Report
AN OVERVIEW OF PUBLIC POLICIES
OF THE SHARING ECONOMY BY CITIES

July 2019

**SHARING
CITIES ACTION**

**CITIES ACTION ON CHALLENGES AND
OPPORTUNITIES OF PLATFORM ECONOMY**

Contents

Executive summary

The Sharing Economy (SE), that is, the collaborative consumption and production of capital and labour among distributed groups supported by a digital platform (*Fuster et al.*, 2018), is growing rapidly and exponentially, and has become a top priority for governments around the globe (Woods *et al.*, 2016). However, SE opens up a discussion about its challenges and opportunities. From the challenges side, SE occurs in a regulatory vacuum, as it challenges existing regulations and it is unclear which regulatory schemes and government competences levels are applied to the platforms, and with unsystematised policy reactions and uncertainty towards which policies may be more beneficial. From the opportunities' perspective, collaborative practices are opening up tremendous opportunities for public innovation that are not being fully exploited.

In this study **we adopt a perspective that includes not only the main leading cities in the field. It also includes cities that have recently begun to handle the main challenges and opportunities of the sharing economy.** We supported our study with the celebration of the **Sharing Cities Summit 2018 in Barcelona**. This was the third edition of the Sharing Cities Summit, which took place in Barcelona 12-15 of November 2018. It follows the previous editions of the Sharing Cities Summit held in 2017 in NYC, and in 2016 in Amsterdam. The event gathered **political representatives from 50 cities** from around the world, and actors of the sharing ecosystem, to discuss how the continuous growth of sharing economies impacts the life and the economic development of the cities. The event resulted in a Common Declaration of principles and commitments for the sharing economy, and the creation of a task force to support actions between cities. The participants considered which innovative measures can be taken to meet the challenges and opportunities they face. We elaborated a **survey submitted to the participants**

from 50 cities and we applied a **participative observation** technique during the Summit. Data were collected between October and November 2018. According to the quality of the answers, the completeness of all the questions of the survey and the search of diversity in the sample, **we narrowed our selection to 17 cities.**

The sample is formed by cities from **three continents** (see Figure 1). Approximately **half of the cities are the main capital** of the country and six cities are province or autonomous community capital.

Figure 1. Map of studied cities

The sample is also diverse regarding the city size (see Table 1). Four cities (Maribor, Ghent, Umeå, Vitoria-Gasteiz) have fewer than 500,000 inhabitants in their urban area, two cities (Gothenburg and San Francisco) have between 500,000 and 1,000,000, six have between 1 and 5 million (Kobe, Amsterdam, Vienna, Milan, Stockholm, and Barcelona), three have between 5 and 10 million (Toronto, Seoul, and New York) and two (Buenos Aires and São Paulo) are

considered megacities by the ONU, since they have more than 10 million inhabitants in their urban areas. See the following table on the size of the cities sample.

Population size of the city[1]	Number of cities	Cities
Fewer than 500,000 inhabitants	4 cities	Ghent (Belgium), Maribor (Slovenia), Umeå (Sweden), Vitoria-Gasteiz (Spain)
Between 500,000 and 1,000,000	2 cities	Gothenburg (Sweden), San Francisco (USA)
Between 1 and 5 million	6 cities	Amsterdam (Netherlands), Barcelona (Spain), Kobe (Japan), Milan (Italy), Stockholm (Sweden), Vienna (Austria)
Between 5 and 10 million	3 cities	New York (USA), Seoul (South Korea), Toronto (Canada)
More than 10 million inhabitants	2 cities	Buenos Aires (Argentina), São Paulo (Brazil)

Table 1: Surveyed cities by population size

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[1] ONU official classification (according to inhabitants in their urban area)

This report provides an overview of public policies carried out by cities regarding challenges and opportunities opened up by the sharing economy. The report starts with an analysis of cities conceptions and approaches regarding sharing economy definition, its challenges and opportunities, and criteria used to differentiate platforms. Afterwards, it goes on to provide a descriptive analysis of cities' main goals and policy interventions. There, we pay special attention to gender and inclusive policy interventions. Thirdly, we study the different particularities of policy design processes focusing on government structure, participatory methodologies, collaborations among cities, and connections between different stakeholders and cities administrations. Lastly, we develop an analysis of cities' typology regarding their reactions towards SE. That is, how far they engage with four governance dimensions: the city as a monitor, as a regulator, as a promoter, and as a collaborator.

Further surveys and research on the cities that are part of the Sharing Cities Action task force may allow both to enrich the analysis regarding the issues under consideration and to increase the sample to be able to perform statistical analysis. If you are a political representative form a city and you would like to contribute, please follow the next link (https://dimmons.typeform.com/to/wLQW0l).

— **Conclusions**

- Participants had **different interpretations on what the sharing economy means for city governments**. There are cities whose orientation is characterized by a focus on the legal challenges posed by unicorn extractivist platforms. These cities try to mitigate the negative externalities of unicorn extractivist platforms while promoting their more beneficial aspects. Other cities are more focused on community-based initiatives. These are mostly concerned with reinforcing existing networks while helping these "alternative" initiatives to be viable, fostering entrepreneurship.

- This difference on framing **means dealing with a large array of initiatives and thus various policies to respond to them.** In this sense, cities that have a similar understanding of the sharing economy and a common cultural background may find it easier to establish common routes of action. Nonetheless, **most cities combine both orientations in different ways, and are trying to explore models such as platform cooperatives to reconcile the two**. Despite a stated need to address negative externalities and to understand new business models, only a few cities, three so far, have developed a set of criteria to help them select which platforms they wish to promote and in turn, help in their development.

- The differences between cities are also reflected in the primary policy goals. Indeed, **smaller cities combine "community development" and "improvement of the environment". Instead, all bigger cities are characterised by including "regulation".** Nonetheless, the promotion of innovation is shared by two thirds of the cities, regardless of their sizes and main orientation. Concretely, we find that the most selected goals are "promoting innovation" and "community development/gender, social and inclusion goals",

both selected by 64.71% of the cities. It is followed by "economic development/employment" for 58.82% of respondents; "regulating to help prevent and minimize conflicts created by platform disruptive impacts" for 52.94% of respondents, and "improving the environment" for 41.18% of respondents. "Consumer choice and protection" occupies the last place with 29.41% of answers (see Table 2).

- **Sharing economy policies were usually designed in a participatory manner** involving different stakeholders and involving in half the cases several departments. Even **if the economy department is in charge in most cases, the lead can sometimes be held by other departments**. This occurs regardless of the focus of the city: unicorn extractivist platforms or community-oriented ones.

- **Collaboration between cities is fundamental** in order to reach either platforms or supranational organizations such as the European Union, especially in a context where states are slower to react.

