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GOVERNANCE MODELS FOR SHARING CITIES: SEOUL AND MILAN

1. INTRODUCTION

The emerging market of the *sharing economy*, estimated at around 600 billion dollars a year (PWC Forum PA), takes shape in a specific conjunction: the global economic crisis began in 2008; the strong urbanization process which according to the World Urbanization Prospects, Revision 2014, will lead in 2050 70% of the global population in the cities; the environmental pollution and climate change; the erosion of social ties in urban areas and the intensification of social inequality (Rifkin, 2011). In this framework also the widespread dissemination of ICTs plays a key role: The Internet of Things and billions of sensors that connect people, objects and data, allow using what we need for the time that we need, connecting people in a peer-to-peer way and reducing the waste of resources.

The global socio-economic context is well known and it represents a premise for many of the broad reflections that some authors are proposing investigating the new adaptive and resilient answers emerging (Agyeman, 2014; Botsman, 2013; Sundararajan, 2014). Within this scenario practices more open, transparent and participatory arise and are studied; they are based on sharing and collaboration and have allowed the definition of new service models that enable people to exchange and share goods, space and skills, promoting lifestyles centered on saving, redistribution of money and socialization. There is a huge variety of these practices: from shared workspaces (co-working) to new forms of exchange in the mobility sector (car sharing, bikesharing, carpooling) or in the hospitality area (couchsurfing, housing swap ...); from co-housing to welfare services (such as Social Street); from space planning and joint production (makerspaces, FabLab) to shared urban gardens; from the finance sector (peer-to-peer lending, complementary currencies, collaborative crowdfunding insurance...) to the education field (collaborative learning, open courses, sharing of expertise ...).

The vague definition and the wide spectrum of possibilities embraced by the term sharing economy, poses a theoretical problem, makes assessing and understanding its true potential difficult and to find a precise shared definition almost impossible, even if it is generally referred as sharing economy. The concept is multifarious and multidimensional: it embodies different sides, aspects and forms, covering both the consumption and the production aspect, and embracing both market and economic areas and aspects more related to sociality and community building. For this reason it is good not to harness it in too rigid definitions, the risk is to lose the perception of its scope and diversity (Pais, 2013). It is an ongoing process and we do not know where it will lead in the coming years. There are however many attempts to define it¹. Here will be mainly considered the definition given by Belk (2010): “*act and process of distributing what is ours to others for their use and/or the act and process of receiving or taking from others for our use*” (in Agyeman et al., 2013, p. 4). And in general the phenomenon will be considered as a new economic model based on the sharing of material and immaterial resources, with a view to profit or not, that uses new technologies and does not include the brokerage typical of the advanced capitalistic market. All that is no longer used can be shared, and recirculated for the benefit of those who need it but does not own it. In this way, the so called *idling capacity* are used only as long as necessary

¹ See “Un’introduzione alla Sharing Economy”. Laboratorio EXPO Keywords Fondazione Feltrinelli at: http://en.fondazionefeltrinelli.it/feltrinelli-cms/cms.view?numDoc=1031&munu_str=0_6_3&pflag=customP&id=FF9000006704&physDoc=6702

and only when needed, choosing to exchange, pay, recycle, barter, share, and collaborate, and in some perspective surpassing even vicious cycles typical of a consumerism approach.

Analyzing the phenomenon it has been noted that the original concept of sharing sometimes takes meanings and deformations that inevitably are fueling doubts about its nature, future prospects and possible impacts. Neal Gorenflo, founder of Shareable² explains the variety of practices remembering that exist a *Transformational Sharing Economy* and a *Transactional Sharing Economy*, not to confuse. Using the Matrix's metaphor of the red and blue pill, Gorenflo refers to two possible choices: the choice of a reality resulting from a common fight or a passive reception of an already packaged reality, the Matrix; the hard transformational work, the red pill, versus the convenience of the Transactional Sharing Economy, the blue pill. The first one wishes for solid and enduring social connections, based on mutual support. Inside the corporations the resource management or the management of the corporation itself, is collective and common, and the goal is to produce benefits for the whole community. Users are the *reason why* of the corporation, that exists to answer to their needs. In the transformative corporations, citizens are called to work together in a cooperative way, it is not that easy like a click on a smartphone, but with time and commitment, it really allows a better reality. The second one fuels precarious employment and reinforces the existing inequalities, in line with neoliberal market and its processes. This kind of corporations are real commodities, managed by few, with the aim to obtain the best results possible, where the users are just means to sell the business, and the access to the services is possible with just one click. It is the case of AirBnb and Uber. Some authors, such as Kallis³ (2014) consider them *rental economies* rather than sharing economy, economies based on the rent of goods and services through proprietary and commercial technological platforms, far from the original meaning of sharing, a kind of adaptation of the capitalist paradigm to the new economic trends.

This double soul of the sharing economy creates doubts and uncertainty not only among the experts of the phenomenon, but also for people questioning on the usefulness of these practices, among large businesses in doubt between opportunity or threat, and among policymakers, divided between promotion, regulation and prohibition.

2. GOVERNANCE and the ROLE OF THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

This paper focuses on the level of the Public Administration, because if the aspects of the sharing economy are many and different and the actors that waves within it are rising, to define a model of management, a model of governance, become mandatory. A model is required to better capitalize the potentialities of the sharing economy, giving everyone the possibility to access to it in a trust and transparency set, without trigger perverse effects. From this point of view is interesting to consider the so-called "collaborative governance" model. Ansell and Gash (2008) defines it "*a governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets*". This strict definition stresses six important criteria: the presence of a forum of discussion launched by the public agencies and institutions (the actors that promote and support the collaborative governance), the participation of non-state actors, a direct engagement of participants in the decision making (not just a consultation), a formally and collectively organization, decisions made by consensus, and the focus of collaboration on public policy or public management.

It follows, therefore, the role of Public Administration that appears to be essential in the system. The PA is a privileged partner among the actors of the sharing economy, as it has the potential to act in a regulatory or

² Shareable is an online magazine that deal with info, news and good practices related to the sharing economy. It is a real hub of connection, with the mission to empower people to create a more resilient and equitable world. See the website <http://www.shareable.net/>

³ See the article of Giorgio Kallis "*AirBnb is a rental economy, not a sharing economy*" February 24, 2014 at the online address: <http://www.thepressproject.net/article/68073/AirBnb-is-a-rental-economy-not-a-sharing-economy>

indicative way, to transform into reality the ideas of collaborative initiatives and to develop hidden opportunities and innovative strategies for the local development.

Iaione⁴ deems that the PA (2015) could do even more by entering in the process, in the movement, becoming an enabling subject, a platform for the promotion of collaborative opportunities, for the creation of awareness among citizens and for the encouragement of the processes of the new economic model, regulating without slow down the phenomenon. LabGov⁵ insists on the definition of five key players, namely PA, citizens and social innovators, traditional businesses and new business of the sharing economy, cognitive institutions (universities, research centers, etc.) and civil society organizations. These actors, in a perspective of collaborative governance, can promote the development of the sharing dimension within the urban realities. Abundant evidences on the will of the PA to reflect on the sharing economy topic are starting to emerge, as demonstrated by the FORUM PA 2015 (and in general by the current debate), where the attention was, and still is, on the importance of involve the PA in the reflection and in the processes of the sharing economy. Speaking of collaborative governance means to be open to the possibility of fully reimagining the role of the PA in view of what has been called *Partner State* (Bauwens and Kostakis, 2014). I.e. a state that allows the creation of value by its citizens and looks to the common goods and not to the benefits that can be generated by big capitals and big business. A state that helps citizens in the creation of social value within the society and that, as pointed out by Bauwens⁶ (2012) protects the infrastructure of cooperation that is the whole society. A state that embraces the principle of horizontal subsidiarity⁷ giving its citizens the opportunity to take care of the city firsthand and to express their activism. A state that holds together non-state actors, from citizens and social innovators to companies, from cognitive institutions to organized civil society, in a process of direct, active, formal and mutual involvement.

In the following pages, we are seeking to rebuild the framework of the initiatives that the PA has taken around sharing economy comparing two case studies: Milan and Seoul. These cities adopted two different approaches: in Milan, the reflection has emerged spontaneously from the bottom and has found in the public administration an attentive listener and a strong supporter; in Seoul, the starting push came from the Mayor and his administration, that launched a wave of innovation that is generating a real ecosystem of sharing. Even if the city are different for culture, features and dimensions, the same rhetorics, labels, epistemic communities and strategies can be detected.

