

Nonprofit and Civil Society Studies  
An International Multidisciplinary Series

Michael Hoelscher  
Regina A. List  
Alexander Ruser  
Stefan Toepler *Editors*

# Civil Society: Concepts, Challenges, Contexts

Essays in Honor of Helmut K. Anheier



Springer

# **Nonprofit and Civil Society Studies**

## **An International Multidisciplinary Series**

### **Series Editors**

Paul Dekker, Tilburg University, Tilburg, The Netherlands

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Editors

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**Helmut K. Anheier**  
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# Foreword by the Series Editors

We are very honored to have this *Liber Amicorum* for Helmut Anheier in our series. Helmut started the series *Nonprofit and Civil Society Studies: An International Multidisciplinary Series* in 1999. The series was originally part of Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers and then taken over by Springer Publishing soon after, when Kluwer Academic merged with Springer. Although the series received no formal introduction or announcement, its launch was part of an active effort by Helmut and others to institutionalize third-sector research as a distinct field of study. We do not have documents showing any discussion about the name of the series—Third-Sector Studies? Nonprofit Studies? Civil Society Studies?—but we can imagine that combining two to cover the third was a pragmatic and inclusive proposal of Helmut to avoid wasting time on long disputes about terminology.

Below is the list of books in the series so far. Helmut started the series with an international and comparative book about funds, co-edited with Stefan Toepler. Helmut remained as series editor until 2011, in charge of publishing 17 books (5 monographs and 12 edited volumes). Ebenezer Obadare's *Handbook of Civil Society in Africa* appeared in 2014 without a series editor, but with the International Society for Third-Sector Research (ISTR) taking on the formal management of the series. In that construction, Paul Dekker and Annette Zimmer served as series editors, and when Annette became president of ISTR in 2015, Lehn Benjamin succeeded her. In the years after Helmut's editorship, 14 books (all edited volumes) have been published, including this one, which is one of the most voluminous.

1. Helmut K. Anheier & Stefan Toepler (eds), *Private Funds, Public Purpose: Philanthropic Foundations in International Perspective* (1999)
2. Hillel Schmid, *Neighborhood Self-Management: Experiments in Civil Society* (2001)
3. Patrice Flynn & Virginia A. Hodgkinson (eds), *Measuring the Impact of the Nonprofit Sector* (2001)
4. Tobie S. Stein, *Workforce Transitions from the Profit to the Nonprofit Sector* (2002)