- The **most common role adopted by cities is the role of promoter,** followed by regulator, monitor and collaborator. **The longer a city has been leading a sharing economy policy, the more roles it has been accumulating.** In case of combining only one or two roles, it may be attributed to the fact that the city has either recently started its policies (in the past year or two), or to the fact that the city government adopts a political approach in favour of a minimal intervention in conflict mediation.

1. Cities' sharing economy conceptions and approaches

The survey results showed that **the main divergence in visions of the sharing economy between cities is mainly between focusing on extractivist platform economy and community-based economy**. On one side of the spectrum, for certain cities approaching the sharing economy means dealing with the extractivist platform economy, whether it is limited to homesharing and ridesharing sectors, or also encompasses gig-economy types of platforms. Furthermore, some cities frame it within their smart city strategy and use of ICTs to tackle the city challenges. On the other side of the spectrum, the framing of the sharing economy by other cities is directly linked to the promotion of principles centred on citizen participation, commons, and/or circular economy and resilience, which they are already promoting. Initiatives promoted in cities favouring that approach tend to be more community-oriented and less profit-oriented, with platforms not being at the core of the intermediation of the exchange. **The divergence in visions between "extractivist-platform economy" and "community-based economy" has also to do with the centrality of technology and a rising concern about the impact of platforms.** Platform economy extractivist visions perceive the role of technology as more central and focus less on the risk of the impact of the disruptive platforms, whereas community-based economy relies less on technology and demand alternative initiatives which generate fewer negative externalities for cities. Nonetheless, both extractivist platform-oriented and community-based perspectives can coexist within a same city policy.

1.1. Challenges and Opportunities

Another element of differentiation in conception between cities is what to do with the challenges and opportunities of the SE identified by the cities. The way cities interpret challenges is directly linked to the difference between a focus on extractivist platforms and a focus on community-based initiatives. **Cities mainly focused on extractivist platforms are mostly concerned with the legal challenges.** Most of the economic activities that operate under the umbrella of the SE occur in a regulatory vacuum causing unfair competition, avoiding local taxation and eroding working rights. **City governments try to find the appropriate regulation for the city** that allows to promote innovation that permits its citizens to fully enjoy its benefits while maintaining the liveability of the city, considering multi-level governance and what legal competences the city has. San Francisco's respondent states:

> **"The city government seems to be concerned about the exploitation of housing and space, and the exploitation of labour. The state controls much about the laws around labour so it's largely removed from the city. But, the city has taken actions to try to understand that state's usage of labour and some of the concerns around transportation"**.
>
> (SCSE4, San Francisco City Council Member, November 2018).

In this context, another challenge entails **evaluating the businesses models of platforms to decide how to regulate** -especially when it comes to its externalities- and enforcing the legislation -often due to the lack of data. Last, **extractivist platforms challenge current labour market institutions and welfare systems**. A good example of this is New York City. When talking about workers' rights, the New York respondent comments on the inexistence of a safety

net of the traditional employer in the American context:

> **"Oftentimes the people who are working on these platforms do not have the social safety net of a traditional employer and there are issues of minimum pay, health insurance, disability, etc. Unlike European cities or Scandinavian cities. American cities don't have a safety net that is quite as robust and not as something that New York City wants to focus on".**
>
> (SCSE3, New York City Council Member, November 2018).

Cities that are rather focused on community-based initiatives emphasize challenges related to supporting the existing networks and socially-oriented business ecosystems, by understanding their business model, helping them become more sustainable and finding the right ways for the public administration to deal with them. Visibility is crucial to its development, with some emphasizing training and education as a means. As stated by Maribor:

> **"The challenge is how to support the social start-ups within the existing supporting environment or design a new more efficient social entrepreneurship ecosystem as well as adapt the existing institutional framework".**
>
> (SCSO, Maribor Municipality Member, November 2018).

Moreover, **the sharing economy puts pressure on already strained resources and infrastructures**, as illustrated by the answer of Stockholm's respondent:

> **"Lot of changes need to happen fast, but a lot of the infrastructure is already built and it's not easy to change. [...] So when you develop a new area maybe you can also change the infrastructure from the beginning, but now we have to change infrastructure when it's already there and that takes time. Although with the sharing happened fast and people are also moving fast so, there are also opportunities but maybe the big infrastructures are the big problems".**
>
> (SCSE6, Stockholm City Council Member, November 2018).

Last, **sharing economy is forcing governments to innovate**. Respondents comment several times their willingness to find which is the role they should adapt in this context, how to detect further challenges and opportunities, how to change the current infrastructures, etc.

In this sense, **several cities note this obstacle when assessing business models and they see bottom-up approaches like co-ops as an alternative to extractivist ones**. There are some cities -for e.g. Umeå- that note being in a position of trying to understand the exact role that the municipality must adopt inside the sharing economy and comment -i.e. Amsterdam's case- multi-level governance structures as a key feature affecting it.

When it comes to opportunities, there is a general agreement on the potential of the sharing economy for supporting sustainable practices. **Thirteen respondents of a total of seventeen comment on its potential to provoke a more efficient use of resources** by leveraging underutilized assets and fostering sustainable consumption.

Second, some also comment the **opportunity to generate social bond and inclusion** by increasing trust and improving democracy by enabling greater citizen participation. In the third place, both social and technological innovation are also mentioned. **Sharing economy is referred as a driver of entrepreneurship, competitiveness and growth, improvement and increment in the quantity of services, and it is also referred as fostering bottom-up civic initiatives.**

Last, the sharing economy is also seen as a **means to improving the current market conditions by increasing flexibility, work-life balance, decrease of prices, empowering consumers, etc.** For example, São Paulo respondent comments its capacity of generating new jobs and sources of income for underprivileged people:

> **"A lot of people nowadays are unemployed, unemployment rates are really high, so I think there's a lot of people who can do different things and there are many opportunities".**
>
> (SCSE5, Sao Paulo City Council Member, November 2018).

Another example can be Vienna's, who comments on work-life balance opportunities:

> **"Flexibility of working time in the sharing area; eventually positive effects for people who have a family (a typical platform worker is likely to have a family and kids) or have care duties".**
>
> (SCSO11, Vienna City Council Member, November 2018).

1.2. Criteria to differentiate platforms

The previous considerations lead us to inquire **how city governments distinguish the platforms**, those whose impact they want to restrict from those they would like to promote. Even if **65% of surveyed cities are paying attention to the impact of platforms, few have established a specific set of criteria** to operationalize this distinction. Many answers showed nuance, reaffirming that their city wants to welcome innovation, monitor how sharing economy initiatives may fit within their overall strategy and help address creatively some of the challenges they pose to the city. Rather than prohibiting the whole platform, it may be only some aspects of their business model they would like to regulate or find agreements on.

Only three cities, Barcelona, Milan and Seoul, had a specific set of criteria. It is worth mentioning that these cities were amongst the first to devise a systematic strategy to embrace the sharing economy–since 2012 for Seoul, 2014 for Milan, 2015 for Barcelona.

