



Funded by the
European Union



GLAMMONS

**BEST PRACTICES
IN MANAGING
FINANCIAL
ARRANGEMENTS
IN GLAMS
UNDER
COMMONS**



**CREARE
SOCIAL**

**in
polis
urbanism**

TU TECHNISCHE
UNIVERSITÄT
BERLIN

BSB
BURGUNDY SCHOOL OF BUSINESS

C european
creative
hubs
network

MAZOMOS
LANDSCAPE | HERITAGE | CONSULTANTS

Nova Iskra

Disclaimer

This document contains information, which is the copyright of GLAMMONS Steering Committee, and may not be copied, reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in any form or by any means, in whole or in part, without written permission. The commercial use of any information contained in this document may require a license from the proprietor of that information. The document must be referenced if used in a publication. The European Commission is not liable for any use that may be made of the information contained herein.



**Funded by
the European Union**

This project has received funding from the Horizon Europe Research and innovation on cultural heritage and CCIs Programme of the European Commission grant agreement No 101060774.



Executive Summary

The aim of this paper is to gain a deeper empirical understanding of the funding and financial channels for galleries, libraries, archives, and museums (GLAMS) organised as commons (GLAMMONS). So far, these subjects remain underexplored in cultural policy and cultural economics literature, especially in a European context. Based on a literature review and case studies with primary and secondary data, this working paper discusses different resources that GLAMMONS rely on to sustain themselves. At the end it outlines a series of key questions to guide the exploration of suitable policy-making for Year 3 in the GLAMMONS project.

The contribution of this deliverable will be threefold. First, empirically it will shed new light on commoning processes in the GLAM sector. It will contribute to a better understanding of the diversity of cultural heritage practices with a particular focus on the community-based commoning processes around GLAMS. Second, conceptually its aim to extend the existing commons literature by offering an in-depth understanding of financial practices and modes of resourcing within commoning arrangements in cultural heritage as little is known on how commoning arrangements in general, and in the cultural sector in particular, sustain themselves. Moreover, when new funding instruments are discussed then usually market-based solutions are favoured, as was after the financial crisis of 2007/2008 with the calls for more philanthropic engagement, community-based financing for example is not an issue yet in cultural policy debates. And third, theoretically, our analysis explores the contribution of GLAMMONS as an alternative in cultural heritage provision. More precisely, we inquire into not only the potential but also the limits and ambiguities of GLAMMONS as alternatives to the culture heritage provision in the GLAM sector through the state or market.

Our research shows that GLAMMONS:

- exist in the cultural heritage sector;
- mainly rely on volunteer labour of the commoners
- and on community-based ways of funding (membership contributions and crowdfunding) that supported self-organisation, shared risk-taking and indirect reciprocity and thus, help reproduce commoning practices;
- are too small to have staff or people specialised in fundraising;



- often intentionally lack the legal frameworks to accept other sources of funding (e.g., donations or grants) or that help to re-invest the funding into the commoning activities;
- are mainly interested in keeping their autonomy and thus decline monies that interfere with their horizontal decision-making processes, their structural independence, and the indirect reciprocity. Thus, the research also highlights the meaning and values these monies have in the context of the commoning for the commoners.

The funding instruments prioritised in recent cultural policy debates (e.g., debt or equity based fundings and sponsorship) often prove incompatible with commoning principles. Such instruments risk undermining the autonomy by imposing high expectations on returns, pushing toward commodification, and failing to support horizontal governance structures and self-organisation. While community-based funding practices are most suitable for sustaining commons, other forms of funding can still contribute positively for collectively managing common resources. However, many of these alternatives remain underrepresented in policymaking discussions and have yet to be utilised effectively to incentivise broader engagement.



Table of Contents

List of Figures.....	5
List of Tables	5
1 Introduction	6
1.1 Contribution of this deliverable to the GLAMMONS research project.....	7
2 Financial practices of GLAMMONS: A review of the literature	8
2.1. Mixed Funding Economy of GLAMS.....	9
2.2. Funding and resources of smaller, community-based organisations.....	12
2.3 Financial Practices of GLAMS under commons	13
3 Conceptual frameworks – The diverse economy of GLAMMONS	17
3.1 New Commons in Culture.....	17
3.2 Commoning practices	19
3.3 Diverse Economies.....	20
3.4 Sociology of Money	21
4 Methodology	21
5 Findings	25
5.1 Case Studies GLAMS created as commons (GLAMMONS).....	26
5.1.1 Overview Case Studies.....	26
5.1.2 Funding of GLAMMONS	26
5.1.3 Commoning Practices in GLAMMONS	28
5.1.4 Commoning Resources in GLAMMONS	29
5.1.5 Governance forms of GLAMMONS.....	30
5.1.5 “Surprising Findings”	30
5.2 Case Studies: Commoning strategies within existing GLAMS	33
5.2.1 Municipal galleries in Berlin.....	33
5.2.1 Volunteer-run libraries in Berlin	35
6 Discussion	37
6.1 Volunteering, community-based and collaborative finance.....	37
6.2 Towards financial practices for commoning	38
6.3 Critical points for further research.....	41
7 Best Practices in managing financial arrangements in GLAMS under commons	43
7.1 Best Practices, a pragmatist view.....	43
7.2 Case Vignettes: Best Practices	44
8 Conclusion.....	47
References	50



List of Figures

Figure 1: Key principles based on Avdikos et al. (2023)	8
---	---

List of Tables

Table 1: Mixed Funding Economy of GLAMS as outlined in Deliverable 1.4.11	
Table 2: Overview Triade of Commoning (Bollier & Helfrich, 2019)	20
Table 3: Case Studies for GLAMMONS in EU-27	24
Table 4: Overview Commoning Practices in GLAMMONS	29
Table 5: Overview Funding Instruments and conditions for commoning	41



1 Introduction

The financial sustainability of cultural heritage organisations is crucial for their ongoing operations, ensuring access to necessary resources such as financial capital, human resources, physical assets, and expertise. Over the past decade, this issue has been a significant focus of EU policymaking (Bonet & Donato, 2011; Eppich & Grinda, 2019; Jelinčić & Šveb, 2021). However, small-scale organisations, particularly those in rural areas, frequently struggle to secure private funding and attract investors (Candlin, 2016; Gunter, 2017). These organisations often lack the resources and skills needed to establish the “mixed funding economy” that has been widely discussed in research and policy on GLAM institutions (Klamer et al., 2013).

Following multiple crises and subsequent austerity measures across the EU-27 in the last decades, financial resilience and sustainability in the GLAM sector has become a central focus in cultural policy (European Commission, 2022). Despite this, there is still a limited understanding of how organisations secure the resources—financial or otherwise—necessary to sustain projects, programs, and their workforce (Mullen, 2020) is still little discussed in the research literature or cultural policy field. Within the GLAM sector and the broader cultural and creative industries (CCI), there remains a notable gap in systematic knowledge regarding emerging forms of financing. Loots et al. (2022) highlight this deficiency, stating that “systematic knowledge of new forms of financing in the CCI is limited” (p. 209). This is largely due to the absence of detailed, cross-domain (e.g., theatre, museums), cross-level (e.g., state, provincial, municipal), and longitudinal data on public spending and innovative financing approaches for culture (Katz-Gerro, 2015, p. 1). Recent EU-Horizon research initiatives, accelerated by the COVID-19 pandemic, have begun exploring new funding models for cultural heritage organisations. However, these initiatives primarily focus on market-based and finance-led funding instruments (FINCH, 2020; FINPIEMONTE, 2021; Pickerill, 2021), leaving the exploration of community-based alternatives still underdeveloped.

The GLAMMONS (2022-2025) project aims to address the above challenges, fill gaps and advance research and policy in providing an alternative lens in employing the theory of the commons (Avdikos et al., 2023; Borch, 2018; Hofmann et al., 2022). It will provide a) an in-depth analysis of ongoing shifts (with a specific focus on both pandemic-driven transformations and digitalisation) in the field of GLAMS, b) explore



and assess practices (concerning management, finance, and participation) that emerge around the small-scale, community-led GLAMS and the possibility of transferring relevant knowledge to more ‘established’ and traditional ones to provide more sustainability to the sector. The aim of our exploratory inquiry is to initiate a crucial discussion on emerging models of heritage governance driven by civil society and community-based initiatives.

The working paper will discuss the existing knowledge on the funding of GLAMS, specifically GLAMS under commons (GLAMMONS), and aims to identify the different types of financial practices that sustain these GLAMMONS. Our contribution will be threefold. First, we shed new light on commoning processes in the GLAM sector. We aim to contribute to a better understanding of the diversity of cultural heritage practices with a particular focus on the community-based commoning processes around GLAMS. Second, we aim to extend the existing commons literature by offering an in-depth understanding of financial practices and modes of resourcing within cultural heritage commoning arrangements. Yet little is known on how commoning arrangements in general, and in the cultural sector in particular, sustain themselves. And third, our analysis explores the contribution of GLAMMONS as alternative to cultural heritage provision. More precisely, we inquire into not only the potential but also the limits and ambiguities of GLAMMONS as alternatives to the culture heritage provision in the GLAM sector through the state or market.

The paper is divided into six sections. Chapter 2 discusses the state of the art in research literature on financial practices of GLAMMONS while Chapter 3 then conceptualised the research in existing discussions. Chapter 4 introduces the methodology of the research and Chapter 5 presents findings. Chapter 6 discusses the findings and chapter 7 presents Best Practices in financial management in GLAMMONS before Chapter 8 concludes.

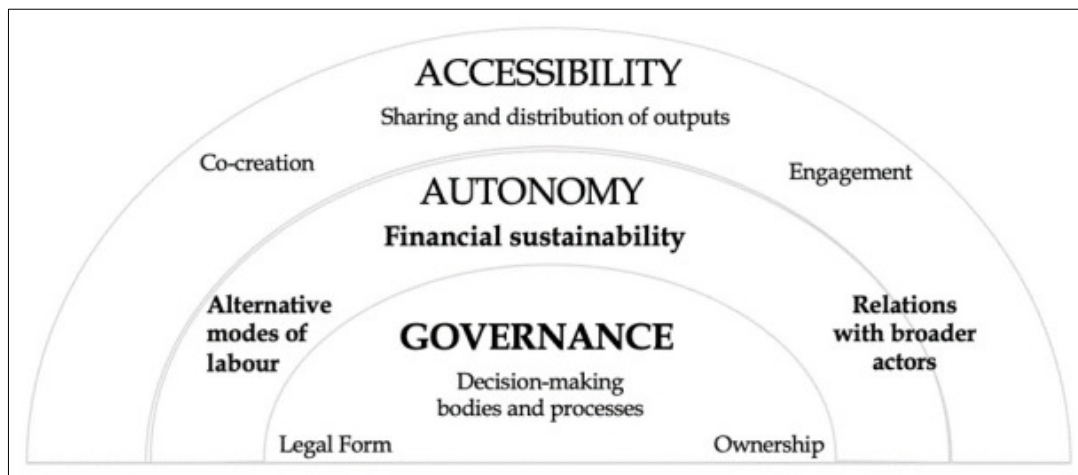
1.1 Contribution of this deliverable to the GLAMMONS research project

The contribution of this working paper to the GLAMMONS research project is threefold. Firstly, its empirical contribution lies in presenting the “actually existing” (Eizenberg, 2012) financial practices that facilitate the (re)production of commons,



highlighting the material conditions necessary for the sustainability of commoning activities (Leyva del Río, 2022). This is an important aspect for the financial sustainability of commoning activities and practices and will enrich our conceptual discussions on GLAMMONS across several deliverables in the project. Secondly, by proposing a framework for commons-based financing, the paper offers a conceptual contribution that will influence the content of policy-recommendations and training events in Year 3. Thirdly, in seeking to characterise the financial practices that support commoning, and providing a theoretical foundation for understanding how commoning, can be enabled and sustained, the paper contributes to a deeper understanding of the interrelationship between three critical dimensions in GLAMS: (a) governance, (b) autonomy, and (c) accessibility (Avdikos et al., 2023).

Figure 1: Key principles based on Avdikos et al. (2023)



2 Financial practices of GLAMMONS: A review of the literature

Securing resources, both financial and otherwise, to sustain small(er) GLAM (Galleries, Libraries, Archives, and Museums) organisations, as well as commoning arrangements within the sector, remains a persistent challenge. Despite this, discussions around concrete examples of income generation and how organisations “find the resources, financial or otherwise, to create and sustain projects and programmes, companies and people” (Mullen, 2020, p. 49) are relatively scarce within the academic literature (Ashton, 2023; Lindqvist, 2012a, 2012b; Rex et al., 2019). The



following sections will briefly summarise what is presently known about funding and financing practices within the GLAM sector, examining the shifts and developments over recent decades (see Deliverable 1.4. for more in-depth discussion). Subsequently, the focus will narrow to consider the state of smaller organisations in the field, particularly emphasising the funding strategies and financial practices employed within commoning arrangements.

2.1. Mixed Funding Economy of GLAMS

Despite a strong tradition of public support for arts, culture and cultural heritage in the EU-27 member states, the funding sources for arts and cultural organisation have become increasingly mixed over the last decades, not least because public authorities have encouraged cultural institutions to diversify their sources of income and implemented favourable tax regimes to encourage private contributions and created vehicles for financial capital investments (Klamer et al., 2006; Manda et al., 2017; OECD, 2022). However, there is surprisingly little in-depth research on the organisational level on e.g., the diversification of income streams despite its importance for cultural organisations and policymakers. Moreover, there is only limited information available on the relative importance of these different income streams in GLAMS operations, on funding sources within specific sectors of the GLAMS (galleries, libraries, archives museums), across these sectors and different types of GLAMS (public, private, non-profits), as well as across different spatial contexts (urban, small, and medium-sized cities and rural areas).

GLAMS, a new acronym for collecting institutions such as galleries, libraries, archives, and museums, are cultural memory organisations that preserve the “common cultural heritage” (Istvandity et al., 2023). Historically, these institutions have been pivotal in shaping national and cultural identities (Audunson et al., 2020). Despite the distinct traditions and professional practices within each type, GLAMS share a ‘common practice field’ (Rydbeck et al., 2022, p. 231) and play key socio-cultural roles, primarily in four areas: (1) ‘they are memory institutions guarding our collective and public memory, our cultural heritage’; (2) ‘they provide knowledge and cultural expressions to large sections of the population’; (3) they are ‘agents of popular enlightenment’; and (4) ‘they have a role as local meeting places and arenas of participation in public space’ (Audunson et al., 2020, pp. 5-6). However, critical perspectives, particularly



from poststructuralist and postcolonial scholarship, have increasingly questioned what these institutions collect, who they collect for, and how alternative approaches to collecting can be embraced (Hall, 1999, 2001; Morse, 2020; Popple et al., 2020). The GLAM sector has traditionally been viewed as a conservative public-service “cultural industry” (Nogare & Murzyn-Kupisz, 2022), heavily reliant on public funding. Many GLAM institutions are owned by the state or municipalities and receive significant public support for their operations (Klamer et al., 2013). As key cultural heritage institutions, they form the backbone of cultural infrastructure in cities and states and are often considered part of the basic provision of culture,” as is the case in Germany (Deutscher Bundestag, 2007). Research on the GLAM sector, however, tends to be fragmented. Studies are often either narrowly focused on niche areas, such as academic libraries or participatory community archives, or overly broad, encompassing museums, libraries, archives, and galleries without detailed analysis. Comparative research that examines variations within the GLAM sector is limited, particularly when exploring differences in funding across national, regional, and municipal levels or between urban and rural institutions across the EU. This gap highlights the need for more nuanced, cross-sectoral and cross-regional investigations to better understand the diverse challenges and opportunities facing GLAMs today.