5. S. Wojciech Sokolowski, *Civil Society and the Professions in Eastern Europe: Social Change and Organizational Innovation in Poland* (2002)
6. Ugo Ascoli & Costanzo Ranci (eds), *Dilemmas of the Welfare Mix: The New Structure of Welfare in an Era of Privatization* (2002)
7. Paul Dekker, Loek Halman (eds), *The Values of Volunteering: Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (2003)
8. Helmut K. Anheier & Avner Ben-Ner (eds), *The Study of Nonprofit Enterprise: Theories and Approaches* (2003)
9. Annette E. Zimmer & Christina Stecker (eds), *Strategy Mix for Nonprofit Organisations: Vehicles for Social and Labour Market Integrations* (2004)
10. Benjamin Gidron, Michal Bar & Hagai Katz, *The Israeli Third Sector: Between Welfare State and Civil Society* (2004)
11. Soma Hewa & Darwin Stapleton (eds), *Globalization, Philanthropy, and Civil Society: Toward a New Political Culture in the Twenty-First Century* (2006)
12. Gunnar Grendstad, Per Selle, Kristin Strømsnes & Oystein Bortne, *Unique Environmentalism: A Comparative Perspective* (2006)
13. Helmut K. Anheier, Adele Simmons & David Winder (eds), *Innovation in Strategic Philanthropy: Local and Global Perspectives* (2007)
14. Samiul Hasan & Jenny Onyx (eds), *Comparative Third Sector Governance in Asia: Structure, Process, and Political Economy* (2008)
15. Henk Vinken, Yuko Nishimura, Bruce L. J. White & Masayuki Deguchi (eds), *Civic Engagement in Contemporary Japan: Established and Emerging Repertoires* (2010)
16. Benjamin Gidron & Michal Bar (eds), *Policy Initiatives Towards the Third Sector in International Perspective* (2010)
17. Jeffrey Broadbent & Vicky Brockman (eds), *East Asian Social Movements: Power, Protest, and Change in a Dynamic Region* (2011)
18. Ebenezer Obadare (ed.), *The Handbook of Civil Society in Africa* (2014)
19. Samiul Hasan (ed.), *Human Security and Philanthropy: Islamic Perspectives and Muslim Majority Country Practices* (2015)
20. Lesley Hustinx, Johan von Essen, Jacques Haers & Sara Mels (eds), *Religion and Volunteering: Complex, Contested and Ambiguous Relationships* (2015)
21. Taco Brandsen, Sandro Cattacin, Adalbert Evers & Annette Zimmer (eds), *Social Innovations in the Urban Context* (2016)
22. Gregory R. Witkowski & Arnd Bauerkämper (eds), *German Philanthropy in Transatlantic Perspective: Perceptions, Exchanges and Transfers Since the Early Twentieth Century* (2016)
23. Samiul Hasan (ed.), *Corporate Social Responsibility and the Three Sectors in Asia: How Conscious Engagement Can Benefit Civil Society* (2017)
24. Jacqueline Butcher & Christopher J. Einolf (eds), *Perspectives on Volunteering: Voices from the South* (2017)
25. Bernard Enjolras & Kristin Strømsnes (eds), *Scandinavian Civil Society and Social Transformations: The Case of Norway* (2018)

26. Lars Skov Henriksen, Kristin Strømsnes & Lars Svedberg (eds), *Civic Engagement in Scandinavia: Volunteering, Informal Help and Giving in Denmark, Norway and Sweden* (2019)
27. Lonneke Roza, Steffen Bethmann, Lucas Meijs & Georg von Schnurbein (eds), *Handbook on Corporate Foundations: Corporate and Civil Society Perspectives* (2020)
28. Riccardo Guidi, Ksenija Fonović & Tania Cappadozzi (eds), *Accounting for the Varieties of Volunteering: New Global Statistical Standards Tested* (2021)
29. Benjamin Gidron & Anna Domaradzka (eds), *The New Social and Impact Economy: An International Perspective* (2021)
30. Anders Sevelsted & Jonass Toubol (eds), *The Power of Morality in Movements: Civic Engagement in Climate Justice, Human Rights, and Democracy* (2022)
31. Michael Hoelscher, Regina A. List, Alexander Ruser & Stefan Toepler (eds), *Civil Society: Concepts, Challenges, Contexts -- Essays in Honor of Helmut K. Anheier* (2022)

Comparative and international research has become a thread through the series, although we still strive for more global balance in the countries and regions covered. The series does reflect the multidisciplinary in the field, with anchors in sociology, economics, and political science as well as a consistent focus on the relationship between the nonprofit sector and civil society and the spheres of private lives, work, and government. Returning topics are volunteering, philanthropy, funds and foundations, social innovations, and movements.

All these perspectives and topics come back in this volume, and so do many of the authors and editors of books earlier in the series. It demonstrates the vitality of a community of third-sector researchers and the good professional and personal relationships Helmut has developed over time as the field has become more institutionalized. We want to thank the editors of this volume for their hard work, and of course also the authors, and our publishing editors of the series at Springer, first Teresa Krauss and now Lorraine Klimowich.