Barcelona city council has established a multidisciplinary framework that allows to evaluate different platform models according to six different dimensions:

1) **Governance**: type of economic enterprise and of participation in the digital platform.

2) **Economic model:** main goal (profit or non-profit) and transparency.

3) **Knowledge policy:** degree of open content and open data.

4) **Technological policy:** if it is developed in Free Libre and Open Source Software (FLOSS) and the degree of decentralization.

5) Social responsibility and impacts: inclusion policies and sustainable impacts.
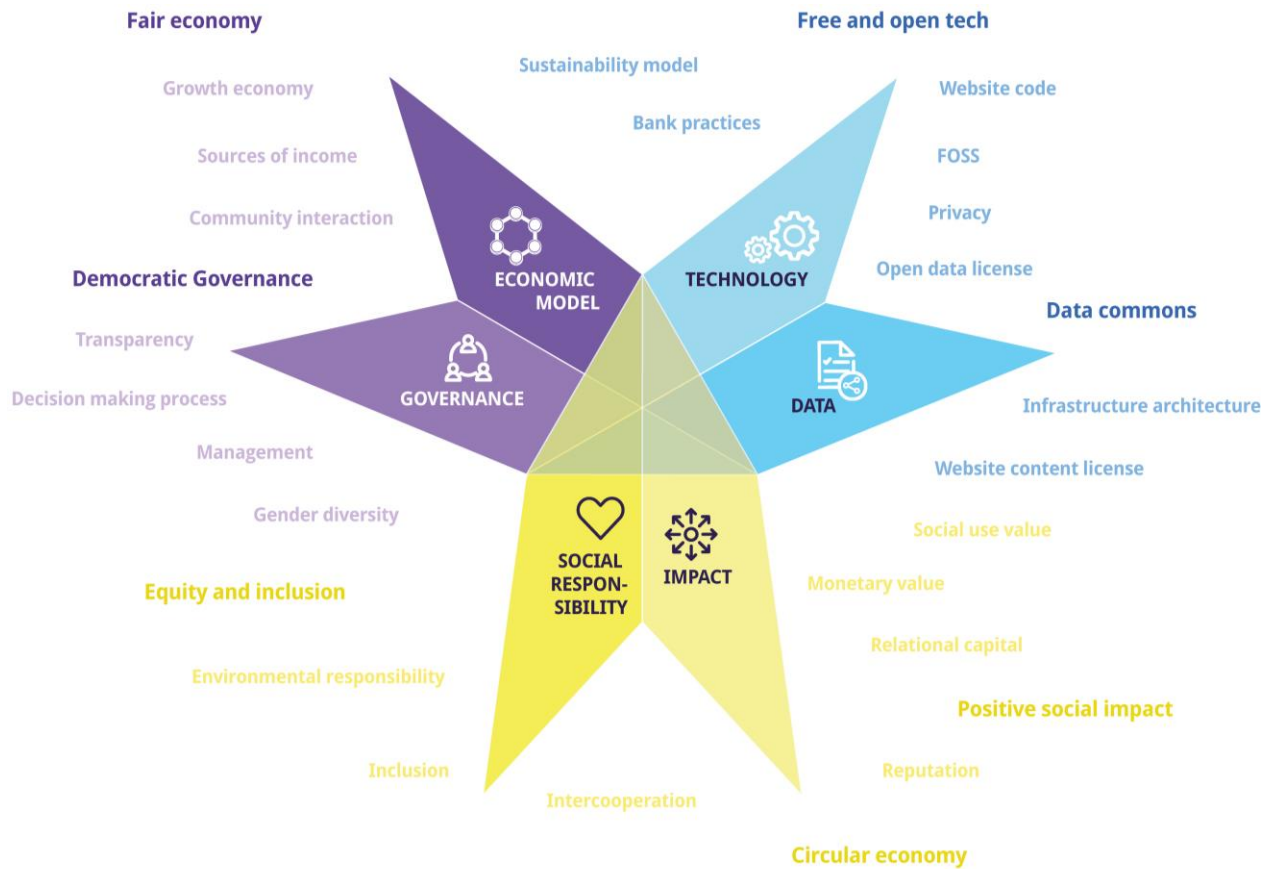
Figure 2: Star of democratic qualities of digital platforms

Milan established a general set of criteria to highlight the platforms it wishes to promote, but without strictly excluding others. They favour:

- **Respect of regulations**

- **Sustainability of the business models and consumer behaviours**

- **Inclusiveness in the design and delivery**

- **Reinforcement of trust and creation of new networks**

- **Collaboration with and between citizens**

- **Transparency**

- **Open technologies and hardware**

- **Optimization of resources**

Seoul set criteria to officially designate "sharing companies" which receive a certification from the city to help them gain visibility and consumers trust. The criteria are divided into 3 main categories:

- **Sharing expandability**, related to the sharing activities,

- **Substantiality,** related to the viability of the economic model and potential legal conflicts, and

- **Societal connection,** related to the social and economic impact, as well as cooperation with other organizations.

While all three take into account the social impact, as well as the viability of the economic model, **only Milan and Barcelona include the knowledge and technology policy of platforms in the**

criteria. Moreover, **Barcelona is the only city taking explicitly into account the governance model. Even if Milan looks at citizens participation, it is the only city not including the legal conflicts.**

2. Cities sharing economy agenda

2.1. Cities' main goals regarding sharing economy

When analysing the seventeen different answers to the question regarding the cities' main goals of sharing economy policy, we find that **the most selected goals are "promoting innovation" and "community development/gender, social and inclusion goals", both selected by 64.71% of the cities.** It is followed by "economic development/employment" for 58.82% of respondents; "regulating to help prevent and minimize conflicts created by platform disruptive impacts" for 52.94% of respondents, and "improving the environment" for 41.18% of respondents. "Consumer choice and protection" occupies the last place with 29.41% of answers (see Table 2).

