

tent rather than software code. The licenses give everyone from individual creators to large companies and institutions a simple, standardized way to grant copyright permissions to their creative work.

Creative Commons licenses have a three-layer design. The norms and rules of each license are first expressed in full legal language as used by lawyers. This layer is called the *legal code*. But since most creators and users are not lawyers, the licenses also have a *commons deed*, expressing the permissions in plain language, which regular people can read and quickly understand. It acts as a user-friendly interface to the legal-code layer beneath. The third layer is the machine-readable one, making it easy for the Web to know a work is Creative Commons–licensed by expressing permissions in a way that software systems, search engines, and other kinds of technology can understand.²⁰ Taken together, these three layers ensure creators, users, and even the Web itself understand the norms and rules associated with digital content in a commons.

In 2015, there were over one billion Creative Commons licensed works in a global commons. These works were viewed online 136 billion times. People are using Creative Commons licenses all around the world, in thirty-four languages. These resources include photos, artwork, research articles in journals, educational resources, music and other audio tracks, and videos.

Individual artists, photographers, musicians, and filmmakers use Creative Commons, but so do museums, governments, creative industries, manufacturers, and publishers. Millions of websites use CC licenses, including major platforms like Wikipedia and Flickr and smaller ones like blogs.²¹ Users of Creative Commons are diverse and cut across many different sectors. (Our case studies were chosen to reflect that diversity.)

Some see Creative Commons as a way to share a gift with others, a way of getting known, or a way to provide social benefit. Others are simply committed to the norms associated with a commons. And for some, partic-

ipation has been spurred by the free-culture movement, a social movement that promotes the freedom to distribute and modify creative works. The free-culture movement sees a commons as providing significant benefits compared to restrictive copyright laws. This ethos of free exchange in a commons aligns the free-culture movement with the free and open-source software movement.

Over time, Creative Commons has spawned a range of open movements, including open educational resources, open access, open science, and open data. The goal in every case has been to democratize participation and share digital resources at no cost, with legal permissions for anyone to freely access, use, and modify.

The state is increasingly involved in supporting open movements. The Open Government Partnership was launched in 2011 to provide an international platform for governments to become more open, accountable, and responsive to citizens. Since then, it has grown from eight participating countries to seventy.²² In all these countries, government and civil society are working together to develop and implement ambitious open-government reforms. Governments are increasingly adopting Creative Commons to ensure works funded with taxpayer dollars are open and free to the public that paid for them.

The Changing Market

Today's market is largely driven by global capitalism. Law and financial systems are structured to support extraction, privatization, and corporate growth. A perception that the market is more efficient than the state has led to continual privatization of many public natural resources, utilities, services, and infrastructures.²³ While this system has been highly efficient at generating consumerism and the growth of gross domestic product, the impact on human well-being has been mixed. Offsetting rising living standards and improvements to health and education are ever-increasing wealth inequality, social inequality, poverty,