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Editors of the Nonprofit and Civil Society Studies (<https://www.springer.com/series/6339>)

# Foreword

I am honored by the invitation to contribute a foreword to this volume. It was my great good fortune to have gotten to know Helmut Anheier while he was a student in the Yale Sociology Department's Ph.D. program. Helmut and I arrived at Yale at more or less the same time and were united, first, by a shared interest in network analysis and, second, by our participation in Yale's interdisciplinary Program on Non-Profit Organizations, in which he was a research affiliate, and which brought me to Yale as a postdoctoral fellow and of which I eventually became the Director. I served as an entirely unqualified member of the committee for his comprehensive examination in Mathematical Sociology (a topic about which he knew much more than I) and as a member of his dissertation committee. More important than these formal ties were the many conversations afforded by our common membership in a relatively small group of sociologists for whom the Program on Non-Profit Organizations served as an intellectual base, conversations in which it became apparent that Helmut was a man of exceptional talents and, even then, of deep learning.

I faced three obstacles in writing this brief reminiscence. The first is that throughout most of our shared time at Yale, computers (the first of which I did not own until 1984, well into our acquaintance) had very small hard drives. One therefore backed up one's documents on tiny external disks—at first floppy and circular, then rigid and square—none of which have survived. Second, Helmut's scholarly scope and impact have been so broad that searching my (now cloud-based) records for relevant files was like trying to find needles in a haystack. A search on "Anheier" yielded close to 1000 hits. Why so many, then? Helmut's papers or books have appeared in the syllabi for almost every course I have taught on organizations, networks, nonprofits, or sociology of culture; in dozens of reading lists for graduate student comprehensive examinations that I have supervised; in multiple drafts of dozens of papers in which I have cited his work; and in scores of papers by other scholars that cite his work, as well as many of those publications themselves. Finally, it is impossible to view Helmut's *vitae* without a paralyzing sense of one's own underperformance: I realized that my impression that he is one of the earth's

most prolific sociologists has been based on acquaintanceship with, at most, one third of his publications. Nonetheless, I shall press on.

I first encountered Helmut through our shared interests in network analysis. Yale Sociology in the early 1980s was a community that encouraged strong internal bonds. The Department's offices looked inward at a courtyard that also included a cafeteria. Because the nearest restaurants were several blocks away, students and faculty often lunched together. Moreover, for complex historical reasons, Yale sociologists were a beleaguered tribe, benefiting from the solidarity that external hostility elicits. Among those with an interest in networks, social density was stimulated as well by excitement surrounding that area, represented at Yale by Scott Boorman, whose work with Harrison White and Ron Breiger had stimulated the efflorescence of that field, and whose students included some of the Department's most promising. Given Helmut's immense contributions to the study of nonprofit sectors, philanthropy, and global civil society, some readers may be unaware of his important early work on social networks. His dissertation was a brilliant study of interorganizational networks among nonprofit social welfare organizations in three West African countries, combining fieldwork—he trudded through the bush to collect his data—with analysis (of negative as well as positive sentiments) that demonstrated the impact of network structure on system effectiveness. The study remains the best example I know of the value of the triad census method that emerged (through Heider and his successors) from Simmel's famous essay on three-person groups. He followed this study by collecting network data from the full population of fiction authors in Cologne, producing several papers that used then new methods to address significant issues in social and literary theories.

Given his unusual gift for connecting network methods to deep sociological problems, I expected Helmut to become a leader in the field of network analysis. But if networks were his first love, the study of philanthropy became his enduring passion. John Simon of Yale's Law School and Yale President Kingman Brewster created the Program on Non-Profit Organizations in the late 1970s to strengthen scholarship on philanthropy. One of the Program's goals was to recruit able young scholars, support their work, and create a cadre of researchers who would lead the field in the coming years. Helmut was one of the first of these, and the greatest of the Program's several significant successes. His dissertation was one of the first studies of nonprofit sectors in the developing world and one of the first to examine the impact of social structure and public policy on the vitality of the voluntary sector in any context. By the time he left Yale, he had begun writing more broadly about the nonprofit sector in international perspective, including a brilliant paper articulating eight factors influencing the shape of voluntary activity in different countries, and one of the only two chapters in the *Yale Handbook* to be authored by a graduate student. Shortly after, when I agreed to write a paper for *Annual Review of Sociology* on the sociology of philanthropy and nonprofit organizations, I quickly recruited Helmut as co-author, for he already knew more than anyone else about philanthropy outside the United States.