Over the past few decades, the funding landscape for cultural organizations has undergone significant changes. In many countries, public funding has been reduced, requiring institutions to generate revenue through private sponsorships and self-generated income, rather than relying solely on public subsidies (Alexander, 1996; Greer, 2021; Romolini et al., 2020). As a result, many cultural organizations now function within a mixed economy, adopting multistakeholder approaches essential for reducing dependency on public funds and enhancing sustainability. Furthermore, public finance's role has shifted towards intermediating and strategically guiding private investments (Loots et al., 2022; Seaman, 2013). Policymakers increasingly advocate for market-based funding models, such as encouraging donations and introducing finance-led instruments in the cultural sector (Alexander & Peterson Gilbert, 2023; Camarero et al., 2023; FINCH, 2020; Gianecchini, 2020; Massi et al., 2019; OECD, 2022). This shift has led to the centrality of partnerships and alliances in the emerging financial ecosystem, incentivising cultural organizations to build long-



term relationships with potential private partners (Prokúpek & Divíšková, 2023; Žuvela et al., 2023).

As the cultural funding ecosystem becomes increasingly diverse and complex (see Table 1), these ecosystems remain highly contextual, influenced by factors such as the stage of development and the relative wealth of a country, province, or municipality, as well as the political and administrative division of responsibilities across different levels of government. The broader political economy, particularly attitudes toward market-based solutions, plays a critical role in shaping cultural funding approaches (Alexander & Peterson Gilbert, 2023; Anheier et al., 2021; Manda et al., 2017). These dynamics are evident in comparative overviews, such as the *World Cities Culture Finance Report* (BOP, 2017) or the *Compendium of Cultural Policies & Trends* (2023). As demonstrated in Deliverable 1.4, GLAMS operate within a broader funding ecology that extends beyond public subsidies, donations, and earned income.

	Self-finance	Public support	Private funding	Debt finance	Equity finance
Instrument	Personal resources, Earned income, Friends & members, Crowdfunding, Community shareholder and ownership models, Blockchain	Subsidies, Grants, Tax Incentives, Match funding, Social Impact Investment Fund	Donation, Sponsorship, Patronage, Crowdfunding	Loans, Micro-credit, Overdraft, Guarantees	Venture capital
Who	Proprietor, family & friends, communities	Public authorities and agencies	People, companies, foundations, trusts	Banks	Business angels, Venture capital

Table 1: Mixed Funding Economy of GLAMS as outlined in Deliverable 1.4.

While the diversity of funding instruments for GLAMS is well-documented, empirical research on their impact remains scarce. Existing data at municipal, state, national, and EU levels fail to offer a comprehensive understanding of how these evolving financial ecologies have transformed cultural organisations. A significant gap persists in understanding how income diversification has affected the daily operations of GLAMS and the challenges it introduces. For instance, studies have suggested that private partnerships and investments often lead to changes in management structures and programming priorities within cultural organisations (Bonet & Donato, 2011).



As discussions surrounding “Open GLAMS” (Hamilton & Saunderson, 2017) continue, it is essential to establish mechanisms that enable GLAMS to report critical financial data. This transparency would inform policymakers and lead to more effective cultural funding strategies. Given the ongoing reductions or potential cuts in cultural funding at local, regional, and national levels, such mechanisms are urgently needed. Without them, many GLAMS may struggle to maintain operations, programming, and long-term planning, primarily due to limited access to suitable funding instruments. As dependence on public sector support decreases, GLAMS should explore sustainable funding solutions through civil society and community-based initiatives, rather than relying solely on the private sector (see Deliverable 1.4. and 1.6.).

2.2. Funding and resources of smaller, community-based organisations

While many GLAMS are publicly owned, either state-owned or local-, regional-owned museums, there are many archives, museums or galleries that are community-run or community-owned, not supported through the public sector, do not act on behalf of the state and who in size, numbers of visitors or budget are rather small (Candlin, 2016; Gunter, 2017; Popple et al., 2020; Reynolds Oam & Matthews, 2020).¹ While most organisations in the GLAM sector can be counted into the small(er) category, research is dominated with knowledge derived from bigger, often national cultural institutions while small organisations or community-based museums experiences are marginalised (Candlin, 2016; Weil et al., 2023). As Vella (2022, p. 561) notes:

“It is strange however that most scholarly studies consider the practices of establishment-owned or large museums but not what sociomuseological and grassroots museums have been doing for decades among communities in various parts of the world.”

While smallness can be defined in different ways (e.g., number of visitors, budget, number of employed people, see Chang (2010)), a perspective on smaller organisations opens up the heterogeneity of GLAMS and the diversity of practices in the field. Considering that there are more than 500.000 archives and 65.000 libraries across the EU-27 member states, smaller organisations provide an underexplored

¹ According to EGMUS statistics, only Germany and U.K. have more privately-owned museums than state-owned or local-, regional-owned museums (EGMUS, 2022). However, as the data spans over the past 20 years, it may not reflect more recent shifts in ownership trends.



research area that could contribute new ideas, understandings, and perspectives into the cultural heritage debates and challenge existing assumptions and narratives (Candlin, 2016; Vella, 2022). For example, in researching ecomuseums in Canada, Gunter (2017, p. 261) explains:

“What this research discovered was that the inherent holistic and community-driven norms and values of ecomuseums have led to progressive and inclusive practices—practices which have, in turn, created a community time and space outside of the national heritage narrative in order to: (1) criticize the current cultural narrative; (2) provide different communal versions of heritage and history; and (3) propose new stories and exhibits that reflect a community's aspirations. In fact, these activities and narratives may even have implications for public policy change.”

And Vella (2022, p. 561) observes:

“Grassroots museums provide space, place, and methods through which authorities can reach and dialogue with communities and find solutions to their concerns. Recognition of the social, cultural, pedagogic, and economic contributions which grassroots museums provide to communities and their environs is mandatory in today's globalized world, as they help raise the self-esteem of individuals and communities, raise awareness about heritage and the environment, attract tourism, and enhance local economic activities.” (Vella, 2022, p. 561)

Despite their prevalence in the cultural sector and their specific knowledge of place-based community engagement and rootedness in local contexts (Candlin, 2016; Gunter, 2017; Popple et al., 2020), there is very little on small(er) GLAMS and thus little knowledge on how they could inform practices in the field or research. Moreover, little is known on their modes of resourcing especially when they are community-run. Candlin (2016, pp. 26-31) highlights that many micromuseums in the U.K. have built up good relationships with the local councils which helps them to secure grants or sometimes match funding, but for running costs or staff positions they would need to rely on earned income which is often rare because many museums only open for a few hours a week. Also the grant application process, administration, and reporting requirements of these grants are frequently beyond the capacity of many community-based organisations as they have no dedicated staff for these fundraising activities (see e.g., for small archives in the U.S. Bergis, 2019). In discussing the case of L'Asilo in Naples, De Tullio (2020, pp. 23-25) argues that there are structural, procedural and financial barriers for small organisations to access EU-funding.

2.3 Financial Practices of GLAMS under commons

This research project focuses on small, community-run GLAMs (Galleries, Libraries, Archives, and Museums), framed through the concept of the commons to emphasise



how self-organised communities address their cultural needs. By viewing these institutions as commons, the study explores how communities generate mutual wealth through the collective production and sharing of cultural resources, highlighting the collaborative and participatory processes that sustain them. This approach reveals the capacity of community-driven GLAMs to foster cultural sustainability and collective ownership outside traditional institutional frameworks of the market or state.

While the discourse on cultural commons has gained prominence, particularly regarding digital cultural commons (Bertacchini et al., 2012), less attention has been given to the collective stewardship of heritage or self-organised GLAMs as commoning arrangements. These initiatives aim to create shared heritage resources across various fields, whether it is in archiv-ing, museum-ing, library-ing or in creating and presenting specific collections, are less a research focus (Alonso González, 2014; Dragouni & Lekakis, 2023; Gkitsa, 2024; Papastergiadis, 2020; Stevens et al., 2010). For example in Spain several ecomuseums have developed over the last decade as a reaction to the governments' perceived lack of appropriate heritage management policies (González et al., 2017), while many grassroots archives emerged as driven by postcolonial debates (Flinn et al., 2009; Popple et al., 2020). Similarly, the creation of new self-organised cultural centers (Borchi, 2018; Cossu, 2022; gE.CO, 2024; van Heur et al., 2023) frequently includes the creation of libraries or archives, motivated by the desire to document and preserve local and community histories (Bastian & Flinn, 2019). These cultural commoning initiatives open access to cultural resources and serve as "sites where various positioned groups and individuals negotiate the value, creation, use and governance of diverse cultural resources" (Marttila & Botero, 2017, p. 101) as our shared cultural heritage.

To secure long-term sustainability, all these commons need resources to sustain the commoning—gifts, donations, volunteer work or financial practices that are in line with the commoning principles such as indirect social reciprocity, autonomy, and self-organisation. Or as Wagenaar and Bartels (2024, p. 340) argue: "Commons need financing to achieve a minimum of structural independence." The central research question for this project is, what financial practices enable commoning and prosocial organising (Peredo et al., 2018)? Ideally, commons are independent of markets and states and provide an alternative form of organising and social production. However, the relationship is more 'ambiguous' (Caffentzis & Federici, 2014; De Angelis &



Harvie, 2014), and often, the state is needed for initial investments, grants or the use of public land or buildings (Borchi, 2018; Thompson, 2015). For now, the research on commons-relevant financial instruments and commons-based alternative finances is still scant – despite the relevance and urgency of the topic. As Bollier and Conaty (2015, p. 2) observe:

„Financing for commons-based peer production is virtually nonexistent. There are no coordinated efforts to bring together and expand alternative money and finance models. Nor is there any serious convergence of players or standing venues through which to develop a broader shared agenda for alternative finance, especially in ways that would assist co-operatives, commons.”

So, how can commons sustain themselves and keep their structural independence? What types of funding and financial support are in line with the value and ethics of commoning? While theoretical work on the commons is important, several authors have called for more empirical perspectives that analyse actually existing commons and processes of commoning as they take place on the ground, and move across different scales (Cumbers et al., 2018; Gibson-Graham, 2008; Huron, 2015; Meyer, 2020). Those are needed in relation to culture, cultural organizations and heritage there are only a few examples about existing commons and processes of commoning (Borchi, 2018). For this research project, we differentiate two modes of commoning to understand how different financial practices might enable commoning.

A focus on *commoning strategies within existing GLAMS* centres on reimagining and creating shared resources within established institutions, while reclaiming public cultural spaces for collective use and communal stewardship. Commoning practices, as defined by Firat (2022, p. 1031), are “those discursive and material practices that not only counter forces of enclosure but that also produce a sense of place and community”. This raises critical questions: What funding mechanisms can foster practices and spaces of commoning within GLAMS? How might alternative funding approaches generate new opportunities and resources, and instigate meaningful changes in the management and governance structures of GLAMS, inviting deeper community involvement at their core (Sanderhoff, 2014)? This line of inquiry is particularly relevant for several reasons. Firstly, the European Union’s Faro Convention (Council of Europe, 2024) advocates for the participatory governance of cultural heritage, encouraging the involvement of diverse stakeholders, including governmental bodies, professionals, NGOs, the voluntary sector, and both local and national civil society (Colomer, 2021). By opening pathways for broader participation,



GLAMS can better reflect and serve the communities they are part of. Secondly, we recognise that innovative funding strategies can not only expand the scope of resources available to these institutions but also influence and shape the governance models they adopt, potentially leading to more participatory and commons-oriented management frameworks.

Within the field of GLAMS, numerous heritage organisations are already *organised as commons*, we are calling those GLAMMONS, with a community of commoners collectively organising and producing cultural resources. Many community-based participatory archives and museums exemplify this approach, fostering community and solidarity through the co-creation and sharing of knowledge and common goods (Stevens et al., 2010; Zavala et al., 2017). The resources produced are typically open for public use, embodying an ethos of accessibility and collaboration. As Meyer (2020, p. 789) notes, “understanding how commons [in cultural heritage] are created is therefore important to better define how they provide alternative ways of organising”. This brings forth a central research question: What kinds of funding practices sustain the commoning of GLAMMONS, and what characteristics define these financial models? While research on commons-based alternative finance is limited (Bollier & Conaty, 2015), insights from the social economy (Amin et al., 2002) and solidarity economy (Hosseini & Pearson, 2023) offer valuable perspectives for designing suitable financial practices and structures that support and sustain commoning practices (Bollier & Helfrich, 2019). As research has shown, commoning arrangements often rely on membership funds, alongside grants from governments, charitable trusts, foundations, and other institutional sources (Borchi, 2018). Additionally, financial instruments such as debt and equity might also play a role in securing the long-term survival of GLAMMONS, though equity-based models may require significant adaptation to fit the commons model. Emerging financial practices like crowd equity, cooperative capital, and social impact investment funds may also offer promising pathways for sustaining the commoning ethos within GLAMMONS (see Deliverable 1.4 for different instruments). While these newer funding instruments could bolster the resilience and sustainability of GLAM institutions, they may not align with the core principles of shared governance and community involvement. The emphasis on financial stability through market-based solutions risks shifting focus away from participatory decision-making and collective stewardship, which are fundamental to community-driven cultural heritage management. Thus, balancing



financial sustainability with the preservation of inclusive, commons-oriented practices remains a critical challenge for the future of GLAMMONS.

3 Conceptual frameworks – The diverse economy of GLAMMONS

To develop a more comprehensive understanding of financial practices in GLAMS and in GLAMS under commons, this research draws on different research literatures and theoretical sources for conceptual inspiration: the theory of the commons, the diverse economy approach and economic sociology for the social role of money.

3.1 New Commons in Culture

As we argued in Deliverable 1.6. the conceptualisation of ‘commons’ has evolved from the traditional focus on Hardin’s ‘tragedy of the commons’ (Hardin, 1968) and Ostrom’s (1990) discussion on institutional designs of natural physical resources held in common. It has shifted to a more constructivist, process-orientated perspective on “new commons” which is signalled through its use of a verb, ‘to common’ or ‘commoning’ (Linebaugh, 2008). As Hess (2008, p. 1) has argued:

“new commons (NC) are various types of shared resources that have recently evolved or have been recognized as commons. They are commons without pre-existing rules or clear institutional arrangements.”

Thus, “new commons” conceptualise commons as dynamic social relations and processes, continuously evolving through the reproduction of the community (Linebaugh, 2008). Commons are thus continually brought into existence through “a relational process—or more often a struggle—of negotiating access, use, benefit, care, and responsibility” (Gibson-Graham et al., 2016, p. 195). This perspective emphasises the blurred nature of the commons as a “set of property rights related to natural resources as well as the associational practices around places/buildings that are collectively managed” (Williams et al., 2024, p. 458). This reframes the focus from governance structures and rules to understanding the conditions under which commonly managed spaces and resources emerge, who initiates these processes, and how these spaces are sustained.



The GLAMMONS project follows this constructivist approach (Perilleux & Nyssens, 2017) that opens the possibility of *instituting* various resources as commons (Dardot & Laval, 2019) and contests the essentialist approach that views only natural physical resources such as land, forests, fishing grounds or grazing areas as shared resources for commoning (Ostrom, 1990; Perilleux & Nyssens, 2017). Thus, commons can “take different forms that suggest different meanings of ‘commoning’” (Fournier, 2013, p. 440). Crucial, however, is the “understanding of the commons as a social process of production rather than as a means of resource allocation” (Fournier, 2013, pp. 442-443). This “practice turn” (Euler et al., 2020) in commons research focuses less on the resource than on the social practices of commoning and “acknowledges the reality of a commons as a dynamic, evolving social activity” (Bollier, 2020, p. 354). Commoning as analytical object (see Linebaugh, 2008) discusses commons as a process, activity, or a practice that is shared by a community and can take place with any form of property: private, state-owned, or open access (Feinberg et al., 2021). This also makes each common unique. Thus,

“... a commons arises whenever a given community decides that it wishes to manage a resource collectively, with an accent on fair access, use, and long-term sustainability.” (Bollier, 2020, p. 355).

