

Sharing Cities

A Case for Truly
Smart and
Sustainable Cities

Duncan McLaren and
Julian Agyeman

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In *Sharing Cities*, Duncan McLaren and Julian Agyeman argue that the intersection of cities' highly networked physical space with new digital technologies and new mediated forms of sharing offers cities the opportunity to connect smart technology to justice, solidarity, and sustainability. McLaren and Agyeman explore these opportunities in the changing nature of sharing. Drawing on detailed case studies of San Francisco, Seoul, Copenhagen, Medellín, Amsterdam, and Bengaluru (formerly Bangalore), they propose a new "sharing paradigm" to envision models of sharing that are not always commercial but also communal, encouraging trust and collaboration. Their case for sharing and solidarity offers a powerful alternative for urban futures to conventional "race-to-the-bottom" narratives of competition, enclosure, and division.

Duncan McLaren, former Chief Executive of Friends of the Earth Scotland, is Director of McLaren Environmental Research and Consultancy. Julian Agyeman is Professor of Urban and Environmental Policy and Planning at Tufts University. He is the coeditor of *Just Sustainabilities: Development in an Unequal World* (MIT Press) and other books.

NAMED ONE OF NATURE'S "BOOKS AND ARTS" BLOG'S TOP 20 FOR 2015

"In *Sharing Cities*, environmental consultant Duncan McLaren and urban-policy scholar Julian Agyeman lay out, with impressive depth, clarity and wisdom, a comprehensive prescription for a sharing paradigm. . . . bottom-up ventures that are digital or based in communities, rather than commercial."

Nature

"A wake-up call to policy makers, businesspeople, and community leaders: There has never been a better—or more urgent—time to build a shared urban future."

April Rinne, *Stanford Social Innovation Review*

"Offers a persuasive case for sharing and solidarity at a time where already over half of the world's population lives in cities, and makes a valid and timely contribution to the plea for building a shared urban future."

Patrycja Długosz, *Global Policy Journal*

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When Mayor of London Ken Livingstone, Mayor Michael Bloomberg from New York, and others set up the C40 Cities Network a decade ago, they had the vision that cities will be the locations where the world's greatest environmental challenges will be solved. As nations continue to stumble and falter and are seemingly unable to make sufficient progress on issues such as climate change, their vision is becoming shared by many more people.

That you can't fix the planet without fixing our cities is obvious, but less obvious is that cities can fix the planet.

A large majority of the population of the global North live in cities already, and city living will become the norm for most of humanity in coming decades. These are the places where most consumption takes place. The energy consumed in our cities to heat our homes and power our transport is driving climate change. The food we import to our cities, particularly meat and dairy produce, is leading to the destruction of wildlife-rich habitats across the globe. The consumer goods that we take for granted in the global North gobble up resources extracted thousands of miles away, far too often with dreadful environmental impact and working conditions that were outlawed in the US and UK over a hundred of years ago. The waste belching out of exhaust pipes, chimneys, and sewage systems is poisoning the air and water that we and every other species on the planet depend on.

Viewed like this our cities are driving us towards a dystopian hell of environmental collapse and gross social inequalities.

But as this book makes abundantly clear, there is the potential for the world's cities to drive a very different future; a future where cities take their environmental and social responsibilities seriously; a future where cities transform themselves and the rest of the world; a future where cities fix not just themselves but also fix the planet.

Central to this more hopeful vision is sharing.

Sharing is not new. The vast majority of us share our journeys to work or play, for example on the subways of America's great cities, or the London Underground, or the Bus Rapid Transit Systems springing up across Latin America. The green spaces in our cities are shared, and their loss or privatization is fiercely resisted. And it isn't so long ago that libraries were where most of us got the books we wanted to read.

But sharing can and must go much further.

The tantalizing prospect offered in this book by McLaren and Agyeman is that we are just starting to embark on a sharing revolution. A revolution which builds upon the digital world of the twenty-first century; that utilizes the ingenuity and imagination that springs from the cross-fertilization of ideas from the diversity of people living in cities; that builds empathy and understanding between people rather than fear and loathing; that leads to much greater levels of sharing of stuff and much greater resource efficiency; that takes naturally evolved cultural traditions of sharing within families and local communities, and reinvents them to enable sharing between citizens and strangers; and that fundamentally transforms the dominant world view that individualism and material possessions are central to what it is to be human.

The northern cities of the United Kingdom led the Industrial Revolution. The thousands of chimneys belching out smoke were seen as progress. That children born in these cities were condemned to live in slums, live short lives, and suffer from illnesses such as rickets due to lack of sunlight was seen by some as a price worth paying. In these cities the chimney stacks and slums have now gone. But as we all know, they have not disappeared. They now dominate many cities in China, India, and other fast-developing nations. If the Sharing Revolution is to be truly transformational, it must not only complete the transformation of the cities of the global North it must also transform cities across the globe.

And it can. In different ways, cities such as Seoul and Medellin are leading the revolution. And sharing is still part of daily life for many people in many cities across the global South. The Sharing Revolution isn't a revolution to be led by wealthy countries and copied by the rest; it is a shared revolution with cities across the world learning from each other. The C40 Network and the Sharing Cities Network run by Shareable.net are testament to this.

Mayors Bloomberg and Livingstone had a vision. The C40 Network that they gave birth to has already enabled the world's largest cities to learn from each other and learn from the most innovative smaller cities across the globe. As cities across the globe fight for and in many cases get greater fiscal and regulatory autonomy, such sharing is more critical. But in this book McLaren and Agyeman offer something new, something exciting, something earth-shattering—that if cities become Sharing Cities then we will not only fix the planet but will also transform the prospects for social justice. Now that's a message well worth sharing.

Mike Childs

Friends of the Earth, London

Introduction

Our purpose in writing this book is as bold as it is clear. We believe that the world's cities, where the majority of people now live, could become more socially just, more environmentally sustainable and more innovative through the twenty-first-century reinvention and revival of one of our most basic traits: sharing. We will demonstrate how, with modern technologies, the intersection of urban space and cyberspace provides an unrivaled platform for more just, inclusive, and environmentally efficient economies and societies rooted in a sharing culture.

Yet this opportunity is currently being overlooked. Cities have always been about shared space, human interaction and encounter, and the exchange of goods and services through marketplaces and moneylending. A successful city needs good governance and collective civic structures to facilitate and regulate the interface between the shared public realm and private interests, and to enable effective and fair sharing of resources and opportunities. In their more recent incarnations however, *sharing* and *shareability* are typically too narrowly conceived and perceived as primarily about economic transactions: a so-called sharing economy. The opportunity is so much greater than Airbnb, Spotify, middle-class “swishing” and getting “bums on bikes” through urban bikesharing. We will show how a cultural and political understanding—and implementation—of sharing in all its rich variations can overcome the shortcomings of commercial approaches and transform how we think about sharing and cities.

This introduction highlights the challenges and opportunities of humanity's increasingly urban future, sets out our case for sharing cities as a response to those challenges, and introduces some critical concepts associated with what we call the “sharing paradigm” and the necessary socio-cultural and political changes needed to bring it about.

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Possible City Futures, Challenges, and Opportunities

Ever since the origins of cities, there has been much talk about city futures. In the past 40 years alone David Harvey has focused on social justice and cities;¹ Manuel Castells on urbanism,² networking and information;³ Saskia Sassen on “the global city”;⁴ Leonie Sandercock on the city as cosmopolis;⁵ Richard Florida on the creative class and cities;⁶ Charles Landry on the creative city;⁷ Jeb Brugmann on the productive city;⁸ Susan Fainstein on the just city;⁹ Edward Glaeser on the triumphant city;¹⁰ and Harvey again on rebel cities, to name but a few.¹¹ What all these different visions of urban futures share is hope and an abiding belief that cities could be the best form of organization our species can achieve. Different conceptions abound, some associated with particular authors, whereas others—such as “sustainable,” “social,” or “participatory” cities—are more general in nature. Planners, architects, activists, and urban consultants promote and refine such ideas; arguably the most current, powerful, and influential urban zeitgeist is the “smart city.” Smart cities invest in high-tech information and communication technologies (ICT) to “wire-up” the city and enhance its efficiency, boost the ICT sector as a motor of growth and property development, and attract skilled talent by delivering a high quality of life. One of our aims in this book is to show how truly smart cities must also be sharing cities.

