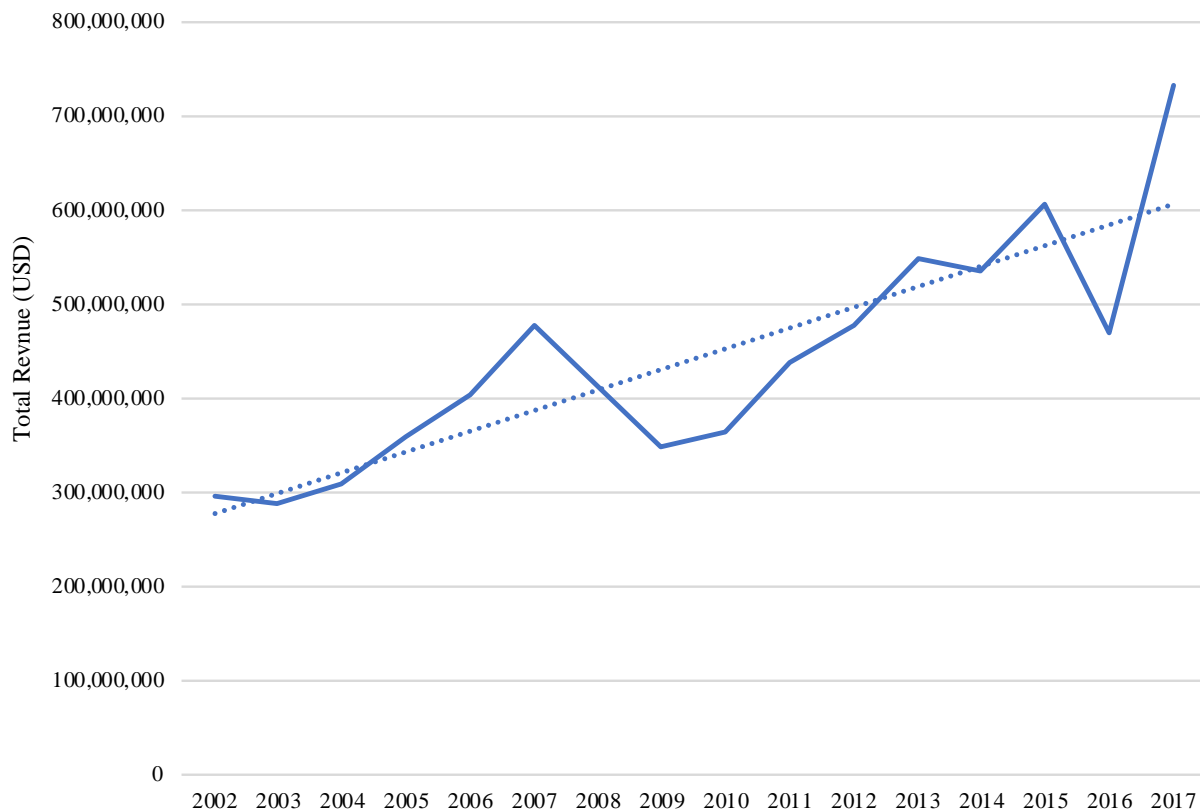