These understanding are in line with the proposal of Dellenbaugh et al. (2015, p. 13), who define commons as consisting of three elements: 1) common resources – here the physical space, although resources can also be objects or immaterial things such as knowledge; 2) the institutions, i.e. the process of negotiation and the rules of appropriation; and 3) the community, i.e. a self-determined group of people using the resources and producing the commons, who are also called commoners. Commons, according to David Bollier (2020), are living social systems through which people and groups meet their needs in self-organized and collaborative ways that are less dependent on the marketplace and cash exchange. In a commons, a distinct community governs a shared resource and its usage. Commoning is learning together how to co-create to meet shared goals and uphold shared values. It is about the “creation of a peer-governed, context-specific system for free, fair, and sustainable lives” (Bollier & Helfrich, 2019, p. 98). The various practices that contribute to this commoning will be understood as commoning practices.



3.2 Commoning practices

To identify commoning practices among GLAMMONS, we adopt Bollier and Helfrich’s (2019) *Triad of Commoning* (see Table 2) as an analytical framework that provides a suitable “commons vocabulary, not a classical, prescriptive taxonomy” (p.99). This triad, derived through a process of systematic abduction (Tavory & Timmermans, 2014), which Bollier and Helfrich’s (2019, p. 99) called “pattern mining”, reveals patterns within commoning arrangements of “successful solutions that actual commons have implemented”. The triad comprises “three interconnected spheres” or domains of collective action, which must be engaged for something to be considered a commons (Bollier & Helfrich, 2019, p. 98). These domains are social life, peer governance, and provisioning, each of which encompasses specific tasks required to navigate the challenges of self-organising a just and sustainable community. The patterns identified are described as “dynamic and alive” (p. 195), allowing for the emergence of new configurations over time and “relying on situated knowing” (p.99). Moreover, depending on the stage and maturity of the commoning process, not all patterns may be fully developed yet. Bollier and Helfrich’s (2019, p. 99) acknowledge that the Triad framework constitutes the “beginning of a commons language” and should be seen more like a map than a framework to “wholly capture the commons, which is ultimately experiential”. For our research the Triade of commoning provides a useful framework to analyse the case studies and identify commoning practices in existing GLAMS and GLAMMONS.

Patterns / Commoning Practices	Explanation
Provisioning through Commons	
Make & use together	For commoning most important is the “do it together” – in some commons the focus is on <i>shared use</i> , in others it is on <i>shared making or creating spaces of community building, collective thinking and learning</i>
Honor Care & Decommodify work	Care and commitment are central for commoning, considered the glue that holds people together. And work is not seen as a purchased unit of commodified work, but rather an activity that draws upon people’s deep passions and values.
Share the risks of provisioning	Ways of sharing risk take many forms: for example, through crowdfunding campaigns, resources can be pooled. Often there is a call for money and each person decides what they can afford to give. When risks are shared this has consequences for <i>power relationships, the decision-making process, and the sharing of wealth</i> .
Contribute & share	Contribute to a stock of resources spontaneously or by voluntary agreement
Pool, cap & divide up	When a common resource is finite (e.g.,), then rules need to be found how this resource can be used without being depleted. This often necessitates caps.
Pool, cap & mutualize	When a common resource is finite, then rules need to be found how this resource can be used without being depleted. This often necessitates caps that limit the use.
Trade with price-sovereignty	When commons trade their resources, they do not need to submit to market prices and can create their own prices.
Use convivial tools	Can be tools, technologies, infrastructures, and processes for provisioning that enhance individual freedom and enrich relationships and interdependence.
Rely on distributed structures	Making commons grow needs infrastructures, especially distributed structures are helpful <i>where nodes (teams, groups) have connection to each other</i>
Creatively adapt & renew	Commons need to adapt to changing needs, e.g., to reducing ecological footprint.



Social Life	
Strengthen the Nested-I	Fostering collective subjectivities and find a balance between individual needs and the group
Cultivate Shared Purpose & Values	Through meaningful commoning, the shared purpose grows over time but can be facilitated in how people are brought together through events
Contribute Freely (without coercion)	Giving freely without expecting anything in return (e.g., in volunteering)
Practice Gentle Reciprocity	Fairness as a principle
Ritualize Togetherness	To build a culture of commoning and a share purpose regularly coming together is key
Trust Situated Knowing (and knowledge)	Respect and recognise embodied and situated types of knowledge
Deepen Communion with Nature	Commons often deepen people's engagement with nature
Preserve Relationships in Addressing Conflicts	Endure respect and care despite conflicts
Reflect on Your Peer Governance	Take time to reflect on what works and what not in the peer provision and peer governance
Peer Governance in Commons	
Keep Commons & Commerce Distinct	Preserve integrity and protect the commoning from enclosure
Bring Diversity into Shared Purpose	Respect individuality of diverse member while forging an ethic of solidarity
Create Semi-Permeable Membranes	Commons need boundaries but should be permeable to interact with the world
Assure Consent in Decisionmaking	Commoners shall have a say in developing the rules, choose a process for decision-making that enables consent
Rely on Heterarchy	A heterarchy enables multiple roles and relationships of power and authority among participants
Relationalize Property	New conceptions of property that recognize social relationships with e.g., landscapes, buildings.
Honor Transparency in a Sphere of Trust	Cultivate trust through sharing of knowledge and social practices that build trust
Share Knowledge Generously	Enable flows of knowledge
Finance Commons Provisioning	Use financial practices that keep autonomy, without harmful influences of debt
Peer-Monitor & Use Graduated Sanctions	Sanctions are needed to adhere to rules. Anti-social behaviour and free-riding shall be sanctions gradually, and thus start out small.

Table 2: Overview Triade of Commoning (Bollier & Helfrich, 2019)

3.3 Diverse Economies

A second perspective that influences the understanding and research of GLAMMONS here is the diverse economy perspective (Castells et al., 2017; Gibson-Graham, 2006 [1996], 2008). Grounded in a feminist critique, Gibson-Graham argue that capitalist relations should be understood as merely one component of a broader spectrum of economic activities that sustain people and communities—activities frequently neglected by mainstream economics, which, through its capitalocentric lens (Gibson-Graham, 2006 [1996]), privileges capitalist economic activities and relationships. They categorise a range of non-capitalist forms of transactions, property, enterprise, labour, and finance, effectively illustrated through the iceberg model (Cameron & Gibson-Graham, 2022, p. 334). They further propose that, rather than directly opposing capitalism, scholars and activists can focus on nurturing alternative economic relations alongside it, emphasising the importance of recognising and supporting the diverse economies that already exist. Thus, a diverse economy perspective makes visible the economic diversity sustaining commoning activities—volunteer labour, community-based financing, gifts, and contributions. Moreover, it gives attention to the everyday practices in these commoning activities and the necessary social reproduction where people come, share and act together (Federici, 2018).



3.4 Sociology of Money

While a diverse economy lens helps to see everyday economic practices operate both within and beyond capitalist market economies, economic sociology's discussion of money helps to understand the social and cultural role of money beyond its value-exchange function. Money is not just money, value free and neutral, but rather money is used quite differently depending on the specific context. For example, Zelizer (2021) has shown how people earmark money and use it for different purposes and with different social meanings. Thus, a sociological understanding of money sees it as socially constructed and embedded in relationships and value systems and highlights the ambiguity and ambivalence of money (Kraemer et al., 2024, p. 119):

“On the one hand, such an approach is a basis for conceptualizing money not only as a vehicle to maintain, repair or stabilize communities, as Zelizer has repeatedly pointed out. On the other hand, existing communities and close social networks can also be ‘monetized’ and thereby weakened when money is no longer a gift or a collectively shared symbol of mutual kindship. This is precisely the freedom function of money: it can also be used to dissolve social relations (e.g., when children leave their home family or women become independent from pin money).”

So, in the case of the commoning arrangements what is interesting is to understand how money is used to facilitate the community-building and whether different types of money hold different meanings for commoners. For example, Meyer and Hudon (2017) studied five different community currencies and how they enable commoning and find that “that CCs foster new forms of trade and exchange based not only on market values but also on cooperation and reciprocity” (p.641) and thus that “finance can also restore reciprocity as a driving force for collective action, leading to the further development of communities and human beings.” (p. 643). Thus, „money is an agent of social change.“ (Carruthers, 2010, p. 355). However, as Kraemer et al. (2024, p. 119) suggested with the ambiguous “quality” of money: it can equally undermine or even destroy the commoning.

4 Methodology

The research relies in a qualitative methodology and an exploratory research design to generate a broader and empirically grounded approach to the understanding of a subject—commons-based financing and commons—where limited information is available so far (Swedberg, 2020). The main aim was to find informative cases across



the EU-27 member states and balance between the six different cultural policy models in Europe (Rius-Ulldemolins et al., 2019).² This research draws on two sets of qualitative data with distinct scopes, both of which will be integrated into the analysis. First, we conducted an in-depth study of GLAMs under commons within the EU-27, developing case vignettes based on document analysis and, where possible, interviews with individuals directly involved in these GLAMs. Second, we undertook desktop research to investigate a broader set of commoning arrangements in the GLAM sector and the cultural field on a global scale, with both informing the analysis primarily through secondary data sources.

Data sample

As this research aimed to learn from informative cases, we followed an “information-oriented selection” strategy with cases (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 307), which means where much information is available to enable triangulation between different data (Denzin, 2012). To study the financial practices of GLAMS under Commons, we conducted different research operations and scopes.

First, we identified organisations in the wider cultural field worldwide that could be classified as a commons arrangement (e.g., in theatre, socio-cultural centers or arts spaces). We created a database of these informative cases with more than 50 organisations to understand their organisational diversity, financial practices, and other characteristics relevant to our research (e.g., legal forms, funding and other resources, governance structures, partnerships, and public sector involvement in the case). The data collection was mainly via secondary data such as research papers, reports, studies as well as media interviews, newspaper articles and websites. This dataset helped to identify a variety of commoning practices in the cultural sector and more specific aspects such as the lack of legal frameworks, the engagement from private foundations and the ambivalent role of the public sector.

² Rius-Ulldemolins et al. (2019) created a typology of six different cultural policy models based on attending to actual policy expenditure, via their notion of “data proximity” (p. 1051): “The Liberal Model, characterised by weak State intervention and a consumer-based focus on “High Culture” ... The Central European Model, characterised by a conservative, subsidiary conception of the individual and society under the guiding hand of State support for High Culture and in which citizens are seen as passive recipients of what is offered ... The Nordic Model, which involves strong decentralised State support for community-based culture – the consumption of which is seen as a participatory, inclusive activity. Southern European countries also share some common trends, such as State protagonism and a discourse similar to that found in the Central European Model. Yet their actions are much more strongly linked to conservation of the cultural heritage and they take a much more “clientist” approach in their dealings with cultural sectors and consumers. (pp. 1045–1067)



Second, as another subset, we identified 15 organisations (e.g., ecomuseums and community archives in Latin America) that could be classified as GLAMs under commons on a global scale. Data collection for these cases was primarily derived from secondary sources, including research papers and desktop research. This approach provided a deeper understanding of the variety of community-based self-organisation within the GLAM sector, highlighting their frequently improvisational nature and the political ethics that underpin these commoning activities.

Third, as a subset, we identified organisations that could be classified as (1) small GLAMS in the EU-27-member states and (2) examples of commoning arrangements with (3) available online information and secondary data on the history of the commoning arrangement, financial practices and other resources, the governance structure, and any other useful information to study commoning practices in the case. We identified 21 cases of which eight were used as case studies in the analysis (see Table 3). These cases represent a variety across the four GLAM sectors, vary in age, spatial context and in public administrative traditions in cultural policies, and more specifically, cultural heritage policies (Rius-Ulldemolins et al., 2019). As such, they offer a diversity of commoning arrangements in the GLAM sector, providing a valuable foundation for exploring the various financial practices employed in these contexts.

Case/Website	Country / City	GLAM	Commoning	Since	Cultural Policy Model
Bildwechsel	Hamburg /Germany	Archive	Archive of female media artists and umbrella organisation for Bildwechsel network, a network of archives (e.g., Womens Library in Glasgow)	1979	Central-Western European Model
KUNSTRAUM Jetzt!	Bamberg / Germany	Gallery, Archive	A gallery and art space for the local population and artists.	2009	Central-Western European Model
The Black Archive	Amsterdam / Netherlands	Archive/ Museum	Run by New Urban Collective, a grass roots organization which was set up by people from the Surinamese and black community in the Netherlands. collection of over 10.000 books and documents on colonialism, slavery, liberation, and emancipation.	2015	Central-Western European Model
IN LOCO - The Wide-spread Museum of Abandonment	Romagna area (Italy)	Museum	A museum of abandoned buildings in the Romagna area of Italy.	2010	South-Western European
Július Koller Society / Gallery	Bratislava	Gallery	The Július Koller Society (SJK) is a non-profit association of citizens whose aim is to preserve, research,	2008	Central-Eastern European Model



			enrich and relate to the public the artistic heritage of Július Koller.		
La Ponte Ecomuseum	San Andrino / Spain	Museum & Library	An Ecomuseum created by a group of citizens that encompasses the territory of the municipality and the main heritage sites in it.	2012	South-Western European
Centre audiovisuel Simone de Beauvoir (CASdB)	Frankreich	Archive	a feminist audio-visual archive	1982	South-Western European Model
Feminist Autonomous Centre's Feminist Library	Athens / Greece	Library	A community-based research centre (FAC research) with e.g., a feminist library	2021	South-Eastern European Model

Table 3: Case Studies for GLAMMONS in EU-27³

The main source of data for these cases derives from secondary data – research studies, reports as well as media articles or academic publications. Where possible we conducted interviews with key informants to understand better the financial practices. However, most declined to do interviews and to give more detailed information, some for political reasons some for the lack of time or knowledgeability. For the cases, we interviewed three individuals who have been selected regarding their role in the organisation and their knowledgeability on funding and financial practices. Several interviews more were pushed into the autumn and will be conducted in October. The interviews averaged 45 min in length and were conducted primarily as online interviews using Zoom as a facilitating and recording software. The purpose was to get a better understanding of the everyday lived experiences of these commoning arrangements (see Ashton, 2023) but also to fill knowledge gaps from the secondary data.

Fourth, to investigate commoning strategies within existing GLAMS we collected data from community-based galleries (run by municipalities, the boroughs in Berlin and often target their local community) and community-organised libraries (those are organised by local associations after the local borough intended to close these branches) in Berlin. We interviewed three key people in the administration of the galleries and volunteer run libraries.

In Year three, we will conduct more expert interviews and roundtables to verify our research results.

³ While the core of the research focuses on the EU-27 without the United Kingdom, several cases were studied as part of the wider investigation into commons funding practices and people interviewed who work in fundraising positions.



Data collection

For the research on GLAMS (Galleries, Libraries, Archives, and Museums) operating under commons frameworks globally, as well as exemplary cases of financial practices within community based GLAMS, a comprehensive desktop analysis was employed. In the case of interviews, primary data collection was conducted using a semi-structured questionnaire, primarily composed of open-ended questions. The questionnaire was structured as follows: (a) details regarding the interviewee's professional background and responsibilities within GLAMMONS; (b) inquiries into the commoning arrangements; (c) questions concerning resources, funding, and financial practices; (d) exploration of preferences and differences in funding and financial methods; and (e) queries relating to challenges, needs, and potential future developments, with particular focus on the resource management within the commoning framework. Where appropriate, questions were adjusted or omitted based on the specific interviewee's circumstances, especially if pertinent information was already available through online sources (e.g., organisational details).