Promoting innovation	64.71%
Community development / gender, social and inclusion goals	64.71%
Economic development/Employment	58.82%
Regulating to help, prevent and minimize conflicts created by platform disruptive impacts	52.94%

Improving the environment	41.18%
Consumer choice and protection	29.41%

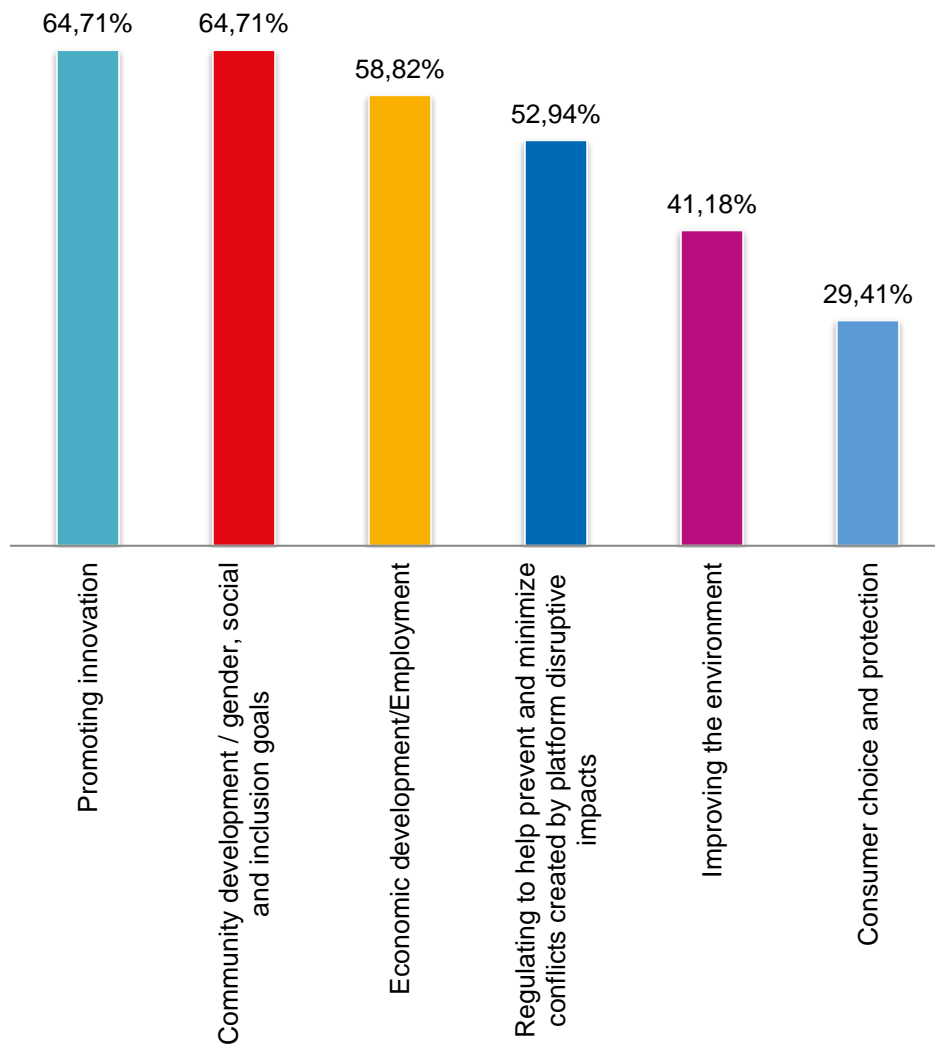Table 2: Cities' main goals regarding sharing economy.

Chart 1: Cities' main goals regarding sharing economy.

— Main goals and cities size

Cities size seems to be connected to certain orientation of their policies. Cities that have both social inclusion and environmental goals are small and mid-sized, having between 500,000 and 1,000,0000 inhabitants in their urban area: Ghent, Gothenburg, Maribor, Umeå and Vitoria-Gasteiz. The only exception is Stockholm with more than 1.5 million inhabitants in its urban area. These cities have a history of involvement either with the social and solidarity economy or with environmental policy.

Only 4 (New York, San Francisco, Toronto, and Vienna) out of 10 who selected "Promoting Innovation" also did "Consumer Protection". Despite not being able to study correlations, this could suggest that the **debate about public policy is still focused around how policies must encourage potential beneficial innovation, but also ensure competition and consumer protection, preserve labour rights, and avoid the erosion of the tax base** (*Sunil and Noah*, 2015).

The nine cities which selected "regulation in order to cope with the negative impacts of the platform economy" as a goal are, in their majority, larger than the ones that have social and environmental goals. These are Amsterdam, Barcelona, Ghent, Milan, New York, San Francisco, São Paulo, Toronto, and Vienna. This can be attributed to the fact that they are the ones most affected by the activities of Airbnb and Uber, which triggered protest from both incumbents in their sector and residents affected the changes in their neighbourhoods.

2.2. Policy interventions

The policy interventions mostly used are "event organization to foster the networking of the sector" and "regulations on activities related to sharing economy in your city", both of them used by approximately 60% of the sample (see Table 3). Half of the cities mention having "Agreements with platforms on data provision", doing "Research" and creating "Innovation programs". 47.06% of cities have "incubating programs", 41.18% "grants and funding" and 29.41% do "education and outreach" or have some "specific program to promote sharing economy employment". Moreover, just four cities mentioned to have lobbied with other government structures (Amsterdam, Barcelona, Seoul and Vienna) and to be using internationalization and support programs as a policy intervention (Amsterdam, Barcelona, New York and Kobe). No city mentions doing care work and activities as a way of policy intervention. See the following table on policy interventions on sharing economy.

Policy interventions	Percentage
Event organization to foster the networking of the sector	64.71%
Regulations on activities related to sharing economy in your city	58.82%
Agreements with platforms on data provision	52.94%
Research (i.e., mapping expansion, impact monitoring)	52.94%
Innovation programs, such as lab support or pilot projects	52.94%

|	
Incubating programs	47.06%
Grants and funding	41.18%
Projects promoting gender equality	35.29%
Partnership with platforms on collaborative public service provision	35.29%
Specific training programs to promote sharing economy employment	29.41%
Education and outreach	29.41%
Lobby to other government levels	23.53%
Internationalization support programs	23.53%
Care work and activities	0.00%