Helmut was a mainstay of the Non-Profit Program, a regular participant in our workshops, who could be counted on to ask the most probing questions in the most

polite way. Soft-spoken almost to a fault, he won respect for the substance of his ideas, rather than the performativity of their expression. He also possessed a great dry wit, which became apparent only gradually. (In a recommendation letter for an academic-year fellowship, I referred to his “keen sense of humor, which will become visible by late September or early October.”)

Helmut has always been the person one wants to recruit to any new enterprise and has always had an almost supernatural ability to do many things well at once. I moved to Princeton shortly after he moved to Rutgers, which was nearby. We talked about several possible collaborations over lunch, after which I wrote that I hoped he would “substitute Princeton for [Johns] Hopkins as the place for additional commitments whenever your life is in danger of becoming manageable.” In the recommendation I quoted earlier, I noted that his unique dual immersion in research on both the US and the international voluntary sectors made him an indispensable bridge between the two academic worlds and predicted that he would be a leader in the field for years to come. Never has a bold prediction about a relatively new Ph.D. proven so accurate—indeed, in retrospect, I may have been guilty of understatement. Helmut may have started as a bridge between the US and European non-profit research communities; but he has built so many other bridges between them, and to communities around the world, that research on civil society has become a global enterprise, in large part thanks to his scholarship and his entrepreneurial exertions.

It is customary for teachers to express pride in the accomplishments of their former students; but, in honesty, Helmut was a peer from the moment I met him, so appreciation is a more appropriate emotion. Festschriften like this one serve to punctuate a scholar’s career. Sometimes, the punctuation is a period, but in Helmut’s case, it is certainly a comma (perhaps with an exclamation point for emphasis). I look forward to the next stage.

Paul DiMaggio  
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# About the Editors and Contributors

## About the Editors

**Michael Hoelscher** holds a PhD from Freie Universität Berlin and is currently Professor of Higher Education and Research Management at the German University of Administrative Sciences Speyer. Helmut Anheier was mentor of his habilitation in Sociology at the University of Heidelberg, where Michael joined Helmut as post-doctoral assistant in 2008. They worked together on cultural topics such as the “Cultures & Globalization” series, often with a focus on data-driven and mixed-method analyses, for example, in the context of the indicator suites in the already mentioned series, the Indicator Framework for Culture and Democracy (IFCD) (see Chap. 17 in this volume), or the Civil Society Index. Currently, Michael is on the section editorial board for “Culture, values and identities” for Helmut’s newest journal project *Global Perspectives*.

**Regina A. List** is at the time of writing an independent editor, researcher, and writer, with many years of experience in coordinating multi-country, multi-researcher projects and pulling together edited volumes, textbooks, and similar complicated publications. She first worked with Helmut Anheier at the Johns Hopkins Center for Civil Society Studies as the Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project was publishing works from the first phase, entering its second phase and expanding to Latin America (her earlier region of expertise) and other parts of the world. Since she moved to Germany in 2002, Regina has collaborated with Helmut on a wide variety of projects and publications, including The Governance Report series (Oxford University Press) hosted by the Hertie School (Berlin), the *Journal of Civil Society*, the *International Encyclopedia of Civil Society*, and a host of others that extended her horizons and capacities. She earned a master’s in International Development from American University (Washington, DC) and a bachelor’s in Political Science and Spanish from the University of Tennessee (Knoxville, Tennessee).

**Alexander Ruser** is Professor of Sociology at the Department of Sociology and Social Work and the Centre for Digital Transformation (CeDiT) at the University of Agder in Kristiansand, Norway. Alex met Helmut Anheier during his time as a PhD student at the Max-Weber-Institut at Heidelberg University. They continued to collaborate when Alex became a Dahrendorf Fellow at the Hertie School in Berlin and the London School of Economics. In 2016, Helmut was a mentor of Alex's habilitation treatise *Science in Society*. Helmut's work is an important inspiration for Alex's current research on the role of non-state actors and political networks on climate politics and the role of scientific expertise and advocacy in the public sphere.