The present work has mainly a descriptive aim, since the sharing economy is a new phenomenon exploded in the recent years, growing fast, and a mature scientific reflection on it is still ongoing. The main goal is to understand which governance model has been adopted in the two local development contexts, what has pushed up the reflection and in which terms we can talk of *collaborative governance*.

From the methodological point of view, the work started with the analysis of institutional and scientific materials and of other sources on the topic. Given the novelty of the phenomenon, many references come from the experts that are studying and following the phenomenon, such as Shareable.com, Collaborative Labs,

⁴ Christian Iaione is associated professor of Public Right at the Guglielmo Marconi University in Rome and teacher of governance of the commons at the LUISS Guido Carli inside the program LabGov – LABORatorio per la GOVERNance dei beni comuni. See the article “*Collaborazione è leva di spending review*” March 3, 2015, at the online address www.corrierecomunicazioni.it/pa-digitale/32921_iaione-luiss-collaborazione-e-leva-di-spending-review.htm

⁵ LabGov – Laboratorio per la Governance dei Beni Comuni – (Laboratory for the Governance of the Commons) was born from the activity of LUISS Guido Carli (Political Science Department) in collaboration with Labsus – Laboratorio per la Sussidiarietà (Subsidiarity Laboratory). The goal is to train professionals, experts in “governance of the commons” able to create partnership between citizens, ONGs, public administrations, local businesses and support smart specialization of local and urban communities.

⁶ The point of view of Bauwens about the partner state can be read in the article “The ‘welfare state’ is dead - long live the ‘partner state’?” at the online address <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/03/20123111423139193.html>

⁷ The principle of subsidiarity is ruled by the article n. 118 of the Italian Constitution that provides that “the State, regions, provinces, metropolitan cities and municipalities shall promote the autonomous initiatives of citizens, individually and in combination, for the performance of activities of general interest, on the basis of the principle of subsidiarity”. This principle implies that the various institutions should create the conditions necessary to enable the person and the social groups to act freely in the performance of their business. The intervention of the entity of higher level, if necessary, must be temporary and aimed to restore the autonomy of action to the lower level entity.

LabGov and Collaboriamo.org. The adoption of the participant observation's approach in the study contexts was useful to better understand the frame of reference. In addition, the key players of 'Milan Sharing City' and 'Sharing City Seoul' has been interviewed in order to retrace the origin of the process, its general framework, current outcomes and future possibilities.

3. MILANO SHARING CITY

3.1 Reference context

Milan with its 1.300.000 inhabitants, is the second Italian Municipality for inhabitants after Rome and, with the conurbation, it is the third metropolitan area more populated in Europe after London and Paris. An urban sprawl, as defined by Martinotti⁸ looking at the "vast lands" of Sernini, with a special social stratification that sees city users and commuters besides residents in the usage and consumption of the city.

Milan represents the biggest industrial city in Italy; it is the heart of many financial businesses and today is the Italian city that hosts the major number of startups (470 according to data from UnionCamere). It is a center of attraction for the main economic and also cultural and social tendencies. From a technological point of view is the more wired city in Europe with 7 thousand kilometers of pipelines and 375 thousand kilometers of fiber. It offers free OpenWi-Fi with more than 600 access points, 237 open data sets for citizens and businesses and 30 Digital Islands⁹. The advanced technological infrastructure (see the traffic management, the alternative mobility, the goods logistic and the citizens' services such as IT help desks, social wealth programs, civic crowdfunding...) has been intensified in view of Expo 2015 to offer a "widespread Expo" integrated in the territory that hosts it. An example is the E015-Digital Ecosystem¹⁰, a digital environment of cooperation, open, competitive and non-discriminatory to develop integrated software applications, which now has 495 subscriptions¹¹.

The city is characterized also by a strong citizen dynamism, an active Third Sector with many networks committed to reply at the main urban problems and many voluntary groups. Citizens know their social reality and try to contribute at the social and environmental prosperity; they are proactive, with a strong civic consciousness and high social participation. As emphasized by Galliano, project manager of Milan Smart City, the city of Milan is always very lively and responsive when stimulated and its actors are able to grasp the common goals in an amazing way.

Anyway, it should be stressed that the city is undergoing a gradual aging of the population, birth rates tend to decrease and the housing market pushes more and more the new generations towards the metropolitan area. The families are experiencing a worsening of their living conditions, signaled mainly by the high load index, and are knowing a deep modification of their organizational structures, revealed by the increase of singles and by the growing rate of women in employment. The middle classes appear destabilized in professional terms, wages are often inadequate compared with the levels of consumption and the rising immigration rates redraws the work and social map of the city. Social vulnerability, instability and social exclusion increase and the growing commuting (in a metropolitan area that centralized economic activities in the city center) determines congestion, traffic and worsening environmental conditions.

⁸ See the interview to Martinotti at the online address <http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/ricerca/martinotti/WebTv/>

⁹ A Digital Island is a hyper-technological outdoor space which is open to citizens and tourists to communicate, inform and move in a sustainable manner. Each island offers a package of interactive services that give the opportunity to have a 360° experience and explore the city easily.

¹⁰ E015 is a collaborative effort between the Company EXPO 2015 SpA and the business system represented by Confindustria, the Chamber of Commerce of Milan, Confcommercio, Assolombardia and Union of Commerce, with the scientific coordination of CEFRIEL-Politecnico di Milano.

¹¹ The ecosystem provides to all enterprises, public institutions, associations and other public and private entities of the territory the opportunity to work in an integrated way, creating new relationships and forms of collaboration by taking advantage of the opportunities generated by Expo. The information is taken from the site www.milanosmartcity.org

3.2 Policy Strategy

To reply to all these challenges, that are common in all the Italian and European cities, and to foster innovation promoting social inclusion at the same time, the public administration of Milan has welcomed the external incitements on the topic of the sharing economy, evaluating it as an additional strategy potentially winning and including it in its agenda, thus becoming the first Italian city to adopt a policy of “sharing”.

The first step, in fact, came from outside the administration, with the birth of *Sharexpo*¹²: *Milan shared city for Expo 2015*, launched by Collaboriamo¹³, Eni Enrico Mattei Foundation¹⁴, Modacult¹⁵, Expolab¹⁶ and Secolo Urbano¹⁷. It has been a real participatory process started with the aim of providing an incentive to the normative design and innovation in favor of collaborative services, that has been able to highlight the potential of the collaborative economy in Milan. The origin of the project is the event Sharitaly¹⁸ of November 2013, a major convention on sharing economy and the first Italian event entirely dedicated to this emerging paradigm. It was followed by *ad hoc* working tables involving startups, large corporations, associations, social enterprises, government agencies, research centers etc. Thanks to a careful job of coordination, a Steering Committee for Sharexpo has been created, with significant contributions and interesting impulses and reflections around the smart city. In July 2014 the Sharexpo official document of launching has been presented with its set of specific goals¹⁹: to analyze the role of a mega event such as Expo 2015 as a potential driving force for Shareable Cities; to identify critical issues and potentialities in five sectors (mobility, hospitality, food, leisure and work); to identify the role of the sharing economy and decline it in the five areas identified; to evaluate areas for improvement in regulatory, cultural and organizational terms; to develop a strategy for action; to realize a feasibility report at employment, economic, territorial, cultural and social level. The impulse for a deep reflection is thus arrived thanks to the international exposition, finding immediately a very fertile ground.

The public administration has supported from the beginning these first solicitations, recognizing the will of commitment coming from the bottom and demonstrating an already rooted sensitivity toward innovations. Considering the citizen incitements in line with its political address it has opened an **online public consultation**²⁰ equipped with a questionnaire to collect, directly from citizenship, information, requests, demands, ideas

¹² The main goal of Sharexpo was to bring to the attention of Institutions, economic players and grassroots the emerging topic of sharing economy, as well as to stimulate a cultural reflection on this theme.