Table 3. Types of policy interventions (n=17)
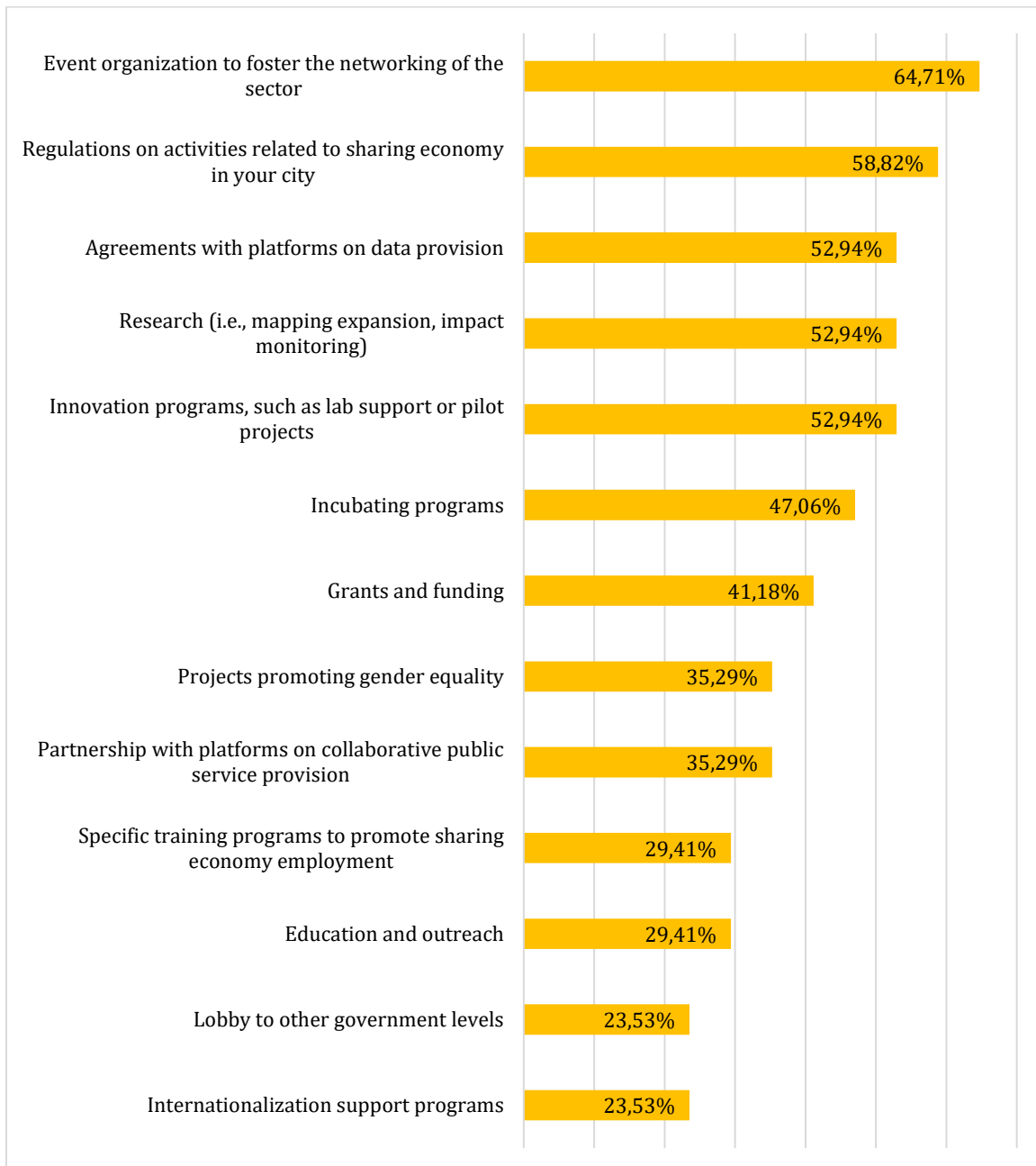
Chart 2: Types of policy interventions

The most used measures reflect the initial need of locally structuring the sharing economy

whether by meeting the local stakeholders, helping foment an ecosystem, or by regulating.

Cities which focus on extractivist platforms are mostly using regulations and agreements, while the cities which focus on community-based initiatives are the ones most likely to give grants and funding. Other policies do not seem to be related to any orientation. Nonetheless, we note that all six cities which partnered with platforms on collaborative public service provision (Barcelona, Maribor, Milan, San Francisco, Seoul, and Umeå) have also used incubating programs and innovation programs, such as lab support or pilot projects.

Again, **the size of cities plays a role in the types of policy interventions developed**. **None of the cities with less than 500,000 habitants (Ghent, Maribor, Umeå, and Vitoria-Gasteiz) has arrived to an agreement with data platforms on data provision.** This could be a sign that small cities have less power to negotiate with platforms, disadvantaged in that respect compared to bigger cities that represent a more strategic market for platforms. It may also still not be a priority in their current political agenda. It could also be a clue that these cities are probably more depending on national and transnational regulations. **These smaller cities that are rarely in cities' alliances so far could be the ones benefiting the most from city lobbying.** Finally, five cities have not used any type of regulation intervention: Buenos Aires, Ghent, Gothenburg, Seoul and Umeå.

It is worth mentioning that cities which selected many policy interventions can still be in the early stages of the policy implementation. It is the case, for example, of Umeå. The city is engaging in different policy interventions through the "Sharing Cities Sweden", but they are focused on building up knowledge and experience and they are using the network as a way of monitoring. It remains to be seen how these interventions will develop over time, which could be documented by future research.

2.3. Policy interventions regarding gender and inclusion

Finally, of the surveyed cities, **35.3% had a specific sharing economy policy regarding gender and/or inclusion, and 25.3% had a general city policy regarding gender** that should be applied to all public policies, among those to the sharing economy.

The **specific measures** taken to favour gender and/or inclusion by cities are the following:

- **Regulation of gig-economy platforms that favours the employment of women**. In **São Paulo**, all ridesharing apps pay a local pay-per-mile tax to the city hall, and the tax is cheaper for women driver.

- **Social entrepreneurship for targeted populations** such as elderly women (**Maribor**)

- **Selection criteria including gender balance** into the directorate of sharing economy companies or the incubator with extra punctuation for women (**Milan**)

- **Collaboration with platforms to deliver services that favour inclusion**, such as the partnership between a meal-delivery platform and the city pass for low-income earners and the elderly in **Amsterdam**

- **Control of data-bias in the government's algorithms**, to prevent bias regarding characteristics such as race, gender or sexual orientation (**NYC**)

3. Policy design process

This section will present the results regarding the policy design process. It will refer first to government structure, cities collaborations, and participatory methodologies. Afterwards it will focus on cities engagement with other actors of the ecosystem beyond city governments.

3.1. Government structure

In terms of government structure, **all cities but Buenos Aires or Kobe have some form of government structure addressing specifically sharing economy.** The personnel responsible of sharing economy policies is working within existing departments.

The first result of the survey **regarding government structure is that the economy and innovation departments are the most often in charge of the sharing economy policy** (see Table 4). In 35.3% of cases, the economy department is the one in charge (or leading) of the sharing economy policy, and in 13.3% of the cases, it is the innovation one. **We also find other departments involved:** Consumer and Citizen (Gothenburg), Mobility (Seoul and Toronto), Labor (São Paulo), Development Projects and Investments Service (Maribor), or the Office of the mayor (NYC).