Data analysis

All interviews were recorded, transcribed verbatim, and analysed in two phases using ATLAS.ti software. In line with our goals, the coding process drew on mixed methodology involving both deductive and inductive procedures. The first data analysis phase applied a deductive approach, using a coding schema based on the commoning patterns identified in Bollier and Helfrich (2019) Triad of Commoning (see Table 2). The second phase of qualitative data analysis was more exploratory and sought to foster an inductive analysis that involved identifying common and recurring patterns of behaviour, tasks, and activities.

5 Findings

The findings on financial practices will be discussed, first, for GLAMMONS, as this is the core and novel contribution of the GLAMMONS projects. These financial strategies are crucial for maintaining the autonomy and long-term survival of GLAMMONS, enabling them to operate outside traditional market-driven or purely state-funded models. By investigating how these financial practices are implemented and adapted within GLAMMONS, the project aims to contribute to a more in-depth understanding of alternative, commons-based financial models in the cultural heritage sector. Second, commoning practices in existing GLAMS are discussed to understand



how commoning practices can emerge and be sustained in public cultural heritage organisations. This section will examine how public institutions, which often operate under more rigid funding and governance structures, can adopt commoning approaches by integrating more flexible, participatory financial models. The analysis will focus on the role of public grants, foundations, and membership-based funding, alongside innovative funding tools, in fostering community involvement and co-creation. It will also explore how these financial practices can support the transformation of existing GLAMS into more inclusive, commons-oriented institutions, encouraging shared stewardship of resources and active community participation at the core of their operations.

5.1 Case Studies GLAMS created as commons (GLAMMONS)

5.1.1 Overview Case Studies

The cases we studied reveal a diversity of approaches to commoning, demonstrating how people come together and decide to create shared resources. For instance, an abundance of abandoned heritage sites in a region inspired *IN LOCO – The Widespread Museum of Abandonment*, while the mismanagement of heritage sites in a post-crisis austerity context led to the creation of *La Ponte Ecomuseum of Santo Adriano*. Similarly, *Kunstraum Jetzt!* emerged from the opportunity presented by an empty building, transforming it into a shared arts exhibition space. The exclusion of migration perspectives from national histories spurred the creation of *The Black Archives*, and a drive for female empowerment in media arts production during the 1970s formed the foundation for two feminist archives: *bildwechsel* and the *Centre audiovisuel Simone de Beauvoir (CASdB)*. Meanwhile, Július Koller's artistic legacy continues to inspire through the *Július Koller Society*, and the lack of feminist perspectives in a crisis-ridden society led to the establishment of the *Feminist Autonomous Centre (FAC)* and its feminist library.

5.1.2 Funding of GLAMMONS

In all studied cases, the most critical funding instrument is *volunteer labour* provided through the commoners and their continuous engagement. There is a core group of people continuously engaged in the organising of the commons' activities (e.g., the programming, the workshop, creating exhibitions, engaging with partners and in



relationship building), while there is a wider net of commoners who support the events, come to membership meetings or are part of working groups. Nevertheless, all contribute their time, skills, and labour to the commoning and, thus, to shared wealth-building. The second most important funding source are *membership contributions* that are either collected regularly (monthly or yearly), when people join or as an initial investment into a groups' activities. For example, the core group of commoners in *La Ponte Ecomuseum of Santo Adriano* provided an initial investment of 100€ to create the basic infrastructure of a webpage, outreach programs to the local community and a meeting room, rented in a building in town (González et al., 2017). This core group consists of 30-40 commoners (Alonso González, 2014). *Kunstraum Bamberg* takes 1€ per month for the membership in the arts association. In the case of archives or libraries contributions could also be crucial objects like books, videos, cameras, art pieces that then are used for building the collection or for teaching in workshops. While most cases rely on volunteer labour and membership contributions to sustain themselves, sometimes collaborative finance such as *crowdfunding* is used to reach a wider network of contributors, locally as well as beyond. Crowdfunding is mostly used when money for an expansion, a move or some cost-intense renovation is needed. The *Black Archives* raised money to buy new shelves and to renovate the reading room (Visser-Maessen, 2020, p. 60). Some cases, as the Ecomuseum, can also rely on earned income, which is primarily generated from events. However, in comparison, earned income played an insignificant role.

Some commons initiatives receive funding from political foundations: the *FAC* from the Rosa-Luxembourg-Foundation in Greece, *Kunstraum Jetzt!* from a local bank and some from metropolitan cultural funds: The *Black Archives* received a-four-year infrastructural funding of 200,000 € each year from the Amsterdam Fund for the Arts (AFK) from 2021 to 2024 for their programming of “(visual) art, conversations and substantive activities, and by managing and opening up book collections, personal archives and artifacts of black writers and scientists.” (AFK, 2024) However, a condition for the funding is professionalisation of the archive which shall “invest in organizational development, professionalization and especially in business craftsmanship”. As the Fund notes in the funding justification:

“The committee endorses the need for professionalisation through strong partnerships, a larger staffing level, more expertise in the field of business operations, finance and marketing and more appropriate remuneration. The leap in scale that the organisation



envisages is large and entails a considerable risk. The Committee believes that, despite this, the best option is to opt for growth, coupled with organisational strengthening.” (AFK, 2024)

While the Funds committee acknowledges the “structural understaffing and underpayment of employees” (AFK, 2024) at the archive, it is precisely this push for growth and professionalisation—often accompanied by demands for formal business plans—that leads many commoning arrangements to prioritise autonomy.⁴ These groups frequently choose to maintain a loose network structure, opting for financial practices that do not disrupt their governance models. Instead, they favour funding mechanisms that support existing horizontal decision-making structures, such as open assemblies. Some cases were able to accept tax-deductible donations, which requires an appropriate legal status, such as a recognised non-profit or civic association status. However, not all cases adopt this formal structure, as some prefer to remain informal networks to preserve their autonomy.

5.1.3 Commoning Practices in GLAMMONS

Across the cases, varied commoning practices can be found that help to (re)produce the commoning activities. Most often are *contribution and share* as commoners contribute time, tools, knowledge, relationship, land and even buildings into the commoning process. They also contribute stories or artefacts into the commons pool. And they *take care* of the commoning process by investing their time, their passion and work into the continuous creation of the commons relationships. *Risk sharing* happens across all cases as commoners give their time and money to create a collective resource or when a wider network of support is reached through crowdfunding campaigns. And while some of the cases rather engage in *shared use* (e.g., in a library or archive), other engage in *shared making* (e.g., in creating an Ecomuseum, exhibitions) or *shared knowledge creation* (e.g., in workshops) and the creation of community building through *ritualizing togetherness* and fostering a *shared purpose*. All cases support care-full approaches to the commoners, the resources, and the surrounding community. The passionate engagement of commoners *decommodifies work* and people *contribute freely* without the expectations of a specific return.

⁴ As Harvey (2012, p. 70) critically observed, in many commons “The only politically correct form of organization in many radical circles is non-state, non-hierarchical, and horizontal.”



Commoning Practices	Explanation	Examples
Make & Use Together	In some commons the focus is on shared use of books, video art or heritage, in others it is on shared making and creating spaces of community building, collective thinking and learning	CASdB, Feminist Autonomous Centre's Feminist Library
Support Care & Decommodify Work	Volunteer work	all
	Repair and maintenance of places and buildings, saving and restoring buildings or landscape	InLoco, La Ponte,
	Create and maintain a safe space	FAC, bildwechsel
	Care for social relationships	all
	Care for materials and archives	all
Share the Risks of Provisioning	Crowdfunding	all
	Membership fees	all
	Volunteer work	all
Contribute & Share	People contribute arts, movies, books, stories	Europeana initiative, The Black Archive, CASdB,
Ritualize Togetherness	Regular Meetings, workshops, screenings	Bildwechsel, FAC, CASdB
Contribute Freely (without coercion)	Giving freely without expecting anything in return (e.g., in volunteering)	all
Practice Gentle Reciprocity	Fairness as a principle	all
Cultivate Shared Purpose	Events to cultivate commoning (regular open meetings, that are open to everyone and open assemblies among commoners)	all
Rely on Heterachy	Working groups as "nested" structure where groups can make decisions	La Ponte, Kunstraum Jetzt!
Deepen Communion with Nature	Situate cultural heritage in relation to landscapes and nature	InLoco, La Ponte
Trust situated knowing	Situated knowledge is valued	all
Finance commons provisioning	Rely on membership contributions, crowdfunding and sometimes public properties	all
Relationalise Property	Foster new relationships with buildings and landscapes	InLoco, La Ponte

Table 4: Overview Commoning Practices in GLAMMONS

5.1.4 Commoning Resources in GLAMMONS

What is being maintained in common in the case studies? Through commoning activities, a multitude of resources are held in common and collectively maintained. All projects create and maintain *shared knowledge*, which can be domain-specific knowledge but can also relate to the specific processes of collaborative work, of organising commoning activities. This knowledge is both a collective resource and a product of shared efforts. Each initiative sustains *shared spaces*, physical or symbolic, that serve as venues for a wider community engagement. These spaces are crucial for social interaction, gatherings, and fostering safe environments for marginalised perspectives to thrive. Many of the projects are dedicated to *promoting marginalised knowledge and perspectives* in elevating voices and narratives often neglected by mainstream institutions. They create open spaces that serve as platforms for the representation and promotion of these perspectives, as exemplified by an organiser of the Feminist Autonomous Centre (FAC) in Athens who highlights the role of the space in facilitating these goals.



“We were concerned and we’re still trying to figure out ways in which we can first identify those barriers and then mitigate them, while at the same time, and on a much smaller scale, offering some kind of alternative for pedagogies that are not represented in institutions locally, and that are minoritized in institutions worldwide, pedagogies which put at their center the experiences that oppressed groups have and take this as the basis, or as the foundation for generating knowledge, theory, research agendas, and so on.” (Tulke, 2020)

Several initiatives are about preserving *shared cultural heritage* in the form of abandoned building or cultural landscapes. Thus, while there is often a specific motivation driving the creation of a commons, a multitude of resources can develop, tangibles as well as intangibles.

5.1.5 Governance forms of GLAMMONS

The case studies examined employ horizontal decision-making structures to ensure transparency, allowing all commoners to participate in discussions and decisions on key aspects of the commoning. For instance, *La Ponte Ecomuseum of Santo Adriano* operates through open assemblies aligned with several working groups, enabling commoners to make specific decisions related to their responsibilities. And while relations with public and private sectors are also established through the expertise in the working groups those decisions are still grounded in community-based decision making (González et al., 2017). In some commons, a management team, consisting of either paid staff or volunteers, oversees daily operations, while a broader group of commoners participates in larger decisions through regular open assemblies. The *Black Archives*, for example, is managed by the New Urban Collective (NUC), a network of students and young professionals dedicated to empowering ethnic minority youth, particularly those of African descent (Esajas & de Abreu, 2019, p. 404). Similar, *FAC* has a core team of five people who act as co-directors of the research centre and engage in programming activities while the wider community “makes it” and “lives through the projects” (Creating Commons, 2021). *Kulturraum Bamberg* operates under the conditions of the German Public Law on Associations and has to provide regular open assemblies to enable decision-making power to all member of the association and has to elect a board of the association.

5.1.5 “Surprising Findings”

During the research, and particularly through interviews, several recurrent themes emerged, warranting brief exploration here.



Firstly, there was a notable emphasis on the *informality* of many commoning practices. While it was expected that legal and institutional structures play a role in commoning activities, it became apparent that many commoners deliberately avoided formalisation, seeing it as a potential threat to their autonomy and fluid governance structures. This avoidance of formalisation, however, raised challenges regarding long-term sustainability and access to financial resources, as many funding mechanisms require formal legal status.⁵ This raises the question: is formalisation avoided because there are no supportive legal frameworks or appropriate institutional designs or is it avoided for political reasons?

Secondly, the importance of *social capital* and external relations emerged as a critical theme. Commoners often rely heavily on in-kind support, such as shared spaces, tools, and volunteer labour, rather than traditional monetary funding from others. This resourcefulness allowed them to operate within limited financial constraints but also highlighted the vulnerability of such arrangements when external material support was reduced or withdrawn. Often commoners leveraged their networks to mobilise support, whether in form of financial contributions (e.g., through crowdfunding campaigns), material (e.g., offering tools, access, or contacts), or voluntary work. These networks were not only vital to the functioning of the commons but also served as a means of reinforcing the communal nature of their activities. However, relying on these informal networks also underlines how commoning arrangements need partners and varied support structures. This raises question about the wider social embedding of these commoning arrangements in local communities.

Another unexpected theme that emerged from the research was the *tension between autonomy and public support*. While many commoners emphasised their desire to maintain independence from state involvement, it became clear that public funding or material support often played a crucial role in sustaining their operations. This dynamic created a paradox, as commoners sought to preserve their self-governance

⁵ For example, in 2014, the U.K. introduced a new legal instrument, the Community Benefit Society (CBS), which is used now by many commoning initiatives. CBS enables shared ownership and investments with community shares and requires a community benefit society to “carry on a business, industry or trade” that is “being, or intended to be, conducted for the benefit of the community”. It is a type of society for community benefits where profits cannot be distributed to members and can do more than charitable activities, with bottom-up governance structures.



and flexibility while relying on state resources for continuity. Frequently, this public support took the form of rent-free or heavily subsidised access to spaces, buildings, or land, enabling commoners to maintain their activities without the financial burden of property costs. In other cases, organisations depended on long-term structural funding, such as multiyear grants or specially tailored programmes. One prominent example is the *Social Institution of Culture (SIK)* programme from the City of Warsaw (The Innovation in Politics Institute, 2024), which not only fosters community-building around shared resources but also the long-term sustainability of an existing commoning arrangements.⁶ Beyond these structural funds, flexible grant schemes exist within the arts funding landscape, particularly at the municipal or administrative level. These schemes provide opportunities for organisations to apply for support as their needs arise, offering a degree of adaptability. However, those fundings often come with specific demands on the organisational development and accountability. This tension between autonomy and reliance on public support illustrates the complex interplay between independence and sustainability, as commoning organisations navigate the challenges of securing resources without compromising their core values and their non-hierarchical forms of democratic self-governance.

Finally, many GLAMMONS adhere to strong political ethics, which preclude them from accepting funds from sources associated with exploitative or extractive practices by international corporations, or from industries seen as obstructing necessary societal progress, such as the oil industry, which has recently faced significant criticism for its involvement in arts and cultural funding (Serafini, 2015). Thus, for commoners there is *good* and *bad money* and “bad money needs to be avoided at all costs” (Interview 3). While public funding is generally considered “good money”, “bad money” refers to funding from sources that either conflict with the ethical values of the commons or impose excessive demands on the organisation, potentially undermining its governance principles.

These themes underscore the complex nature of commoning activities, emphasising the need for further research into how these practices can be sustained while maintaining their autonomy (Shelby, 2021).

⁶ The funded organisation is *KOMUNA WARSZAWA* (2024), a theatre commons that exists for more than 30 years.



5.2 Case Studies: Commoning strategies within existing GLAMS

Within the GLAMMONS project, our inquiry extends beyond small, community-driven commoning arrangements to explore how established cultural heritage institutions can cultivate and share resources collectively. This raises the crucial question of how such institutions can be reclaimed as public cultural entities oriented towards communal use and collective governance. Two case studies have been selected for detailed examination: municipal galleries and volunteer-run libraries in Berlin. These cases were chosen with the expectation that they might offer insights into how alternative funding models or forms of community participation—such as participatory programming or „associations of friends“—could generate new opportunities, unlock resources, and drive institutional transformation. The research aims to explore how such mechanisms can influence management and governance structures, fostering more commons-oriented GLAMs.