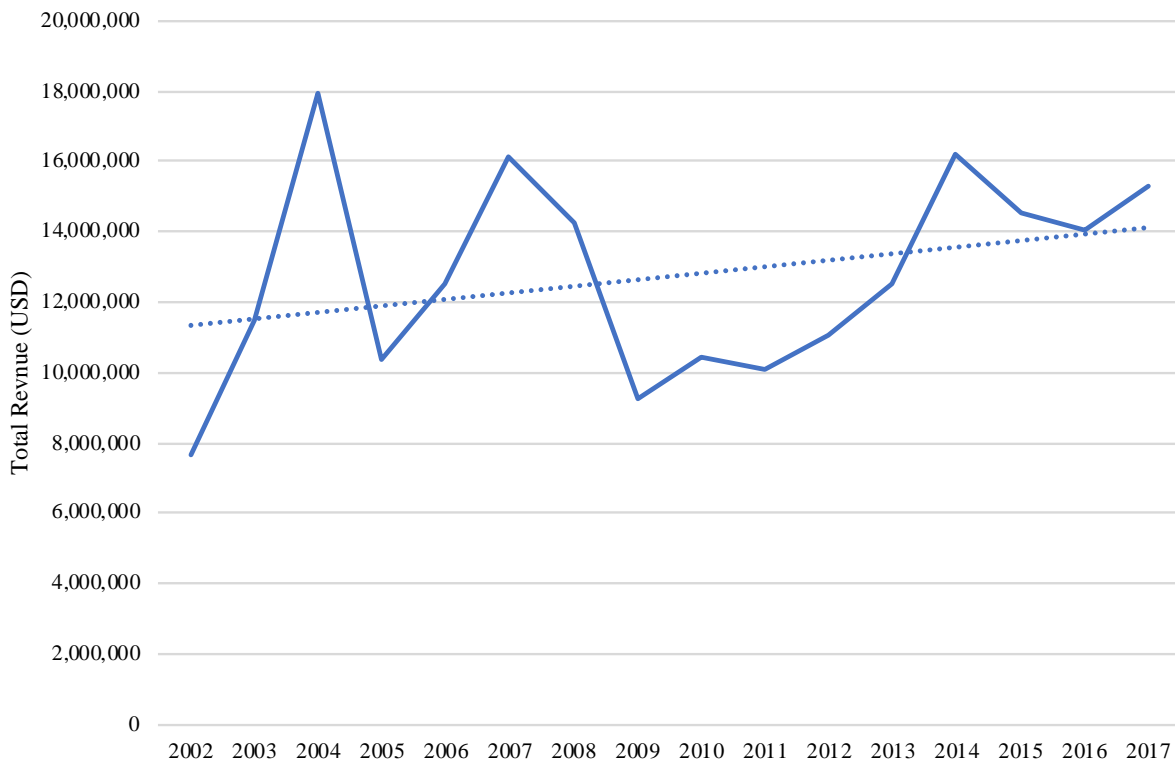