Department in charge	Percentage
Economy department	35.3%
Innovation department	11.8%
Others	41.1%
None	11.8%

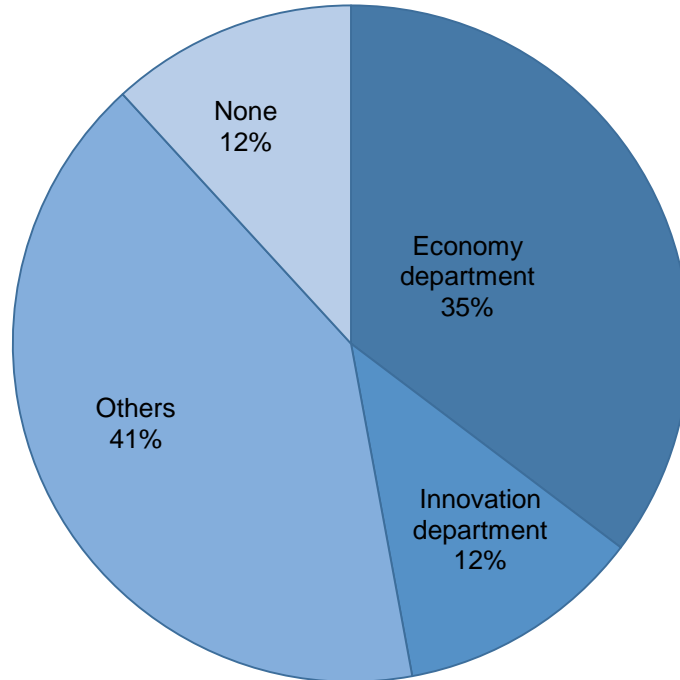Table 4: Government structure addressing specifically sharing economy

Chart 3: Government structure addressing specifically sharing economy

The second insight is the fact that **different departments address different aspects of the sharing economy policy and exchange information or even coordinate their action, rather than operate in administrative "silos"**. 47% of the surveyed cities have two or more departments working on their sharing economy policy, a third of them with a lead of the Economy department (Amsterdam, Barcelona, and Vienna). The wide participation and collaboration among policy departments responds to the diversity of sectors of the sharing economy. As the sharing economy impacts many sectors ranging from housing, to tourism, mobility, labour, consumption, and so on, different departments may have to intervene. As explained by the respondent of Umeå:

> **"The municipality doesn't have a unit for the sharing economy. It can be found in different parts of the city depending on the nature of the sharing services. From traffic planning, business department, culture department, strategic planning and environmental department to mention a few".**
>
> (SCSO7, member Umea City Hall, November 2018).

3.2. Collaborations among cities

All surveyed cities are involved in exchanging with other cities on their experience tackling the sharing economy. Many cities are reaching directly to their counterparts to obtain detailed information on specific policies, notably in terms of regulation of homesharing and ridesharing and on how to monitor their implementation.

To go beyond one-on-one exchange, **municipalities have started working together to handle different fronts.** On the regulation side, **13 European cities** (Amsterdam, Berlin, Bordeaux,

Brussels, Cracovia, Lisbon, Madrid, Paris, Reykjavik, Valencia, Vienna, and the German Cities Association) **have come together to lobby the European Commission** for more favourable regulations, focusing on claims of accessing platform data access by cities. **City networks, such as Eurocities**, have also incorporated sharing as part of their agenda of topics.

Another example of network is the **Sharing Cities Alliance**. Stemming from ShareNL, a city network that fosters city-to-city collaboration on sharing economy policies. Best practices are shared on their online database and through online seminars and a magazine. So far, the cities of Amsterdam, Barcelona, Copenhagen, Dallas, Ghent, Gothenburg, Malmö, New York City, Seoul, Singapore, Tel Aviv, The Hague, Toronto, and Washington have joined the Alliance. Finally, **regional cities conferences,** such as the **Cities Conference with Eastern European cities on Share Economy in Vienna in March 2017, or and international ones, such as the Sharing Cities Summit held in 2016 in Amsterdam, in 2017 in New York City and in 2018 in Barcelona,** enable cities to share experiences and build common lines of actions.

3.3. Participatory methodologies

The adoption of participatory methodologies for the development of policies of SE seems to be very common between the cities. Only two (São Paulo and Kobe) out of seventeen cities have not engaged stakeholders nor applied any type of participative process when introducing a policy intervention in the sharing economy sector (see Table 5). 83% of respondents created a dedicated task force or working group, 73% of respondents organized meet-ups with sharing economy stakeholders, 64% devised a participatory process, 31% used a diagnosis or mapping of sharing economy initiatives in their city, 37.5% worked with consulting services, and 31%

worked with a research group. Cities either worked with one or the other, except for Vienna and Maribor that worked with both. Only two cities, both Asian, state working with neither. These results can contribute to the debate about platform economy as a challenging phenomenon for city governments who are now expected to innovate in their policy process.

Participatory process interventions	Percentage
Dedicated task force or working group	83%
Organized meet-ups with sharing economy stakeholders	73%
Devised a participatory process	64%
Used a diagnosis or mapping of sharing economy initiatives	31%
Worked with consulting services	37.5%
Worked with a research group	31%

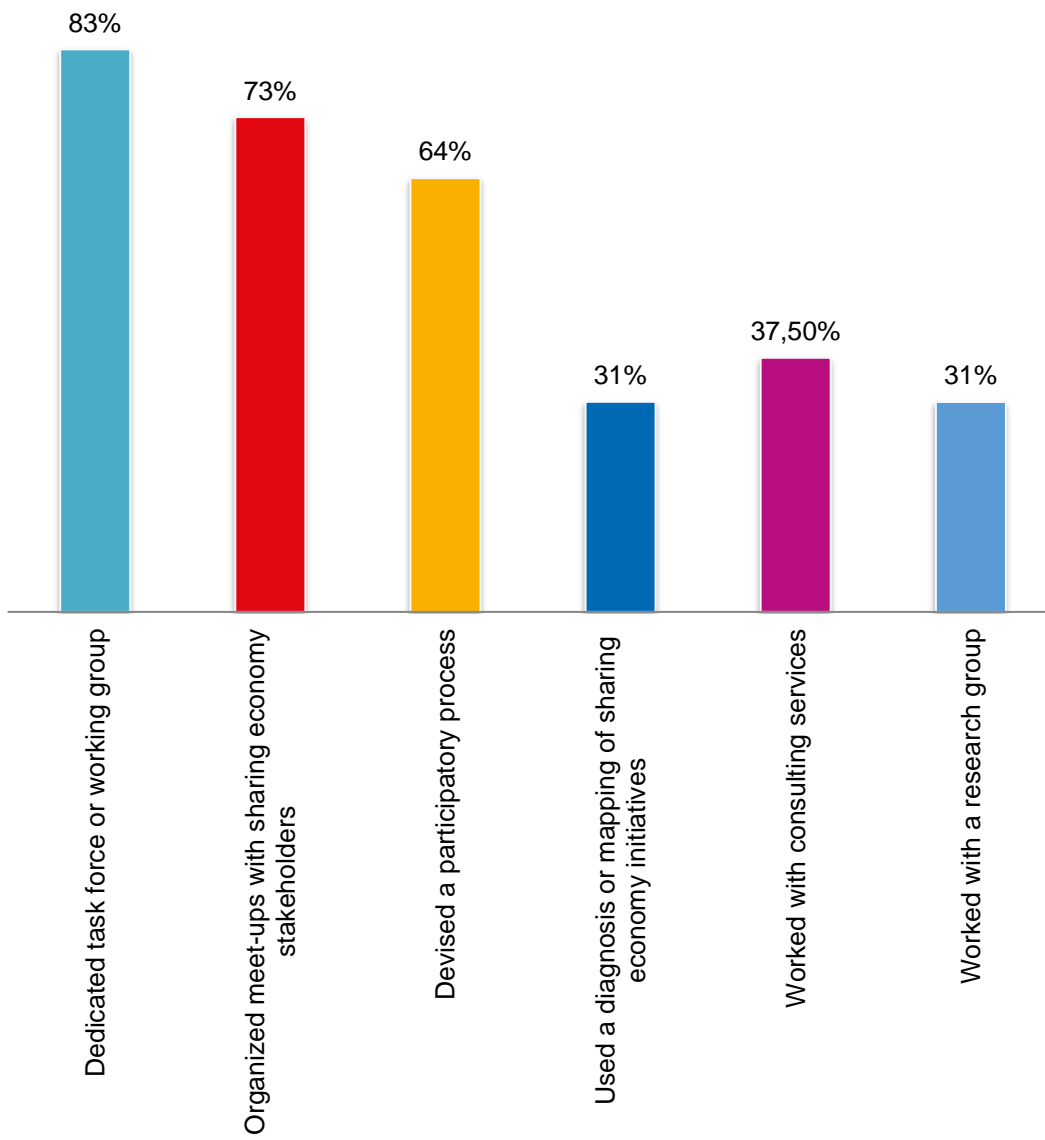Table 5. Participatory methodology policy interventions (n=17)