¹³ Collaboriamo.org is an online platform of experts of the sharing economy, that offers studies, information, training and consulting to start ups and public administrations that want to know the opportunities offered by the collaborative economy, to design a new service or to develop partnerships with existing platforms. The official website is www.collaboriamo.org

¹⁴ Fondazione Eni Enrico Mattei (FEEM) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan research institution devoted to the study of sustainable development and global governance. Its mission is to improve through research the quality of decision-making in public and private spheres. This goal is achieved by creating an international and multidisciplinary network of researchers working on several innovative programmes, by providing and promoting training in specialized areas of research, by disseminating research results through a wide range of outreach activities, and by delivering directly to policy makers via participation in various institutional fora.

¹⁵ ModaCult is a Centre for the study of Fashion and Cultural Production, a research institute founded in 1996 within the Faculty of Political Science at the Catholic University of Milan. It has an international reputation in the field of socio-cultural studies in fashion, together with a strong consolidated experience in research on consumer and gender studies, cultural industries, culture-led urban regeneration and creative districts.

¹⁶ The Laboratory "UCSC ExpoLAB" was founded in 2011 and it will exist until the end of the World Exposition taking place in Milan in 2015, whose title is "Feeding the Planet, Energy for Life". The aim of UCSC ExpoLAB is promoting, coordinating and implementing all the scientific activities, the concrete initiatives for the spreading of good practices and the specific initiatives that Università Cattolica will develop on the EXPO 2015 themes.

¹⁷ Secolo Urbano is a consulting group on cities and communication strategy. It is the first Italian group of Italian urban consultants who combines technical and creative skills. Goal: to bring the urban agenda in Italy.

¹⁸ Sharitaly is a format born with the aim to report the Italian sharing economy frame. In November 2015 will be held the third edition. It is a space for collaborative services, businesses, start ups, and administration to exchange ideas, monitoring the Italian situation and brainstorming on new perspectives. The first edition was held in Milan (November, 29 2013), the second one in Rome, December, 1 2014 and the third will be inside the "Collaborative week" that will be held in Milan. To follow is reports and info see the official website: <http://www.sharitaly.com/>

¹⁹ "SharExpo: Milano città condivisa per Expo 2015. Documento di indirizzo, 30 giugno 2014". The document is available at the address: <http://www.sharexpo.it/il-documento/>

²⁰ The text of the online public consultation can be seen at the address: https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1ta6q86Qk4mi7_LGOBhtb1GYxffvBbgewmVHPzKGI76U/closedform

regarding the possibility of pushing on collaborative and sharing services. The consultation highlighted the importance for the PA to become an “enabling platform”²¹ of the sharing economy. How?

- Systematizing the more relevant local experiences
- Training and informing citizens on the issues of the sharing/collaboration
- Strengthening the forms of participation and the links between companies and the collaborative experiences of active citizenship
- Promoting the creation of new businesses in the field of sharing / collaboration and with social vocation
- Becoming itself an *early adopter* of collaborative services and favoring the dynamics of cooperation including the integration of conditional clauses in some public calls
- Clarifying the legislative frameworks and the referring rules of major collaborative services (especially with regard to safety and forms of taxation).

Beside the consultation, open to anyone who wanted to help, the Municipality organized several public events on the topic. The consultation process has driven businesses, associations, movements of consumers, citizens, etc... to connect directly with the public administration, generating a huge patrimony of input and information, unprecedented for the city and for Italy as a whole, a real *collaborative policy making process*. In December 2014 the Municipality has approved the **Guidelines on “Sharing Economy”**²², precisely a result of the information collected through the consultation. These *guidelines* make clear the administrative purpose and what can be the role of the PA. As one can read on the resolution guidelines *“In an interinstitutional and multi-governance context, the public Administration can create the conditions so that those who are now potential opportunities for the city become effective opportunities for growth, innovation and inclusion, enhancing existing practices and inspiring new ones that are responsive to the needs of the city”*. A statement that shows the proactive approach of the public administration about the new economy of collaboration and the role that it could play in the urban context.

Among the various actions that the City intends to implement, some steps have already been taken, including the mapping of actors (35% of experts, 65% operators for a total of 75 participants²³) and the systematization of the most important experiences of the territory along with the support to the communication of such initiatives. The mapping has revealed a social and economic fabric particularly dynamic, diverse and heterogeneous, different from what the mainstream literature on the subject suggests, since more focused on territorial localization and on social issues and less on technological innovations (Pais, Milano(è)In, 07.06.2015).

The PA is working also on the field of the research, promoting the development of research activities on the economic, environmental and social impacts of the sharing and collaborative economy. It has also launched an experimental **civic crowdfunding**²⁴ seeking to create and let emerge innovative projects and shared social networks related to social gatherings, to a more accessible and attentive city to the needs of persons with disabilities, to the elderly and the families, with an allocation of over 400 thousand euros. The Council Member Tajani²⁵ underlines that *“thanks to these crowdfunding actions, new innovative projects with a high social content will have a real opportunity to fund them and will favor the development of a more innovative city that looks at the future in a supportive way”*.

All these initiatives are part of a more articulated reasoning that the city is carrying on looking at the social innovation as a way, a tool, to favor the social inclusion. The project “Milano(è)In” of the Labor Policies Division,

²¹ The information are taken from the official website of Milano Smart City: <http://www.milanosmartcity.org/joomla/images/il%20network%20della%20sharing%20economy.pdf>

²² The guidelines of Milan Sharing City are available at the online address: http://www.milanosmartcity.org/joomla/images/milano%20sharing%20city_finale.pdf

²³ Data of July 6, 2015. The network is growing and it is still possible to register as operators or experts.

²⁴ The announcement of the civic crowdfunding experimentation is reported on the official web site of Milano Smart City. <http://www.milanosmartcity.org/joomla/7-notizie/45-crowdfundig-civico-al-via-la-sperimentazione-con-un-stanziamiento-di-oltre-400-mila-euro>

²⁵ Council Member of the Labor Policies Division of the Municipality of Milan.

thanks to the support of the innovation and sharing economy protagonists of Milan, is activating skills, competences and resources in order to exploit the city potential in favor of better social inclusion.

See for example the 5 incubators with active participation of the municipality: FabriQ, this year at its second edition, born to promote and incentivize the emergence of new social businesses; Alimenta2Talent, PoliHub, SpeedMiUp e A.I.R (born in prisons). To these initiatives three more activities will be undertaken during 2016, actions related to the idea of space re-use: the space of Via D'Azeglio, the ex-Ansaldo (just become BASE MILANO) and Smart City Lab. The total administration investment is over 18 million euro, a found to meet the needs of those who want to do business and innovation. The first space will gift the city with a modern FabLab and services for new digital artisans; Ex-Ansaldo space, with its 6000 square meters, will host activities and projects related to the development of cultural creativity and entrepreneurship and the tender will last 21 years; Smart City Lab, realized with the support of Ministry of Economic Development, will allow, with its 4000 square meters, to incubate innovative companies with high technological value and will be equipped with a showroom to exhibit the technologies produced, a co-working and a conference room. Beside these realities, in Calusca alley will be open the "Casa della Collaborazione - Collaboration House", a place to meet, debate and discuss for operators of the sharing economy and not only. A call will define the manager and supervisor actor that together with the net will self-organize to bring forward the networking activity, in collaboration with the public administration. The promotion of calls for the provision of funds for business ventures and start-ups dealing with sharing economy is another point of the guidelines relating to the activities that the municipality can and is committed to realize. Milan among other things includes the highest number of coworking in Italy (32) and various spaces for the makers, and the City Council, in a logic of optimizing resources, has provided vouchers for the use of these spaces²⁶.

From the point of view of shared use, as required by the guidelines, the City is committed to providing enabling infrastructure such as physical and virtual spaces of discussion and engagement: more than 22,000 square meters of unused spaces have been assigned to associations, startups and citizens. 8 new shared gardens (34 thousand square meters) have been set up, and 24 houses for the solidarity hospitality have been realized. The mobility sector is then certainly one of the most important field where the sharing economy is working: 4 carsharing operators with over 2,000 users daily, sharing of scooters and bikes with pedal assistance, in addition to the classic bikesharing that counts 10,000 users daily.

Whithin the administration, many different divisions are involved: Mobility, Labor, Culture, Sport and Urbanistic, in a logic of high engagement, internal comparison and integration of approaches, visions and activities; in addition the municipality has established a group of external consultants, experts on innovation and sharing economy, in order to have a professional support and it has involved international advisors, as April Rinne²⁷. Recognize the need to train the staff and to collaborate with experts on the topic is considered one of the basic precondition to start a useful discourse on the concept of sharing city.