**Stefan Toepler** is Professor of Nonprofit Studies in the Schar School of Policy and Government, George Mason University, outside of Washington, DC. In the course of his dissertation research at the Free University Berlin, he met Helmut Anheier first in 1991. Helmut helped arrange a research stay at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore in the following year, which in turn was followed by a Hopkins Philanthropy Fellowship in 1993/1994. In 1995, he started to work as a research associate and a coordinator for Central and Eastern Europe first, and later the Middle East, with the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project, under Helmut's and Les Salamon's direction. After Helmut's departure for the LSE in 1998, they continued to collaborate over the years on various projects, several books, one encyclopedia, and numerous journal articles and book chapters. Among the most recent major collaborations are the *Routledge Companion to Nonprofit Management* (2020) and the third edition of *Nonprofit Organizations: Theory, Management, Policy* (2022).

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# Chapter 1

## Civil Society Concepts, Challenges, and Contexts: An Introduction to Helmut Anheier's Festschrift



Michael Hoelscher, Regina A. List, Alexander Ruser, and Stefan Toepler

**Abstract** This chapter is the introduction to the edited volume *Civil Society: Concepts, Challenges, Contexts*, honoring the work of Helmut K. Anheier. Following Anheier's broad research interests, civil society is broadly conceived to encompass nonprofit organizations, philanthropic activities, and cultural endeavors in a sphere beyond the stricter realms of state power and market interests, where society is organizing itself. First, this chapter sketches Anheier's scientific journey over the last 40 years, demonstrating his impressive oeuvre. Second, it provides an overview of the collection. Contributors tackle important issues of theory, ranging from the need to redefine the public sphere and elevate civility within the civil society discourse to the roles of nonprofit organizations in social problem-solving and fostering innovation as well as the legitimacy of philanthropic institutions; address a wide range of current challenges to civil society, such as the continuously shrinking space for civil society; and elucidate concepts and challenges further through contextualized applications and case studies.

**Keywords** Helmut K. Anheier · Civil society theory · Civil society challenges · Nonprofit organizations · Philanthropy

*The social scientist's basic responsibility is to doubt received wisdom, probe all that is taken for granted, question all authority, and pose questions that otherwise no one dares to ask.*

*(Dahrendorf, 1963; authors' translation)*

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This volume brings together a global set of academic experts to reflect on civil society, broadly conceived to encompass nonprofit organizations, philanthropic activities, and cultural endeavors in a sphere where the “self-organization of society outside the stricter realms of state power and market interests” takes place (Anheier, 2014, p. 83). Contributors tackle important issues of theory, ranging from the need to redefine the public sphere and elevate civility within the civil society discourse to the roles of nonprofit organizations in social problem-solving and fostering innovation as well as the legitimacy of philanthropic institutions; address a wide range of current challenges to civil society, such as the continuously shrinking space for civil society; and elucidate concepts and challenges further through contextualized applications and case studies. What unites the contributors of this volume is that they represent a broad cross section of the many people whose own path intersected at some point with the wide-ranging academic career of Helmut K. Anheier in whose honor these contributions were collected.

Anyone who has followed or accompanied Anheier on his career trajectory can attest to the fact that he has taken up the challenge Dahrendorf posed in 1963 and has pursued it wholeheartedly. Moreover, anyone would agree that this was no coincidence. Dahrendorf’s call for bold and consequential social sciences is reflected in many of Anheier’s writings, and the quotation can be found in recent publications (Anheier, 2019).

Anheier’s academic oeuvre spans an astounding range of themes and topics. In all of his work, he has pioneered efforts to tame and measure fuzzy and contested concepts (Anheier et al., 2001, p. 11), develop theories around them, shed light on the connections between them and with other topics, deliver policy-oriented results, and, more generally, provoke and encourage academic exploration. As the contributions to this volume confirm, this is especially the case in relation to civil society.