Table 11: Change in Revenue Across Fundraising Organizations, 2002- 2017



The revenues of project-implementing organizations grew the most from a combined revenue of \$253,599,431 in 2002 to \$604,743,656 in 2017. However, these statistics include the more broadly humanitarian organizations such as Aga Khan Foundation USA and the Tibet Fund which, as previously discussed, seem to contribute only a small amount towards preservation internationally and, in some cases have budgets that dwarf those of preservation-focused implementing organizations. When considering only the preservation-focused organizations, the category's combined revenue remained stable over the fifteen-year period. While the category's total revenue was unusually high in 2002, adding up to over \$32 million, in general, the sum of these organizations' incomes hovered around \$25 million.

Table 12: Change in Revenue Across All Implementing Organizations, 2002- 2017

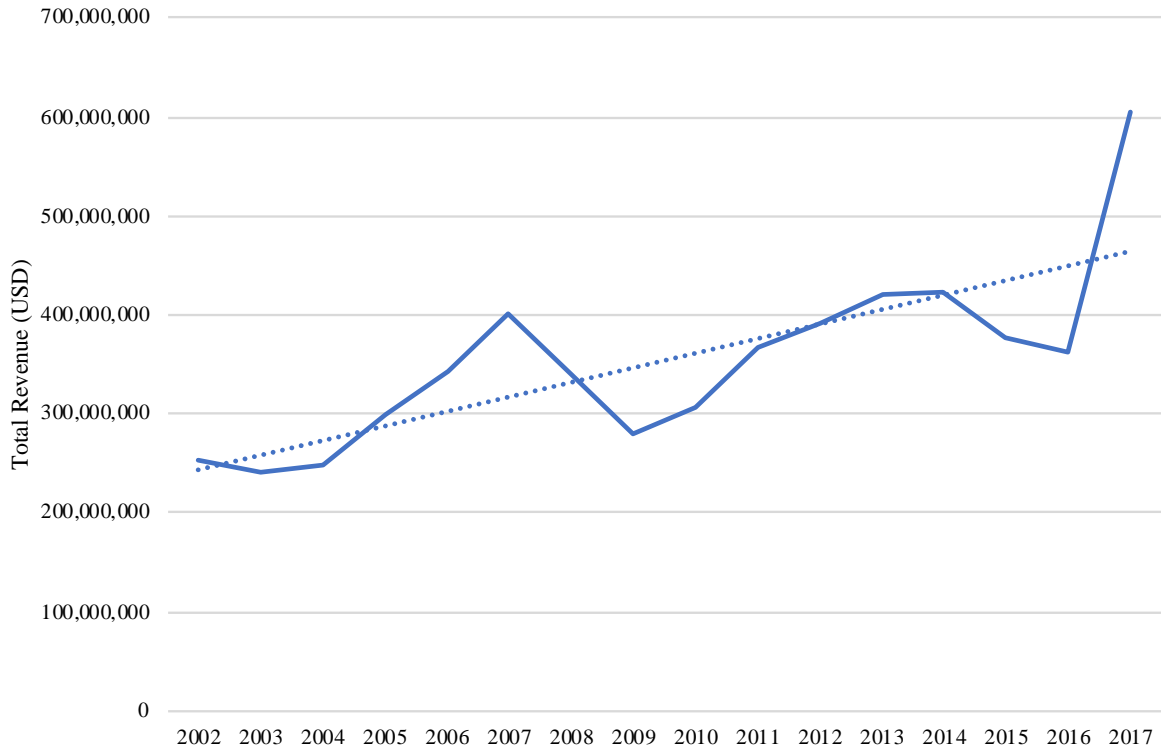
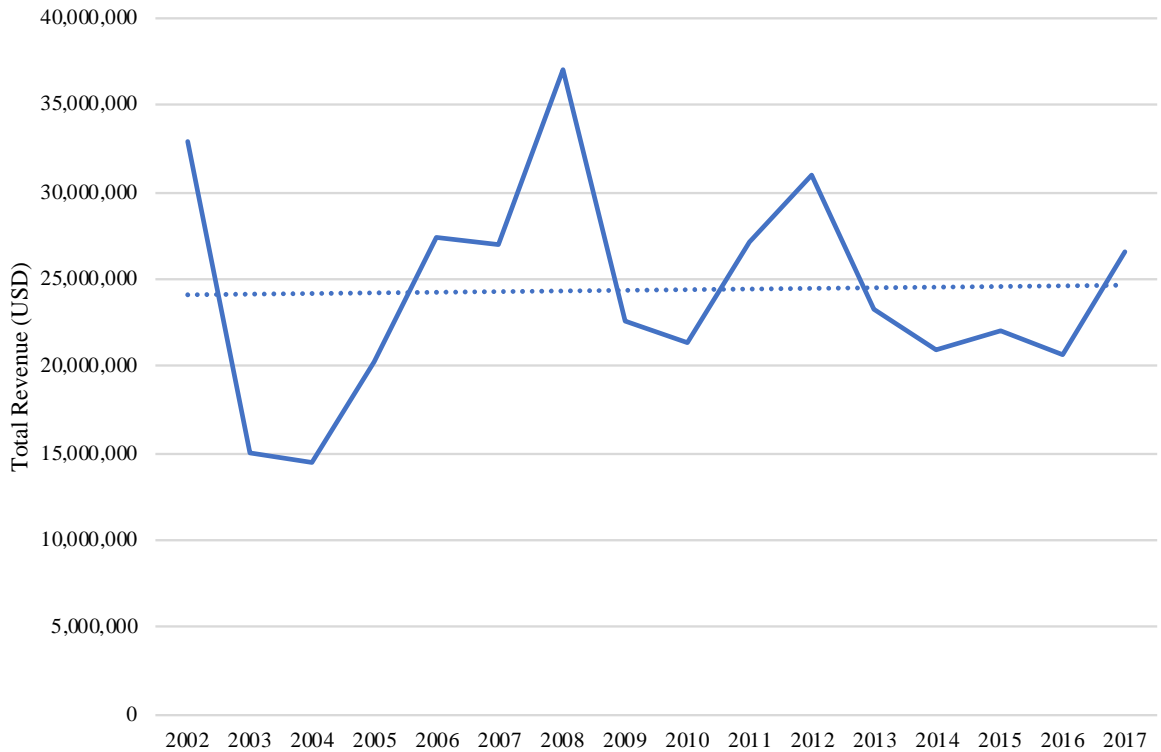
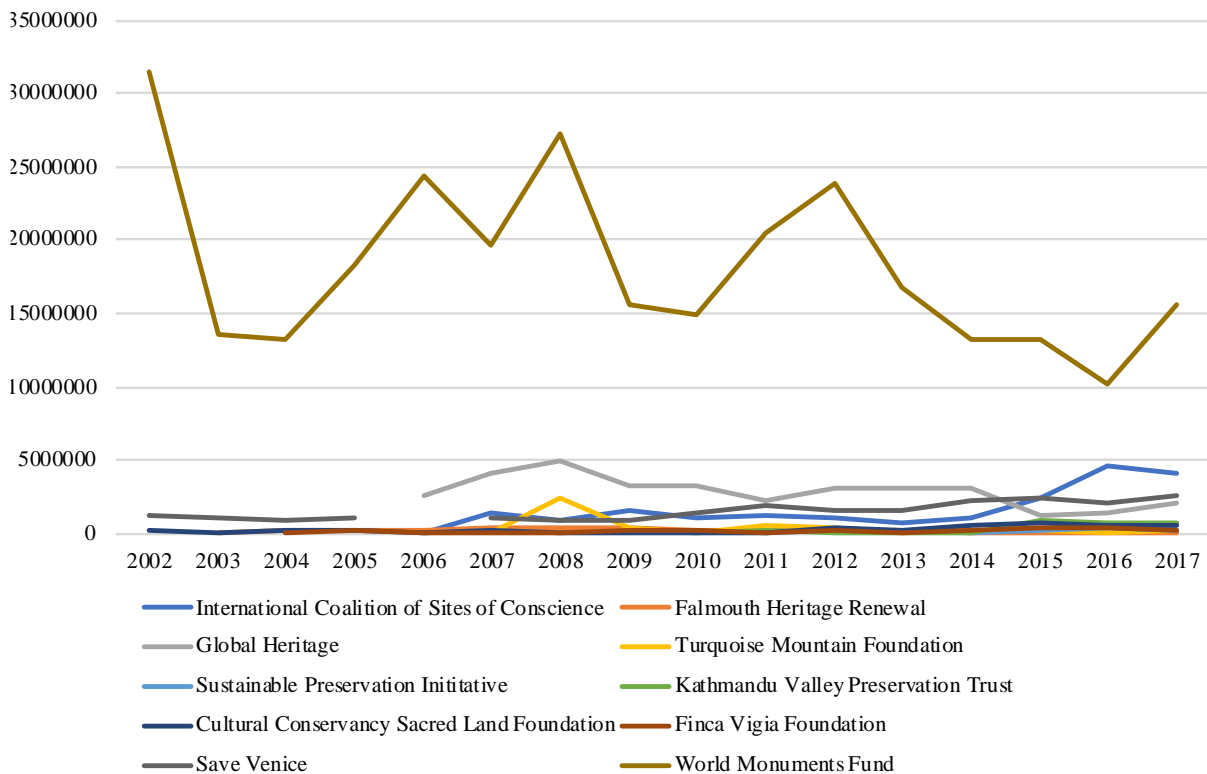