The challenge and opportunity of the sharing city is one and the same, namely that around 53 percent of the world’s population currently lives in cities.¹² This is set to rise to 64.1 percent in the global South and 85.9 percent in the global North by 2050,¹³ intersecting an even faster rise in populations with access to cyberspace.¹⁴ This rapid rate of urbanization highlights the interlinked economic, social, and environmental challenges of 1 billion people living in extreme poverty, amid rising income inequality and the lack of affordable housing, in a world slowly facing up to the realities of multiple resource scarcities, biodiversity loss, and climate change. According to leading scientists, we are living outside four of the nine planetary boundaries that constitute a safe operating space for humanity: the climate system, biodiversity loss, land-system change and phosphorus and nitrogen cycling.¹⁵ To these planetary (environmental) ceilings within which we should live, Oxfam’s Kate Raworth,¹⁶ building on earlier work in Europe and Latin America,¹⁷ adds a “social foundation.” As she notes, this social foundation

forms an inner boundary, below which are many dimensions of human deprivation. The environmental ceiling forms an outer boundary, beyond which are many dimensions of environmental degradation. Between the two boundaries lies an area—

shaped like a doughnut—which represents an environmentally safe and socially just space for humanity to thrive in. It is also the space in which inclusive and sustainable economic development takes place.¹⁸

In this formulation Raworth reflects one of us who promoted “environmental space,” defined as follows: “a rights-based approach that conceptualizes sustainable development in terms of access for all to a fair share in the limited environmental resources on which healthy quality of life depends.”¹⁹

Far from being the antithesis of sustainability that some would have us believe, well-planned and -governed cities are potentially the form of human organization that could keep us within environmental limits while simultaneously building the social foundations prescribed by human rights, dignity, and a decent quality of life. For this to happen, however, we must not only recognize the place of cities in global environmental, social, and economic systems, but also build on the inherent social, economic, and environmental efficiencies of urban living. This means understanding cities as the political, economic, and cultural drivers of global society, and thus linking the sharing of urban spaces to the sharing of global resources. It also means understanding cities in themselves as shared entities with shared public services (such as healthcare, childcare, education, and libraries); shared infrastructural resources (such as shared streets, mass transit, electricity, water and sewerage, and shared spaces (such as public spaces and green spaces). But we go still further in seeing not only a “right to the city” and to the “urban commons” (common resources, managed and sustained by our collective activities), but also a right to *remake* them,²⁰ as being fundamental to any form of urban social contract worthy of the title “sharing city.”

Sharing Cities as Just Sustainabilities

The concept of sharing cities represents yet another powerful expression of “just sustainabilities”—the idea that there is no universal “green” pathway to sustainability, that sustainability is context-specific but justice is an intrinsic element in any coherent route:

[Just] sustainability cannot be simply a “green” or “environmental” concern, important though “environmental” aspects of sustainability are. A truly sustainable society is one where wider questions of social needs and welfare, and economic opportunity are integrally related to environmental limits imposed by supporting ecosystems.²¹

Sharing cities—as we envision them here—represent the nub of the social justice challenge to sustainability, a topic we discuss more fully in

chapter 4. Here we simply want to help the reader understand our motivations with a couple of examples. First, a representative from a wildly successful major-city bikeshare program contacted one of us recently with the question: "How can we get more low income and people of color using our bike program"? On the surface, this may seem like a harmless, even altruistic question. It nevertheless belies a deeper problem common in "green" cities discourses and in many sharing economy programs. The problem is simply that most bikeshare programs (and many other sharing economy programs) were never designed with equity or social justice in mind, nor were low-income people involved in the visioning or design of such programs. A recent study found that only 9 of 21 programs reviewed had even factored equity considerations into their station siting.²² Social justice is typically an afterthought; it is seen as a "retrofit" once the scheme is up and running "successfully" for the targeted "ordinary" users.²³

Second, Enrique Peñalosa, former mayor of Bogotá, Colombia, hit the nail on the head when he said an advanced democratic city is not one where even the poor own cars, but one where even the rich ride buses. Peñalosa and his fellow former mayor Jaime Lerner of Curitiba, Brazil, were setting practical foundations for the idea of sharing cities by emphasizing the *equity* and *access* dimensions of their innovative bus rapid transit (BRT) schemes, which allowed access to facilities and services irrespective of car ownership and wealth.

The Case for Sharing Cities

When we talk of "sharing cities" we deliberately embrace the ambiguity of the verb and adjective of "sharing." In this book we set out a case for *understanding* cities as shared spaces, and *acting* to share them fairly. In rough outline that case runs as follows.

Humans are natural sharers. Traditional "sociocultural" sharing happens everywhere, but it has largely broken down in modern cities in the face of commercialization of the public realm, the increasingly rapid pace of economic and technological change, and the destabilization and fragmentation of human identities these trends have engendered.

Nonetheless the future of humanity is urban. Demographic, economic, and cultural forces are bringing us together in larger and larger urban regions, particularly in the global South. This is not a disaster for humanity as the physical nature of urban space facilitates—and in some ways necessitates—sharing: of resources, infrastructures, goods, services, experiences, and capabilities.²⁴ The effects of population density and highly networked

physical space are converging with new digital technologies to drive and enable sharing in cities—particularly in novel "mediated" forms. All three come together to provide critical mass in both demand for, and supply of, shared resources and facilities. New opportunities for collaboration and sharing are arising at the intersection of urban space and cyberspace.

With new opportunities for sharing we have new opportunities to enhance trust and rebuild social capital. But they are also creating new spaces in which commercial interests can casualize labor, privatize public services, and capitalize on growing land values through gentrification. In such ways the emerging sharing economy can deepen inequalities and deliver injustice. City leaders therefore need to support and emphasize *communal* models of sharing that build solidarity and spread trust. In other words sharing systems must be designed around equity and justice.

Like any other practice, sharing with equity and justice at the core can naturally shift cultural values and norms—in this case toward trust and collaboration. This can deliver a further dividend, in that increased trust increases social investment in public goods and the public realm, or urban commons. Such an enhanced public realm can in turn directly facilitate more and more efficient sharing with significant environmental benefits.

It also establishes a precondition and motivation for collective political debate that recognizes the city as a shared system. The same measures that enable sharing online, also—if civil liberties are properly protected—enable collective politics online. Again we see the intersection of urban- and cyberspace enabling transformation—this time in the political domain.

In the anticipation of such transformations we suggest that "sharing the whole city" should become the guiding purpose of the future city. Adopting what we are calling the "sharing paradigm" in this way offers cities the opportunity to lead the transition to just sustainabilities.

This offers a radically different vision compared with a global race to the bottom to attract footloose investment capital. It redefines what "smart cities" of the future might really mean—harnessing smart technology to an agenda of sharing and solidarity, rather than one of competition, enclosure, and division.

A Shared Collective Culture

Fundamentally, therefore, our book highlights the importance of the shared public realm in the history and development, and more recently, in the reimagining of politics. We argue that the neoliberal, hegemonic model of development in the modern world prioritizes private interests at the cost

of shared interests. Instead, we suggest that a cultural shift is overdue: one that gives much greater recognition and credit to the shared public realm of our cities (both physical and cyber); one that supports a revival of conventional sociocultural sharing—especially of the city as a whole as shared space—as well as a blossoming of novel mediated forms of sharing; and one that recognizes and affirms the ways in which the opportunities afforded to individuals in cities are founded on the collective efforts and actions of whole communities. We share the view that entrepreneurs do not build businesses alone, nor do parents raise children in isolation from the wider community. Regardless of the national culture, both are always forms of co-production.

