



URBAN PRACTICES AND SOCIAL NARRATIVES IN THE SHARING CITY. THE CONSTRUCTION OF IMAGINARIES FROM THE NEW COMMUNITIES OF SHARING

José Ignacio Sánchez Vergara

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Urban practices and social narratives in the sharing city. The construction of imaginaries from the new communities of sharing

José Ignacio Sánchez Vergara



DOCTORAL THESIS
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**Urban practices and social narratives in the sharing city.
The construction of imaginaries from the
new communities of sharing**

DOCTORAL THESIS

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UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI
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José Ignacio Sánchez Vergara



DEPARTAMENT DE GESTIÓ D'EMPRESSES
Universitat Rovira i Virgili

Facultat d'Economia i Empresa

FAIG CONSTAR que aquest treball, titulat “**Pràctiques urbanes i narratives socials en la *sharing city*. La construcció dels imaginaris des de les noves comunitats del compartir**”, que presenta **José Ignacio Sánchez Vergara** per a l’obtenció del títol de Doctor, ha estat realitzat sota la meua direcció al **Departament de Gestió d’Empreses** d’aquesta universitat.

HAGO CONSTAR que el presente trabajo, titulado “**Prácticas urbanas y narrativas sociales en la *sharing city*. La construcción de los imaginarios desde las nuevas comunidades del compartir**”, que presenta **José Ignacio Sánchez Vergara** para la obtención del título de Doctor, ha sido realizado bajo mi dirección en el **Departamento de Gestión de Empresas** de esta universidad.

I STATE that the present study, entitled “**Urban practices and social narratives in the *sharing city*. The construction of imaginaries from the new communities of sharing**”, presented by **José Ignacio Sánchez Vergara** for the award of the degree of Doctor, has been carried out under my supervision at the **Department of Business Management** of this university.

Reus, 25 de maig de 2021 / Reus, 25 de mayo de 2021 / Reus, May 25th, 2021.

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A en Xavi, el millor del meu present, el somriure de cada dia.
Gràcies per tanta ajuda, comprensió i temps prestat.
A tu, Lluç o Martina... que estàs per arribar.
Tot el que faig és per vosaltres!

«What changes people's minds are experiences –their own or those of others that are shared. Imaginative identity-reinforcing initiatives create the kind of experiences and pieces of content that generate engagement. (...) Admired communities operate in the landscape of culture and social engagement, not just economics and power.

(...) Also, not all imaginative community initiatives are marketable products or services. Sometimes they are “just” policies, public spaces or infrastructures that require investments to be made in an imaginative way so as to reinforce identity and positioning.

(...) What imaginative communities do is to change the narrative, by uplifting the community, influencing the media agenda and gradually seeping through into the consciousness of outsiders».

Robert Govers, *Imaginative Communities*, 2018.

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Esta tesis doctoral se centra en el estudio interdisciplinar del concepto de *sharing city* (SC). Se trata de una noción que combina ideas y principios de la economía colaborativa, la gestión urbana, y la activa participación de las comunidades en los procesos de transformación. El objetivo general fue explorar los imaginarios que se crean en la SC a partir de sus prácticas urbanas y narrativas sociales, vistos y analizados desde la gestión. La SC difunde discursos e ideas que han orientado debates relacionados a la sustentabilidad, la gobernanza y el bienestar ciudadano, sin embargo, sus implicaciones sociales y urbanas siguen siendo difusas. Por otra parte, el rol del espacio físico no se ha explorado suficientemente en la literatura científica sobre la SC.

El capítulo 1 es la introducción de la tesis. En esa sección se discuten algunas ideas iniciales, estructura, preguntas y objetivos de la investigación. La tesis se elaboró como un compendio de tres publicaciones, que constituyen los capítulos siguientes. En el capítulo 2 (artículo 1) se desarrolló una revisión sistemática de literatura sobre el concepto SC, en la que se consideraron las prácticas y narrativas que la producción científica había documentado previamente. Un valor importante añadido de este artículo es que se trata del primer estudio académico que examina y sistematiza las prácticas del compartir en la SC. Además, sugiere un panorama disciplinar de la SC y aclara los objetivos de la SC como propuesta urbana. Además, en este artículo se afianza la relación entre la etiqueta *sharing city* y cómo utiliza estrategias del *place branding* y *place management* para consolidar su representación.

El capítulo 3 (artículo 2) se enfoca en la implementación de proyectos de SC desde el actor institucional. Mediante el análisis de marcos interpretativos se exploró la comunicación estratégica de Barcelona como una SC por parte del ayuntamiento. Para ello se analizaron documentos producidos por su ayuntamiento acerca de la implementación y desarrollo de iniciativas de compartir. El lente de análisis empleado es el *frame analysis*, que clasifica los marcos interpretativos en pronósticos, diagnósticos y motivacionales. Los resultados del artículo demuestran que el gobierno local acompaña el crecimiento urbano desde una perspectiva social, utiliza herramientas discursivas para identificar e incluir a más actores dentro del proceso, y transmite los valores del compartir de forma positiva, especialmente para convencer sobre la adecuación de sus políticas en relación al proyecto de la SC. Las narrativas de la SC Barcelona se centran en la participación ciudadana como agente principal de cambio, con el gobierno como facilitador.