The incitements that the City has wisely and skillfully collected run in parallel with its internal address, already voted to social innovation as a means to promote social inclusion, and they are part of a broader projects, that of Milan Smart City. In the ranking of Italian Smart City of Forum Pa 2015, Milan was in first place and, as seen, the city has all the necessary infrastructure to be regarded as such, not to mention that it had the ability to connect institutions, people, universities and associations, through the creation of six thematic working groups corresponding to the six pillars of Smart Cities (classification of the University of Vienna): Smart Economy, Smart Living, Smart Environment, Smart Mobility, Smart People, Smart Governance, adding a table dedicated to EXPO. It believes that only through an ongoing dialogue and exchange with their communities of practice it is possible to create a smart, green and inclusive city. Only in cooperation between public and private Milan can compete at national and European level to become a benchmark for innovation and sustainability. Milan can be

²⁶ The project and the call on civic crowdfunding can be seen at the online address <http://www.coworkingproject.com/2013/03/28/milano-e-il-coworking-un-esempio-per-8-091-comuni-italiani/>

²⁷ April Rinne is Chief Strategy Officer at Collaborative Lab, and she is one of the biggest expert on sharing economy at international level.

considered a Human Smart City, using the words of Galliano, and so it is clear the importance given to the human factor rather than the technology, which is certainly an enabling factor but not the ultimate goal.

At international level, the city is already active member of the major European and global networks dealing with Smart Cities and, at local level, Municipality and Chamber of Commerce are engaged in the creation of stable partnership among different realities, in the field of research, social innovation, business and finance. Milan has recently becomes part of the project “100 Resilient cities”²⁸ promoted by the Rockefeller Foundation (100RC) and addressed to help cities around the world to become more resilient in responding to physical, economic and social challenges.

In this paper is not possible describe or even name all the initiatives that the city is supporting and proposing itself (Green City, 100in1day project, BookCity, Fuori Salone, Expo in Città, ecc.). The vibrant dynamism that is going through the municipality, the no profit sector, the citizens, the innovative businesses, fuels an incredible network voted to participation, collaboration, inclusion, social cohesion, public-private cooperation, strong public engagement, active citizenship, and also perspectives of economic development and hope for a better future.

4. SHARING CITY SEOUL

4.1 Reference context

Seoul, South Korea capital, in less than 50 years has grown from an annual per capita income of \$ 100 to a value of € 23,000, becoming one of the world’s major economies. The economic boom, the so-called “Miracle of the Han river”²⁹, has brought a wave of rapid industrialization and urbanization, a strong technological development, a boom in education, better standards of living and fast modernization. Seoul, the second largest metropolitan area in the world, after Tokyo, with over 25.6 million inhabitants (data from the Ministry of Justice³⁰), is the perfect synthesis of this explosive economic growth, and brings with it both positive and perverse forms of developments.

From one side there are cutting-edge technological infrastructures, with important technological Hub (Digital Media City, Gangnam) and headquarters of global corporations such as Samsung, LG, Hyundai-Kia. According to the “City of opportunities”³¹ PwC 2014, Seoul is at the top level of technological maturity (Technology Readiness Level – TRL) and has the densest public transport infrastructure in the world, ranked by the Sustainable Cities Index³² as the better infrastructure in the northern hemisphere. The city is served by high-speed train KTX, and has the longest underground network in the world³³, enriched with 4G LTE connection, WiFi and DMB also inside the wagons. A true “next generation IT mega-city” that is the pride of a nation that has a smartphone penetration rate of 73% and 84% of the Internet, the highest average speed of connection in the world and a staggering 95% of households with broadband connection.

²⁸ The info are taken from the official website of the Municipality of Milan: <http://www.comune.milano.it/dseserver/webcity/comunicati.nsf/weball/970D0A2827191657C1257DA30046D99D>
http://www.comune.milano.it/wps/portal/ist/it/news/salastampa/comunicati_stampa/archivio_2015/Decesaris_Fondazione_Rockefeller_resilienze

²⁹ This report explains the origin of the so-called Miracle of the Han River: http://www.eastonline.eu/attachments/article/1590/East_49_Il_miracolo_del_fiume_Han.pdf

³⁰ 통계표명 : 주민등록 인구통계 (in coreano). Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs. 4 April 2015.

http://www.moj.go.kr/HP/COM/bbs_03/ShowData.do?strNbodCd=noti0097&strWrtNo=167&strAnsNo=A&strFilePath=moj/&strRtnURL=MOJ_40402000&strOrgGbnCd=104000

³¹ The PWC Report is available at the address: <http://www.pwc.com/us/en/cities-of-opportunity/2014/assets/cities-of-opportunity-2014.pdf>

³² See the Sustainable City Index 2015 at the address: <http://www.sustainablecitiesindex.com/wp-content/uploads/Sustainable-Cities-Index-2015-Press-Release.pdf>

³³ Info about the metro and subway system of Seoul: <http://www.railway-technology.com/features/featurethe-worlds-longest-metro-and-subway-systems-4144725>

The flip side of this great provision of infrastructures is represented by a busy traffic and a strong industrial pollution, which pushed the Korean government to draw up specific action plans and strict measures of ecological nature, especially in terms of fighting smog, water and air pollution³⁴. In addition, the deep urbanization and the demographic growth affect the quality of life of Seoulites. The city is increasingly overworked, in a hurry, stressed and on the verge of a nervous breakdown. Nationally, the divorce rate is rising, young people face strong social pressure in which status and image are the key elements of the success and the students suffer from the high academic expectations; the suicide rate is among the highest in the world and the macho corporate culture encourages alcohol abuse after work³⁵. Social pressure and competition are very strong and are generating the spread of stress related pathologies such as depression. So below the surface of widespread prosperity, forms of exclusion, tendency to isolation and weakening of social ties emerge. Moreover, families are getting smaller, social services and retirement funds are inadequate, one-third of the elderly live below the poverty line, unemployment is increasing, the population is aging dramatically and women still suffer discrimination. In combination with this a lifestyle strongly consumerist can be registered, so that the city generates 9,000 tons of waste every day and 49% of the families are in a situation of debt³⁶.

4.2 Policy Strategy

The city is aware that soon the so-called breaking point will be reached and for this reason the last and current administration, led by the mayor Park Won-Soon, has started a deep reflection on the strategies to use in order to reply at the current urban challenges. The reflection was based on the existing infrastructures and on the city potentialities. Back in 2008, in conjunction with the global economic crises, the city starts to talk about the Sharing Economy, but it is in 2012 that the issues was introduced in its political agenda, as a complementary and experimental way to support the economic development, reduce the environmental impact and strengthen the social cohesion. The incitement came directly from the Mayor, who has a long experience of activism (more than 30 years) and a strong orientation towards citizens and their wellbeing. The previous administration was more focused on infrastructures and technologies and created the proper field that today are allowing the sharing economy services to thrive. As underlined by Nan Shil Kwon, a spokeswoman of Creative Commons Korea, the high penetration of IT services and social networks has naturally led to the identification of the sharing economy as an intervention strategy, facilitating the adoption and dissemination of sharing and collaboration practices and encouraging the development of projects and business associated with them. So the city has embraced the sharing economy declaring to be a Sharing City for the first time in September 2012 and applying the concept of sharing economy to its urban policies.

The main peculiarity of Sharing City Seoul is the great commitment of the Seoul Metropolitan Government (SME) and therefore the strong public engagement. Seoul aims to bring the sharing economy for all its citizens, expanding sharing infrastructure, promoting businesses that are already dealing with sharing, incubating new companies, putting back into circulation underutilized public resources and providing greater access to data and digital. Overall, it aims to create an ecology where the sharing economy can develop in an autogenous way, a “Sharing Ecosystem” based on a “Sharing Cultures”, a new sensitivity towards sharing, cooperation, exchange, collaboration. For this reason has been drawn up the **“Seoul Metropolitan Government Act for Promoting Sharing”**³⁷ which provides the legal framework to support non-profit organizations that work in the sharing

³⁴ Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Construction and Transportation, Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Energy, and Ministry of Environment are working with a group of environmental NGOs (The Alliance) and the major car industries, to launch a plan of rerouting the urban air quality. The focus is mainly the metropolitan area of Seoul where the first concern are the PM10 levels that affect both the environment and people’s health. More info are available at the address: <http://epi.yale.edu/indicators-in-practice/air-quality-index-seoul-south-korea>.