One point that we must clarify at the outset is that by “culture” we mean something political and not simply something focused solely on human behavior. We do not intend to fall into the “post-political trap”²⁵ in any of its several forms. This trap underpins the idea that capitalism is unchallengeable as the organizing principle for society. It encourages a belief that we should address social problems through business-led, “smart,” technological innovation, rather than through politics. And it implies that “nudging” behavior change among individuals is the way to change norms and culture, rather than by democratically guided regulation, planning, institution building, and structural interventions.

In our understanding of culture we acknowledge the indelible influence of the British and European cultural studies traditions associated with Raymond Williams, E. P. Thompson, and, in particular, Stuart Hall. Earlier scholars equated culture with the *symbolic*; that which is outside politics, society, or economy; yet Hall focused on power, on the ways dominant groups engineer cultural consent to legitimate their hegemony and the ways in which this functions as a persistent ideology. This new focus on power inevitably included politics, engaging with neoliberalism and post-modernism as much as with feminism, cultural identity, race, and ethnicity. Moreover, as French theorists such as Michel Foucault, Jean-François Lyotard, and Pierre Bourdieu insisted, cultural theory is itself political.

We do not discount the symbolic, intangible, and ideational aspects of culture that underpin beliefs, values, norms, and desires. Nor do we downplay the role of shared patterns of behavior, interaction, cognitive constructs, and understandings—developed through education and socialization—that help shape and define identity in (sub)cultural groups, or the way in which group and societal cultures can become forces of collective evolutionary selection. However, we fundamentally recognize culture as political, the site of contestation between different groups in society who

compete to ascribe meaning to events, behaviors and information. This then is the terrain over which a “cultural shift” toward the sharing paradigm and sharing cities is emerging, and indeed *needs* to occur.

Defining Sharing: The Sharing Paradigm

Dictionaries agree that sharing encompasses processes whereby we divide something between multiple users; we allow others to consume a portion of, or take a turn using things that are ours; we obtain access to a portion of, or a turn in using, things that belong to others; or we use, occupy, or enjoy a facility, space or resource jointly with one or more others.

Russell Belk, a professor of marketing in Toronto, has helped shape the academic and public discourse around the sharing economy. (While we prefer to use the term “sharing paradigm” throughout this book, we also use the other terms such as “sharing economy,” “solidarity economy,” and “collaborative consumption” when we refer to these specific aspects or components of the sharing paradigm, or to the work of others using those or other specific terms.) Belk defines sharing from an economic perspective of owned goods, as including voluntary lending, pooling, allocation of resources, and authorized use of public property, but excluding contractual renting, leasing, or unauthorized use of property.²⁶ We find this framing unhelpful at both extremes. Many formal sharing programs—for both goods and services—involve contracts in some form (for example through membership of car-sharing or film rental services). And, more significantly, while sharing on the margins of legality, such as squatting, may not constitute sharing between the formal owner and user of the property; it can still be a collaborative, shared activity between users motivated by norms of equality and justice.

Here, we outline a broad conception of a *sharing paradigm* that includes multiple dimensions: sharing *things* (such as cars, tools, and books); sharing *services* (such as sites for meetings or sleeping); and sharing *activities or experiences* (notably political activity, but also others such as leisure). We also include sharing between private individuals as well as collective or state provisions of resources and services for sharing, such as green space, sanitation, city bikes, or childcare. We recognize that sharing can be *material* in nature, or *virtual*; *tangible* or *intangible*; happening in spaces of *consumption* (such as digital music), or *production* (such as community gardens). Sharing can be *simultaneous* in time, as with public spaces, or *sequential* as with recycling material. It can be *rivalrous*, in which the goods or resources are those where use by one person excludes use by another, at

Table 0.1
The Broad Territory of the Sharing Paradigm

	Things	Services	Activities
Individual	Swapping, bartering, gifting	Ridesharing, couchsurfing	Skill sharing
Collective	Car clubs, tool-banks, fab-labs	Childcare, credit unions, time-banks, crowdfunding	Sports clubs, social media, open-source software
Public	Libraries, freecycling	Health services, public transit	Politics, public space

least at the same time, (such as carsharing), or non-rivalrous (such as open-source software). The distribution of shares might be by *sharing in parts* or *sharing in turns*.

Mirroring the flourish in creative ways of sharing that we highlight in this book—of things, services, and experiences at individual, collective, and public levels (table 0.1)—is the wide-ranging and ever-growing terminology surrounding sharing. There are a plethora of terms, but they are rarely directly interchangeable. Below we briefly explain our idea of a sharing paradigm and some of the terms we use to define it, and also how it compares with and encompasses a wide range of other commonly used terms and concepts.

Perhaps the most commonly used of those terms is the “sharing economy,” but we understand this as only part of the broader and more inclusive concept of our sharing paradigm. A paradigm is a constellation of ideas and concepts that amounts to a worldview, so our use of the term “sharing paradigm” reflects our belief that sharing is, could, or should be something more fundamental to both human and societal development than is encompassed within the more bounded term “sharing economy.” It reflects our belief that what we may be witnessing are the seeds of a potentially post-capitalist society.

The sharing paradigm is based on an understanding of the term “well-being.” Well-being can refer to both physical and mental health, and to positive mental attitudes (or happiness). We use it to refer to the suite of functionings that people have reason to value—good physical and mental health among them, but also including material pleasure and our ability to make sacrifices for others (which any parent will recognize as potentially more fulfilling than selfish consumption). For our purposes, therefore, well-being depends on building and developing human capabilities for all. The fundamental resources we have available to do that—from breathable air to

education, and from energy resources to healthcare—are better conceived and understood as shared commons than as private goods. We may collectively decide that the best way to manage and allocate certain resources is through market economies, or perhaps through public management, but our starting point is the recognition of their collective, shared nature. The sharing paradigm therefore foregrounds ways of thinking based on sharing resources fairly, rather than by ability to pay; treating resources and the environment as the common property of humankind; nurturing the collective commons of human culture and society; and stimulating human flourishing by establishing and enabling the expression of individual and collective capabilities.

Our concerns with the discourse of the “sharing economy” are not just with the intrusion of commerce and money (which are not always inappropriate), but also with the framing of sharing activity as “economic activity” rather than social, cultural, or political activity. This is much more significant than it might first appear. Privileging the economic dimension in this way perpetuates the myth that human society is *founded on*, and *bounded by* the economy, rather than vice versa, and that the environment is simply a source of economic resources, rather than the foundational space in which humans and our societies and cultures evolved and coexist. Moreover, it primes us to seek solutions to our “problems” in markets, in monetized exchange, and in the production and consumption of goods and services, all of which are constrained by economic frames and drivers, rather than by asking searching questions about our primary needs and the whole range of ways in which we can enhance human well-being in just and sustainable ways. In particular the sharing paradigm helps place our focus more strongly on underpinning environmental resources—land, water, clean air—and reveals the way we can share these “commons” fairly, as an inspiration for sharing in the city, and in the economy.

Mapping the Sharing Paradigm

Nonetheless, the “sharing economy” is part of the sharing paradigm. In such framings, sharing represents an important new form or modality of market exchange in which services become the focus of exchange, rights of access replace ownership, and we collaborate with our peers to better fulfill our needs as consumers. The sharing economy also extends into forms of production with new collaborative models especially enabled by the Internet, variously described as peer production, co-production and Wiki-production. These models are rarely formal cooperatives, but often organize themselves in similar ways. Peer-to-peer (P2P) models can be found

in finance, too, as well as in labor processes and all aspects of production, exchange, and consumption.