Table 13: Change in Revenue Across Preservation-Focused Implementing Organizations, 2002- 2017



Examining this category more deeply reveals that over this fifteen-year period, the revenue of the World Monuments Fund, which, as previously discussed, contributes more than half of the overall sum this category sends abroad for preservation, actually saw a decline in revenue (Table 14). However, at the same time a number of new organizations that came into existence between 2002 and 2017. The exact relationship between these two trends is unclear, but it could be possible that the World Monuments Fund’s decline in revenue is related to increased competition for the same pool of donors. In 2002, only three preservation-focused organizations belonging to this category existed: World Monuments Fund, Cultural Conservancy Sacred Land Foundation, and Save Venice. Over time, this number grew to ten. The fact that there is an increasing number of organizations that are engaging with heritage internationally in this way suggests increasing recognition of the ability of heritage to be instrumentalized towards a variety of goals, such as

Table 14: Change in Revenue Across Preservation-Focused Implementing Organizations, Shown Individually, 2002-2017



development, capacity-building, and the improvement of human rights. However, this does not yet seem to be met with an increase in funding.

Finally, religiously-motivated organizations, specifically Jewish nationalist organizations, grew by the greatest factor. In 2002, the combined revenues of these organizations amounted to \$33,960,056. By 2017, this amount had increased to \$103,080,086. Excluding the Jewish National Fund, which is an outlier due to its size, one sees that while the Miracle of Nazareth Foundation Inc.’s revenue decreased significantly, from \$873,721 in 2002 to \$249,400 in 2017 (although even this amount is much higher than it had been in previous years), Friends of Ir David’s revenue nearly quadrupled, growing from \$2,734,892 to \$10,730,916, and the Western Wall Heritage Foundation’s revenue increased by a factor of nearly six, going from \$1,179,199 to \$7,166,373. No other organizations saw comparable growth over the fifteen-year period.

Table 15: Change in Revenue Across All Religiously-Motivated Organizations, 2002-2017

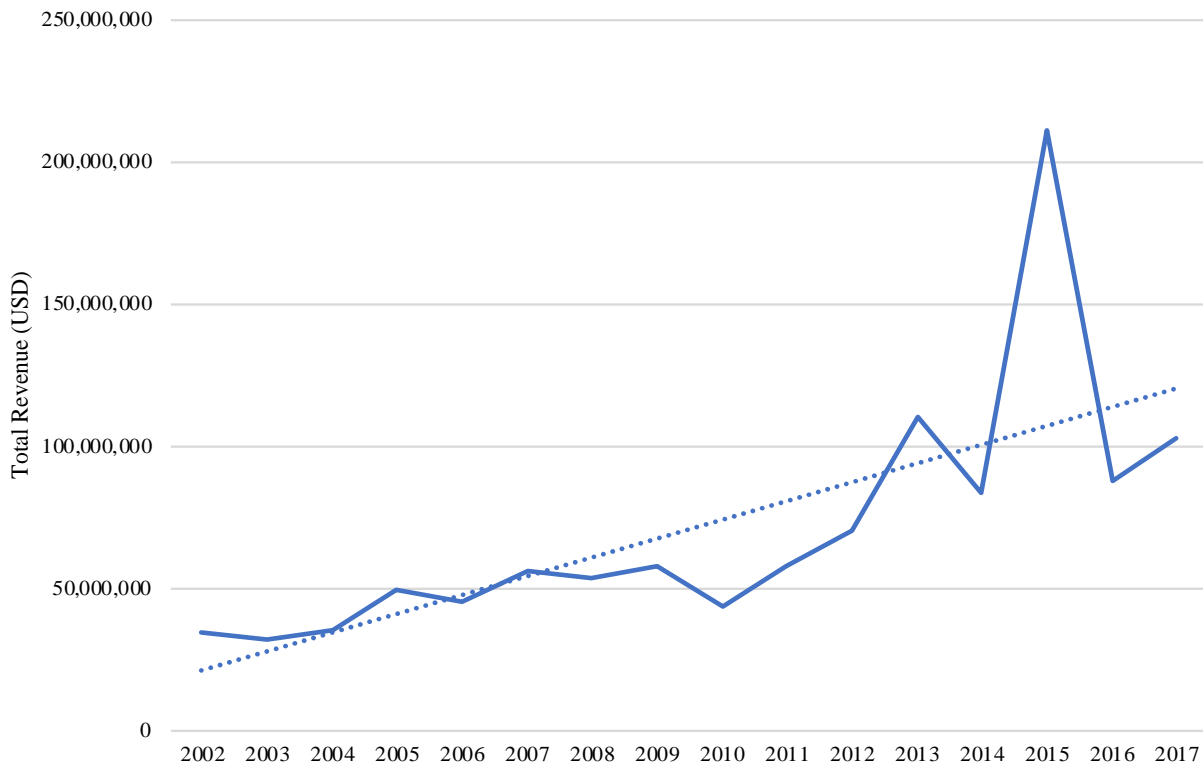
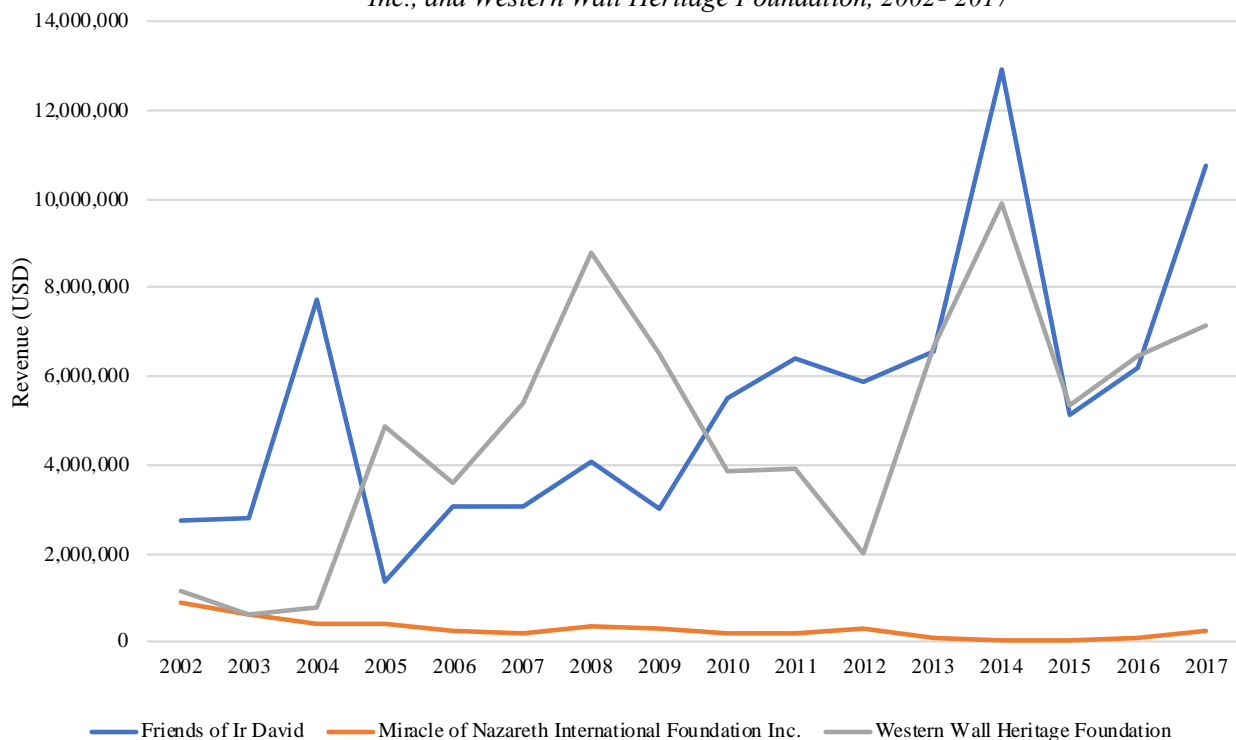