³⁵ There is also an article of the New York Times that deals with this topic. It is available at the address: http://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/07/world/asia/07iht-psych07.html?_r=0

³⁶ I report the interesting article about Seoul of Shareable, available at the address <http://www.shareable.net/blog/sharing-city-seoul-a-model-for-the-world>

³⁷ No. 5619, Jan. 09, 2014

economy field while committing the necessary infrastructures for the promotion of the Sharing Economy. The measures on which it has worked are mainly:

1. *Preparation of laws and systems to promote sharing.* After declared itself “Sharing City” in September 2012, on December 31 of the same year, the “**Seoul Metropolitan City Sharing Promotion Ordinance**”³⁸ has been enacted, thanks to a series of public hearings that allowed the local government to collect info and opinions from sharing economy activists and citizens. The newly enacted ordinance establishes the rules for implementing the project and dictates the support of the city in the vitalization of sharing not only in the public sector, but also in the private sector. In fact, in the project are included companies and organizations able to act on specific social problems, recognized as “sharing companies/organizations” and supported by the government, and new startups that can count on a public guarantee (the logo of the project, the blue peanut, marked the selected organizations). In the first phase of the project 20 new sharing enterprises has been selected (Youth Business Startup Incubation program), providing offices and work spaces, advisory services and a total of 240 thousand dollars to 10 startup. The total investment has been of 450 thousand dollars in 27 sharing organizations or businesses. Among these there are online platforms that facilitate the house sharing, in AirBnb style (Kozaza, BnB Hero...), baby clothes exchange (Kiple), parking lot sharing and exchange of different type of goods and knowledge and skills³⁹.
2. *Establishment of a policy execution body under private-public governance.* The cooperation between private and public sector is the key of the project. In February 2013 the city established the **Sharing Promotion Committee**⁴⁰, composed by 15 members, 12 coming from the private sectors of IT, CSR and social innovation and 3 from the public administration (a city councilor and officials). The committee deliberates on the selection of ‘sharing companies’ and suggests diverse opinions on business operation, monitoring and evaluating their work. As suggested by the professor Jihoon Jeon, member of the Committee, the local government has addressed in first instance to the services providers rather than the customers because if the city is able to provide good services and at the same time to spread awareness of the potential of these new forms of economy, citizens naturally will follow and enter in the process. As also Botsman and Rogers believe, if there is a system that facilitates sharing, reuse and participation, the society will adopt it (2010).
3. *Opening of an online sharing information portal (SHARE HUB).* **ShareHub.kr** is the gateway to the Sharing Economy in the city, the bridge that connects citizens, businesses and local government. Created thanks to the cooperation with a private organizations, Creative Commons Korea⁴¹ (and managed by it), the web portal gathers all the information and experiences of sharing and collaborative consumption of the city. It introduces also the overseas sharing activities, allows the connection of people, businesses, government and NGOs interested in a better sharing and supports networking with sharing related companies and organizations. The Seoul Metropolitan Government provides administrative and financial support, cooperating on some aspects such as management and advertising of the sharing companies. As underlined by Mr. Hak Young-Song, project manager of the Social Innovation Division, through the portal citizens are always informed on the organized events and can express their opinion generating an ongoing exchange of ideas. The byword is “*Sharing is the way of life for sustainable tomorrow*”.

³⁸ The “Seoul Metropolitan City Sharing Promotion Ordinance” can be seen at the address:
<http://legal.seoul.go.kr/legal/english/front/page/law.html?pAct=lawView&pPromNo=1191>

³⁹ For a complete list of companies and start-ups selected, please consult the guide “Sharing City, Seoul”
<http://www.slideshare.net/cckslide/sharing-cityseoulenglish>.

⁴⁰ As one can read in the article n.11 of the SEOUL METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT ORDINANCE ON THE PROMOTION OF SHARING (Partial Amendment No. 5619, Jan. 09, 2014) “The Mayor shall establish the Sharing Promotion Committee of Seoul Metropolitan Government under his/her command in order to deliberate and provide advice on policies for the promotion of sharing and support for sharing organizations or sharing enterprises”.

⁴¹ Official web site of Creative Commons Korea: <http://creativecommons.or.kr/xs/main>

4. *Seoul Metropolitan Government, promoter of the sharing economy.* The main role that local government is playing is to be an enabling platform for advertising events and sharing services, for deploying of a strong sensitivity on the topic and for supporting companies based on sharing values. The city does not handle businesses directly but helps start-ups who work in sharing to find a place in the market, provides programs of entrepreneurial support, advices and mentoring sessions with senior entrepreneurs and experts, and also advertises events, initiatives and platforms. One example is the “Sharing Economy Startup School”, today at its third edition⁴².
5. *Installation of an information exchange window with the world.* The city of Seoul really cares about international relations and perspectives exchanges with foreign experts, it is always well informed on the development of the sharing economy abroad and aims to reinvigorate its project thanks to the comparison. For this reason, among the first initiatives, a **Sharing Economy Advisory Group** has been created. International experts compose it: Joe Gebbia, Airbnb co-founder, Rachel Botsman director of Collaborative Lab, April Rinne, CSO of Collaborative Lab, Herald Heinrichs, professor at the Lüneburg University, Neal Gorenflo, co-founder of Shareable. The group meets periodically to provide information on the trends of the sharing economy abroad and give ad hoc advices.

The project “Sharing City Seoul” is focusing on new sharing economy businesses able to reply at some of the biggest social problems for the citizens (such as meetings between generations, recycling, reducing isolation, creating community, creating new jobs ...) providing funding and specific advisory programs with experts in communications, marketing and social business, organizing meetings not only for the selected organizations but also for future entrepreneurs and for all those who have an idea of sharing business. Within the project the public administration intends to raise awareness among citizens around the concept of sharing, encouraging its practice, with specific local events (such as the Sharing Seoul City Fair⁴³, the Sharing Market) and meetings in schools (Start Sharing Economy School, Sharing Economy Clubs, Schools Sharing) in order to let know people what they can share in the city, when and how. In addition, the Municipality is opening its public spaces to citizenship, allowing companies and citizens to organize events and allowing the opening of these areas during the usually closed hours. The attention to young people is a relevant element, not only inside the project but also in the general city agenda. The public administration is encouraging youth to consider the potentiality of the sharing economy to create new jobs opportunities, to reduce isolation and social exclusion, to create communities, to live in a sustainable way. For this reason, it has favored the opening of special spaces for young people, such as YouthZone⁴⁴ and YouthHub⁴⁵. Moreover, it is facilitating the use of private and public empty and unused spaces for parking (parking lot) and encouraging the shared use of the car (4 carsharing companies and 400,000 users). Thanks to this open attitude, to date 63 sharing companies⁴⁶ have been selected and supported, and by 2018 the aim is to get to 300; in addition, more than 23,000 groups of people have used shared spaces provided by the municipality, generating over 9,000 opportunities for shared use of the spaces. Within the same SME, the Citizens Hall has been created, a place for sharing opens to all citizens, where to find resources, spaces for discussion and proposals, opportunities to gather, exchange and cooperate. In this frame, the citizen is always at the center, since the SME has a precise inclination to human dimension and, as it declares, points to a real paradigm shift that affects the daily lives of its citizens. The option to select “Sharing villages” and to promote inside them good business models falls into this logic of supporting citizenship as main actors of the city system.