Resumen

El cuarto capítulo (artículo 3) trata los espacios de coworking como una manifestación de los espacios compartidos de la SC. En esta investigación se exploró el actor empresa, y cómo el espacio físico promueve prácticas de compartir en la comunidad. El estudio se realizó en oficinas de Barcelona y Berlín, siguiendo el método de Teoría Fundamentada (*Grounded Theory*). Los resultados identificaron que se crean atmósferas de lugar para promover tanto el compartir como el compromiso de los miembros con el espacio/comunidad. También, el compartir se refuerza con acciones de relaciones públicas y el diseño interior. La figura del manager es fundamental para la práctica del coworking, y aunque su perfil profesional no es suficientemente claro, su estilo de gestión determina ciertas dinámicas del compartir, y cómo opera el espacio. Actualmente el mayor desafío de los espacios de coworking es su recuperación tras el COVID-19, y la adaptación del plan a nuevas medidas y necesidades de la comunidad.

La tesis finaliza con el capítulo 5, que expone las conclusiones generales, limitaciones y futuras líneas de investigación. De forma general, esta tesis contribuye a la discusión sobre la SC como una etiqueta emergente que enfoca ideas y valores comunitarios. Además, sitúa la atención en prácticas urbanas y narrativas sociales que promueven la relación permanente entre actores de la ciudad, así como la búsqueda del consenso ciudadano.

Abstract

This doctoral thesis focuses on the interdisciplinary study of the concept of sharing city (SC). It is a notion that combines ideas and principles of the sharing economy, urban management, and the active participation of communities in transformation processes. The general objective was to explore the imaginaries that are created in SC from its urban practices and social narratives, seen and analyzed from a management point of view. The SC disseminates discourses and ideas that have guided debates related to sustainability, governance, and citizen well-being, however, its social and urban implications remain diffuse. On the other hand, the role of physical space has not been sufficiently explored in the scientific literature on SC.

Chapter 1 is the introduction of the thesis. In this section, some initial ideas, structure, questions, and objectives of the investigation are discussed. The thesis was prepared as a compendium of three publications, which constitute the subsequent chapters. In Chapter 2, a systematic literature review on the concept of SC was developed (Article 1), in which the practices and narratives that the scientific production had previously documented were considered. An important added value of this article is that it is the first academic study that examines and systematizes the practices of sharing in SC. In addition, it suggests a disciplinary panorama of the SC and clarifies the objectives of the SC as an urban proposal. This article strengthens the relationship between the sharing city label and how it uses place branding and place management strategies to consolidate its representation.

Chapter 3 (Article 2) focuses on the implementation of SC projects by the institutional actor. Through the analysis of interpretive frameworks, the strategic communication of Barcelona as a SC by the city council was explored. For this purpose, documents produced by the city council about the implementation and development of sharing initiatives were analyzed. The analysis lens used is frame analysis, which classifies interpretive frames into prognostic, diagnostic, and motivational. The results of the article show that the local government follows urban growth from a social perspective, uses discursive tools to identify and include more actors in the process, and transmits the values of sharing in a positive way, especially to convince about the adequacy of its policies in relation to the SC project. The SC Barcelona narratives focus on citizen participation as the principal agent of change, with the government as a facilitator.

The fourth chapter (Article 3) treats coworking spaces as a manifestation of the shared spaces of the SC. In this research, the private company actor was explored, and how the

Abstract

physical space promotes sharing practices in the community. The study was carried out in offices in Barcelona and Berlin, following the Grounded Theory method. The results identified that atmospheres of place are created to promote both sharing and member engagement with the space/community. Also, sharing is reinforced with public relations actions and interior design. The figure of the manager is fundamental to the practice of coworking, and although his professional profile is not clear enough, his management style determines certain dynamics of sharing and how the space operates. Currently, the biggest challenge for coworking spaces is their recovery after COVID-19, and adapting the plan to new measures because of the pandemic and community needs.

The thesis ends with Chapter 5, which sets out the general conclusions, limitations, and future lines of research. This thesis contributes to the discussion of SC as an emerging label that focuses on community ideas and values. In addition, it places attention on urban practices and social narratives that promote the permanent relationship between city actors, as well as the search for citizen consensus.

Resum

Aquesta tesi doctoral es centra en l'estudi interdisciplinari del concepte de *sharing city* (SC). Es tracta d'una noció que combina idees i principis de l'economia col·laborativa, la gestió urbana, i la participació activa de les comunitats en els processos de transformació. L'objectiu general va ser el d'explorar els imaginaris que es creen en el SC a partir de les seves pràctiques urbanes i narratives socials, vistes i analitzades des de la gestió. La SC difon discursos i idees que han orientat debats relacionats amb la sostenibilitat, la governança i el benestar ciutadà, però, les seves implicacions socials i urbanes segueixen sent difuses. D'altra banda, el paper de l'espai físic no s'ha explorat prou en la literatura científica sobre el SC.

El capítol 1 és la introducció de la tesi. En aquesta secció es discuteixen algunes idees inicials, estructura, preguntes i objectius de la investigació. La tesi es va elaborar com un compendi de tres publicacions, que constitueixen els capítols següents. En el capítol 2 (article 1) es va desenvolupar una revisió sistemàtica de literatura sobre el concepte de SC, en la qual es van considerar les pràctiques i narratives que la producció científica havia documentat prèviament. Un valor afegit important d'aquest article és que es tracta del primer estudi acadèmic que examina i sistematitza les pràctiques de compartir a la SC. A més, suggereix un panorama disciplinar de la SC i clarifica els objectius de la SC com a proposta urbana. Així mateix, en aquest article es consolida la relació entre l'etiqueta *sharing city* i com utilitza estratègies del *place branding* i *place management* per consolidar la seva representació.