The business writers Don Tapscott and Anthony Williams identified an emergent trend of mass collaboration facilitated by the Internet.²⁷ In the disruption and disintermediation of many established businesses, they saw the possibility of new business models based on transparency, collaboration, and open platforms for sharing, with more widespread application to public services and global challenges. They suggest five underlying principles for what they call “wikinomics”: collaboration, openness, sharing, integrity, and interdependence. They focus primarily on the business entity, rather than the individual or community. So, for instance, they see sharing as about consumers being more closely involved in production processes, as “prosumers”; or businesses sharing assets “by placing them in ‘the commons’ for others to use”²⁸ (as Tesla did with its electric vehicle patents in 2014), or commercially under license agreements. The emergence of “big data” is adding to the incentives for such openness and sharing, but as companies realize the potential value of massive data sets and analysis, data sharing may become more structured as data aggregators and brokers emerge.²⁹

Within the sharing economy, the Internet has enabled much “commercial” sharing, where collaborative consumption and production takes place for payment. But there has also been an explosion of “communal” sharing, where goods, services, and skills are donated, swapped, or traded for free, or against an alternative medium of exchange, such as time-dollars. The falling costs of online collaboration mean not-for-profit and community organizations can more easily use mechanisms that were previously largely reserved for commercial purposes, such as large-scale online platforms. Communal sharing can be seen as part of a “solidarity or social economy” that is

based on democratic control and social justice, not just cooperation and ecological sustainability. It’s about sharing power. Solidarity means recognizing our global interdependence and addressing injustices in our communities by replacing dynamics of unequal power with grassroots, cooperative leadership.³⁰

The “solidarity economy,” according to Ethan Miller of the Grassroots Economic Organizing Collective in Australia, “is an open process, an invitation.”³¹ As illustrated in figure 0.1, it encompasses a wide range of entities and approaches including lending circles, community crowdfunding, participatory budgeting, community currencies, credit unions, cooperatives, co-working, community gardens, open source projects, art collectives, community land trusts, co-housing, open public spaces, healthcare collectives,

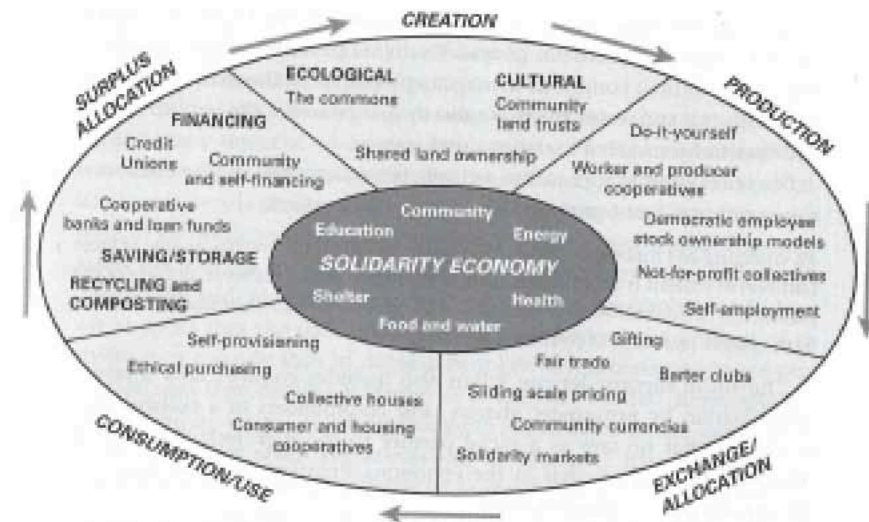


Figure 0.1

The Solidarity Economy. Source: Miller (2010, see note 31, this chapter).

time-banks, community-owned media, libraries, barter markets, Freecycle, free food sharing, and the social and environmental justice organizations that support such approaches, including unions, nonprofits, and progressive businesses.³² Solidarity economy organizations are not exclusively sharing organizations, but in almost every case—befitting the collective nature of solidarity projects—there is some form of sharing activity.

The solidarity economy also includes growing communal forms of sharing and collaboration in social infrastructure and services such as education and health. These collaborations are sometimes described as “co-production,” in this case between citizens and public service providers, while these fundamental collective services can also be called the “core economy.” We interpret co-production broadly, as producing and delivering goods and services in a reciprocal relationship between producers and users; recognizing the resources that citizens already have, and delivering spaces, services, and goods *with* rather than *for* users, their families, and their neighbors. Co-production of collective goods extends to the social and cultural milieu of our communities—their physical, social, and cultural environments. These are common resources, managed and sustained by our collective activities forming the “urban commons.” In these ways sharing and collaboration are

key aspects of the conduct of daily life that underpin social reproduction and social relations between people. The same processes of informal (and sometimes formal) commons management extend to the natural environment—the air and water, the parks and thoroughfares of the public realm—and thus to humankind's relations with nature.

These communal approaches are sometimes described as “the collaborative commons”³³ or “commons-based peer production”:

An emerging and innovative production model in which the creative energy of large numbers of citizens is coordinated, usually through a digital platform, outside of the parameters of the traditionally hierarchical and mercantile (*sic*) organization resulting in the public provision of commons resources.³⁴

The social theorist Jeremy Rifkin also includes commercially motivated collaboration by prosumers, sharers, and co-producers in a collaborative commons that he sees as a social partner to the high-tech “Internet of things.”³⁵ He suggests that in the commons, “market exchange value” is transmuting into “shareable value.”

Similar forms of participatory co-production are emerging in administration and governance, and not just in the form of enabling legal devices such as the “creative commons” licenses for sharing the products of cultural industries. They emerge also in more direct engagement of citizens in the mechanics of government, through participatory budgeting, and in the use of collaborative tools and spaces for political action. In these ways sharing is infusing our institutional, legal and governmental arrangements.

As we shall see, in all these different arenas, models and practices of sharing are part of a contested politics over the reach and nature of commercial markets and relations. Tensions between private interests and the shared public realm are nothing new in cities around the world. In the modern era we see for example, gated communities; guarded shopping malls with dress codes; conflicts between squatters and developers; and competition for road space between private, shared, and non-vehicular transport. In the “sharing economy,” commercial models of sharing run the risk of turning people into always-on, sweated commodities whereas communal models promise to return interpersonal relationships to the center of economic activity. In co-produced services, to recognize the importance of public contributions, freely given, means to roll back privatization and marketization, and to resist the enclosure of the natural and cultural commons. In these ways sharing approaches first problematize, then disrupt, and finally reconstruct our mental conceptions of the world and our sociocultural understandings and beliefs, spreading new norms of collaboration and sharing that answer

neither to the state nor the market first, but to our fellow humans with whom we share our lives, our communities, our cities, and ultimately our planet. This is the sharing paradigm.

We do not see the sharing paradigm as intrinsically anti-capitalist. Indeed many forms of contemporary sharing are being mainstreamed by conventional capitalist businesses. Yet the dominance of neoliberal capitalism in our lives is problematic, especially where it squeezes out alternative ways of knowing, valuing, and living and disregards and degrades priceless assets (such as our natural environment) or exacerbates social and spatial inequalities and injustices. The urban and political geographer David Harvey suggests that the continued dominance of capital is a product of its ability to constantly shift its development between different arenas of production and reproduction.³⁶ Harvey is talking of “capital” as an actor or interest group; we use the term throughout this book in the same sense. Harvey identifies seven key arenas—all of which we have already mentioned and will encounter repeatedly: forms of production, exchange and consumption; relations to nature; social relations between people; mental conceptions of the world, embracing cultural understandings and beliefs; labor processes; institutional, legal, and governmental arrangements; and the conduct of daily life that underpins social reproduction.

Contrasting Dimensions in the Sharing Paradigm

To fully understand the scope of the sharing paradigm, we have found it helpful to consider two particular contrasts or tensions within it. These are shown in table 0.2. Although the table divides the territory of the sharing paradigm into four quadrants, in practice these contrasts are not digital binaries but analog gradations that naturally blur into one another. They create what might be best described as four “flavors” of sharing.