As for the case of Milan, also in Seoul, the initiatives of the project “Sharing City Seoul” are part of a broader framework of policies that the city is carrying on to improve the quality of life of citizens and make the city more

⁴² An interesting article on the School is available on the ShareHub portal at the address: <http://english.sharehub.kr/the-3rd-sharing-economy-start-school-commenced/>

⁴³ The event is reported in this English article of ShareHub: <http://english.sharehub.kr/did-you-enjoy-sharing-city-seoul-fair/>

⁴⁴ The official web site of the space is <http://youthzone.kr/welcome>

⁴⁵ The official web site of the space is <http://www.youthhub.kr/international>

⁴⁶ ShareHub recently released some infographics that update the state of the project. The infographics are available at the address: <http://english.sharehub.kr/services-infographics/>

sustainable. An immediate example is the strategy “Sustainability in Social Economy”⁴⁷, with which the local government has designed, and is now implementing, a policy of comprehensive support to build a sustainable ecosystem, instead of the current business development policy based only on quantitative growth. The sharing economy initiatives fall into this strategy as the policies for the expansion of public spending or for the creation of an intermediate and systematic support system for the local development of regional ecosystem, or again for the support of social innovation business able to intercept and solve specific social problems. The initiatives are many that is difficult describe all in this paper, but another emblematic document that demonstrates the willingness of local government to push on these issues in a proactive way, is the recent Seoul Declaration (ES)⁴⁸, signed in April 2015 at the ICLEI World Congress 2015 and linked to the ICLEI new Strategic Plan 2015-2021. The declaration is a collaborative document that outlines a path of urban sustainability, recognizes the serious problems that beset the current society, and sets out how the city can change in response. The initiatives of sharing are also in line with the broader strategy “Smart Seoul”, divided in three steps: build Smart infrastructures (2011-2012) based on existing ICT projects, providing Smart Services (2013-2014), improve Smart services (2015). As the report “Smart Seoul 2015” says: *“By 2015, Seoul will become a city that best applies Smart technologies, through which we will make reality our slogan, ‘Seoul, a city of happy citizens and a city beloved by the world!’”*⁴⁹.

5. TWO MODELS IN COMPARISON

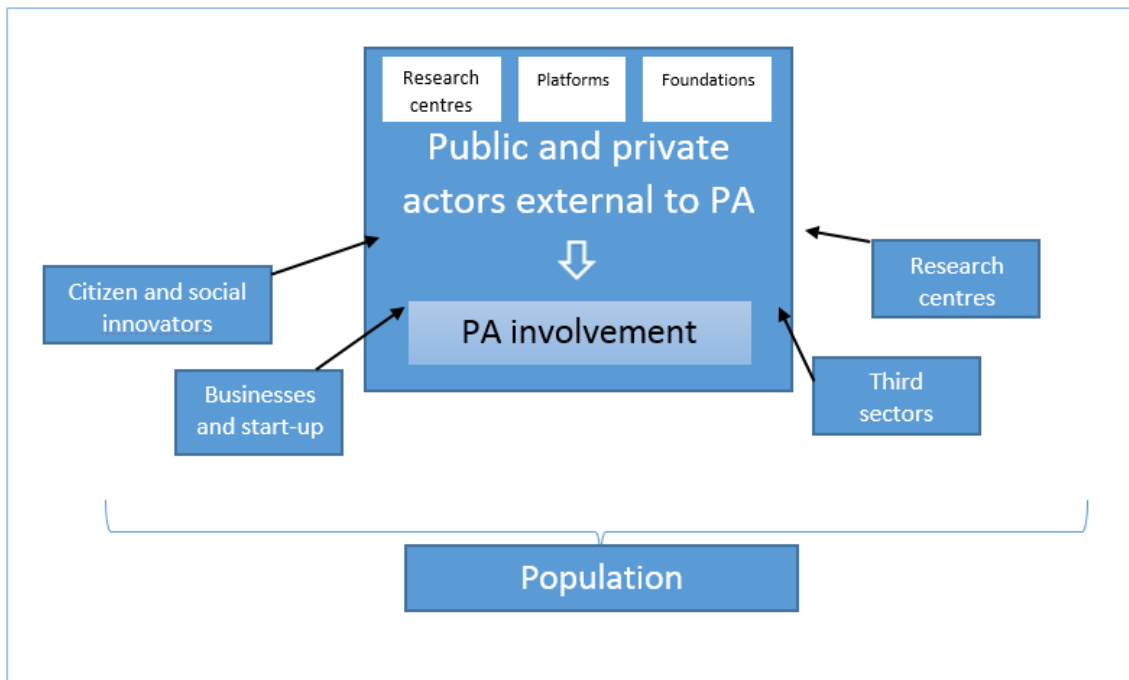
Both cities have opened to the sharing economy and are trying to incorporate it into their urban ecosystem as a means to reply in a resolutely way and with active tools to some of the biggest urban challenges. As shown, however, approaches, although they have a common goal, are different and demonstrate how to implement strategies potentially successful pursuing different paths. Two scenarios have been outlined:

1. In the first scenario, some public and private actors, external to the public administration, realize the benefits that the new forms of sharing and collaboration convey and stimulate a debate on this topic, creating opportunities for listening and working groups, involving the public administration too. The latter partakes the requests and opens to dialogue with the citizens and the economic and social actors of the territory, It collects their demands and needs, maps the realities and the actors already existing, creates a network of actors interested in the dynamics of sharing and thus comes into contact with the leading enterprises of the sector, with the various associations and movements on consumers protection. The first result is a huge wealth of input and information coming from outside. The process is collaborative and made on dialogue, with the aim to co-design and go-manage practices, spaces, goods and services. It culminates in a resolution by which the public administration undertakes to support innovation and the development and dissemination of sharing economy practices. The graph illustrates the reasoning.

⁴⁷ The initiatives can be seen at the online address http://www.gsef2013.org/session/session_2_0_4.asp?sMenu=sse2

⁴⁸ Read the declaration at the online address http://www.iclei.org/fileadmin/user_upload/ICLEI_WS/Documents/Governance/Council_meeting_April_2015/Seoul-Declaration_nomarks.pdf

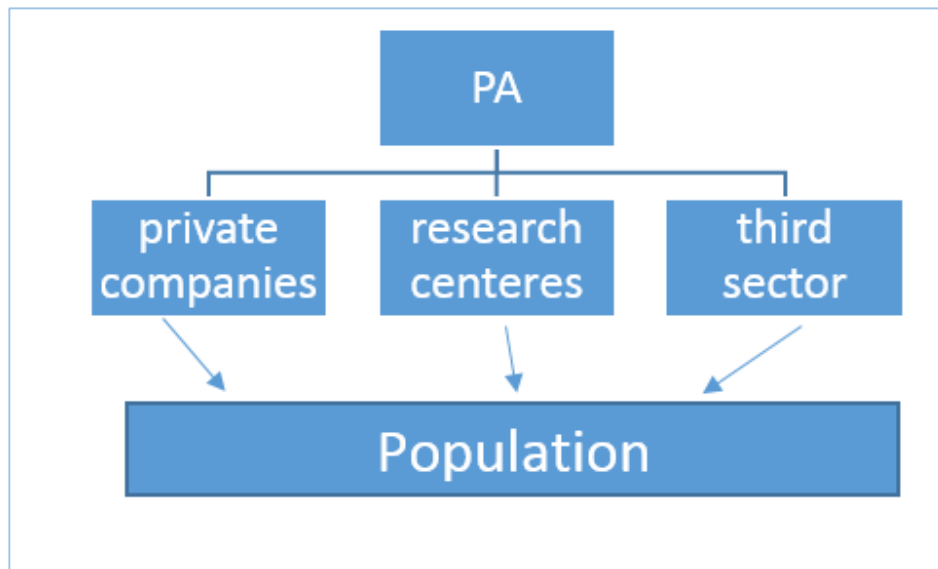
⁴⁹ The report can be downloaded at the address http://english.seoul.go.kr/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/smart_seoul_2015_41.pdf (p. 2)



Scenario 1. Source: the authors

The PA acts as a connector, an enabling platform, following the genuine developments of the territory, providing spaces and resources and opening up to outside expertise, best-trained and able to support the development of collaborative services. The municipality is just one of the many parties in presence, is not the most important neither the driving force. As underlined by Biraghi of Secolo Urbano: *“Milan is not is municipality [...], it has not a distinct strategic planning and outside it is represented in his long nets with other global cities not by institutional subjects but by economic sectors and particular interests, such as those of the fashion, of the finance, of the communication and of the design, by single actors that has a power, in terms of international relations, stronger of that of the Mayor. I’m thinking to Armani, or Prada or to personalities less known such as Gilda Boiardi (Interni, for the design) or Borioli (SuperStudioPiù) or Pikler (Zona Ventura)”* (interview). Also in the field of the sharing economy, the Municipality reflects this model, it does not conduct, but goes with, and it is accommodating and collects instances that come from the bottom, from the city itself. Milan is famous for its physical resilience, it has a morphology and a structure not particularly characterized that allows it to be the scene of prototypes and experiments. In terms of Sharing Economy, a model of widespread governance without an actor widely prevalent is going to replicate; as seen the public actor is accommodating and the experimentation method can be considered a pilot leading model. The approach of Milan respects the diversity of initiatives that are emerging from different perspectives, without a specific coordination of the administration. What elsewhere could be seen as a lack, in Milan becomes a strength, typical of the “Ambrosian approach” and in the Biraghi’s opinion is what makes Milan a true capital of the Sharing Economy, as it is in the fashion, design and finance fields.