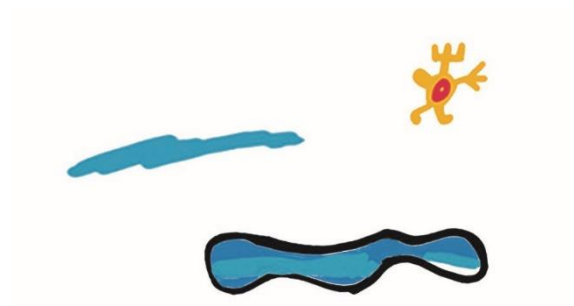
El capítol 3 (article 2) es focalitza en la implementació de projectes de SC des de l'actor institucional. Mitjançant l'anàlisi de marcs interpretatius es va explorar la comunicació estratègica de Barcelona com una SC per part de l'ajuntament. Per a això es van analitzar documents produïts pel seu ajuntament sobre la implementació i desenvolupament d'iniciatives del compartir. La lent d'anàlisi emprada ha estat el *frame analysis*, que classifica els marcs interpretatius en prognòstics, diagnòstics i motivacionals. Els resultats de l'article demostren que el govern local acompanya el creixement urbà des d'una perspectiva social, utilitza eines discursives per identificar i incloure a més actors dins del procés, i transmet els valors del compartir de forma positiva, especialment per a convèncer sobre l'adequació de les seves polítiques en relació al projecte de la SC. Les narratives de la SC Barcelona es centren en la participació ciutadana com a agent principal de canvi, amb el govern com a facilitador.

Resum

El capítol 4 (article 3) tracta els espais de cotreball (*coworking*) com una manifestació dels espais compartits de la SC. En aquesta investigació es va explorar l'actor empresa, i com l'espai físic promou pràctiques del compartir a la comunitat. L'estudi es va realitzar en oficines de Barcelona i Berlín, seguint el mètode de Teoria Fonamentada (*Grounded Theory*). Els resultats van identificar la creació d'atmosferes de lloc (*place atmospheres*) per a promoure tant el compartir com el compromís dels membres amb l'espai/comunitat. També, el compartir es reforça amb accions de relacions públiques i el disseny interior. La figura del *manager* és fonamental per a la pràctica del *coworking*, i encara que el seu perfil professional no és prou clar, el seu estil de gestió determina certes dinàmiques del compartir, i com opera l'espai. Actualment el major repte dels espais de *coworking* és la seva recuperació després del COVID-19, i l'adaptació del pla a noves mesures i necessitats de la comunitat.

La tesi finalitza amb el capítol 5, que exposa les conclusions generals, limitacions i futures línies de recerca. De forma general, aquesta tesi contribueix a la discussió sobre la SC com una etiqueta emergent que enfoca idees i valors comunitaris. A més, situa l'atenció en pràctiques urbanes i narratives socials que promouen la relació permanent entre actors de la ciutat, així com la recerca de consens ciutadà.

Chapter 1. Introduction



Chapter 1. Introduction

Chapter overview

We grow by sharing. We share in many different ways, most of the time without realizing. Sharing is part of the human condition (John, 2017) and involves individuals or groups relating and interacting. Sharing can be formal or informal, and in recent years, with the emergence of innovative economic models, it can also be mediated through platforms, technology and social media (Manzini, 2019). It is an extremely broad topic with diverse study possibilities, but it is currently particularly relevant for management and business as it has revealed new practices of exchange, consumption and access to goods and services (Belk, 2010, 2014).

Models such as the sharing economy promote narratives based on access rather than ownership, the growth of new non-centralized markets, and the development of entrepreneurship (Botsman & Rogers, 2010), especially in times of economic recession and global crisis (Harmaala, 2015; Katrini, 2018). This discourse has not only grown significantly, but has also attracted enthusiasts and defenders, mainly due to its disruptive nature (Belk, 2010; Harmaala, 2015). However, it has also been criticized and has certain contradictions (Martin, 2016).

Promoting social value and new markets for collaboration and participation is part of the discourse of the sharing economy, whose impact not only concerns the consumption of goods and services, but also consolidates the role of communities in the economic and urban development of cities (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015; Shareable, 2018). The challenge to improve the quality of urban life through sustainability has become one of the bases of a new idea: the sharing city.

The sharing city seeks to unite the public and private sectors, civil society and other actors, to design an open, democratic infrastructure (McCormick & Leire, 2019), in which the sharing economy and urban development converge (Agyeman & McLaren, 2017; Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015, 2017). Specifically, the sharing city has a community vision (Shareable, 2018), and like various urban labels (for example, the smart city, the eco-city, etc.) it pursues objectives based on solving problems or searching for alternatives for a sustainable future (Khan & Zaman, 2018).

Chapter 1. Introduction

This doctoral thesis is a compendium of articles. **Chapter 1** presents the introduction, the study rationale, research questions and objectives. This section is the project's starting point, and also presents the structure of the thesis and how it is developed.

Although there are initiatives and case studies related to the sharing city, it is still an experimental concept with diverse interpretations (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015). It overlaps with other ideas related to the “desirable futures” of cities (Khan & Zaman, 2018). Therefore, one of the aims of this research is to provide a conceptual framework for this notion, which is addressed in **Chapter 2**. This section emphasizes the objectives of the sharing city, its implementation approaches and study areas. The sharing city is presented as a new urban label that establishes forms of governance and considers the human factor as the centre of its actions.

Various narratives and discourses emerge within the sharing city. Their implied meanings correspond to the way the concept is implemented, which changes according to the objectives and agenda of its promoters. This is discussed in **Chapter 3**, which presents the institutional actor's vision. Using the case of Barcelona, this section studies how the management of the sharing city is communicated, what strategies are used to do so and how this is related to the identity of the city. Marketing, public relations and management concepts have provided a holistic understanding of the imaginary of the sharing city.