Table 0.2

Key Dimensions of the Sharing Paradigm

	(Inter)mediated sharing (learned)	Sociocultural sharing (evolved)
Communal sharing (intrinsically motivated)	“Peer-to-peer” sharing, enabled by not-for- profits, such as Freecycle or Peerby	The “collective commons” including public space and public services
Commercial sharing (extrinsically motivated)	The “sharing economy” of Airbnb, TaskRabbit and Zipcar	The “collective economy” of co-production and open sourcing in business

On one dimension we see a contrast between *sociocultural* or *informal* sharing (typically between family members, friends or neighbors, directly organized by the participants in line with social norms) and (*inter*)mediated sharing, which is mediated through a third party (often using a website or mobile application). Although sociocultural sharing too may be organized online, the distinction we draw is the involvement of the third-party intermediary. Mediated forms of sharing also include centralized models where an organization owns the resources that are shared by multiple users (common in car-sharing companies like Zipcar).

The question of mediation is one of how the sharing process is organized. It can also be seen as a distinction between *learned* behaviors and those that are more an expression of our *evolved* tendencies for cooperation in groups. The other dimension is about why we share, and the *motivations* of the participants. On this second axis we map a contrast between typically extrinsic motivations, notably commercial gain; and intrinsic motivations based in a sense of community, which we label as the commercial–communal axis.

This commercial–communal axis does not simply map the age-old division between market and state, which has structured political debates for decades. Nor does it seek to replace it with a market–community division. Rather it sees sharing as a genuine third way of governance and provision to meet human needs, rooted in collective management of jointly held resources. Sharing behaviors are spreading from the commons into both market and state domains, united by collaborative modes of action in which control or ownership is in some way shared. Neal Gorenflo, the co-founder and publisher of *Shareable* magazine, expresses a helpful distinction between sharing that is transactional and sharing that is transformational.²⁷ “Transactional” sharing is typically commercial, oriented toward efficiency and asset-sweating; reducing the *prices* users face. “Transformational” sharing however, necessarily involves a shift in power and social relations as well as an increase in *value* for all participants.

In figure 0.2 we illustrate how the diverse terms for sharing applied by different commentators map out across our four flavors of sharing.

As we have argued, the sharing paradigm, with its contestations, challenges, and opportunities, is a broader concept than that of the sharing economy. However, it is still useful to explore some of the terms frequently found in the literature on the sharing economy. Rachel Botsman, the co-founder of CollaborativeConsumption.com, describes the “collaborative economy” as a model “built on distributed networks of connected individuals and communities as opposed to centralized institutions,”²⁸ transforming production, consumption, finance, and learning. Within this, Botsman

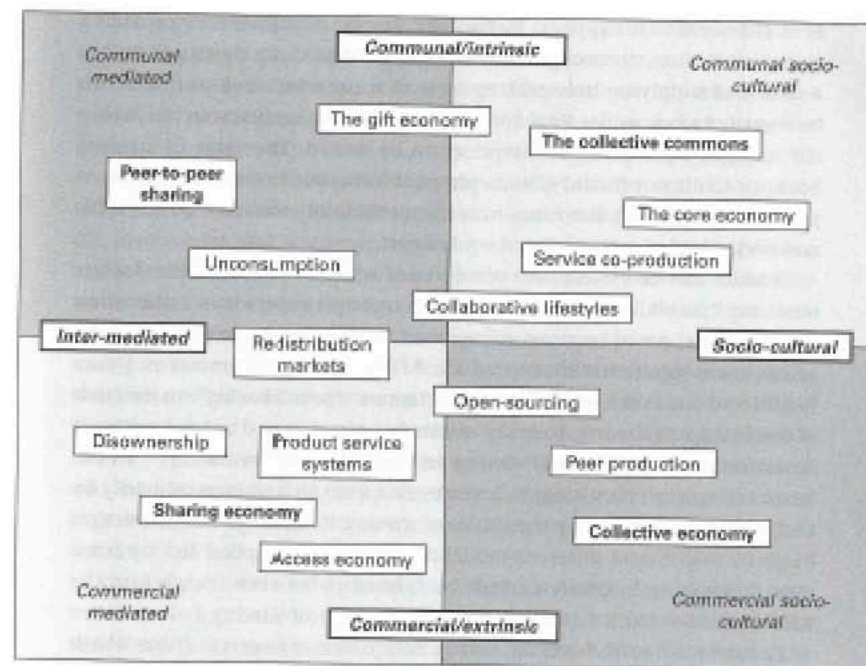


Figure 0.2

The Sharing Paradigm: More than the Sharing Economy

defines “collaborative consumption” as “an economic model based on sharing, swapping trading or renting products and services enabling access over ownership” (within which business-to-consumer (B2C), business-to-business (B2B), and peer-to-peer (P2P) transaction models are all practical). The *sharing economy*, she says, focuses largely on P2P marketplaces to share underutilized assets, including spaces, skills, and stuff for either monetary or non-monetary benefit; on the other hand, the *peer economy* also focuses on such person-to-person marketplaces built on peer trust, but includes those that facilitate direct trade as well as sharing.

Writing with investor Roo Rogers, Botsman focused on collaborative consumption, which they divided into three categories; “product service systems,” “redistribution markets,” and “collaborative lifestyles.”²⁹

Product service systems allow companies or organizations to offer the utility of a product as a service without the need for ownership. This is sometimes described as “disownership”³⁰ and recognizes that the value of a good

1 Case Study: San Francisco

San Francisco, California, is at the forefront of the modern wave of collaborative consumption with high-tech sharing companies, new sharing startups, and the development of new norms among Millennials. It is home to companies like Twitter (the online social networking and micro-blogging service), Dropbox (the cloud-based storage firm), Airbnb (the online community marketplace for booking accommodations), and Lyft (the ridesharing mobile app), to name but a few. The city's proximity to Silicon Valley's hub of technology innovation has helped power its emerging scene of sharing startup companies. In recent years new high-tech jobs growth in the urban core of San Francisco has outstripped that in the longtime corporate centers of surrounding suburban counties.¹ This shift reflects changing norms among Millennials, the generation providing both the workforce and consumer base of these startups.

San Francisco's urban center attracts young people who are adopting co-working and sharing lifestyles, eschewing car ownership, and reducing consumption. Companies who locate in the city connect better, both with their users and the qualified potential employees choosing to live there. It now appears somewhat unfashionable to start a company in the suburbs.²

Starting up in the city is easier with the prevalence of shared workspaces. In 2005, Brad Neuberg and three friends, all of whom were freelancers, rented some common space in San Francisco and set up the first of what soon became known as co-working spaces. Today such spaces can be found in many cities, all "combining the best elements of a coffee shop (social, energetic, creative) and the best elements of a workspace (productive, functional),"³ catering to a growing market. Freelancers make up somewhat over one-fifth of the US workforce, for example—around 40 million workers.⁴

San Francisco is a leading "smart city," following the advocacy of companies such as IBM and Siemens, and the city government is actively

Sharing Consumption: The City as Platform

At its best, good city-making leads to the highest achievement of human culture.

—Charles Landry

Chapter Introduction and Outline

In this chapter we examine the contemporary revival of sharing as collaborative consumption in mediated (and particularly commercial) forms in cities such as San Francisco, which is actively leveraging its image as a smart, high-tech city. We report existing surveys of sharing behaviors and note especially the current and likely future role of an increasingly researched demographic: the Millennials. We illustrate the boom in collaborative consumption with examples from food sharing in particular.

We then focus on key drivers of this revival: technical, environmental, economic, and particularly cultural drivers, examining the new norms that have emerged in online sharing and are increasingly being exhibited in the real world. We explore the economic logics of sharing and examine some of the pros and cons of approaching sharing in this way; we outline, among other things, how incumbent businesses are responding to the sharing paradigm. The chapter concludes by beginning to examine the risks and benefits of an intrusion of commercial sharing into the social realm.