Chart 4: Participatory methodology policy interventions

When analysing if a government decides to engage different actors in their policy making or not, **we can state that the only two cities that are not doing it -São Paulo and Kobe- have introduced fewer policy interventions than the average city and they act just as regulators and promoters.** This could mean that in these cases they are just starting to face the first challenges of the sharing economy. For example, the experience of São Paulo can be almost reduced to the regulation of Uber. As the respondent of São Paulo states:

> **"I think we had a huge challenge concerning regulation of Uber, but we already did it. So, I think now it's ok. I think that nowadays we need to increase sharing fundamentally about small and medium enterprises".**

(SCSE5, São Paulo City Hall member, November 2018).

3.4. Beyond cities administration: engagement with other actors

Third sector actors composed of foundations and associations in the field of sharing **have a central position in connecting the private sector, start-ups, public agencies and the local community.** They are also very frequent. 50% of the companies and enterprises of the sharing ecosystem are not platforms themselves but offer services to the platforms. They can be consultancies, networks, research groups, specialised media or third sector foundations and associations, and lobby industries.

Actors of the ecosystem have played a lobbying and consulting role, drawing the municipalities' attention to the challenges and opportunities of the platform economy and helping them develop policies, **such as Shareable in the United States, Procomuns at Catalonia that has created highly participative forums on sharing policies, or ShareNL in Amsterdam**. The

international network **Ouishare has created some tools for cities** to approach sharing practices and done research on their impact on cities. Others have helped implement some cities' ambitious strategies to become sharing cities, such as **Creative Commons Korea, now C.O.D.E, which helped implement Seoul's Sharing City information and communication strategy**.

Some countries, such as the UK, Denmark, Sweden, have developed national programmes with pilot cities bringing together different stakeholders. A good example is **Sharing Cities Sweden** with four testbeds in Gothenburg, Malmö, Stockholm and Umeå, that allow the cities' administrations, the university, the private sector and civil society, to devise, develop, implement and monitor different programs.

Last, national sharing economy associations have emerged, especially in Asia and Europe, created by main industry players. They lobby for policy and regulation changes, organize networking events and support the development of the sector. Some, **like the Sharing Economy Association Japan,** have a specific Sharing city program, to support cities in understanding the sector and develop policies.

4. Dimensions of policy in cities

In this section, we will provide an **analysis of cities typologies regarding** how far they engage with **four governance dimensions: the city as a monitor, as a regulator, as a promoter, and as a collaborator**. In this regard, we have distinguished four main dimensions of governance that cities can combine, which are not mutually exclusive:

- The city as a **monitor**, meaning the city monitors the development of sharing practices and initiatives to decide how to intervene);

- The city as a **regulator**, meaning the city sets and adapts its rules;

- The city as a **promoter**, meaning the city intervenes directly by promoting sharing services and providing spaces, and indirectly by designing infrastructure, services and incentives for sharing economy activities;

- The city as a **collaborator**, meaning the city partners with platforms or organizations to deliver new services to the citizens.

Our classification builds upon and contrasts with other classifications. In contrast to Zvolska *et al.* (2018)[2], our categorization emphasizes how the government positions itself towards platforms. It also considers how far cities' governments are pushing their relationship with the platforms. In this sense, the model takes into account more laissez-faire approaches but also a possible

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[2] Zvolska *et al.* (2018) developed the following framework when analyzing roles that cities assume when governing urban sharing: the city as regulator, the city as provider, the city offers financial (i.e. "city as investor") and infrastructural (i.e. "city as host") support to organizations, the city as enabler, the city can facilitate collaboration among organizations (i.e. "city as matchmaker"), creation of partnerships with municipal actors (i.e. "city as partner"), or engaged in disseminating the best urban sharing practices and in marketing them to different stakeholders (i.e. "city as communicator"), the city as consumer, the city adopts urban sharing practices in their own operations.

evolution through time. As we consider, it is likely that a city may start with a monitoring role, before implementing a regulating and promoting role and finally becoming a collaborator.

Cases	Monitor	Promoter	Regulator	Collaborator
Amsterdam	■	■	■	
Barcelona	■	■	■	■
Buenos Aires		■		
Ghent	■	■		
Gothenburg	■	■		
Kobe		■	■	
Maribor		■	■	■
Milano	■	■	■	■
New York	■	■	■	
San Francisco	■	■	■	■
São Paulo			■	
Seoul		■		■
Stockholm		■		

Toronto			
Umeå			
Vienna			
Vitoria -Gasteiz			

Table 6. City government's roles

Role	Monitor	Promoter	Regulator	Collaborator
Percentage	52.94%	88.24%	64.71%	35.29%