Previous studies have highlighted that the sharing city materializes in the physical space and facilitates a set of practices (Chan & Zhang, 2020; Katrini, 2018; Zhang & Chan, 2020). These go beyond the exchange of products and services, and propose the creation of hubs to share and connect different actors, efforts and transformations (Boyko et al., 2016, 2017) as well as co-create and think in community (Chan & Zhang, 2021; Rese et al., 2021). “Places and spaces represent platforms of local interaction on a permanent basis” (Capdevila, 2015, p. 4). In the sharing city, the shared space not only seeks to facilitate collaborative relationships, but is also configured to achieve them. Coworking spaces are an example of this. Their sharing dynamics represent sharing values, such as trust, innovation, cooperation and flexibility (Gauger & Pfnür, 2021). Coworking spaces are explored in detail in **Chapter 4** through a study of offices in Barcelona and Berlin, two cases of sharing cities in Europe.

Chapter 1. Introduction

Finally in **Chapter 5** we present the conclusions of the thesis. This section seeks to highlight the most important reflections made in the study. Similarly, we discuss the limitations of the research and the future lines to which this work can lead.

Table 1.1 presents a summary of the articles contained in this thesis, the chapter to which they correspond, and the journals in which they have been published.

Table 1.1. Summary of the articles

	Article 1 (Chapter 2)	Article 2 (Chapter 3)	Article 3 (Chapter 4)
Article Title	The emergence of the sharing city: A systematic literature review to understand the notion of the sharing city and explore future research paths	Exploring the strategic communication of the sharing city project through frame analysis: The case of Barcelona sharing city	Creating a sense of sharing in coworking spaces. The role of space in shaping community narratives
Journal	Journal of Cleaner Production	Cities	Geoforum
Quartile	Q1	Q1	Q1
Decile	1º JCR	1º JCR	2º JCR
Index	JCR Scopus	JCR Scopus	JCR Scopus
Status	Published	Published	Ready for submission
Categories	Strategy and Management	Urban Studies	Geography
Journal position within the area	19/265	2/42	17/84
Keywords	Sharing city; Social practices; Systematic literature review; Sharing economy; Co-creation; Sustainability	Sharing city; Discourse; Sharing; Institutional actor; Frame analysis; Strategic communication; Citizen participation	Coworking spaces; Sharing; Shared spaces; Place atmospheres; Community; Coworking space management
Studied actor	Review	Government (Barcelona City Council)	Private companies (17 coworking spaces in Barcelona and Berlin)

Source: Author, 2021.

Justification of the study

This thesis is inserted within the project “New consumption in the era of collaborative economy”, from which the doctoral student obtained a grant co-financed by the *European Union's Horizon 2020* research and innovation programme, within the framework of the Marie Skłodowska-Curie COFUND grant, and the Rovira i Virgili University (URV). This implied carrying out doctoral studies in Economics and Business, oriented towards marketing, and the preparation of this doctoral thesis.

The study topic of this thesis falls within the *sharing economy* and specifically the *sharing city* (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; John, 2017; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015), which emerged as a subtopic after an initial literature review process and the definition of the problem area (Walliman & Baiche, 2004). The researcher was familiar with urban issues, from a marketing and communication focus, so this was a possible way to start the research. The study topic needs to be feasible, specific and relevant as well as adapt to institutional guidelines. However, above all, the topic needs to be of interest to the researcher, as it represents the greatest motivation within the process (Walliman & Baiche, 2004; Wilson, 2010). In this thesis, the researcher's interests and the directors' experience corresponded with the general project of which it was a part. The first step was to create a *working title* that would refer directly to the study topic and describe a general idea that would be refined over time (Creswell, 2009).

In the initial study, it was identified that the sharing city label is related to other ideas, especially the smart city (McLaren & Agyeman, 2017, 2019). The main conceptual similarity is that both seek to solve sustainability problems (Khan & Zaman, 2018) based on entrepreneurial activities and citizen inclusion (Fernandez-Anez et al., 2018; Muñoz & Cohen, 2016). Both labels have used marketing and communication tools to present themselves as a solution to urban problems (Söderström et al., 2014; Vanolo, 2016).

The sharing city has a discursive force that organizations and institutions take advantage of and use, which has made it possible to unite an increasing number of entrepreneurs and users in the sharing “movement” (Labaye, 2019; Sharp, 2018) as well as positively influence the perception of the sharing city (Shareable, 2018). However, there are no studies that address communication and brand management of the sharing city as an urban product. Previous research has indicated that in marketing sub-disciplines, such as place branding and consumer behaviour, it is necessary to address the

phenomenon of sharing (Harmaala, 2015; Khan & Zaman, 2018; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015).

Along the same lines, cities use concepts such as “*smart*” (Snow et al., 2016), “*sustainable*” (Yigitcanlar et al., 2019), or in our case “*sharing*” to refer to their management priorities. The sharing city is constructed from a social and relational perspective, and this is adapted to the needs of the particular areas in presenting themselves from a more human perspective (Huertas, 2014). Despite this, one of the issues concerning these types of labels is that they are part of an advertising and positioning strategy, and do not concrete specific results (Asplund & Ikkala, 2011). “Sharing” is one of the buzzwords in recent urban and management studies (Dowling et al., 2018, p. 10). Therefore, it is necessary to take an in-depth look at these discourses, as well as explore the practices and narratives that promote the sharing city as an alternative and an objective of the urban agenda, beyond the attributes it communicates.

One of the most important principles of the sharing city is the formation and consolidation of a community (Blokland, 2017; Habibi et al., 2017; Schultze, 2020). Although in the broad spectrum of sharing, the idea of community has been explored in relation to technological and digital media (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2020; Richardson, 2015), in the physical space there are user groups whose daily lives manifest sharing practices (Manzini, 2019) in which “...the cultural and social relations create a communal sense of group, and a shared understanding of these relations provides the characteristics of a community” (Campelo, 2017). Despite the fact that one of the typologies that has proliferated the most in the sharing city is shared spaces (Chan & Zhang, 2021; Cohen & Muñoz, 2015), more research into the management and production of these spaces is still necessary, especially their orientation to community relationships.