Sharing, as we discuss more fully in chapter 2, is a sociocultural, evolutionary trait that enabled the development of hunting, agriculture, trade, craft, and manufacturing—and thus cities. Yet with increased marketization, industrialization, and consumerism, cities have become spaces in which this evolutionary form of *sociocultural sharing* has been weakened, especially in more affluent societies, as social capital has been eroded,¹ trust undermined by growing inequality,² and the togetherness of cities replaced by private withdrawal.³ Yet at the same time, a new, distinct, and predominantly urban form of *(inter)mediated sharing* is emerging, exemplified best in

2 Case Study: Seoul

Seoul, South Korea, is one of the first global cities to officially endorse the sharing economy. The city is home to more than 10 million people living within 234 square miles.¹ With a population density almost five times that of New York City, public issues such as traffic congestion, parking, and housing shortages are magnified.² Housing scarcity drives up costs, with the increasingly high deposits demanded in South Korea's *jeonse* rental system dramatically raising household debt.³ Seoul also has a highly developed technology infrastructure, as capital of a country with the world's highest broadband penetration—97.5 percent of South Koreans have broadband connections, and 60 percent own a smart phone.⁴ With this foundation, Seoul is positioning itself as both a leading smart city and a model city for tech-enabled sharing. Yet its approaches to sharing are culturally very different to those of San Francisco, and much less commercially motivated. Sharing in Seoul has a strong sociocultural basis. Some say South Korea has “a ‘sharing’ culture. It is a special concept ... which Koreans call ‘jeong’ and it is a special kind of love between the people and society. If you don't share you will be seen as a little greedy and have little or no ‘jeong.’”⁵

Koreans believe that *jeong* motivates “random acts of kindness between people who barely know each other or total strangers.”⁶ In this it echoes our concept of karmic altruism:

Jeong is especially used to describe the action of giving [a] small, gratuitous gift—such action is full of *jeong*. A particularly close neighborhood is described as full of *jeong*, in which the neighbors act in a way that displays *jeong*—i.e., helping out and being nice to each other.⁷

Seoul is actively working to cultivate its sharing culture and build the public's trust in sharing enterprises and activities. Seoul's mayor, Park Won-soon, a political independent and longstanding human rights activist, is a strong driving force behind this official embrace of sharing. In September

Cities have the capability of providing something for everybody, only because, and only when, they are created by everybody.

—Jane Jacobs

Chapter Introduction and Outline

In this chapter we pull together multiple strands of research to help us further develop the following thesis: sharing and cooperation are universal values and behaviors that are socioculturally and biologically coevolved. We then contrast this thesis with the dark side of excessive competition in our society, which can generate fraud, cheating, stress, and inequality. We examine the ways in which cities as a whole are shared domains—even their historic role as places of exchange is a product of sharing, while the essential public services, infrastructures (and the underlying resources) on which cities and their inhabitants depend are fundamentally shared. Cities like Seoul are recognizing this, and actively intervening to provide or enable provision of not only hard (physical) but also soft (social) infrastructures. We continue by outlining how such services and infrastructures can be “co-produced” utilizing mechanisms of sociocultural sharing, with particular reference to health and education.

We also explore international variations in sharing cultures through the lenses of individualism and collectivism. We look at forms of co-production emerging in commercial spheres—including peer-to-peer finance, energy, housing, and the shared production of food. We highlight the potential for cooperative forms of organization in services, production, and finance to overcome the risks of disowning responsibility and commodification that arise where sharing overlaps, respectively, public and market provisions. We conclude the chapter with a discussion of how both the commercial and communal functions of cities are underpinned by a shared collective

Sharing Production: The City as Collective Commons

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—Jane Jacobs

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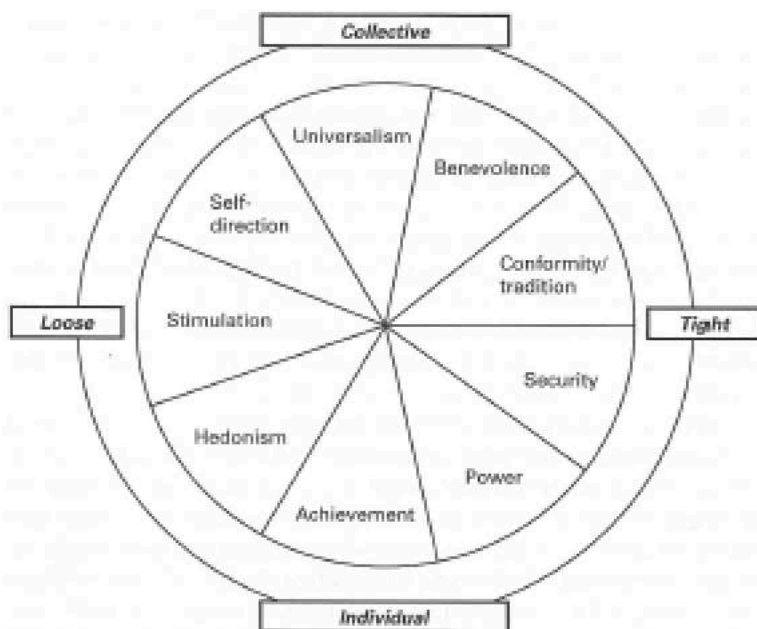


Figure 2.1

The multiple dimensions of cultural comparison. Sources: Circumplex after Schwartz (2006; see note 44, this chapter); “tight-loose” dimensional concept from Gelfand et al. (2011; see note 43, this chapter); and “individual-collective” from Hazel R. Markus and Shinobu Kitayama, “Culture and the Self: Implications for Cognition, Emotion, and Motivation.” *Psychological Review*, 98(2) (1991): 224–253.

case study shows, mediated sharing has emerged entrepreneurially (despite some resistance from authorities), and Seoul, where the city authorities are leading the charge, may be instructive in this respect.

The apparent historical decline in sociocultural sharing (in Western societies, and in partial contrast to the examples seen in Seoul) can be associated with the development of consumer capitalism and the growth and promotion of a culture of individualism.⁴⁸ The development of advertising targeting—and recreating—an individualistic model of the self, has transformed consumption patterns.⁴⁹ Many possessions have been so privatized and individualized that Americans no longer need to share much even within their own families, still less with other members of their communities.⁵⁰ This might be, in part, a consequence of wealth. But there is a big

		Responsibility for design of services		
		Professionals as sole service planners	Professionals and service users' community as co-planners	No professional input into service planning
Responsibility for delivery of services	Professionals as sole service deliverers	Traditional professional service provision	Professional service provision but users/communities involved in planning and design	Professionals as sole service deliverers
	Professionals and users/communities as co-deliverers	User co-delivery of professionally designed services	Full co-production	User/community delivery of services with little formal/ professional
	Users/communities as sole deliverers	User/community delivery of professionally planned services	User/community delivery of co-planned or co-designed services	Self-organized community provision

Figure 2.2

User and professional roles in the design and delivery of services.

Source: David Boyle and Michael Harris, *The Challenge of Coproduction*. London: NEF, The Lab and NESTA, 2009, http://www.nesta.org.uk/sites/default/files/the_challenge_of_co-production.pdf; Bovaird (2007; note 85, this chapter).

with users, other community members, or with both, to full co-production (center cell).

Some aspects of co-production have emerged where administrations have emphasized "citizen centrality," that is, "where citizens themselves play a more active and ongoing role in defining and even assembling the basket of services they need."⁸⁸ This would fall in the top center cell of figure 2.2. To this end, Canada established a "single agency focusing on development, management, and delivery of all social services for all citizens."⁸⁹

But co-production at its best means more than a focus on the citizen as service user: it means understanding citizens, as the philosopher Immanuel Kant argued, as "ends" in themselves, not means, and building their capabilities. In other words, it means citizens and public bodies not only co-producing healthcare services, but also co-producing the outcome of good health. Full-blown service co-production initiatives (those in the center cell in figure 2.2) share seven characteristics that illustrate their commonality with the sharing paradigm as we have described it. As outlined by Lucie

3 Case Study: Copenhagen

Copenhagen—lying on the shores of the Øresund strait—is the capital and most populous city in Denmark. Denmark is home to the happiest people in the world, if one is to believe the United Nation's 2013 World Happiness Report.¹ In Copenhagen, people are at the heart of the city's renowned urban space design and planning efforts. According to Jan Gehl, the famed Danish architect and international urban design consultant, "Cultures and climates differ all over the world, but people are the same. They will gather in public if you give them a good place to do it."² As professor emeritus of urban design at the Danish Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Gehl has been studying and documenting the evolution of Copenhagen's public spaces since the Central Pedestrian District was first conceived in 1962 as a strategy to breathe life back into the city center. Over the years, many of the city's former parking spaces have been reclaimed for shared public space.