2. In the second scenario, the public administration sees in the sharing economy a complementary and additional way to reply at the main urban problems and decides to promote them, organizing an agenda of interventions that favors citizens, social businesses and local companies. It analyzes the urban context, evaluates the social, economic and environmental needs and intercepts the cases of excellence in different fields (mobility, job, food, housing, sociality and knowledge). It supports the birth of new start-up and the development of the existing realities, as well as the birth of citizen committees and of new aggregation entities. The municipality becomes an enabling platform that favors the spread of the sharing economy services and promotes its use and knowledge. The graph illustrates the reasoning.



Scenario 2. Source: the authors

In this second case, the PA is the driving force of the entire process and the main party in presence, that addresses, conducts, organizes, manages and promotes experiences and activities.

There is a strong desire to make these practices a common practice, realizing a real ecosystem of sharing with all the actors involved. In this case, the push and the incentive come from the top and, in an attempt to implement the administrative idea, some *ad hoc* structures and smaller organizations and NGOs with the necessary skills to penetrate into the local fabric, have been created. The administration has shaped the required structures to launch the project in a regulated and coordinated way, looking at the providers' services (even before the customers), in order to create the right environment in which then instill the propensity of usage. In addition, it creates an internal Division, the Social Innovation Division, to manage the relations with the external actors. The process can be considered top-down, because without the driving force and economic support of the local government would hardly triggered the current public-private partnerships and the role of citizens would remains secondary. The context is different from the Italian one and also from the European setting, in Korea hierarchies are extremely vertical and the strict rules of conduct between the different levels make more difficult an exchange and a peer comparison, as it is simplest in scenario of Milan. This new approach allow a better dialogue among the parties involved.

Anyway, as remembered by professor Kyung-Min Kim, of the Seoul National University (interview), in Seoul even before the establishment of the Mayor and the launch of the program, there were movements of young people concerned with concrete actions to promote the improvement of the quality of life. However, these experiences were fragmented and discontinuous and today, intercepting the project Sharing City Seoul, they have a chance to spread in a more well-framed way, to create a more cohesive setting, to exploit the ground that the administration is preparing. As Seyfang and Smith (2007) underline, networks of activists and organizations promoting novel bottom-up solutions for sustainable development are emerging. They propose solutions responding to the local situation, interests and values of the communities involved and they are the real force able to integrate sharing economy in the system. In Seoul, some key actors interviewed consider the project a propaganda initiative, but they do not deny that the effects of the organizational machine undoubtedly fall on citizens and that, over time, the weaker targets of society (young people, women, elderly and marginalized subjects) will benefit from the initiatives in a systematic way. At this first level, citizens are start to understand the meaning of sharing, thanks to the ground that the municipality is creating. It should however be stressed that the Koreans have a long history of sharing (Poomasi) that today is made easier thanks to the new technologies and the structured work of PA. Other interviewees, as CCKorea⁵⁰, consider the project an

⁵⁰ The english version of the official web site of Creative Commons Korea is available at the online address:

operation not completely top-down, since the local government has immediately sought confrontation with citizens and businesses by organizing public hearings and meetings, although the possibility of action for these actors remains conditioned by the cultural context of belonging. In addition, citizens can interact, at any time, with the administration presenting projects and ideas. The people-centered approach is the driver for all the initiatives, as seen in the previous paragraph, and young people themselves are called upon to give opinions on and suggestions to the PA (Week of Youth, Youth Council ...). The direction has a public imprinting and, in this specific context, it represents the strength of the model.

6. DISCUSSION

The two cases are therefore similar but different at the same time. What pools them is the ultimate goal, the focus on social innovation and sharing, and the ability of the PA to realize its responsibility in creating the ecosystem. As noted by Manzini during a public gathering of the “Milano(è)In” round of meetings, ecosystems are powered by standards, rules and norms that prevent unnecessary detours and that can only be developed with specific cultural tools. *“But you cannot live by rules alone, these must be inserted into the big picture, to extract effectiveness from the solutions”*. The vision is therefore a central point and, as it is clear from the data collected, in both case studies it is not lacking. The city of Seoul is maybe doing it in a more structured and well-shaped way from the institutional perspective, and in some sense, more top-down. As seen in the section on Seoul policy strategy, the city has introduced the issue on the agenda and made clear statements of intents. It has enacted the Seoul Metropolitan Act for Promoting Sharing before and the Seoul Metropolitan City Sharing Promotion Ordinance right after, in order to make clear what role it wants to have and in what direction he wants to go. It has created a specifically division, the Social Innovation Division, and it has introduced specific advisory groups such as the Sharing Promotion Committee and the Advisory Board. It has launched an interface portal with its citizenship and created a brand releasing a certification to start-ups and social enterprises selected by its advisers in order to ensure quality and to increase the people confidence. It powered up public-private partnerships and opened itself up to listening citizens.

Also Milan starts with a clear vision: by the approval of the Guidelines, the Municipality has declared what is its role and what it can do to facilitate the process in the long term. However, a peculiarity of Milan is the cooperation also in the institutional definition (thanks to the online consultation) and the push of the process from the very bottom. The municipality can rely on the actors that launched the reflection in the city and on the external group of experts. The initiatives that is promoting run parallel to other intentionality related to Smart City, innovation and social inclusion. And the establishment of the “Casa della Collaborazione – House of Collaboration” will give a physical space to those who are involved or interested in the economy of sharing. The resolution on the civic crowdfunding is a further administrative attempt to enter into the logic of sharing. Overall, Milan is promoting a very innovative practice whereas there are no similar experimentations elsewhere, and even the pioneering case of Bologna followed different modalities.

Can we talk of collaborative governance? In the Iaione utterance: *“The definition and implementation of the political address is shared through patterns of governance (international treaty or institutionalized) that bind in a stable circuit of urban and territorial development government the actors belonging to the 5 souls of the collaborative governance: 1) citizens and social innovators; 2) business (profit, low profit, non-profit); 3) cognitive institutions (schools, universities, research centers, academies, cultural institutions); 4) civil society organizations (social parties and third sector); 5) public institutions*. It is more and more a shared reflection consider these actors as potential builders of effective and efficient practices of cooperation, both from the point of view of common perspectives and design and from the point of view of experimental attempts. To allow them a formal report and a joint and shared management, Iaione affirms the need to create real physical and institutional spaces where the 5 souls can gather and share strategic guidelines and policymaking. Places where they can implement these lines and trigger collaborative dynamics, reciprocal exchange, co-design

services for the community and the processes of urban and territorial transformation, industrial and productive innovation.

To do this, however, clear and shared rules are necessary, since the functions, the tasks and the modalities of collaboration must be regulated, and to draw up a sustainability and institutional fundraising plan is required. Paraphrasing the definition of collaborative governance given through the project of Co-Mantua, we can see the emergence of a pattern or a person that appear as an agency of local collaborative development and as a centre for research and community development at the service of all those involved in collaborative governance⁵¹. With the logical consequence of triggering also an innovation of the democratic process in which the political direction is shared and based on the dynamic collaboration of all the member of the local community.

In the two case studies, there are some of the fundamental ingredients of the collaborative governance, but not necessarily all. If Seoul proclaimed a statutory definition more detailed than Milan, the latter did it with a greater involvement of external actors, those who are considered the five pillars of the collaborative governance. If in Seoul the public-private partnerships are multiplying, in Milan this is less evident although cities and administration are strongly in dialogue and the planning skills go in this direction. If in Milan this current dynamism is generating an innovation also for the democratic process, in Seoul the administration remain the dominant actor and is not easy influence its leanings from the outside, even if the attention for people is strong and it is showing a remarkable openness and a great capacity to listen. The local, cultural and historical features of the two cases are different, by implying that there is not a model that can be imported as a whole or a solution “one-fit-all”. As many experts underline, such as Iaione, Cicero, Mainieri, Rinne, Gorenflo⁵², a customized work is required to shape the most effective and efficient model for the territory. We are not yet in the modelling phase, not even in more established and structured experiences as in the case of Bologna with its Regulation for the Commons. Milan and Seoul are pioneering experiences that go in the direction of co-management, co-production, co-reflection, collaboration and sharing with a particular focus on innovation, sustainability, equity and access, namely in the direction of co-city, but each has its own forms and aspects. Although one cannot speak of collaborative governance in all-round, the projects implemented are certainly disruptive and innovative and there are the prerequisites to improve the existing and create a real city of sharing. The transition will take time and for both case studies the question about the direction that future administrations can and will give has raised. However, both in Milan and in Seoul it is clear that things are coming along and although the election of 2016 will lead to a change of city councils, some experiences are so well established and already rooted that is impossible to delete the cooperation’s impulses and the wish of co-creation coming from citizens and social enterprises.