Finally, the sharing narratives have different logics, and are often diffuse (John, 2012), especially in the city and its spaces. There are few academic studies on the sharing city, although its importance has been highlighted due to it being a product that is co-created and co-produced by different actors (Agyeman & McLaren, 2015; Boyko et al., 2016). Research into this topic can be a valuable instrument for organizations and political institutions that play an active role in sharing, and also opens up new ways to rethink disciplines such as design, management and planning.

Chapter 1. Introduction

Research questions

The general objective of this thesis is to explore the imaginaries that are created in the sharing city from its urban practices and social narratives. For this, we studied perspectives framed in the spectrum of sharing, in its implementation and discourses. We worked from an overall general vision to more specific examples of how this urban label is constructed. To achieve this objective, we proposed the following research questions:

How is the sharing city implemented and through which actors?

What urban practices and social narratives does the sharing city promote and what practices take place in the sharing city?

What imaginaries are built from the sharing city and how are they communicated strategically?

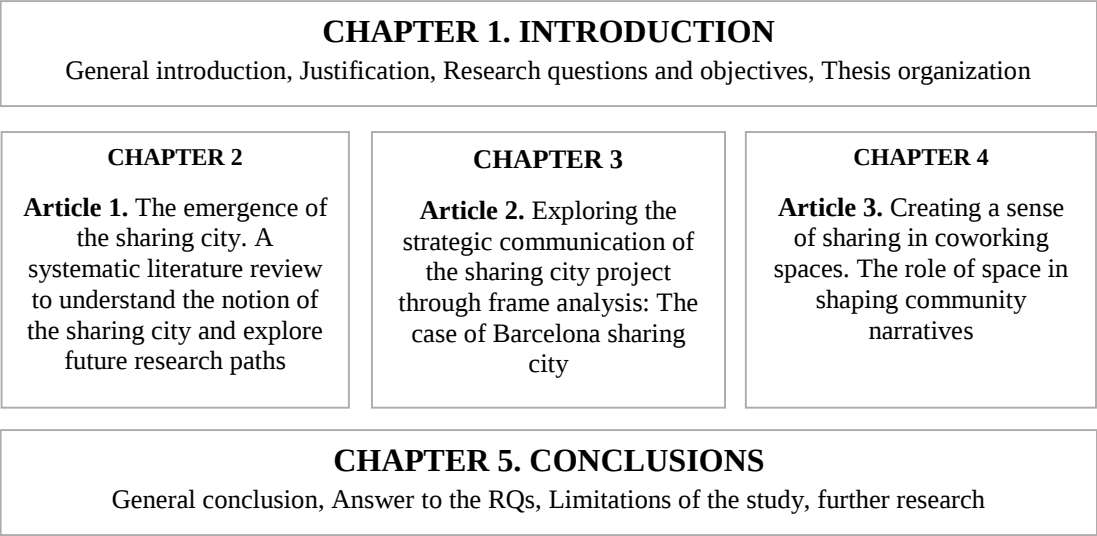
Broader research objectives

- Interpret the strategies used by different actors to implement the sharing city.
- Understand the role of the institutional actor and the private actor in the sharing city project.
- Examine the management of a community based on the sharing paradigm.
- Establish relationships between brand communication and the sharing city project.
- Identify values of sharing in the management of the community space.

Organization of the thesis

As noted in the first section, this doctoral thesis was designed and structured as a compendium of publications. We used the “Sandwich Model A” proposed by Mason and Merga (2018, p. 1461). This includes a first introductory chapter (Chapter 1), and then the set of articles in the form of independent chapters (Chapters 2, 3 and 4). Each of these contains its own particular literature review, methodology, results, discussion and conclusion. The thesis closes with a concluding chapter (Chapter 5).

Figure 1.1. Thesis organization based on theses by publication *Sandwich Model A*



Source: Author´s own elaboration, based in Mason and Merga (2018).

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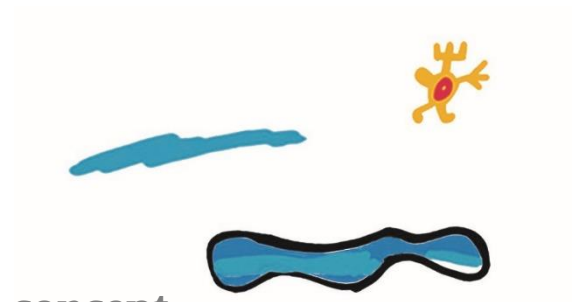
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Chapter 2.

Understanding the sharing city concept



Chapter 2. Understanding the sharing city concept

Literature Review

The emergence of the Sharing city: A systematic literature review to understand the notion of the sharing city and explore future research paths

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1. Introduction

The emerging concept of sharing city has been described as a notion, label (Khan & Zaman, 2018) or banner (Longhurst et al., 2016) that emphasizes a set of collaborative practices around the city and within different fields (e.g. food studies, urban studies, mobility, tourism, etc.). According to Długosz (2014, p. 2), the sharing city “... is a liveable city –a place where citizens can share infrastructure, utilise idle (public) resources, gain more access to data, establish and participate in sharing enterprises, advance community interaction, and more”. These ideas are framed in the sharing paradigm, a broad concept proposed by McLaren and Agyeman (2015), in which the territory of sharing includes spaces and things (e.g. tools, libraries, bicycles, etc.), services (e.g. childcare, time-banks, health) and experiences or activities (e.g. skills, leisure, etc.) oriented towards the "well-being" of the city's residents. The ultimate purpose of the sharing city project is the long term creation of more fair, democratic and sustainable cities (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015; Richardson, 2015).