But despite Copenhagen's current star status, Danes have not always been keen sharers. Apparently, when the Danes colonized Greenland after 1721, they taught the Inuit "that communal living—shared food, shared hunting trips, shared wives—was sinful."³ Yet now Denmark has embraced sharing in its many forms despite having a very private national culture. Clearly, sharing norms can change over time.

Tina Saby, Copenhagen's city architect, highlights how planning in Copenhagen pays particular attention to the areas where public and private spaces meet.⁴ In a dramatic contrast with the controversial use of "pavement spikes" and other "defensive urban architecture" in many cities to prevent homeless people sitting or sleeping there,⁵ Saby explains that the city council encourages building owners to put tables, chairs, and planters on the sidewalks near the building as a way to make these edge zones more inviting. In addition to creating more opportunities for public interaction, the city uses planning to actively promote eye contact as a way to build

Sharing Politics: The City as Public Realm

We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny.

—Martin Luther King Jr.

Chapter Introduction and Outline

In this chapter we explore the city as public realm through the seemingly eclectic political and cultural dimensions of the sharing paradigm, under three broad and interrelated themes. First we consider questions of space and place: in particular how urban spaces and places have been central to political movements, and especially insurgent, participatory, countercultural movements—such as *Las Indignadas* and *Occupy*—which have the capacity to transform societies; and how such movements now equally depend on public cyberspace. Second we turn to the ways in which sharing can underpin democracy in practice, building social capital, supporting a healthy public realm, and challenging the hold of consumerism on our individual identities. In doing so we explore the role of shared or “collaborative” leisure, and take a close look at streetlife, as well as at the notion of Complete and Incomplete Streets, the former being a largely design-led, prescriptive approach critiqued by the latter as excluding the social narrative of the street. We also explore the notion of interculturalism: the acknowledgment that increasing difference and diversity in our cities needs to be met by a pluralist transformation of public space and place, institutions and civic culture, and a proactive engagement between cultures. Third, we examine ways in which sharing is emerging in the practices of urban governance, from cryptostates to co-production, also giving attention to the key challenges to urban democracy in land ownership and taxation.

4 Case Study: Medellín

Medellin has come a very long way in the past 20 years. Colombia's second city is now a thriving medical, business, and tourist center. The change strategy was driven by the philosophy (and department) of social urbanism of the Medellín Academy. In the mid-1990s these endeavors established a focus on empowering citizens, beginning in the poorest neighborhoods. The case of Medellín illustrates the vast potential for sharing in cities in the developing world, and particularly the importance of the shared public realm for increasing social equality.

Medellin has transformed itself from the former murder capital of the world to a model of urban social integration.¹ It was once home to the violent and powerful drug trafficking organization called the Medellín Cartel, headed by the infamous Pablo Escobar. By 1982, cocaine had surpassed coffee as Colombia's biggest export, as cartels transported billions of dollars' worth of the drug to the US.² In 1991, the murder rate climbed to 380 per 100,000 people, with over 6,000 killings.³ Violence paralyzed the city with fear, which led to widespread abandonment of the public realm and most facets of civic participation. After Colombian special forces killed Escobar in 1993, city leaders, community activist groups, and residents alike dedicated their efforts to reclaiming the city through a fresh start.

Today Medellín is a city of about 2.4 million people, with a metro area population of 3.5 million.⁴ The city sits in the Aburrá Valley at 5,000 feet above sea level and is bisected by the Medellín River. Its sprawling hillside neighborhoods, called *comunas*, are informal settlements created by displaced populations who had fled their homes in other parts of the country due to violence and conflict. The result was a highly segregated city with a strong disparity between the wealthy south and slums to the north.⁵ As Laura Isaza, a consultant to Medellín City Hall, explains: "This displaced population didn't feel like they were part of the city. They used to say: 'I live in this neighborhood and I don't live in Medellín.'" And that was one

Sharing Society: Reclaiming the City

Any city however small, is in fact divided into two, one the city of the poor, the other of the rich.

—Plato

Chapter Introduction and Outline

In this chapter we explore the scope for sharing to enhance equity and social justice in the city and beyond. The chapter splits into two broad parts. The first situates the sharing paradigm in contemporary theories of justice, with particular reference to just sustainabilities, the capabilities approach and recognition. The second part examines some of the emerging areas of conflict and tension between justice and sharing in practice, first illustrating the challenges with consideration of transport—and particularly carsharing. It goes on to address problems with exploitation of labor in sharing, the commodification of nonmarket aspects of life, and exclusion of the disadvantaged from sharing practices through the divergent processes of marketization, criminalization, and gentrification. We finish the chapter by looking at some key contributions to justice in sharing: building empathy, strengthening civil liberties online, and developing complementary currencies. This might seem an eclectic mix of examples, but they all illustrate how sharing can be inclusive and just, when such factors are considered from the outset.

Just Sustainabilities

In many ways, the sharing paradigm is a direct descendant of the concept of “just sustainabilities.” As we argued in the introduction, equity and justice are too often ignored or assumed in initial “environmental” and business cases for sharing. Even though some sharing programs deliver greater

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5 Case Study: Amsterdam

Europe's first official "Sharing City," Amsterdam is the capital city of the Netherlands although not the seat of the Dutch Parliament. In 2012, the city was home to just over 790,000 people, with a metro area population of around 2.2 million.¹ Amsterdam boasts a network of eighteenth-century canals that intersect the city center with some 1,500 connecting bridges. The canals shaped Dutch culture in a way that cultivates strong identities of both individuality and collectivity. The Dutch had to work together, district by district, in a shared challenge to maintain the canal system and prevent their land from being reclaimed by the sea.²

Is Amsterdam the "ideal city"? The geographer John Gilderbloom and his colleagues pose that question and highlight that: "People live longer because of Amsterdam's walkability and bike usage and access to parks."³ As a shared city, Amsterdam exemplifies positive tolerance to immigrants and Amsterdammers have the capacity "to put up with another's fully recognized differences from self ... with a mild appreciation for, or enjoyment of, those differences."⁴ The result, as Gilderbloom and his colleagues note, is that: "Unlike the USA, ghettos and/or highly segregated places, which are nearly all poor and made up of one race, do not exist in the Netherlands, because of ... the integration of immigrants."⁵

Ethnic minorities make up more than 45 percent of the city's residents, representing at least 175 different countries.⁶ As an anti-discriminatory measure, the city's civil service is required to reflect the diverse population of the city.⁷ Amsterdam plays a critical role in modeling cultural tolerance through its integration of immigrants and newcomers.⁸ An international comparative study of Muslim integration found that 66 percent of people identifying with a Moroccan ethnicity in the Netherlands strongly identify as "Dutch," compared to 43 percent in France who identify as "French."⁹

The Netherlands, and Amsterdam in particular, constitutes a favorable, open context for minority political participation.¹⁰ In 1985, the Netherlands

The Sharing City: Understanding and Acting on the Sharing Paradigm

A city is a state—of mind, of taste, of opportunity ... where ideas are traded, opinions clash and eternal conflict may produce eternal truths.