7. CONCLUSIONS

The two case studies are representatives of governance models born and strengthen in different contexts and with diverse dynamics, but both represent, as seen, pioneering and successful trends of trials of the sharing city. Their analysis allows us to highlight some peculiarities that are necessarily the background and the basis for driving the spread of collaborative practices in urban contexts. Practices that find a scope for action and development thanks to the openness of the PA, that is aware of the importance to include and involve non-state actors, and thanks to its attempt to change the classic logic of interaction, listening, and results among the actors involved.

⁵¹ The definition of collaborative governance given by Iaione and LabGov within the project Co-Mantua can be read at the online address <http://co-mantova.it/codizionario/>

⁵² Christian Iaione is a Luiss Professor, that is promoting with LabGov the spreading of new reflections on sharing economy and urban commons in Italy and abroad. Simone Cicero is a Strategist, Consultant and Collaborative Pathfinder. Marta Mainieri is the co-founder of Collaboriamo.org and promoter of Sharitaly and Sharexpo. April Rinne is a Chief Strategy Officer at Collaborative Lab. Neal Gorenflo is the founder of Shareable.com

The first key element that emerges is the necessity to enter in connection with a **PA that is aware, open-minded, caring and interested in promoting innovations**. The intent therefore should follow awareness. The PA must be able to question and rethink itself both in terms of training their staff internally and in terms of managing external relations and involve non-state actors. It should be transparent in the processes, ready to experiment itself as **early adopter** of sharing services and support consumers and services providers. Above all, as many authors suggested, it must have a clear vision from which elaborate an operative and strategic framework for the policies' design, to evaluate their direction and functioning and if needed work for changes. With such a framework, the PA can really intercept the needs of the parties in presence and reach a broader audience. The knowledge of the territory with its services is a crucial element since allows to start specific reasoning and reshape interventions. Understand the forces already at work on the local context and the dynamics that stimulated can engender scale effects, is a fundamental step to express and formulate with all the stakeholders befitting policies. And it is also the base to reason on the possible development of collaborative ideas in the local context. **Mapping the existing** is essential, it allows a clear vision of the existing services both online and offline and a better integration in a programmatic way to raise their visibility, efficiency, effectiveness and scalability. At the same time, it favors the design of new experimentations and the updating of the existing. The knowledge of the local context and its services is linked to the levels of sincere participation of the citizens. A context rich on participative excitement, on forms of civil society, citizens and businesses activism, and of will to create value, positively favors the possibility to activate reasoning and initiatives that support the values of sharing and collaboration. In both the cities seen we can detect a sensitive civil society, active and caring, even if the Italian case has in this aptitude as principal feature of energy, while the Korean case intercepts and feeds impulses that had no previous spaces of expression. The propensity to put attention on people, observed both in Milan and in Seoul, albeit with different nuances, is an essential key element to build an effective and efficient model of collaborative governance; listen and give voice to citizens, think in a perspective of improvement of their daily life is the basis that can generate a collaborative model of governance.

The development of a sharing city is so favored by these first contextual elements that allow to cultivate the strategies to follow and implement a **specific regulation on the sharing economy**.

Milan and Seoul can be considered models to follow, models that go in the right direction, since they have institutionalized with specific acts and resolutions their intentionalities and have issued a kind of Regulation/Guidelines to clarify the main city goals and how to reach them, the roles of every stakeholders involved, especially that of the public administration and which approach and vision have on the topic. Adopt a statutory regulation, as outlined in the definition of collaborative governance, is a key step to proceed with clear, transparent, formal and shared formulations. Also the presence of a *local working group* is essential, in order to reason in a systematic way on the possible initiatives and practices. The two case studies relied both in a sort of group of activation that, in the case of Milan has encouraged the reflection on the issue involving the PA, and in the case of Seoul has grown after the decision of the PA to embrace the sharing economy. However, the presence of an expert working group seems to be instrumental in disseminating and improving the local practices of sharing and collaboration.

The PA, in a collaborative governance model relates to different actors and it should understand the need of everyone and open to dialogue if it wants to ameliorate their relation. This form of peer co-existence and co-operation can facilitate the development and dissemination of social and collaborative services. From the point of view of business, the PA can act as a facilitator and provides incubation paths and training programs⁵³. To ease the involvement of traditional companies it can directly organize or give space for opportunities of discussion and awareness on the sharing topic, favoring a clear understanding of the nature of the collaborative economy, encouraging the birth of partnerships between traditional and new services and activating new products that develop the offer and provide greater trust to these services. In order to promote synergies between collaborative services and the third sector the PA can foster meetings that strengthen the relationship

⁵³ It is the case of Seoul and Milan, and someone even suggests to bring these programs inside schools in order to let children internalized the values related to the sharing economy and the usage of the services.

between digital world and territory, bringing to collaborative services the critical mass they need to grow and to the third sector new opportunities for advance and change. As mentioned earlier, the PA itself can become an actor of the platforms, an example for citizens, increasing confidence and trust testing in first person opportunities and difficulties. From a normative point of view, since many services and practices are moving in a sort of legal vacuum dictated by their novelty and particular features, the PA can find ways of minimal regulation to support the development of these services and practices and mitigate the impacts of existing regulations, in order not to stifle the rising innovation, but favor it, while encouraging its use by citizens.

To promote the use of these services is equally useful to drive a proper communication campaign able to transfer the values of cooperation, show the administrative effort in promoting them and clarify the potential benefits for each. In this campaign could be also convenient to adopt a web platform as access door to all the services, facilitating in this way the pooling and sharing, and the correlation among services. It is what the city of Seoul has made with ShareHub, discussed earlier.

The cases of Milan and Seoul follow these lines of development and the impacts already generated on the local tissue, although still not entirely computable, begin to glimpse. What the analysis show is the importance of fostering social innovation, leaving space for the creativity of citizens and innovators. The aptitude of the two municipalities, (to promote the realization of ideas of cooperation, facilitate the development of new service models, act as a collector of experiences) has the advantage of enable the development and dissemination of practices that simplify or improve the lives of citizens. Open to innovation means giving space for new frontiers of experimentations whose results directly affect citizens. Integrating innovation with the care and attention to citizens, and therefore with the issue of social inclusion as a means to facilitate the free expression of every individual and their active involvement in the practices, can have a substantial impact on people. Also support the emergence and spread of new service models promotes the economic development of the territory and the adoption of more sustainable consumption patterns.

Some cities by setting up projects of car and bike sharing estimate a reduction of their ecological footprint; others point out that thanks to the creation of new start-ups and social enterprises jobs in the area are increased; others again underline the potential of sharing economy in terms of creating social ties and communities of practices. Systemize and frame the integration and the support of the sharing services at local level, as are trying to do Milan and Seoul, involving in a direct way all those we are called the 5 souls of the collaborative governance, can change the face of the city and have extraordinary results. Such as to generate a bigger sense of belongings and increase the desire to meet and share, facilitate the local economic development by giving strength to high entrepreneurial aspirations and innovative business ideas and promote an improvement in terms of environmental sustainability.

Far from being a solution to all the ills of the city, however the sharing economy can encourage the emergence of powerful synergies potentially able to impact on the social, economic and environmental context in a positive way. As underlined by prominent supporters, like Janelle Orsi or Juliet Schor, the sharing economy seems to give both opportunities and serious concerns (Parsons, 2014). What that cities are doing is trying to integrate it in the society, experimenting forms of co-design and co-planning to co-create and co-operate in order to start a transition from the current consumeristic model, give new value to relations instead of things, re-imagine policies and construct a more participative democracy.

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