Visiting the notion of the *sharing city* is important since various initiatives and sharing city projects can be found all around the world, e.g. Seoul, Milan, Toronto, Copenhagen, Melbourne, etc., with clear implications for urban development (Chan & Zhang, 2020; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015; Palm et al., 2019) and political agendas of local administrations (Manzini, 2019; Vith et al., 2019). On one hand, the sharing city label has attracted the interest of local, national and transnational government and non-governmental organizations such as OuiShare. Also, there are international networks and initiatives that focus on the sharing city such as the Sharing Cities Network, Sharing Cities Action, Sharing Cities Sweden and Sharing Cities Alliance. Recently, a project was also funded by the European Union, the Sharing Cities EU funded project. On the other hand, the notion of sharing city has been receiving increasing attention from the academia in line with the “notable surge of interest in the academic community -and beyond- in the notion and

practices of sharing” (John, 2017, p. 12). Such interest is also confirmed by the results of this literature review.

Previous reviews of the sharing city have been conducted (Długosz, 2014; Harnaala, 2015; Khan & Zaman, 2018; Longhurst et al., 2016; Vith et al., 2019), but this is the first systematic literature review that deals with the sharing city concept. Systematic literature reviews scan existing literature using clearly stated search choices and selection criteria and are particularly useful when the topic researched is found across different academic disciplines (Mora et al., 2017; Ruhlandt, 2018; Tranfield et al., 2003). Research on the sharing city is not only fragmented and scattered, but also we lack both an overall view of how the sharing city has been approached in previous literature and a systematized understanding of the implementation of sharing city projects. With these in mind we have formulated the following research questions in this SLR:

- What disciplines have studied the sharing city and what perspective has been adopted in each?
- What objectives of the sharing city have been examined in previous research?
- What actors participate in sharing city projects in previous literature? To what extent are sharing city projects the result of top-down, bottom-up or mixed approaches according to previous literature?
- What social practices have been linked to the implementation of sharing city projects in previous literature?

Table 2.1 explains the broader theoretical gaps identified, the specific research questions formulated and the added value of this literature review. In this manuscript we aim to provide more clarity on the sharing city concept and its implementation by shedding light to different aspects related to its theorization and implementation.

Table 2.1. Defining the Research Questions and the added value of the SLR

Theoretical gaps	Research question	Added value
We lack an overall review of how the sharing city has been approached in previous literature.	What disciplines have studied the sharing city and what perspective has been adopted in each?	To provide a more holistic understanding of the sharing city concept given that previous literature is highly fragmented. Such approach paves the path for future multidisciplinary work.
	What objectives of the sharing city have been examined in previous research?	To understand the priorities set in previous research and to evaluate the potential of sharing cities for the society.
We lack a systematized understanding regarding the implementation of sharing city projects in previous literature.	What actors participate in sharing city projects in previous literature? To what extent are sharing city projects the result of top-down, bottom-up or mixed approaches according to previous literature?	To examine the sharing city as a multi-actor project which requires collaboration and the establishment of networks in the city.
	What social practices have been linked to the implementation of sharing city projects in previous literature?	To fully understand what social practices have been linked to sharing in the city.

Source: Author, 2021.

Also, similar to other SLR, we provide an overview of previous literature in this field by exploring how the literature on the sharing city has evolved over the years (e.g. total number of papers, main journals/outlets for publication, predominance of empirical versus conceptual papers and qualitative versus quantitative studies, types of data recollection, etc.).

To answer these research questions, we reviewed the scientific production from 1992 to 2019 in the Web of Science from Thomson Reuters (WOS) and Scopus from Elsevier databases that met certain criteria established by the authors (for further details see Methodology). The following section presents the emergence and conceptualization of the sharing city label. The methodology section presents the research design adopted for this systematic literature review. Next, the findings of the analysis of the articles are presented in line with the different research questions formulated. A discussion follows and

implications for practitioners and academics. Finally, research gaps and future lines of study are identified at the end of the review.

2. The sharing city as a new city label

The sharing city encompasses technological, human and economic aspects. As such, its definition has been built on various and diverse conceptual blocks. First, one of its main frames of reference is the sharing paradigm and the sharing economy (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; Labaeye, 2019; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015). According to Bernardi and Diamantini (2018, p. 31), the sharing city concept “...denotes a merging of the sharing economy with urban development”, whereas Vith et al. (2019) have approached the sharing city as the “locus of action and central actor in the debates over the nature and organization of the sharing economy”. Some authors such as Fuster (2018) and Nikitina et al. (2019) highlight the importance and the role of peer-to-peer economic technology platforms in the development of the sharing city as a new way of creating offline and online communities that enable various types of sharing (sharing equipment, space, energy, infrastructures, objects etc.). However, other authors such as Sánchez-Vergara et al. (2021) highlight that sharing cities such as Barcelona may be cautious or even hostile towards certain sharing economy platforms and question whether social innovation is truly generated.

Then, some definitions of the sharing city place more focus on sustainability (Boyko et al., 2017; Cohen & Muñoz, 2016) similar to other urban labels such as the smart city (Khan & Zaman, 2018; Snow et al., 2016). In this case, it is pointed out that cities can become more sustainable through sharing, e.g. carbon reduction, reuse of products etc. (Boyko et al., 2017), so the sharing city needs to enable sharing in the path of transformation towards sustainable development.