—Herb Caen

Chapter Introduction and Outline

In this chapter we aim to bring together the concepts and challenges raised by our book so far in order to demonstrate how the various flavors of the sharing paradigm (mediated, sociocultural, communal, and commercial) and its domains (economic, environmental, social, cultural, and political) could reinforce one another at the city scale, and to outline the crucial ways city administrations should act to deliver such a virtuous cycle of sharing activity. The chapter divides roughly into four parts. First, we revisit the scope and territory of the sharing paradigm, rooting it conceptually in well-being and capabilities. Second, we bring together and explore possible reasons for inertia, rebutting some common objections and highlighting some genuine obstacles and challenges to the development of sharing. In doing so we emphasize the importance of emergent collective governance and positive social norms for stimulating and enabling sharing practice. Third, we explore the opportunity for broader sociocultural transformation through the sharing paradigm, focusing particularly on the potential for it to underpin new identities and thus challenge the cultural hegemony of consumerism and associated growth-fixated economic policy. We also examine the self-reinforcing synergies between the unconscious practices of sharing in everyday life, new sharing habits and trust building. Fourth and finally, in the light of this understanding of how sharing might spread, we examine the prospects for implementing and scaling up the sharing paradigm through active policy, planning, and practice at the city scale—where the realization of the sharing paradigm in practice, across the various

Sharing domain (what is being shared)	Concepts	Examples	Arena(s) where this may change norms
Material Tangible	Industrial ecology	Circular economy, recovery and recycling, glass and paper banks and collection, scrapyards	Relations to nature; forms of production, exchange, and consumption
Production facility	Collaborative production	Fab-labs, community energy, job sharing, open sourcing, credit unions, and crowdfunding	Forms of production, exchange, and consumption; labor processes
Product	Redistribution markets	Flea markets, charity shops, Freecycle, swapping and gifting platforms	Forms of production, exchange, and consumption
Service	Product service systems	Ridesharing, media streaming, fashion and toy rental, libraries	Forms of production, exchange, and consumption; labor processes; conduct of daily life; social relations between people
Experience	Collaborative lifestyles	Errand networks, peer to peer travel, couchsurfing, skillshearing	Conduct of daily life; conceptions of the world; social relations between people
Capability Intangible	Collective commons	The internet, safe streets, participative politics, SOLEs, citizen's incomes	Conceptions of the world; social relations between people; institutional, legal and governmental arrangements

Figure 5.1
The Sharing Spectrum

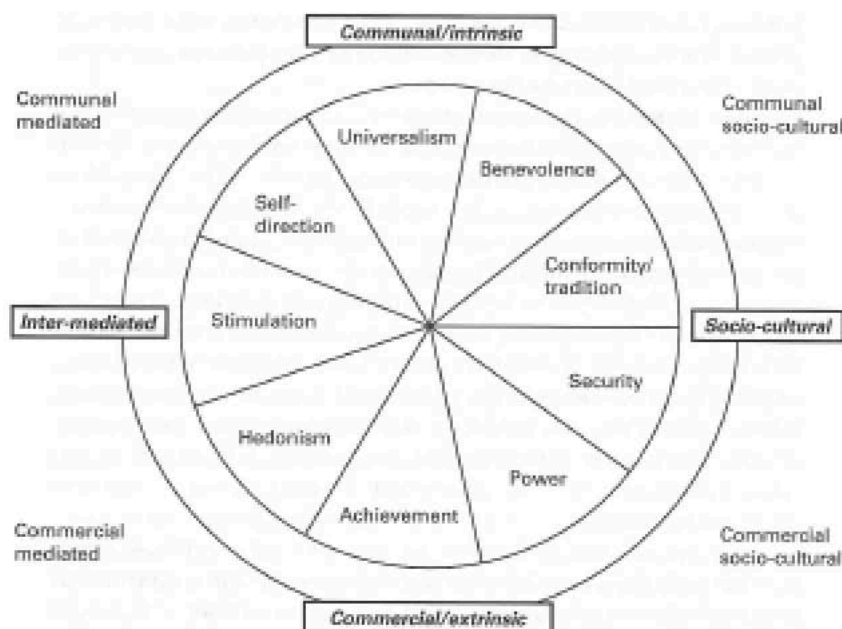


Figure 5.2

Sharing flavors as expressions of underlying values. (Drawing on the values circumplex of Schwartz [2006, see note 44 in chapter 2].)

although still expressed to some degree in everyone. In this presentation we have crudely overlaid our sharing matrix over the circumplex to indicate some of the ways in which different alignments of values might be expressed in different cultural flavors of sharing. For instance, societies marked by extrinsic hedonistic values might be expected to favor commercial mediated forms of sharing, while those where intrinsic self-direction and universalism are stronger might see more communal mediated peer-to-peer forms.

Different cultures can also be expected to respond to sharing technologies in different ways. The US response—dominated by commercialized sharing through secondary markets, underpinned by venture capital—is distinctive from the European, where communal sharing mediated by charitable or mutual platforms seems more prevalent. The Seoul case seems to suggest a third model—relatively non-monetized with emphasis on community, supported with city funds and legislation.¹²⁴ It is perhaps too early

6 Case Study: Bengaluru

Our final case study explores a global South city poised between the temptations of the global smart city and the needs of a rapidly growing population seeking new freedoms, yet facing severe environmental constraints—something of a microcosm of the challenges facing our urban futures. Bengaluru, still widely known as Bangalore, is the capital city of the southwest Indian state of Karnataka, and as we shall see, exhibits tensions common to the development of sharing and smart cities the world over.

As the third most populous city in India, its estimated 2014 population is just over 10 million people. Between the census years of 2001 and 2011, Bengaluru's population grew by 46.7 percent (to 9.6 million), the highest rate in the country.¹ Partly this rapid growth can be attributed to Bengaluru's rise as India's IT (information technology) capital, with both international and domestic technology companies settling in the city and attracting a surge of young Indian engineers and tech professionals. In the past two decades, Bengaluru has seen an overwhelming influx of this professional technology class, triggering something of an identity crisis for the city.²

The novelist Bharati Mukherjee describes Bengaluru as once the pleasantest city in India, a former British Army cantonment boasting wide boulevards, parks, and a perfectly inviting climate. Its recent population surge has brought traffic congestion and rapidly expanding suburbs. As Mukherjee notes, "Bangalore" is not only a city, but also a concept. For young Indian women in particular, who otherwise face limited socioeconomic prospects and educational opportunities, Bengaluru is a promise of a new life. Among the vast Indian middle class this promise might imply self-expression, money, and freedom; but for many American and European multinational corporations it has meant cheap outsourced operations.³

But Bengaluru is surpassing its reputation as an outsourcing hub, with more indigenous entrepreneurial startup companies, several of which are

Synthesis

In our book we believe we've successfully made the case that rewiring our minds and our cities toward the sharing paradigm is the single most important task for urban governance and urban futures in the twenty-first century. To briefly synthesize some of our thoughts, we revisit and reflect upon the case laid out in our introduction for both *understanding cities as shared spaces, and acting to share them fairly*.

Our hope is that through our arguments, literature reviews, case studies, and other examples, we have contributed to both an *understanding* of cities as historically shared spaces, and set out policy and planning strategies on how to *act* upon this understanding with solid ideas for implementing policies and plans at the municipal level. We have shown what some of the more progressive cities are doing to deepen our understanding of the potential for sharing. But at present, for every Seoul with an explicit, proactive, and multidimensional strategy for sharing, there are hundreds of cities simply *reacting* to sharing trends, with no strategy, no policy, no coordination, and presumably little or no understanding.

But there are also many cities that do not use the explicit (and very fashionable) language of sharing yet are developing policy and planning that *contributes* toward the sharing paradigm. Much of this activity, however, is disconnected or even incidental to other "economic" policy goals. These cities need help in understanding their roles, responsibilities, and the benefits they will accrue: the emerging Sharing Cities Network, supported by Shareable (www.shareable.net/sharing-cities), aims to get 100 cities to emulate Seoul as a formal "sharing city" by 2015; and existing national and international associations of cities such as ICLEI-Local Governments for Sustainability—who took an early and impressive lead in galvanizing Cities for Climate Protection in 1993—and the National League of Cities should help to rectify this as a matter of urgency.