In graduate school in the Department of Sociology at Yale University, Anheier was already pushing the boundaries of knowledge. As Paul DiMaggio, a member of his dissertation committee recalls in the Foreword to this volume, “His dissertation was one of the first studies of nonprofit sectors in the developing world; and one of the first to examine the impact of social structure and public policy on the vitality of the voluntary sector in any context.”

While pursuing his academic career at Rutgers (1986–1998, with a short leave for a stint with the United Nations), Anheier teamed up with Lester Salamon to direct the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project (CNP) in the late 1980s (Salamon & Anheier, 1996). In CNP’s first phase, Anheier, Salamon, and colleagues from 12 countries (Salamon & Anheier, 1997) hashed out a structural–operational definition of nonprofit organizations and the International Classification of Nonprofit Organizations (ICNPO) and later with colleagues from some 20 additional countries reviewed and updated this work (Salamon et al., 1999). This definition and the ICNPO laid the groundwork for years of research and publications, as well as practical policy-related applications such as a framework on which to build satellite accounts on nonprofit institutions (UN Statistics Division, 2003). In

addition to setting a standard for cross-national comparative research and contributing new theoretical insights (Salamon & Anheier, 1998; Anheier & Toepler, 1999), the CNP offered a gathering place for nonprofit and civil society researchers, as well as a launching pad for a whole new generation. Separately, Anheier launched, with Martin Knapp, *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* in 1990 and a few years afterward a book series on *Nonprofit and Civil Society Studies* (Plenum, now Springer) to help generate international interest in the newly emerging research field. The first volume of the new series was based on an earlier *Voluntas* special issue on foundations, which jump-started his decades-long quest to shed more light on these often obscure and not well-understood institutions (Anheier & Toepler, 1999).

In 1998, Anheier left behind the commute along the Atlantic Coast of the United States to join the London School of Economics, first as Reader, later as Centennial Professor, and then as Founding director of the Centre for Civil Society. This is where he, together with Mary Kaldor and Marlies Glasius, launched the *Global Civil Society Yearbook* series, ten editions of which were published between 2001 and 2012 (Oxford University Press, 2001–2003; Sage, 2004–2009; Palgrave MacMillan, 2011–2012). As Kaldor and Selchow explain in Chap. 13 of this volume, one of the ideas behind the Yearbooks was to move beyond the deeply embedded assumption of “methodological nationalism” and look to the increasingly global aspects of civil society. Among the many aspects, Anheier placed his brand on methods and measurement, in each edition proposing and testing different approaches to measuring and analyzing the global civil society phenomenon (Anheier & Katz, 2006, 2009; Anheier et al., 2008). This also led to his involvement in yet another project, CIVICUS’s Civil Society Index (Anheier, 2005).

Meanwhile, the West Coast of the United States called, where Anheier joined the faculty of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in 2001 (and has continued in various capacities to this day). While there, and in line with his apparent fascination for cities, he launched a series of reports on the state of Los Angeles’s nonprofit sector (see Chap. 30 in this Volume), thus completing the span from cross-national to global back to local. In the meantime, to capture the expanding but scattered work on civil society, he launched a new journal, the *Journal of Civil Society*, to encourage and inform the range of scholarships on and approaches to civil society across disciplines and national as well as cultural boundaries.

As Anheier himself was straddling Los Angeles and London, he decided to join Raj Isar in taking up yet another set of questions that few had dared to tackle: the complex relationships between cultures and globalization. Through the *Cultures and Globalization* series (Sage, 2007–2012), Anheier and Isar set about the tricky task of combining globalization and culture into a single analytical framework, sorting through a cacophony of definitions, contexts, and approaches in order to guide the contributions to the series (Anheier & Isar, 2007). Of course, since the project

involved Anheier, each edition includes a suite of indicators, providing multiple angles from which to view the subject (Anheier, 2007). A specific focus was always on how the global played out in the local, as epitomized in the “global city” (Anheier et al., 2012; Anheier & Hoelscher, 2015).