But, to further differentiate the sharing city from other city labels, other authors emphasize its human centric focus (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015). For Chan and Zhang (2018), the sharing city is place based, and its configuration regulates practices, behaviours and strategies linked to space as promoters of relationships between communities. The idea of the sharing city goes beyond commercial aspects (which are often the focus of the sharing economy) and emphasizes social aspects. According to McLaren and Agyeman (2017, p. 23), the concept of the sharing city “...must go beyond the ‘sharing economy’, and explores approaches that are more cultural than commercial, more political than economic, and that are rooted in a broad understanding of the city as a

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“co-created urban commons”. The commons approach is also characterized by solidarity and “commoning” (Chan, 2019, p. 152) Hence, the concept of the sharing city focuses, to a great extent, on how people in the city interact with each other in order to share resources, spaces, experiences etc. (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018). Furthermore, it seeks to involve everyone in the city and to allow for the emergence of networks that not only fight against social isolation but also reduce social inequalities (McLaren & Agyeman, 2017). Overall, the sharing city discourse has been framed in a context of togetherness and socio-spatial justice (Jarvis, 2019; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015).

For other authors (Bakıcı et al., 2012; Camboim et al., 2019; Capdevila & Zarlenga, 2015; Snow et al., 2016), community empowerment is one of the strongest points of this notion of the city. Different authors believe that the sharing city cannot exist without citizen involvement (Caramaschi, 2017; Khan & Zaman, 2018). The ideas of consensus and participation of local actors are emphasized and it is highlighted that the sharing city can only be co-created (Khan & Zaman, 2018). In the sharing city, the inclusion of the experiences of those who inhabit it is an essential part of its representation and the communities are the strength necessary for achieving the desired city. As Franqueira (2010) puts it, the sharing city becomes a “social laboratory” where citizens, companies, governments and other institutions can collaborate together to achieve common goals for the city.

Our understanding of the sharing city is that of an ambitious project that aims to improve the city in various fields, e.g. unsustainable overconsumption, social isolation, spatial inequalities, scarcity of resources and spaces, environmental degradation, limited citizen involvement etc. (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015; Sharp, 2020; Voytenko Palgan et al., 2021). The sharing city is supposed to achieve the following goals which further justifies its momentum and attractiveness for administration and other social actors: i) the revival of the community in the city, ii) citizen empowerment, iii) solidarity and social justice, iv) sustainability and efficiency, v) social innovation through new economic arrangements. Moreover, the sharing city invites for the collaboration of different social actors to achieve the sharing city goals, i.e. the sharing city is co-created. While all these principles are important, the first three truly differentiate the sharing city from other city labels and projects.

However, it is also worth mentioning that the implementation of sharing city projects is highly “context-specific” (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015). The sharing city does not follow a rigid and predetermined pattern and it is affected by local culture in terms of not only what is being shared but also in terms of what actors are involved in the project (Shareable, 2018). For instance, in Copenhagen or Amsterdam the cycling culture is essential for local culture so bike sharing schemes fostered by the city hall are central for urban mobility (Gössling, 2013). But in a city like Berlin, communities and non-public organizations have much more importance as they lead sharing initiatives e.g. food sharing networks (see *foodsharing.de*). In other cases, companies are actively involved and benefit from sharing initiatives like the case of Sydney where collaborative platforms are used by city residents to increase the visibility of local shops (see *The Sharing Map Sydney*).

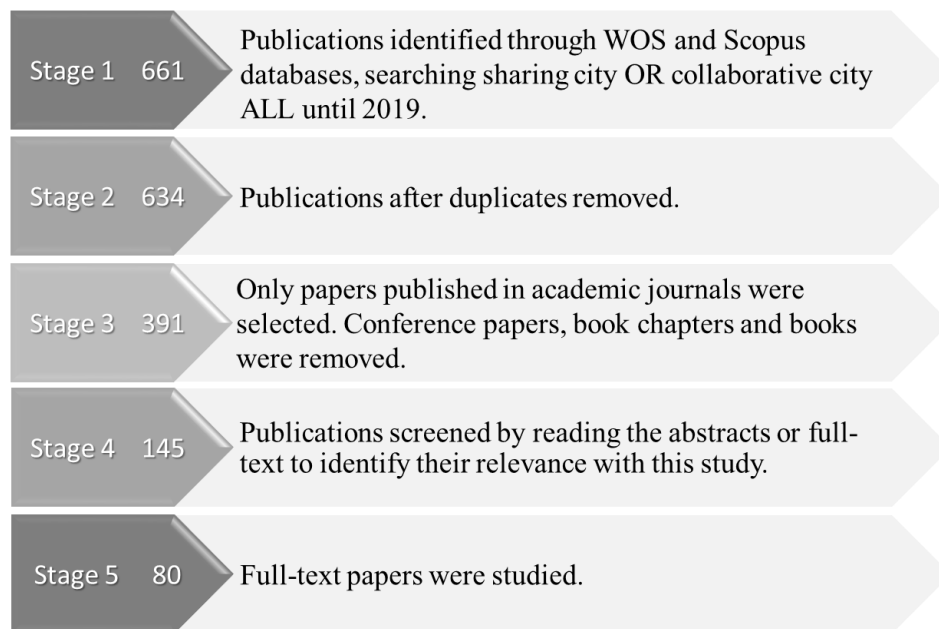
3. Methodology

To examine the academic literature on the “sharing city”, we applied the systematic literature review (SLR) method, which has already been used in various studies on the sharing economy (Arcidiacono et al., 2018; Dillahunt et al., 2017; Jin et al., 2018; Ryu et al., 2019; ter Huurne et al., 2017). This work has employed the SLR method for two reasons. Although we acknowledge that previous work has included reviews of the sharing city concept (e.g. Vith et al., 2019), no systematic literature review has been conducted previously in the field of the sharing city. Literature in this field is scattered across disciplines and SLR are particularly useful in this sense (see Mora et al., 2017). The second motive is because through a SLR a more objective review can be done when compared to “traditional” literature reviews (see Williams et al., 2020). In traditional literature reviews the criteria on how to establish the inclusion/exclusion of papers is not clearly defined. This leads to a subjective selection of articles early on in the identification process of documents. Instead, as suggested by other authors that have conducted SLR, this methodology provides a transparent and reproducible selection process and analysis on a specific topic (Cook et al., 1997; Davis et al., 1995; Merli et al., 2018; Moustaghfir, 2008; Williams et al., 2020). So, this is the first SLR for the specific study of “sharing cities” and “collaborative cities”.