5.2.1 Municipal galleries in Berlin

The twelve boroughs in the city-state of Berlin run 35 municipal galleries, with some boroughs having several locations for municipal galleries (see for an overview Arbeitskreis Kommunale Galerien Berlin, 2024). These galleries receive a substantial amount from the local budgets for cultural infrastructure provision, next to libraries and sporting grounds, (see Merkel, 2015 for more on Berlin's cultural policy set-up) to present contemporary positions in art from local artists in an accessible manner. Municipal galleries were selected as a case study for several reasons: a) they provide free public access to cultural goods, b) they offer a non-commercial, accessible platform for artists to exhibit or develop site-specific works, c) they foster associational practices around the gallery, often through “associations of friends,” d) they present a diverse range of approaches to the organisation and operation of municipal galleries and e.) as a small organisation their work practices are not reflected much. The aim was to explore how these public institutions might facilitate commoning practices—forms of civil society engagement that enable self-organisation, collective use, and shared ownership—through their governance, management, and funding models. Of particular interest was the role of associational practices, specifically membership organisations that support individual municipal galleries through their expertise, volunteer efforts, and fundraising activities. Given that not all municipal galleries have



associations of friends, the research focused specifically on those that benefit from such civic support.

However, the research revealed that the reach and influence of these “associations of friends” within municipal galleries is quite limited. The central dimensions of funding, governance, and management remain largely unaffected by these associations, which do not facilitate commoning practices in a significant way. Instead, their role is predominantly representational, serving to support the gallery’s organisational goals and increase attendance rather than providing substantial hands-on assistance, financial support, or advisory input, nor do they involve their members in the operational aspects of the gallery.⁷

In terms of governance and management, these galleries are hierarchically structured and fully integrated into the public administration. Each borough allocates an annual budget to its galleries as part of its cultural policy funding. While a few galleries are granted additional part-time staff, most are operated by a single individual, often relying on mini-job workers from the local employment office to manage opening hours. These municipal galleries are tightly interwoven with the borough’s cultural administration, with directorial positions often located within the administration or combined with other responsibilities in the administration (e.g., one interviewee was also responsible for public arts in the borough). As a result, some directors have held their positions for decades. Their educational backgrounds often have nothing to do with art, but their expertise has been developed during their directorship, a stark contrast to their colleagues in national galleries. Programming decisions are typically made by the director, sometimes with input from juries of artists or the help from local partners, such as art universities. New programmes generally emerge either from the director’s own interests or from artist proposals for exhibitions on specific themes or projects.

Some galleries have distinct curatorial focuses—for example, Pankow’s gallery highlights artists from the former GDR, while Marzahn-Hellersdorf emphasises urban space; others concentrate on genres, such as photography or conceptual art. In

⁷ Despite associations of friends or membership organisations recently gaining popularity, especially for museums, there is very limited research on the motivations and roles of these associations and how they add value to the cultural organisations (Ebbers et al., 2021; Hayes & Slater, 2003; Slater, 2003).



contrast, some galleries adopt a more flexible approach, driven by the availability of external funding. The state of Berlin offers targeted funding opportunities for exhibitions in municipal galleries, allowing them to apply for additional support.⁸ Despite their small size and the perception among directors that these galleries are overlooked within the wider GLAM and contemporary exhibition landscape, they play a crucial role in supporting emerging artists and are well-regarded by the public. However, commoning practices remain largely absent, with one notable exception: Galerie Nord in Berlin-Mitte, which since 2004 has operated under a new governance model that shares management responsibilities with a civic art association.⁹ This case represents a rare example of a gallery adopting a more participatory and commons-oriented approach to its operations.

5.2.1 Volunteer-run libraries in Berlin

Between 1997 and 2023 the number of public libraries fell from 217 to 84 in Berlin (Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin, 2021; VÖBB, 2024). Over recent decades, several libraries in Berlin have transitioned to volunteer-run operations in an effort to prevent the closure of local branches and maintain neighbourhood library services (Maczey, 2019). Most often concerned parents and senior citizens as volunteers formed groups of supporters, some even occupied libraries, and proposed strategies to the local administration that would enable the libraries to continue operating on a limited schedule. Often this volunteer-run libraries are only temporary till the local administration is able/willing to finance it again fully, yet some remain volunteer-run within the local community. Some of these volunteer-run libraries have sustained operations for over ten years as in the case of the Thomas-Dehler-Bibliothek (since 2003) or the Kurt-Tucholsky-Bibliothek (2008-2018), which has been reintegrated into the boroughs and the public library network Berlin after more than 40 volunteers kept it open to the public on four days a week (Auer, 2017).

⁸ The Berlin senate provides municipal galleries across all twelve boroughs with 350.000 EUR for exhibitions per year; considering that there are 35 municipal galleries, they need to raise additional money for organising exhibitions. Here, the *Hauptstadtkulturfonds*, as well as the *Bezirkskulturfonds*, provide important funding opportunities the galleries can apply to (SenKGZ, 2024).

⁹ In Germany there are more than 300 civic arts associations (Kunstvereine) who represent the “civil backbone of the contemporary art scene” and constitute the most important art education platform in Germany (ADKV, 2024). With more than 100.000 members they enable direct relations between artists and audience and aim to democratise arts and cultural production. Within the EU, arts associations are mainly found in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and the Nordic countries. Their European network is ENAAK – European Network of Arts Associations and Kunstvereine (ENAAK, 2024).



However, our investigation into these libraries encountered numerous challenges in gaining access, particularly in securing interviews with key informants and administrative personnel. As a result, this inquiry yielded even fewer findings than our study of municipal galleries in Berlin. Once again, it became evident that, despite the community's efforts and the unpaid labour contributed by volunteers, the core dimensions of management, governance, and funding remained firmly under the control of the local administration and only basic function of the library could be performed through the volunteers (e.g., providing access to books for their respective communities in covering shifts to open the library but no responsibility to order new books or administer user accounts and late fees, and none of the wider social functions could be offered). While volunteers played a crucial role in supporting the collective use and maintenance of shared resources, and their efforts fostered new communities of volunteers, the strategic decision-making and management functions were retained by the administration. Many volunteers ultimately referred us back to the local administration when we sought interviews. Although these volunteer-run libraries display commoning practices—such as making & using together, as well as care and support for public resources or learning together how to co-create to meet shared goals and uphold shared values—they do not fully facilitate the broader organisational structures needed for commons-based governance and management. As a result, while they reflect aspects of commoning, they do not actively promote the organisation of non-hierarchical forms of democratic self-governance of shared resources (Fournier, 2013).

One notable example of a self-governed and self-organised library is the *Parkbücherei Pankow* (Park Library Pankow), which operates independently of local administration under a civic association. Reopened in 2019 after lying dormant for over a decade, this summer library, offers books and games for visitors to enjoy in the park during summer and frequent events, such as readings with authors. It operates without fees or membership cards, requiring only a €1 deposit for borrowed items and thus “offers an easily accessible encounter with literature” (Interview 4). The library runs most days from 12 PM to 6 PM, sustained by over 70 volunteers who manage daily shifts. Although the library building is listed and owned by the borough, it forms part of the lease agreement for the adjacent park restaurant. The current restaurant leaseholders, both active members of the civic association “Für Pankow



e.V.,” initiated the revival of the Parkbücherei Pankow. The association established an advisory board to oversee the library, which is responsible for organising volunteer shifts and covering fixed costs, such as electricity. While the library’s book collection comes from donations from publishing houses, its operations are sustained largely through volunteer labour. Thus, in contrast to other volunteer-run libraries in Berlin, Parkbücherei actually promotes the organisation of non-hierarchical forms of democratic self-governance of shared resources, has horizontal decision-making processes for all members and an active community of commoners.

6 Discussion

6.1 Volunteering, community-based and collaborative finance

As the findings show, for most organisations, volunteer labour is the primary funding tool for sustaining their commoning activities whereby commoners contribute freely their time to cultivate a shared purpose. Volunteering as unpaid labour (Kelemen et al., 2017) is an important contribution in many cultural organisations but especially for commoning initiatives, volunteering is essential, as it is one important principle “to contribute freely” (Bollier & Helfrich, 2019). Volunteering can be motivated by different motives (Kelemen et al., 2017). For example, Weil et al. (2023) talk about the affective dimension of community-based museums in Chile and how enthusiasm and strong feelings help explain the volunteer labour from the local community members and, thus, how passion can be a tool for community-based museums. The second most important funding tool are community-based ways of resourcing such as through membership contributions. All studied cases provide these membership opportunities where regularly (monthly or yearly) a contribution is paid—however, often the contribution is more symbolic, amounting to one euro per month. Collaborative finance denotes financial transactions which are being conducted between “peers” (which can be well-known to oneself or completely anonymous) without the intermediation of financial institutions (Perilleux & Nyssens, 2017). In the case of commoning arrangements most often crowdfunding is used whereby people pool money together to support a project or organisation (Bollier & Helfrich, 2019, pp. 159-161; Shneor et al., 2020). With its local and global reach at the same time, crowdfunding replaces the need for specialised grant applications or other forms of fundraising and makes use of existing social capital of the commoners to gain support



for the commoning activities. These findings underline that GLAMMONS, akin to many commoning arrangements in other sectors such as urban gardening or housing (Cumbers et al., 2018; Ginn & Ascensão, 2018; Leyva del Río, 2022), depend heavily on their immediate community of commoners to provide the necessary labour, skills and some financial support, or in other words: they are self-provisioning, and their character is often improvisational. Bollier and Helfrich (2019, p. 15) call this “money-lite commoning” whereby people “minimise their reliance on money and markets as much as possible through sharing, co-using, DIT (do-it-together) and other practices.” Only one of the eight case studies has received infrastructural funding and will need to change its governance structure and introduce paid positions. It remains to be seen whether the archive will be able to keep its social dynamic.

6.2 Towards financial practices for commoning

As the literature on financial practices for commoning activities is still very rare, we aim to develop a framework towards financial practices for commoning. If commons are understood as a “complex social system based on indirect social reciprocity” (Bollier & Conaty, 2015, p. 40) then financial practices are needed where an

“individual’s contribution is not linked with a direct exchange of value with another, but rather on fair-share contributions to the larger collective that provide less quantifiable (and often unmeasurable) benefits over longer periods of time and to the community.” (ibd.)

Our research has shown that for the investigated cases most important are financial practices that:

- keep the autonomy of the organisation,
- come with little demands in terms of auditing, reporting and deliverables,
- enable risk-sharing,
- participatory, horizontal governance and
- indirect social reciprocity.
-

Our analysis suggests that the following three conditions derived from the commoning principles help to define financial practices for commoning:

- *Autonomy*, in this context, refers to the ability of commons to make their own decisions, establish rules, and organise their activities independently (Avdikos et al., 2023; Savini, 2022). Financial practices that support the reproduction of commoning should therefore avoid imposing market-driven or state-imposed oversight. Commons are governed by rules specifically tailored to the communities that create them. However, many funding mechanisms make broad



demands, such as pushing for the professionalisation of commons' activities, generating new revenue streams, or even commodifying resources. These requirements undermine the autonomy and the capacity for self-determination. Furthermore, finance-based instruments like loans, equity, venture capital, social investment funds, or social impact bonds come with expectations of financial returns (as outlined in Deliverable 1.4). These expectations can directly contradict the commons' principles by limiting their ability to function independently and freely from market forces.

- *Nonreciprocal sharing*—People's engagement in commoning activities is characterised as nonreciprocal, "meaning the giver doesn't expect anything in return" (Bollier & Helfrich, 2019, p. 177). This suggests that commoning financial practices must similarly not require direct returns, which excludes debt and equity-based instruments often promoted by policymakers in the cultural sector (OECD, 2022, Chapter 5) and in cultural heritage (FINPIEMONTE, 2021). Membership contributions and public grants may be supportive alternatives, though public funding typically comes with expectations and obligations, e.g., to organise a number of events (Alexander, 2014). Crowdfunding often comes with some direct return, however it is up to the commoners what to offer as a return. There are increasingly donation-based crowdfunding campaigns where no return is expected (Brabham, 2017, p. 985). Crowdfpatronage (Swords, 2017) comes with less expectations than crowdfunding, as it is mainly about harnessing a relationship with an artists, but could be used for a commons too, similar is community fundraising (Herrero & Kraemer, 2022).¹⁰
- *Horizontal governance structures* are a cornerstone of commoning, so financial practices are needed that support and reproduce self-regulation (Meerkerk, 2024). For example, community shares or membership contributions always come with a vote in the assembly of the organisation. Crowdfunding does not grant decision-rights but often private doner demand such rights. Grants, however, make little demands on governance structures.

¹⁰ The Glasgow Zine Library is the only case in the broader database of "informative cases" that has a Patreon-Account and enables people to donate regularly through Crowdfpatronage to the library. However, only very little money comes through this (Interview 3).



When applying these three analytical categories, it becomes clear that certain financial practices align more closely with commons principles, supporting the reproduction of commons rather than promoting adaptation to market principles (see Table 5). Among these, community shares without mutualisation and membership contributions stand out as the only practices fulfilling all three categories—they preserve the autonomy of the commons, facilitate non-reciprocal sharing, and promote horizontal governance structures by including decision-making rights. Volunteer labour, while supporting autonomy and non-reciprocal sharing, does not necessarily reinforce horizontal governance structures. Similarly, many financial practices observed in the studied cases contribute to autonomy and non-reciprocal sharing but do not inherently demand governance models that uphold self-governance. Strikingly, the funding mechanisms prioritised in recent cultural policy debates often prove incompatible with commoning principles. Such instruments risk undermining autonomy by imposing high expectations on returns, pushing toward commodification, and failing to support horizontal governance structures. While community-based funding practices are most suitable for sustaining commons, other forms of funding can still contribute positively for collectively managing common resources. However, many of these alternatives remain underrepresented in policymaking discussions and have yet to be utilised effectively to incentivise broader engagement.

Funding Instruments	Autonomy (High/ Low)	Nonreciprocal Sharing	Horizontal Governance	Cases
Community shares	High	Yes	Yes	Exchange, Bristol
Membership with regular contributions	High	Yes	Yes	Kunstraum Jetzt!, CASdB
Volunteer labour	High	Yes	No	all studied cases
Crowd-Patronage	High	Yes	No	<i>no cases</i>
Crowdfunding	High	Yes	No	all studied cases
Grants	High	Yes	No	The Black Archives, IN LOCO
Donations	High	Yes	No	tranzit, bildwechsel
Generated income	High	Yes	No	Le Ponte Ecomuseum
Community subscription model (paying upfront for sth.)	High	No	No	Pioneer Valley Jazz, U.S.
Co-op shares	High	No	Yes	Pink Lane Jazz Co-op, Newcastle
Sponsorship	Low	No	No	<i>no cases</i>
Community investment funds	Low	No	No	<i>no cases</i>
Loans	Low	No	No	<i>no cases</i>
Social Impact Bonds	Low	No	No	<i>no cases</i>



<i>Social Impact Investments</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>no cases</i>
<i>Venture capital</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>no cases</i>

Table 5: Overview Funding Instruments and conditions for commoning

6.3 Critical points for further research

During the research several themes emerged in relation to commoning practices in the GLAM sector that shall be briefly discussed here.