Table 16: Change in Revenue for Friends of Ir David, Miracle of Nazareth Foundation Inc., and Western Wall Heritage Foundation, 2002- 2017



Conclusion

Many of the findings of this quantitative analysis are intuitive, and some even support observations made in previous parts of the thesis. There has been an overall growth among the organizations that are funding the preservation of heritage abroad over the last fifteen years, both in terms of number of organizations and their combined revenue. According to the sample explored in this thesis, fundraising-focused organizations are contributing the least to preservation abroad. They receive and, in some cases, spend more money through engagement with American publics relative to the other categories of organizations, highlighting the ways in which they function not only facilitate donations to foreign heritage but also serve a social function in the United States. Implementing organizations, which have the potential to offer the most utility to U.S. foreign policy through the ways in which they facilitate exchanges, generate goodwill, and contribute to

foreign aid, seem to be spending the most on preservation abroad and receive a relatively high percentage of their income from government grants.

However, this analysis also reveals some surprising trends. It is noteworthy that, as a whole, implementing organizations, which seem to offer the most benefits to the U.S. as a country and to foreign publics have not experienced a greater increase in funding since 2002, specifically those with a focus on preservation. Most surprising of all, however, is the amount that the Western Wall Heritage Foundation and the Friends of Ir David alone are contributing to the preservation of foreign heritage, especially given that the estimates put forth in this thesis for the Friends of Ir David are conservative and that this money is destined for heritage in a single country. Furthermore, these organizations are those that saw the most substantial growth between 2002 and 2017, and there is no reason to believe this trend will falter any time soon. The fact that the magnitude of these private organization's commitments to Jewish nationalist preservation in Israel is comparable to preservation projects that aim to build capacity in a variety of countries deserves further scrutiny, especially given that at least some of the funding described as being for historic preservation actually seems to be going towards activities such as settlement building, an activity in opposition to official U.S. foreign policy between 1978 and 2019.

5. Conclusion

This thesis has sought to describe the diverse range of organizations that facilitate the funding of preservation projects overseas, demonstrating how they can be categorized according to their missions and functions to analyze trends in this landscape. It has shown that these organizations are driven not only by the desire to protect heritage, but also by a complex web of overlapping interests and values, many of which fall outside the field of preservation.

Among these interests are those of individual donors who often have an affinity for a specific place or type of heritage and may engage with preservation for social purposes. Foreign organizations, too, can play a role in defining the agendas of these American nonprofits, especially where parent and partner organizations are concerned. In some cases, such as the Western Wall Heritage Foundation, the interests of agencies of a foreign state are also represented in the organization's function.

Humanitarian organizations have borrowed from the toolbox of historic preservation, inserting themselves into this arena. At the same time, many entities with a focus on historic preservation have adopted humanitarian missions and perspectives. Among these types of organizations, the interests and needs of local communities are actively taken into consideration, although nonprofits are frequently able to pursue the community interests of their choosing. Finally, a diverse cast of U.S. government agencies shape this landscape through the grants that they administer. However, as the case of the Tibet Fund illustrates, the legislation that facilitates these grants can be shaped by domestic interest groups.

Ultimately, the agendas of these organizations are established in conversation with multiple parties. The organizations examined in this thesis respond to desires of the communities and institutions that care for heritage outside the U.S., while also reacting to the interests of various

categories of funding agents, whose influence can even extend beyond the realm of American nonprofits to shape the priorities of foreign entities, as seen with the Irish Georgian Society. However, at the same time, many of these nonprofits exhibit the ability to shape and direct their funder's interests through events, educational opportunities, travel, and advocacy, and, in negotiation with funders, they can shape which community needs are met and how.

In the midst of these overlapping values and interests, there is a gradation in terms of the autonomy each organization has in developing its own agenda, driven in part by the source of their funds and how these are diversified. Religiously-motivated organizations seem to have the highest degree of independence from their funders out of the three categories of organizations examined in this thesis, as they exhibit the largest proportion of funding coming from internal endowments – although this varies between organizations – and seem to receive a large amount of support from individuals, donations which are not reported by Foundation Directory Online. However, several of these organizations allow the agenda for their funds to be set by foreign entities – Friends of Ir David supports Ir David in Israel, the Western Wall Heritage Foundation is directed by Israel's Ministry of Religion, and the Miracle of Nazareth Foundation Inc. sends funds to the Nazareth Trust in Scotland.

Fundraising-focused organizations are generally more beholden to the interests of their donors, who belong to a specific demographic, and are also shaped by the needs of their affiliated organizations, with which they have varying relationships. Operating between these two categories of agents, it seems that these organizations tend to have relatively less autonomy in terms of how the funds they raise are used towards preservation. Finally, project-implementing organizations vary considerably and their income sources tend to be the most diverse, with some relying almost entirely on grants from government agencies or foundations, some relying more on donations from

individuals, and some even having endowments that allow for relatively more autonomy in defining their internal priorities.