By the time he took up the sociology chair at the University of Heidelberg in 2006, he had begun to explore what seemed a perfect combination of previous interests: social investment and social innovation (e.g., Anheier, Krlev & Mildemberger 2018). Not long after he arrived in Heidelberg, Anheier along with Volker Then cofounded the Centre for Social Investment, where he remained Founding academic director until his official retirement in 2019 (the occasion of this Festschrift).

The Centre for Social Investment has been, however, only one of Anheier’s domains in recent years, as he was “on loan” first as Dean and later as President of the Hertie School, which, under his watch, became one of the leading schools of public policy in Germany. Again, he combined rigorous theoretical thinking with innovative approaches to data to advance policy as well as scientific insights. Inter alia, he was the academic lead of the *Hertie School’s Governance Report* series (Oxford University Press, 2013–2019) and guided the design and preparation of various sets of governance indicators to accompany the thematic work in the series (Anheier, Haber, & Kayser 2018). He also found time to develop the Indicator Framework on Culture and Democracy, which Anheier and colleagues from Heidelberg and Berlin prepared for the Council of Europe, which Hoelscher and List discuss in Chap. 17 in this volume.

## 1.1 Connecting Research and Researchers

In the course of his illustrious career that had him shuttling between leading academic institutions on both sides of the Atlantic and traversing the globe multiple times over, Helmut evolved into an internationally recognized and much sought-after leading interpreter of important global and local challenges at the intersection of public and private responsibility. Moreover, his impressive academic oeuvre reflects his international network and ability to engage and collaborate with scholars across the globe.

Even the briefest glimpse of his list of publications reveals that Anheier is not only interested in global social problems but also is a global social scholar himself. His collaborations span five continents and include prestigious universities as well as influential research institutes, foundations, and international organizations. Moreover, a closer look at his scholarly work shows that Anheier served as a mentor and advisor to young scholars while he maintained close and productive ties with leading academics from his own field as well as other disciplines. As a restless academic traveler, Anheier thus adopted the role of a “broker” of academic ideas and a

facilitator of projects that would live up to Dahrendorf’s call to raise questions no one else dares to ask.

To visualize Anheier’s central role in international academic networks, it is worth taking a look at these very networks themselves. Figure 1.1 shows Anheier’s collaborative network based on 249 publications he was involved in since 2000, which then does not include publications stemming from the multicountry Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project.

Figure 1.1 displays the number of collaborations by region, with the size of the respective squares indicating the relative importance of a country within its region and the numbers (in brackets) showing the total amount of collaborations. Despite being selective and excluding the many other forms of Anheier’s contribution to academic networks and intellectual exchange such as talks, workshops, expert discussions, or his many op-eds reaching as well into South America and Africa, the network shows that Anheier is neither a German nor an American sociologist. It rather provides proof of his role as a truly international scholar, an academic innovator, and a broker between distinct national and intellectual spheres.



Fig. 1.1 Anheier’s collaborative network: a selection of coauthorships, 2000–2020

This collection of original pieces by Anheier's colleagues, collaborators, and former students is thus more than just an honorary enterprise; it is an attempt to engage with the work of an academic whose main objective has been to engage with a multitude of people and a broad variety of ideas. The occasion might be his 65th birthday and retirement from the University of Heidelberg. The justification though is the undiminished and even increasing relevance of his work. Moreover, this academic exploration is perhaps more necessary than ever. In the past, Anheier himself has intervened, taken a stand, and raised questions on urgent and unresolved issues such as the shrinking space and deteriorating policy environments for civil society (Anheier et al., 2019; Anheier & Toepler, 2019), the rise of populism (Anheier, 2017), a possible "decline of the West" (Anheier, 2018), and the future of public policy schools shaping the next generation of leaders and problem-solvers (Anheier, 2019). The range of these topics echoes the comprehensiveness of Anheier's scholarly interests and intellectual aptitude.