Scaling of GLAMMONS

Most cases studied in this research are rather small and emerged from very context-specific conditions and created an alternative way of organising a provision for this need – such as an abundance of abandoned heritage sites in a region, poorly managed heritage sites in a post-crisis austerity situation, an empty building in a city without an arts exhibition space, the neglect of migration perspectives in national histories or female empowerment in media production in the 1970s. Thus, how can commons grow, or do they need to stay small if they want to keep their structural independence and their autonomy? For instances, *bildwechsel* has grown into a decentralised network of female media arts archives in several cities across Europe with commoners in Glasgow, Warsaw, Basel, Chicago and Berlin and maintained their self-organised and self-governed character (Bildwechsel, 2024). While many commons are focused on specific local needs and might remain rather small, the “scale problems” of commons (Harvey, 2012, p. 69) becomes more of an issue when considering commoning existing GLAMS. What kind of decision-making structures are required then, when the direct negotiation between all individuals in open assemblies becomes increasingly difficult to organise? This implies that “nested”, and therefore in some sense more hierarchical forms of organisation are needed to address larger multi-scalar collective action problems (De Angelis, 2017; Harvey, 2012).

The ambivalent Role of the State and Markets

In many of the cases studied, the public sector played a key role in providing resources for commoning activities, highlighting the state’s ambiguous role in these processes (Dardot & Laval, 2019; De Angelis & Harvie, 2014; Shelby, 2021). While commons as an ideal type would be independent from markets as well as states, most



often commoning practices are more about reducing dependencies (Hofmann et al., 2022) and finding alternative ways of funding. Many commons, however, depend on public subsidies or extended access to resources such as buildings, land, or decision-making rights and providing rights of use, positioning the state as a crucial enabler of commoning activities. But as Wagenaar and Bartels (2024, p. 339) warn: “Commons are not just another tool in the armory of politicians and administrators to add to the repertoire of governance tactics in advanced societies” and should not be seen as a “cheap” solution where “market fails to supply and the state refuses to provide” (Shelby, 2021, p. 348). Rather, community involvement through self-governed, self-organised processes must be recognised as a legitimate alternative to private actors, requiring new public policies, legal frameworks and institutional designs to protect commons from being co-opted, privatised or destroyed (Leitheiser et al., 2022; Shelby, 2021). Additionally, the complex relationship between commons, markets, and capitalism warrants further exploration. As Huron (2017, p. 1067) critically remarks: “Commoners need to ask themselves whether they are working to transfer resources from capitalism into the commons, or whether the commons supplies capital with cheap, or even free, resources.”

Social Reproduction of Commons

“Commoning is collective work – though it may not be waged labour, it represents effort and time,” as Huron (2017, p. 1068) notes. Despite the prevalence of volunteer work in commoning there is little discussion on the kind of labour involved in commoning or of commoning as labour within existing research literature. For example, De Angelis (De Angelis, 2017, Chapter 6) introduces two types of labour in commoning: the communal labour, as the labour that commoners pull together for a certain objective, and the reciprocal labour on the social fabric of the commons. Alvarado et al. (2020) observe in their discussion of l’Asilo in Naples:

“However, the account for the cost of labor remains mainly missing. Firstly, for the productive subjects hosted by l’Asilo, which even if they should provide for their own wages, it is also true that due to the nature of their particular economic fragility, they would still need direct financial support. Secondly, for the also missing economic sustainability of all those who donate their time and skills to the care of the space, those who facilitate the organization, programming and the general self-governance process which is always open to everyone who wants to participate.”

Thus, what is captured under the term “volunteer work” encompasses quite different types of activities with different motivations (Kelemen et al., 2017). A significant part



of the activities constitutes care work that not only fosters social relations but also creates social-material relations between people, places, spaces, landscapes, buildings, and histories (see, e.g., Borch, 2018; Gkita, 2023, 2024; İlyas, 2023; Prol & Tortori, 2020). It is, as Puig de La Bellacasa (2017, p. 5) describes, “a concrete work of maintenance,” involving the upkeep of commons and the creation and defence of shared resources, spaces, and infrastructure (Care Collective, 2020, p. 31). This care is evident in practices such as the repurposing of abandoned buildings in rural areas, involving communities in decision-making concerning the use of heritage, empowering women to engage with new media for artistic expression, or in creating safe spaces for enabling “knowledge from below”. However, this volunteer work can also lead to exhaustion and eventually cause commoners to leave (Leyva del Río, 2022).

7 Best Practices in managing financial arrangements in GLAMS under commons

To learn from these different examples in our analysis, the findings for best practices on managing financial arrangement in GLAMS under common are presented in two different ways. First, a pragmatist view on best practices in managing financial arrangements is presented with three vignettes created from the investigated case studies. Second, as a conceptual contribution to the research literature, a framework for commons-based financial practices is developed that discuss the different financial practices, how they enable commoning and are in line with the ethics of many commoning arrangements.

7.1 Best Practices, a pragmatist view

For the specific subject of our research, we adopt a pragmatist approach to understanding Best Practices which means that the best practice is not measured against some predefined standard but derived from the experience of the commoners in the cases and what works best for their needs. As there is no blueprint for GLAMMONS, a pragmatist understanding emphasizes that knowledge is based on experience (Kelly & Cordeiro, 2020; Morgan, 2014). Thus, we define Best Practices not as universal, normative guidelines intended for replication across different



contexts, but rather as practical, effective actions that GLAMMONS engage in to support their commoning efforts. While traditional notions of Best Practices are often prescriptive, with the aim of setting standards for effective policymaking (Blake et al., 2021), our focus lies in the financial practices that enable these commoning arrangements to achieve their specific goals. Drawing on Dewey's (1954) advocacy for a process of inquiry, where individuals and communities are empowered to identify and address the issues that matter most to them, we argue that Best Practices in this context should emerge from the ground up. They should reflect the unique challenges and opportunities faced by the communities involved, allowing them to pursue solutions in ways that are most meaningful and effective in their circumstances. By emphasising context-specific financial strategies, this approach moves away from a one-size-fits-all model towards a more nuanced understanding of how GLAMMONS can sustain and evolve their commoning practices that is grounded in their experience (Kelly & Cordeiro, 2020; Morgan, 2014).

7.2 Case Vignettes: Best Practices

Many GLAMMONS in our study exhibit characteristics of a diverse economy, combining self-financing, grants, and occasional income from events. However, a significant number operate by “making do with what is available and improvising” (Leyva del Río, 2022, p. 195) without the benefit of additional funding support. Moreover, they do not have budget plans, nor people responsible for fundraising, or legal structures that would enable public or private support and often they do not intend to grow and refuse “professionalisation” (Betzler & Gmür 2016) that often comes with grants. While we find a variety of financial practices that GLAMMONS use to sustain themselves, three vignettes can be deducted from our sample of cases.

A community-based approach to GLAMMONS

Most of the cases we studied across the EU and globally are rooted in a community-driven approach, where the resources sustaining commoning practices are contributed by those actively engaged in the commoning activities. These resources take the form of contributed time, tools, money, or other material contributions, such as providing or donating spaces, unused buildings, or land for commoning activities. In many instances, commoning initiatives have occupied vacant or dilapidated



buildings, often listed as protected, repurposing them for a new collective and public use. For example, Italy has witnessed numerous cases where commoners have reclaimed unused spaces and buildings, transforming them into participatory social and cultural centres. These spaces, initially outside formal legal structures, were eventually either legalised or alternative spaces were offered to the commoners to continue their activities. This process of occupying and revitalising disused properties for the benefit of the community demonstrates how commoning can bring underutilised resources back into public circulation, fostering new social, cultural, and civic engagements: *L'Asilo* in Naples, *Macau* in Mailand, *Theatro Valle* in Rome or in *Labas* in Bologna (Borchi, 2018; Cossu, 2022). *Comunitas* in Athens is a network of heritage professionals that reclaims unutilised heritage buildings of Athens to be revived through creative commoning. In Spain, *LaFábrica detodalavida* in Los Santos de Maimona (Badajoz) and *La Invisible* in Malaga have become known cases of reclaimed or squatted places that have become important socio-cultural hubs for local commoning initiatives.¹¹

In most studied cases, the commoning arrangements operate without a formal legal structure that would grant them non-profit status as civil society organisations (e.g., a civil law association in Germany), which restricts their ability to accept donations or grants. Instead, they often choose to remain informal, functioning as loose networks of individuals to maintain their autonomy. This approach allows them to circumvent the administrative obligations typically associated with formal legal frameworks, such as mandatory reporting and auditing. When additional financial resources are needed—for example, to acquire new shelving for archives, refurbish a building, or organise an event—many of these initiatives increasingly turn to *crowdfunding* as a primary means of fundraising. Crowdfunding campaigns are often quickly mobilised, as fundraisers can tap into their existing networks of supporters and leverage their social capital. Furthermore, crowdfunding opens access to a wide range of international supporters, as these efforts are not restricted by the geographic location of the project. By keeping donors updated on the project's progress throughout the campaign, crowdfunding sustains long-term engagement, making it an effective tool for cultural initiatives that seek both financial support and wider community

¹¹ A good overview of existing initiatives around urban commoning through social cultural centers provides the gE.CO database from the Generative Commons Living Lab, a Horizon-funded research project, with more than 200 cases from 16 European countries and more than 100 cities (gE.CO, 2024).



involvement (Dalla Chiesa, 2020; Rykkja et al., 2020). Typically, projects employ either reward-based crowdfunding, where contributors receive non-monetary tokens of appreciation for their financial support, or donation-based crowdfunding, in which individuals offer financial assistance out of philanthropic intent with no expectation of return. Both models fall under non-investment frameworks (Shneor et al., 2020). Moreover, these commoning arrangements are sustained by volunteer labour, with no paid workers involved in the organisation or management of the commoning activities. The reliance on unpaid efforts further reinforces the informal nature of these initiatives, while also reflecting their commitment to shared, non-commodified practices.

A public approach to GLAMMONS

A public approach refers to cases where commoning arrangements are facilitated by publicly funded institutions, mainly municipalities but also through EU programs with their cultural funding or regional development initiatives. Often the public support includes long-term infrastructural funding, such as the support provided to socio-cultural centers that foster urban commoning initiatives (see gE.CO, 2024). These fundings are often granted in an advanced state of the commoning activities when the commons have reached visibility and contributed to the cultural life – for example, *The Black Archives* received substantial infrastructural funding to develop a more comprehensive programming around their archive seven years after its beginning (AFK, 2024). Some consider public infrastructural funding the “best possible funding” (IP 3) as often it comes with less demands and obligations. Also, it underlines the public, common character of the commoning activities. But there are also other examples of GLAMS that with the help of public funding have opened to support forms of self-organisations and care, and thus various commoning practices or infrastructure commoning activities. For example, *Casco Art Institute: Working for the Commons* (CASCO, 2024a) in Utrecht receive important funding from the municipality and other public support as they find it difficult to receive arts funding with their approach of “building relationships” and encouraging art projects that explore “how we can live better together”. CASCO with their artistic support and also their library have become an important facilitator of commoning activities in the arts, e.g., with projects such as *The Traveling Farm Museum of Forgotten Skills* (CASCO, 2024b) but also with their open governance structure and in assembling 25 other organisation in the translocal ecosystem of *Arts Collaboratory* (2024). Thus, public actors can assume an enabling role by facilitating commoning activities within both existing GLAMs and GLAMMONs.



A grant-based approach to GLAMMONS

In addition to public sector support, several GLAMMONS cases in the broader dataset of “informative cases” are primarily sustained and facilitated through multi-year grants provided by private foundations. These foundations have increasingly invested in commoning initiatives within the cultural sector. Such grants not only provide a long-term outlook for commoning efforts but also establish vital infrastructure for global knowledge exchange among artistic and cultural initiatives, as exemplified by the *Arts Collaboratory* platform, funded by the Stichting DOEN Foundation (2024)). For example, *tranzit* in Bucarest (tranzit, 2024), a network of autonomous contemporary art initiatives, has benefited from significant funding by the ERSTE Foundation in Vienna (ERSTE Foundation, 2024). The *MayDay Rooms* in London, an archive for social movements, receives its budget from the GLASS House Trust (MayDay Rooms, 2024). Other key private funders include the DOEN Foundation (2024) or HIVOS (2024), which also support networks and exchange programmes, fostering collaboration and knowledge-sharing among actors engaged in commoning practices, which underlines that funding relationship can act as a nexus in a complex web of local, national, and global actors.

8 Conclusion

Commoning empowers citizens to shape their cultural heritage communities, addressing their specific cultural needs while fulfilling aspirations to create or protect shared resources. Research into GLAMMONS offers insights into how individuals collectively manage their cultural needs as “self-governing communities working outside of the usual circuits of capitalist markets and state power.” (Bollier, 2024, p. 289) and “affirms that different, more socially constructive ways of meeting needs are possible.” (2024, p. 290). However, as this research highlights, despite their efforts to maintain autonomy and structural independence, these commoning initiatives often depend on partnerships and collaboration with the state or private partners such as foundations.

Nevertheless, a commoning perspective expands our understanding of the diverse forms and processes involved in “doing GLAMS” and highlights continuous processes of “Glammon-ing,” or collaborative cultural commoning. Not all participants in these



activities are driven by an emancipatory or political agenda; many are motivated simply by the act of sharing and participating in commoning itself. As Harvey (2012, p. 74) noted: “many different social groups can engage in the practice of commoning for many different reasons”.

(Re-)organising cultural heritage in the common interest is the challenge undertaken by GLAMMONS studied in this research project. The cases studied can be viewed as commoning practices or organisational forms that facilitate the creation of commons. This research seeks to contribute to two distinct strands of academic literature. First, it engages with cultural policy debates surrounding GLAMS. By applying a commons framework with an emphasis on commoning practices, this study reinterprets GLAMS as dynamic social organisations that are constantly (re)produced. Crucially, this perspective explores how GLAMS under commons can create durable, meaningful outputs that hold sustained social relevance for both their creators and users. Furthermore, the research highlights the diversity of practices within GLAMS that seek to challenge dominant economic narratives by proposing alternative models and frameworks. It investigates emerging forms of economic practice in GLAMS that broaden the spectrum of possibilities for how these institutions can operate. The focus on “museum-ing,” “archive-ing,” “gallery-ing,” and “library-ing” emphasises how these institutions might function in innovative and more socially engaged ways. What does it mean, for instance, to “museum otherwise” (Sterling & Komarova, 2023), challenging traditional roles and exploring new possibilities for engagement and sustainability in GLAMS? As Alonso-González and Fernández Fernández (2013, p. 251) suggest, heritage can be conceived as a commons in specific contexts, where community engagement, local knowledge, and collective governance come together to manage cultural resources:

“This standpoint forces us to expand our conception of heritage management, opening it to multiple social actors willing to be involved in the process and to become accountable with local communities where heritage is located. This can be done through local councils, foundations, cooperatives, associations, etc. That is, to advance towards the collective administration of common pool resources in order to render heritage an inalienable good.” (Alonso-González & Fernández Fernández, 2013, p. 251)

Thus, a commons perspective raises many substantial questions for the GLAM sector and cultural policymaking. For example, contemporary public cultural funding often perpetuates neoliberal principles of competition, newness, efficiency, and market-orientation (Greer, 2021). Yet how would a more equitable, non-extractive funding paradigm look like that would enable heritage commons in the GLAM sector?