These varying tendencies complicate the critiques of philanthropy addressed in the literature review, demonstrating a system that is more complex and multidirectional than one that is either moved purely by the imperative to care for heritage or dictated by interests of wealthy individuals, donor institutions, and government agencies. To varying degrees, the organizations that channel funds into preservation projects overseas and the preservationists that work in and with them play important roles in negotiating these competing interests, including their own. In order to ensure that these interests are managed as productively and equitably as possible, preservationists working internationally, and likely domestically too, need to be cognizant of them, as well as the social and political forces that drive them. Drawing from critiques of philanthropy, it is also important for preservationists to be aware of the role they occupy as “experts” in a system that tends to favor technocratic approaches to the definition and resolution of societal issues, specifically questioning the ways in which they may be contributing to the replication of structural inequalities that benefit American donors, the U.S. government, and even themselves. In doing so, they may be able to negotiate these overlapping values in a way that produces beneficial structural change.

The multitude of interests expressed in this space is not only a challenge, however. It can also be constructed as heartening sign of the potential of preservation to grow as a field through new partnerships and funding opportunities. This thesis demonstrates some of the ways in which preservation has the potential to be harnessed by entities for a variety of purposes, including diplomacy, cohesion among refugee communities, economic empowerment, the spatialization of religious beliefs, and the legitimization of political entities. As with any field, one should be

conscientious when choosing to ally with another cause, and this kind of evaluation requires one to be honest about and have the integrity to adhere to one's own beliefs.

It is worth noting, however, that the quantitative analyses seem to indicate that some narratives are currently gaining more traction than others and attract different types of donors. The rapid growth of revenue among Jewish-nationalist organizations, despite the fact that both the Friends of Ir David and Western Wall Heritage Foundation lack a robust public presence, may suggest that these organizations benefit from community-based support through which awareness about the organizations and their missions are spread through social interaction.

Meanwhile, fundraising-focused organizations have grown more slowly, and still contribute considerably less to preservation abroad than the other two categories. The heritage they support and the opportunities for travel and socializing they offer their donors certainly seem to resonate with a specific group of relatively status-conscious individuals. However, it seems less attractive at garnering the support of larger foundations and government agencies, which seems logical, as the countries whose heritage these organizations tend to support are not generally in need of assistance in achieving the "societal progress" which American foundations tend to champion and they are countries with which the U.S. already has strong diplomatic ties. The relatively low revenues across these organizations donate to heritage abroad could be an indication that grants from government agencies and foundations are relatively more important in this space than the sum of donations from individuals.

Additionally, as revealed in the interviews, there tends to be a large overlap in donor audience across this category of organization. It is possible that, while many organizations belong to this category, this category's overall revenue is limited because these organizations share funding from the same donor pool. It is also important to note that, compared with other categories,

this selection of organizations places a large emphasis on domestic events, which seems to divert some of their budget away from preservation projects.

Finally, preservation-focused implementers have grown in number but not in funding, which seems to indicate that the way they frame heritage as a means through which to achieve social goals and build capacity has gained traction among preservation professionals but not with funders. Given that the rise in the number of organizations that belong to this category correlates with the decline in the World Monuments Fund's revenue, one might wonder if these organizations are competing for the same limited resources, which would indicate the importance of venturing beyond this circle to find funding. It is also possible that the more general humanitarian organizations that have started using preservation to achieve their broader missions are attracting some of the funders who might otherwise contribute to more preservation-focused organizations. In light of this possibility, it could be beneficial to obtain more accurate data about the extent to which these humanitarian organizations are engaging with preservation and compare how these different types of organizations approach the historic built environment.

Ultimately, this thesis introduces many more questions about American funding of preservation projects abroad than it can answer. It primarily explores trends in private funding since 2002, and a longer longitudinal analysis of these organizations and their missions would undoubtedly be beneficial for understanding current practices. Additionally, this thesis focuses on only one component of the funding dynamic – the nonprofits that operate between domestic funders and foreign recipient communities and institutions. To truly understand the diverse political and social dynamics that shape this field, it is also necessary to more closely examine the broad range of funding institutions at play here. Related to this, an exploration of the difference between small donations from individuals and larger grants could aid an analysis of the extent to

which international heritage preservation is of interest to the general public or a project of larger institutions. Any one of the three categories analyzed in this thesis also warrant additionally examination, especially in terms of how their operations actually impact heritage sites and local communities. Pursuing these lines of inquiry, along with others, will help us better understand this the complex and dynamic landscape of cross-border heritage preservation funding and its implications.

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