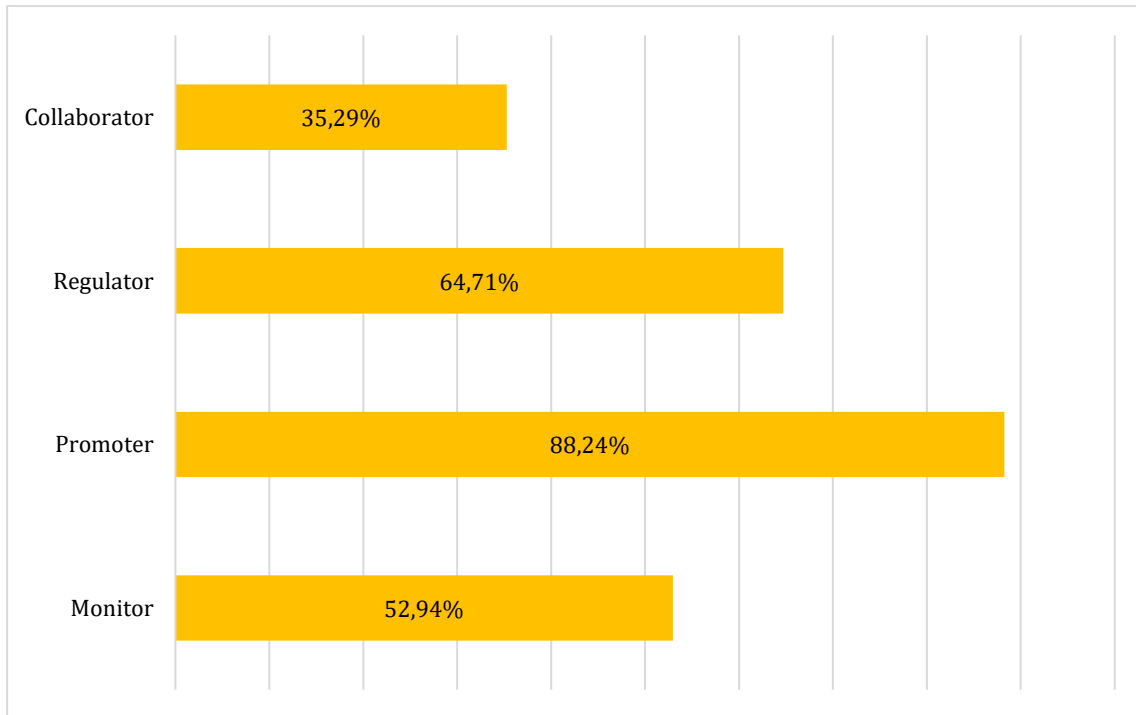Table 7. City government's percentage roles (n=17)

Chart 5: City government's percentage roles

The most adopted role by cities is the promoter one (82% of the sample), followed by the regulator role (65% of the sample), monitor (53% of the sample) and finally collaborator (29% of the sample) (see Table 7).

According to our data, **the only cities that are having a role in the four dimensions are Milan, Barcelona and San Francisco.** Most cities are adopting between two and three roles. Only Buenos Aires, São Paulo, Stockholm, Toronto and Umeå are adopting just one role, none of them is acting as a collaborator (see Table 6).

— One role: Buenos Aires, São Paulo, Stockholm, and Toronto.

Promoter:

- **Buenos Aires** government is acting as an active promoter of initiatives. For example, through "BAElige" - a project of citizen participation where city residents can propose and vote initiatives that will receive public funding- and in the collaboration in the realization of different events.

- **Stockholm** city is working a lot on data protection. The city is organising several events and promoting activities. It is also a member of the "Sharing Cities Sweden".

Regulator:

- **São Paulo** has only faced the problem with Uber and its regulation. They have acted as regulators, and now they have returned to a more passive role (wait and see). They seem to be monitoring in order to decide how to promote sharing fundamentally about small and

medium enterprises.

- **Toronto**'s city government has reached agreements on data provision with platforms and they have established new Vehicle-for-Hire regulations and new regulations for Short Term Rentals.

— Two roles: Ghent, Gothenburg, Kobe, Umeå, and Vitoria-Gasteiz.

Monitor and Promoter:

- **Ghent** is monitoring, through a mapping done by the P2P foundation, and promoting indirectly through grants projects that contribute to societal challenges and the organization of events. The city is still in the early phases of its policy development.

- **Gothenburg** is a city aiming at contributing to sustainability as well as community development without stifling innovation. Nevertheless, despite not having consumer choice and protection as one of their main sharing economy goals, it is the administration ("Consumer and Citizen Service") that is dealing with it. The city council is acting both as a promoter and as a monitor. It is also part of the "Sharing Cities Sweden".

- **Umeå**, despite engaging in different policy interventions through the "Sharing Cities Sweden", is focused on building up knowledge and experience and it is using the network as a way of monitoring. In other words, the city is using the network as a way of monitoring.

Promoter and Regulator:

- **Kobe** is a city focusing more on the promotion of innovation as a driver of economic

development and employment. It is one of the few cities that has applied internationalization policies. Kobe has established a connection with Silicon Valley to create an exchange development program for the creation of start-ups.

- **Vitoria-Gasteiz** is a small city where city government has acted as a promoter and regulator.

— Three roles: Amsterdam, Maribor, New York, Seoul, Vienna

Regulator, Promoter and Collaborator:

- **Maribor** government is playing three different roles: regulator, promoter and collaborator. Their main action as collaborators was through a partnership with an enterprise for the creation of a low carbon sharing mobility platform.

Monitor, Regulator and Promoter:

- **Amsterdam** was the first city organizing the Sharing Cities Summit. It has a well-developed ecosystem. It is one of the most active cities acting as a monitor, promoter and regulator.

- **New York** was probably one of the first cities worldwide facing the challenges and opportunities of the platform economy. Its main goal is to leverage their residents' rights and protect them while promoting innovation. Recently, the city has launched an algorithm task force which aims to help the city council understand how to use data and to prevent the bias of their tools according to key variables.

- **Vienna** is clearly one of the cities facing the trade-off between consumer choice and protection and the promotion of innovation. It has acted in three dimensions as a monitor, promoter and regulator. But the last one has a higher relevance in their policy actions. One of the most relevant cases regulated by the city is the case of the accommodation platforms.

Collaborator, Monitor and Promoter:

- **Seoul** metropolitan government works on the sharing economy as a monitor, a promotor and a collaborator. Its role as a collaborator is particularly important since SMG worked with Socar, a car sharing company, to create SMG's car-sharing service "Nanum Car".

— Four roles: Barcelona, Milan and San Francisco

- **Barcelona**'s city government is undertaking different policy actions. For instance, the city government has created an interdepartmental group in order to work on building a common framework for platform economies.

- **Milan** is the only city in the sample studied that has acted in the four dimensions. The city government has promoted a negotiating table with delivery platforms, workers and trade unions in relation to riders' work conditions. It even demanded a social investigation to collect data about workers' conditions and needs. It also offers grants and funding options and other policy interventions as a promoter. As a collaborator the municipality realized two editions of the "School of Sharing Economy" in collaboration with AirBnB. Finally, Milan is one of the cities where more research has been done about the sharing economy in the

city.

- **San Francisco** is trying to attract innovative ideas and the government prefers not to intervene unless necessary. Moreover, the respondent comments that San Francisco wants to promote responsible alternatives, emphasizing that letting platforms with negative impacts grow and then regulate them is not a good answer, because they are becoming global problems.

Finally, multi-level governance seems to play an important role inside the sharing economy sector. The different roles that cities adopt can be highly influenced by traditional government structures, which without doubt can be an interesting research area.

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