The presented research is subject to several limitations. Fewer interviews were conducted than anticipated, and significant challenges were encountered in accessing fieldwork sites (Cunliffe & Alcadipani, 2016). This issue arose not only with municipal galleries and volunteer-run libraries but also with many commoning arrangements, where contacting individuals proved difficult. Extensive research was required to identify key contacts, and even after reaching out, responses were limited. In some cases, we received replies such as, „We don`t talk about ourselves. But here is what we do.“ (Email response from a case study), indicating either a reluctance to engage or limited capacity to participate. Several key interviews remain pending and are scheduled for the third year of the project, which will provide additional evidence to support the findings discussed here. The analysis in this deliverable focuses primarily on the meso-level, examining commoning arrangements without delving into the individuals involved, their motivations, perceptions, or micropolitical aspirations. As a result, it does not explore how commoners experience and behave differently when building shared resources and wealth with others (Zechner, 2023). It also does not engage with what these cultural commons offer to the public and how people perceive the practices and ways of “museum-ing,” “archive-ing,” “gallery-ing,” and “library-ing” in common. Similarly, the macro-level political and economic contexts, as well as the networks and infrastructural qualities among commoning arrangements, were not a central focus (Dardot & Laval, 2019; Leitheiser et al., 2022; Smits, 2024). These will be key areas of inquiry in the third-year work packages, particularly in translating findings into policy recommendations at the European level.



References

- Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin. (2021). *Entwicklung eines Bibliothekskonzepts für Berlin, Drucksache 18/3939*.
https://www.berlin.de/sen/kultur/kulturpolitik/202125_abschlussbericht_biblioentwicklungskonzept.pdf
- ADKV. (2024). *Über Kunstvereine*. Retrieved 10.03.2024 from
<https://kunstvereine.de/de/ueber-kunstvereine>
- AFK. (2024). *New Urban Collective (The Black Archives)*. Retrieved 24.08.2024 from
<https://www.amsterdamsfondsvoordekunst.nl/en/besluiten/vierjarige-subsidies-2021-2024/new-urban-collective-the-black-archives/>
- Alexander, V. D. (1996). From philanthropy to funding: The effects of corporate and public support on American art museums. *Poetics*, 24(2), 87-129.
- Alexander, V. D. (2014). Art and the Twenty-First Century Gift: Corporate Philanthropy and Government Funding in the Cultural Sector. *Anthropological Forum*, 24(4), 364-380.
- Alexander, V. D., & Peterson Gilbert, O. (2023). The REED typology: understanding market-orientation and instrumental values in cultural policy across Europe. *Cultural Trends*, 1-22.
- Alonso González, P. (2014). From a given to a construct: Heritage as a commons. *Cultural studies*, 28(3), 359-390.
- Alonso-González, P., & Fernández Fernández, J. (2013). Rural development and heritage commons management in Asturias (Spain): the ecomuseum of Santo Adriano. *Journal of Settlements and Spatial Planning*
- Alvarado, A. S. A., Bifano, A., Cucca, C., & Dionisia Severino, A. (2020). Commons and Cultural/Creative work: rebalancing the biotope. In M. F. De Tullio (Ed.), *Commons as ecosystems for culture* (pp. 5-10).
<https://repository.uantwerpen.be/docstore/d:irua:10897>
- Amin, A., Cameron, A., & Hudson, R. (2002). *Placing the social economy*. Routledge.
- Anheier, H. K., Merkel, J., & Winkler, K. (2021). *Culture, the Arts and the COVID-19 Pandemic: Five Cultural Capitals in Search of Solutions*.
<https://opus4.kobv.de/opus4-hsog/frontdoor/index/index/docId/3722>
- Arbeitskreis Kommunale Galerien Berlin. (2024). *Galerien*. Retrieved 25.08.2024 from
<https://kgberlin.net/kgb-home/galerien-uebersicht/>
- Arts Collaboratory. (2024). *History*. Retrieved 10.05.2024 from
<https://artscollaboratory.org/history/>
- Ashton, D. (2023). Funding arts and culture: Everyday experiences and organisational portfolio precarity. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 26(3), 388-407.
- Audunson, R., Andresen, H., Fagerlid, C., Henningsen, E., Hobohm, H.-C., Jochumsen, H., & Larsen, H. (2020). Introduction—Physical Places and Virtual Spaces. Libraries, Archives and Museums in a Digital Age. *Libraries, archives and museums as democratic spaces in a digital age*, 1-22.



- Auer, K. (2017, 5.12.2017). Tucholsky-Bibliothek wird wieder hauptamtlich. *Prenzlauer-Berg Nachrichten*. <https://www.prenzlauerberg-nachrichten.de/2017/12/30/tucholsky-bibliothek-wird-wieder-hauptamtlich/>
- Avdikos, V., Dragouni, M., Michailidou, M., & Pettas, D. (2023). Rethinking GLAMs as commons: a conceptual framework *Open Research Europe*, 3:157 (<https://doi.org/10.12688/openreseurope.16473.1>)
- Bastian, J., & Flinn, A. (2019). *Community archives, community spaces: Heritage, memory and identity*. Facet Publishing.
- Bergis, J. (2019). *Architecting Sustainable Futures: Exploring Funding Models in Community-Based Archives*. https://mellon.org/media/filer_public/01/58/0158e4ba-28a3-458c-ba6a-de0f8b2fd855/architectingsustainablefutures-2019.pdf
- Bertacchini, E., Bravo, G., Marrelli, M., & Santagata, W. (2012). Cultural commons: A new perspective on the production and evolution of cultures. In *Cultural Commons*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Betzler, D., & Gmür, M. (2016). Does Fundraising Professionalization Pay? *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 27(1), 27-42.
- Bildwechsel. (2024). *Über bildwechsel*. Retrieved 20.08.2024 from <https://www.bildwechsel.org/info/de/ueberuns.html>
- Blake, O., Glaser, M., Bertolini, L., & te Brömmelstroet, M. (2021). How policies become best practices: a case study of best practice making in an EU knowledge sharing project. *European Planning Studies*, 29(7), 1251-1271.
- Bollier, D. (2020). Commoning as a transformative social paradigm. In J. G. Speth & K. Courrier (Eds.), *The new systems reader* (pp. 348-361). Routledge.
- Bollier, D. (2024). Challenges in Expanding the Commonsverse. *International Journal of the Commons*, 18(1), 288–301.
- Bollier, D., & Conaty, P. (2015). Democratic money and capital for the commons. Commons Strategies Group Workshop Report, Berlin, Germany,
- Bollier, D., & Helfrich, S. (2019). *Free, fair, and alive: The insurgent power of the commons*. New Society Publishers.
- Bonet, L., & Donato, F. (2011). The financial crisis and its impact on the current models of governance and management of the cultural sector in Europe. *ENCATC Journal*, 1(1), 4-11.
- BOP. (2017). *World Cities Culture Finance Report* http://www.worldcitiescultureforum.com/assets/others/170516_WCCF_FullReport.pdf
- Borchi, A. (2018). Culture as commons: theoretical challenges and empirical evidence from occupied cultural spaces in Italy. *Cultural Trends*, 27(1), 33-45.
- Brabham, D. C. (2017). How crowdfunding discourse threatens public arts. *New Media & Society*, 19(7), 983-999.



- Caffentzis, G., & Federici, S. (2014). Commons against and beyond capitalism. *Community Development Journal*, 49(Supplement 1. Commons Sense: New thinking about an old idea), i92-i105.
- Camarero, C., Garrido, M.-J., & Vicente, E. (2023). Social and Financial Signalling to Increase Fundraising Revenue in Museums. *Journal of Nonprofit & Public Sector Marketing*, 35(2), 144-164.
- Cameron, J., & Gibson-Graham, J. (2022). The diverse economies approach. In F. Stilwell, D. Primrose, & T. Thornton (Eds.), *Handbook of alternative theories of political economy* (pp. 329-342). Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Candlin, F. (2016). *Micromuseology: An analysis of small independent museums*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Care Collective. (2020). *The Care Manifesto: The Politics of Interdependence*. Verso.
- Carruthers, B. G. (2010). 16 The Sociology of Money and Credit. *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*, 355
- CASCO. (2024a). *Casco Art Institute: Working for the Commons* Retrieved 14.05.2024 from <https://casco.art/>
- CASCO. (2024b). *Traveling Farm Museum of Forgotten Skills 2022 Spring Collection*. Retrieved 15.05.2024 from <https://casco.art/activity/travelling-farm-museum-of-forgotten-skills-2022-spring-collection/>
- Castells, M., Banet-Weiser, S., Hlebik, S., Kallis, G., Pink, S., Seale, K., Servon, L. J., Swartz, L., & Varvarousis, A. (Eds.). (2017). *Another Economy is Possible: Culture and Economy in a Time of Crisis*. Polity Press.
- Chang, W. J. (2010). How “Small” Are Small Arts Organizations? *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 40(3), 217-234.
- Colomer, L. (2021). Exploring participatory heritage governance after the EU Faro Convention. *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*
- Compendium of Cultural Policies & Trends. (2023). *Compendium of Cultural Policies & Trends*. Retrieved 10.05.2023 from <https://www.culturalpolicies.net/>
- Cossu, A. (2022). *Autonomous Art Institutions: Artists Disrupting the Creative City*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Council of Europe. (2024). *Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (CETS No. 199)*. Retrieved 20.08.2023 from <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list?module=treaty-detail&treatyid=199>
- Creating Commons. (2021). *Buen Vivir. Interview with Penny Travlou on collaborative practices in emerging networks*. Retrieved 10.04.2024 from <https://creatingcommons.zhdk.ch/tag/fac-feminist-autonomous-research-center-athens/index.html>
- Cumbers, A., Shaw, D., Crossan, J., & McMaster, R. (2018). The work of community gardens: Reclaiming place for community in the City. *Work, employment and society*, 23(1), 133-149



- Dalla Chiesa, C. (2020). From Digitalisation to Crowdfunding Platforms: Fomenting the Cultural Commons. In E. Macri, V. Morea, & M. Trimarchi (Eds.), *Cultural Commons and Urban Dynamics: A Multidisciplinary Perspective* (pp. 173-186). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-54418-8_11
- Dardot, P., & Laval, C. (2019). *Common. On Revolution in the 21st Century*. Bloomsbury Academic.
- De Angelis, M. (2017). *Omnia sunt communia: On the commons and the transformation to postcapitalism*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- De Angelis, M., & Harvie, D. (2014). The commons. In M. Parker, G. Cheney, V. Fournier, & C. Land (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to alternative organization* (pp. 280-294). Routledge.
- De Tullio, M. F. (2020). *Commons as ecosystems for culture*. <https://repository.uantwerpen.be/docstore/d:irua:10897>
- Dellenbaugh, M., Kip, M., Bieniok, M., Müller, A., & Schwegmann, M. (2015). *Urban commons: moving beyond state and market* (Vol. 154). Birkhäuser.
- Denzin, N. K. (2012). Triangulation 2.0. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 6(2), 80-88.
- Deutscher Bundestag. (2007). *Schlussbericht der Enquete-Kommission „Kultur in Deutschland“*. <http://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/16/070/1607000.pdf>
- Dewey, J. (1954). *The public and its problems: An essay in political inquiry*. Swallow Press.
- DOEN. (2024). *About us*. Retrieved 11.04.2024 from <https://www.doen.nl/en/about-us>
- Dragouni, M., & Lekakis, S. (2023). Co-creating the future of heritage in-the-making: empirical evidence from community deliberation at Naxos Island, Greece. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 29(4), 294-313.
- Ebbers, J. J., Leenders, M. A. A. M., & Augustijn, J. J. E. (2021). Relationship value benefits of membership programs, heterogeneous stakeholders and museum impact beyond fees. *European Management Review*, 18(4), 418-432.
- EGMUS. (2022). *European Group on Museum Statistics*. Retrieved 15.10.2022 from https://www.egmus.eu/nc/en/statistics/complete_data/
- Eizenberg, E. (2012). Actually Existing Commons: Three Moments of Space of Community Gardens in New York City. *Antipode*, 44(3), 764-782.
- ENAAK. (2024). *About*. Retrieved 10.05.2024 from <https://enaak.eu/>
- Eppich, R., & Grinda, J. L. G. (2019). Sustainable financial management of tangible cultural heritage sites. *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*, 9(3), 282-299.
- ERSTE Foundation. (2024). *About*. Retrieved 10.04.2024 from <https://www.erstestiftung.org/en/inside-the-foundation/>
- Esajas, M., & de Abreu, J. (2019). The Black Archives: Exploring the Politics of Black Dutch Radicals. *Open Cultural Studies*, 3(1), 402-413.



- Euler, J., Acksel, B., & Hankammer, S. (2020). Practice Turn in der Commons-Forschung. *Ökologisches Wirtschaften-Fachzeitschrift*(1), 28-29.
- European Commission. (2022). *Work Plan for Culture 2019-2022 Workshop on Complementary Funding for Cultural Heritage. Background Paper and Selected Good Practices March 2021*. <https://eenc.eu/uploads/eenc-eu/2022/03/04/7869028db14908a0ecd4d6c4c7385b46.pdf>
- Federici, S. (2018). *Re-enchanting the World: Feminism and the Politics of the Commons*. PM Press.
- Feinberg, A., Ghorbani, A., & Herder, P. (2021). Diversity and Challenges of the Urban Commons. *International Journal of the Commons*, 15(1), 1-20.
- FINCH. (2020). *Living document on financial instruments and regulatory frameworks for the introduction of partnership with private sector*. https://projects2014-2020.interregeurope.eu/fileadmin/user_upload/tx_tevprojects/library/file_1589466334.pdf
- FINPIEMONTE. (2021). *Financial Instruments and Innovative Financial Schemes for Cultural Heritage*. . <https://programme2014-20.interreg-central.eu/Content.Node/D.T1.2.4-Financial-instruments.pdf>
- Firat, B. Ö. (2022). A double movement of enclosure and commons: commoning Emek movie theatre in three acts. *City*, 26(5-6), 1029-1044.
- Flinn, A., Stevens, M., & Shepherd, E. (2009). Whose memories, whose archives? Independent community archives, autonomy and the mainstream. *Archival Science*, 9(1), 71–86.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2011). Case study. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (Vol. 4, pp. 301-316). Sage.
- Fournier, V. (2013). Commoning: on the social organisation of the commons. *M@ n@ gement*, 16(4), 433-453.
- gE.CO. (2024). *The gE.CO Database*. Retrieved 10.08.2024 from <https://generative-commons.eu/database/>
- Gianecchini, M. (2020). Strategies and determinants of corporate support to the arts: Insights from the Italian context. *European Management Journal*, 38(2), 308-318.
- Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2006 [1996]). *The End of Capitalism (as we knew it). A Feminist Critique of Political Economy*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Gibson-Graham, J. K. (2008). Diverse economies: performative practices for other worlds'. *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(5), 613-632.
- Ginn, F., & Ascensão, E. (2018). Autonomy, Erasure, and Persistence in the Urban Gardening Commons. *Antipode*, 50(4), 929-952.
- Gkitsa, D. (2023). Self-Organised Labour: Reclaiming the Commons in the Post-Socialist Space of Southeast Europe. In J. Merkel, D. Pettas, & V. Avdikos (Eds.), *Coworking Spaces: Alternative Topologies and Transformative Potentials* (pp. 33-49). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-42268-3_3



- Gkitsa, D. (2024). Grassroots creativity in arts and culture: a comparative analysis of case studies from the Balkans. *Creative Industries Journal*, 17(2), 234-253.
- González, P. A., Vázquez, A. M., & Fernández, J. F. (2017). Governance structures for the heritage commons: La ponte-ecomuséu-ecomuseum of santo adriano, Spain. In P. G. Gould & A. K. Pyburn (Eds.), *Collision or Collaboration: archaeology encounters economic development* (pp. 153-170). Springer.
- Greer, S. (2021). Funding resilience: market rationalism and the UK's "mixed economy" for the arts. *Cultural Trends*, 30(3), 222-240.
- Gunter, C. (2017). Ecomuseums: Challenging Temporality through Community Reappropriation. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 47(4), 259-273.
- Hall, S. (1999). Un-settling 'the heritage', re-imagining the post-nationWhose heritage? *Third Text*, 13(49), 3-13.
- Hall, S. (2001). Constituting an archive. *Third Text*, 15(54), 89-92.
- Hamilton, G., & Saunderson, F. (Eds.). (2017). *Open licensing for cultural heritage*. Facet Publishing.
- Hardin, G. (1968). The Tragedy of the Commons. *Science*, 162(3859), 1243-1248.
- Harvey, D. (2012). *Rebel cities: From the right to the city to the urban revolution*. Verso books.
- Hayes, D., & Slater, A. (2003). From 'social club' to 'integrated membership scheme': developing membership schemes strategically. *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*, 8(1), 59-75.
- Herrero, M., & Kraemer, S. (2022). Beyond survival mode: Organizational resilience capabilities in nonprofit arts and culture fundraising during the Covid-19 pandemic. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 33(2), 279-295.
- Hess, C. (2008). *Mapping the new commons* Paper presented at "Governing Shared Resources: Connecting Local Experience to Global Challenges;" the 12th Biennial Conference of the International Association for the Study of the Commons, University of Gloucestershire, Cheltenham, England, July 14-18, 2008. . Retrieved 20.08.2023 from <https://dlc.dlib.indiana.edu/dlcrest/api/core/bitstreams/3a1bd002-f6e2-4569-b8cd-9f8afbb6e39f/content>
- HIVOS. (2024). *About HIVOS*. Retrieved 11.04.2024 from <https://hivos.org/about-hivos/vision-and-values/>
- Hofmann, V., Euler, J., Zurmühlen, L., & Helfrich, S. (2022). *Commoning Art-Die transformativen Potenziale von Commons in der Kunst*. transcript Verlag.
- Hossein, C. S., & Pearson, M. (2023). Black Feminists in the Third Sector: Here Is Why We Choose to use the term Solidarity Economy. *The Review of Black Political Economy*, 50(2), 222-248.
- Huron, A. (2015). Working with strangers in saturated space: Reclaiming and maintaining the urban commons. *Antipode*, 47(4), 963-979.