## 1.2 Overview of This Collection

Fully addressing the richness of Anheier's intellectual pursuits and involving all of those who accompanied him on his way would have required the preparation of several Festschriften. In order to allow an engagement with Anheier's comprehensive work and simultaneously make sure that the edited collection follows a clear and accessible structure, we invited contributors to focus on conceptual issues and theoretical considerations relating to civil society, nonprofits, and philanthropy; to elaborate on some of the key challenges that civil society is facing globally; and to help illustrate concepts and challenges in local contexts. The three sections that constitute the collection reflect this division and structure the contributions along these three key aspects.

Taken together, this volume provides a comprehensive and up-to-date overview of the key issues and trends in culture, civil society, and nonprofit research by an international collection of scholars in these fields. By engaging with Helmut Anheier's conceptual and empirical work, the collection of contributions serves as a reference guide for researchers and students. It also provides a starting point for conceptual and empirical studies.

### 1.2.1 *Part I: Developing Concepts and Theoretical Frames*

Anheier pioneered diverse approaches to understanding and measuring the role of civil society and the nonprofit sector and the various institutions constituting it. Seminal work looking at the size and impact of the nonprofit sector and philanthropy in a cross-national perspective has contributed to a growing body of knowledge internationally, as well as to a number of academic journals, projects, and

centers of research focusing on the sector and on the workings of nonprofit organizations of various types.

Topics explored in this part build on this work and include how the context in which nonprofits work and civic activity takes place affects their impact, how foundations address legitimacy demands, and the functions and dysfunctions of nonprofit organizations, among others. Contributions in this section explore some of the conceptual underpinnings of civil society and nonprofits, thus highlighting how Anheier's conceptual and theoretical thinking is shaping the current research.

The first part begins with essays posing important normative, conceptual questions. With the first essay in this section, Rupert Graf Strachwitz raises the fundamental question of whether contemporary global challenges demand a reformulation of the concept of the public sphere itself. He makes a normative, conceptual case for elevating citizen action and engagement vis-à-vis state bureaucracies that simultaneously seek to limit and restrain civil society while failing to contain global market forces and corporations. In the second contribution, Paul Dekker reflects on whether the lack of focus on civility in the expanding research on civil society since the turn of the century might reflect a more general reluctance in the modern social sciences to address moral questions and normative considerations. He argues that reconsidering civility provides a common thread that helps differentiate the good from the bad of civil society (which later contributions in this volume discuss further), leaves behind conceptualizations of civil society as a "space" outside other sectors, and thus enables researchers to focus on relevant entities and institutions rather than on always including the "futile" ones, as de Tocqueville had done, while keeping the voluntary association of citizens at the center of analysis. In another theoretical contribution, Wolfgang Seibel reviews the historical and normative reasons for having civil society and nonprofits and explores the nature of hybridity and their managerial ambivalence, which calls their ability to perform highly and the desirability of nonprofits to do so into question. He revisits his successful failure argument that nonprofit organizations are sometimes deployed to address intractable, effectively unsolvable problems. Having nonprofits working on such problems allows the state and society to maintain the pretense that efforts are being taken while issues are not being solved.

Volker Then and Georg Mildener turn to the issue of social innovations, providing a counter-position of sorts, as they highlight the quintessential role of civil society in creating and promoting innovations designed to solve complex problems that escape both state and market. Gorgi Krlev then explores how civil society organizations (CSOs) and social movements move forward to pursue social impact without necessarily considering the impossibility or unlikelihood of some tasks. Leaning on Hirschman's (1967) concept of the hiding hand, the cultivation by civil society of "persistent fragile action" based on idealism rather than rationality allows them to stumble over unlikely solutions, which may be one way to overcome Seibel's successful failure.

Success, failure, performance, and, more broadly, social impact require the development of proper measurements to have any practical utility. The following two contributions play off two major measurement efforts that Anheier has closely been involved with. Wojtek Sokolowski outlines the approach of using the System