- Huron, A. (2017). Theorising the urban commons: New thoughts, tensions and paths forward. *Urban Studies*, 54(4), 1062-1069.
- Ilyas, Ö. (2023). A Place in the World: A Mapping of Coworking as a Site/Practice of Commoning and Community in Istanbul. In J. Merkel, D. Pettas, & V. Avdikos (Eds.), *Coworking Spaces: Alternative Topologies and Transformative Potentials* (pp. 17-32). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-42268-3_2
- Istvandy, L., Baker, S., & Long, P. (2023). Creative futures for cultural heritage: a typology of creative practice in the GLAM sector – towards a creative heritage approach. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 1-17.
- Jelinčić, D. A., & Šveb, M. (2021). Financial sustainability of cultural heritage: A review of crowdfunding in Europe. *Journal of Risk and Financial Management*, 14(3), 101.
- Katz-Gerro, T. (2015). Introduction—Cultural policy and the public funding of culture in an international perspective. *Poetics*, 49, 1-4.
- Kelemen, M., Mangan, A., & Moffat, S. (2017). More than a 'little act of kindness'? Towards a typology of volunteering as unpaid work. *Sociology*, 51(6), 1239-1256.
- Kelly, L. M., & Cordeiro, M. (2020). Three principles of pragmatism for research on organizational processes. *Methodological Innovations*, 13(2), 2059799120937242.
- Klamer, A., Mignosa, A., & Petrova, L. (2013). Cultural heritage policies: a comparative perspective. In I. Rizzo & A. Mignosa (Eds.), *Handbook on the economics of cultural heritage* (pp. 37-86). Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Klamer, A., Petrova, L., & Mignosa, A. (2006). *Financing the arts and culture in the European Union*. [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2006/375309/IPOL-CULT_ET\(2006\)375309_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2006/375309/IPOL-CULT_ET(2006)375309_EN.pdf)
- Komuna Warszawa. (2024). *About us*. Retrieved 25.08.2024 from <https://komuna.warszawa.pl/about-us/>
- Kraemer, K., Jakelja, L., Brugger, F., & Nessel, S. (2024). The social ambiguity of money: empirical evidence on the multiple usability of money in social life. *Review of social economy*, 82(1), 98-125.
- Leitheiser, S., Trell, E.-M., Horlings, I., & Franklin, A. (2022). Toward the commoning of governance. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, 40(3), 744-762.
- Leyva del Río, S. (2022). Conceptualising the commons as a relational triad: Lessons from the grant of use cooperative housing model in Barcelona. *Geoforum*, 136, 112-121.
- Lindqvist, K. (2012a). Effects of public sector reforms on the management of cultural organizations in Europe. *International Studies of Management & Organization*, 42(2), 9-28.
- Lindqvist, K. (2012b). Museum finances: challenges beyond economic crises. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 27(1), 1-15.
- Linebaugh, P. (2008). *The magna carta manifesto*. University of California Press.



- Loots, E., Betzler, D., Bille, T., Borowiecki, K., & Lee, B. (2022). New forms of finance and funding in the cultural and creative industries. Introduction to the special issue. *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 46(2), 205-230.
- Maczey, L. (2019). Vom Ehrenamt zurück zum Hauptamt : die Kurt-Tucholsky-Bibliothek in Berlin-Pankow. *BuB - Forum Bibliothek und Information*, 71, 6-7.
- Manda, C. C., Nicolescu, C. E., & Mortelmans, D. (2017). FINANCING CULTURE INSTITUTIONS IN EUROPEAN CONTEXT. *SEA: Practical Application of Science*, 5(1), 179-185.
- Marttila, S., & Botero, A. (2017). Infrastructuring for cultural commons. *Computer Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW)*, 26(1-2), 97-133.
- Massi, M., Dalle Carbonare, P. M., & Turrini, A. (2019). Turning crowds into patrons: Democratizing fundraising in the arts and culture. In J. Amendola, K. Feldman, & M. Welch (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Arts Management* (pp. 409-424). Routledge.
- MayDay Rooms. (2024). *About*. Retrieved 25.09.2024 from <https://maydayrooms.org/about/>
- Meerkerk, J. (2024). Understanding the Governing of Urban Commons: Reflecting on Five Key Features of Collaborative Governance in Zero Waste Lab, Amsterdam. *International Journal of the Commons*, 18(1), 397-410.
- Merkel, J. (2015). *Berliner Kulturpolitik in international vergleichender Perspektive*. https://www.hertie-school.org/the-governance-post/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Hertie_School_Studie_Berliner_Kulturpolitik.pdf
- Meyer, C. (2020). Social finance and the commons paradigm: Exploring how community-based innovations transform finance for the common good. *Management Decision*, 58(4), 786-796.
- Meyer, C., & Hudon, M. (2017). Alternative organizations in finance: Commoning in complementary currencies. *Organization*, 24(5), 629-647.
- Morgan, D. L. (2014). Pragmatism as a paradigm for social research. *Qualitative inquiry*, 20(8), 1045-1053.
- Morse, N. (2020). *The museum as a space of social care*. Routledge.
- Mullen, M. (2020). *Applied Theatre: Economies*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Nogare, C. D., & Murzyn-Kupisz, M. (2022). Do Museums Foster Innovation Through Engagement with the Cultural and Creative Industries? In J. Woronkiewicz (Ed.), *Arts, Entrepreneurship, and Innovation* (pp. 153-186). Springer Nature Switzerland. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-18195-5_7
- OECD. (2022). *The Culture Fix: Creative People, Places and Industries, Local Economic and Employment Development (LEED)*. <https://www.sipotra.it/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/The-Culture-Fix-CREATIVE-PEOPLE-PLACES-AND-INDUSTRIES.pdf>
- Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the commons: The evolution of institutions for collective action*. Cambridge university press.



Papastergiadis, N. (2020). *Museums of the Commons: L'Internationale and the Crisis of Europe*. Routledge.

[Record #7448 is using a reference type undefined in this output style.]

Perilleux, A., & Nyssens, M. (2017). Understanding cooperative finance as a new common. *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics*, 88(2), 155-177.

Pickerill, T. (2021). *Overview of Hybrid Financial Instruments and Investment Leverage Enablers for Cultural Heritage Adaptive Reuse*. CLIC Deliverable 4.1. <https://www.clicproject.eu/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/D4.1-Overview-of-Hybrid-Financial-Instruments-and-Investment-Leverage-Enablers-for-Cultural-Heritage-Adaptive-Reuse.pdf>

Popple, S., Prescott, A., & Mutibwa, D. H. (Eds.). (2020). *Communities, Archives and New Collaborative Practices* (1 ed.). Bristol University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvx1hvvd>.

Prokúpek, M., & Divišková, B. (2023). Ethics in Museum Fundraising: Evidence from the Czech Republic. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 53(1), 42-61.

Proli, S., & Tortori, F. (2020). The potential of neglected places. IN LOCO: the widespread museum of abandonment. *SCIRES-IT-SCientific RESearch and Information Technology*, 10(2), 159-172.

Puig de La Bellacasa, M. (2017). *Matters of care: Speculative ethics in more than human worlds*. U of Minnesota Press.

Rex, B., Kaszynska, P., & Kimbell, L. (2019). Business models for arts and cultural organisations: Research findings from creative lenses.

Reynolds Oam, S., & Matthews, T. (2020). Small museums — more tango than foxtrot (the salsa gets you nowhere!). *AICCM Bulletin*, 41(1), 83-91.

Rius-Ulldemolins, J., Pizzi, A., & Rubio Arostegui, J. A. (2019). European models of cultural policy: towards European convergence in public spending and cultural participation? *Journal of European Integration*, 41(8), 1045-1067.

Romolini, A., Fissi, S., Gori, E., & Contri, M. (2020). Financing Museums: Towards Alternative Solutions? Evidence from Italy. In M. Piber (Ed.), *Management, Participation and Entrepreneurship in the Cultural and Creative Sector* (pp. 11-32). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-46796-8_2

Rydbeck, K., Larsen, H., & Rasmussen, C. H. (2022). Differences and similarities between LAMs, and their pursuit of commons challenges. In C. H. Rasmussen, K. Rydbeck, & H. Larsen (Eds.), *Libraries, Archives, and Museums in Transition. Changes, Challenges, and Convergence in a Scandinavian Perspective* (pp. 231-241). Routledge.

Rykkja, A., Maehle, N., Munim, Z. H., & Shneur, R. (2020). Crowdfunding in the cultural industries. *Advances in Crowdfunding: Research and Practice*, 423-440.

Sanderhoff, M. (Ed.). (2014). *Sharing is caring: Openness and sharing in the cultural heritage sector*. Statens Museum for Kunst.

Savini, F. (2022). Maintaining autonomy: Urban degrowth and the commoning of housing. *Urban Studies*, 60(7), 1231-1248.



- Seaman, B. A. (2013). The role of the private sector in cultural heritage. In I. Rizzo & A. Mignosa (Eds.), *Handbook on the economics of cultural heritage* (pp. 111-128). Edward Elgar.
- SenKGZ. (2024). *Kultur in den Berliner Bezirken*. Retrieved 10.08.2024 from <https://www.berlin.de/sen/kultur/kulturpolitik/akteure/bezirke/artikel.31963.php>
- Serafini, P. (2015). Prefiguring performance: Participation and transgression in environmentalist activism. *Third Text*, 29(3), 195-206.
- Shelby, H. (2021). Commoning or being commoned? Institutions, politics, and the role of the state in collective housing policy in Bangkok, Thailand. *Planning Theory*, 21(4), 333-353.
- Shneur, R., Zhao, L., & Flåten, B.-T. (2020). Introduction: from fundamentals to advances in crowdfunding research and practice. *Advances in Crowdfunding: Research and Practice*, 1-18.
- Slater, A. (2003). An audit of friends' schemes at UK heritage sites. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 9(4), 357-373.
- Smits, F. (2024). Whose infrastructure, which commons? On the maintenance of an emergent health commons in the Netherlands. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 25(6), 947-966.
- Sterling, C., & Komarova, A. (2023). Forgotten Worlds: Cultivating Museums Otherwise. *Stedelijk Studies Journal* 13
- Stevens, M., Flinn, A., & Shepherd, E. (2010). New frameworks for community engagement in the archive sector: from handing over to handing on. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16(1-2), 59-76.
- Swedberg, R. (2020). Exploratory research. In C. Elman, J. Gerring, & J. Mahoney (Eds.), *The production of knowledge: Enhancing progress in social science* (pp. 17-41). Cambridge University Press.
- Swords, J. (2017). Crowd-patronage—Intermediaries, geographies and relationships in patronage networks. *Poetics*, 64, 63-73.
- Tavory, I., & Timmermans, S. (2014). *Abductive analysis: Theorizing qualitative research*. University of Chicago Press.
- The Innovation in Politics Institute. (2024). *Social Institute of Culture*. Retrieved 20.04.2024 from <https://innovationinpolitics.eu/showroom/project/social-institution-of-culture/>
- Thompson, M. (2015). Between Boundaries: From Commoning and Guerrilla Gardening to Community Land Trust Development in Liverpool. *Antipode*, 47(4), 1021-1042.
- tranzit. (2024). *tranzit.ro*. Retrieved 25.09.2024 from <https://ro.tranzit.org/en/calendar/bucuresti>
- Tulke, J. (2020). *Knowledge from Below: A Roundtable Conversation with the Co-Directors of the Feminist Autonomous Centre for Research in Athens*. Retrieved 20.04.2024 from <https://barricadejournal.org/issue-3/knowledge-from-below/>



- van Heur, B., Silvrants-Barclay, E., & Agha, M. (2023). Collective cultural infrastructures: ownership, architecture, governance. *Cultural Trends*, 32(5), 569-575.
- Vella, J. (2022). Collections With Connections: A Case Study About Collections at Micro Museums in Central Mediterranean Islands. *Collections*, 18(4), 545-567.
- Visser-Maessen, L. (2020). "The Background for Our Future": Locating the Black Archives in the Netherlands in Black Atlantic Traditions of Archival Activism. *The New Americanist*, 04, 59-99.
- VÖBB. (2024). *Jahresbericht 2023 der Berliner Öffentlichen Bibliotheken*. <https://www.berlin.de/stadtbibliothek-reinickendorf/wir-ueber-uns/jahresbericht/voebb-jahresbericht2023.pdf>
- Wagenaar, H., & Bartels, K. (2024). Introduction: Advancing the Commonsverse: The Political Economy of The Commons. *International Journal of the Commons*, 18(1), 337-350.
- Weil, K., Krögh, B. E., Giraldo, L. F., & Contreras, J. E. (2023). Passion as a mobilising tool for community-based museums: Case studies from southern Chile. In K. Brown, A. Cummins, & A. S. González Rueda (Eds.), *Communities and Museums in the 21st Century. Shared Histories and Climate Action* (pp. 52-71). Routledge.
- Williams, J. M., Chu, V. H., Lam, W. F., & Law, W. W. (2024). Nested Institutions for Nested Problems: Commoning for Rural Revitalisation in the Peri-Urban Setting. *International Journal of the Commons*, 18(1)
- Zavala, J., Migoni, A. A., Caswell, M., Geraci, N., & Cifor, M. (2017). 'A process where we're all at the table': community archives challenging dominant modes of archival practice. *Archives and Manuscripts*, 45(3), 202-215.
- Zechner, M. (2023). No Commons Without Micropolitics. Learning with Feminist and Municipalist Movements in Spain. *International Journal of the Commons*, 17(1), 447-461.
- Zelizer, V. A. (2021). *The social meaning of money: Pin money, paychecks, poor relief, and other currencies*. Princeton University Press.
- Žuvela, A., Šveb Dragija, M., & Jelinčić, D. A. (2023). Partnerships in Heritage Governance and Management: Review Study of Public–Civil, Public–Private and Public–Private–Community Partnerships. *Heritage*, 6(10), 6862-6880.