One of the advantages of SLR is that they document all procedures carried out so they can be replicated by other researchers using previously planned methods (Cook et al., 1997; Ginieis et al., 2012). Results of multiple primary studies are synthesized with strategies that limit bias and random error (Cook et al., 1995). These strategies include an exhaustive

search of all potentially relevant articles and the use of explicit and reproducible criteria in the selection of documents for review. Furthermore, different authors (Cook et al., 1997; Merli et al., 2018; Williams et al., 2020) argue for the usefulness of SLR, because this methodology provides a transparent and reproducible selection process and analysis on a specific topic and can help reducing the subjectivity bias that exists on the part of the researcher in collecting the information. We implemented the guidelines proposed by Mara et al. (2020), Moustaghfir (2008), Okwir et al. (2018) and Tranfield et al. (2003). In Fig. 2.1 we present the five steps followed to carry out the SLR, which are detailed in the following sections.

Figure 2.1. Flow diagram of the article selection process



Step 1. To apply the SLR method, first keywords need to be defined for the search. Tranfield et al. (2003) suggest that more than one researcher needs to participate in the decisions related to the selection of keywords and their combinations should generate effective search strings. In this case, all authors participated in these decisions. Regarding the keyword selection, initially, the literature review begun with the keywords “sharing city” and “sharing cities”, which allowed us to identify 429 papers. To extend the number of papers, we went through them and observed that authors used a greater variety of keywords to refer to “sharing city/ies”. So, more keywords were added, in concrete “share city”, “share cities”, “shareable city” and “shareable cities”. Also, we noticed that the keywords “collaborative city” and “collaborative cities” were repetitively found especially in early

works so these were also incorporated as keywords. Finally, in recent years the term of “urban sharing” has emerged, which holds relevance with research in the field of “sharing city/ies”, so it was also incorporated as keyword for this SLR. In total, 9 keywords were finally employed. As a result, the keywords employed were the following:

1. “sharing city” OR “sharing cities”
2. “shareable city” OR “shareable cities”
3. “share city” OR “share cities”
4. “collaborative city” OR “collaborative cities”
5. “urban sharing”

We performed the search in the Web of Science (WOS) database of Thomson Reuters and Scopus from Elsevier. We should mention that when searching in WOS, the option of “All Databases” was selected. This means that the search was carried out at the same time in various databases (Web of Science Core Collection; MEDLINE; SciELO Citation Index; Current Contents Connect; Derwent Innovations Index; KCI-Korean Journal Database and Russian Science Citation Index). These databases provide a wide coverage of areas within this discipline and offer different search, navigation and filtering options (Ginieis et al., 2012; López-Illescas et al., 2008; Okwir et al., 2018).

The initial search was performed searching for the 9 keywords in the entire text (ALL), both in WOS (“Topic”) and Scopus (“All fields”), to ensure that we compiled all the publications that contained any of the previously selected keywords in the text. Fig. 1 shows that 661 results were finally produced, which were further filtered in the subsequent stages by applying the exclusion criteria established by the research protocol (Jones & Gatrell, 2014).

Step 2. Duplicate publications were eliminated and 634 publications were obtained until 2019 (Table 2.2). We also realised that this concept is relatively new in the academic literature as the first studies that study specifically “sharing cities” begun in 2003. In Table 2 we observe that until 2009, only 43 articles had been published. Then, during the period 2010-2015, on average, approximately 14 documents related to sharing cities or collaborative cities were published annually. Likewise, it is necessary to note that in the last four years (2016, 2017, 2018 and 2019) 48, 96, 146 and 214 studies have been published respectively. This evidences the growing importance that this topic has acquired in academic research. Table 2.2 shows the number of publications in chronological order.

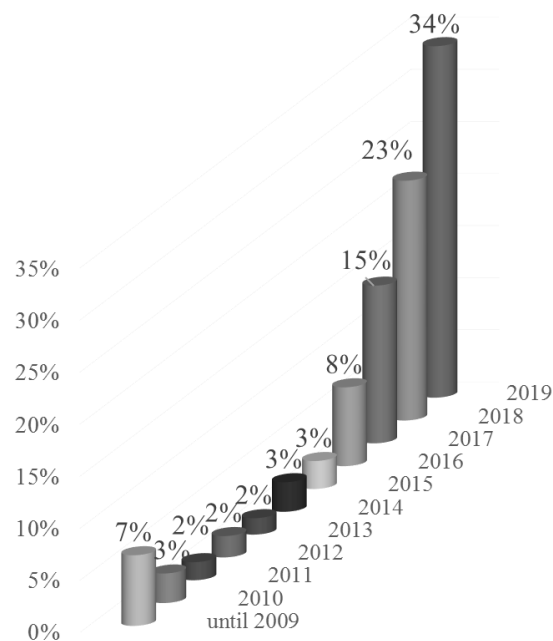
Table 2.2. Keyword analysis and articles until 2019

Keyword	until 2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total
sharing city/ies	15	4	6	8	4	10	13	34	71	108	152	425
collaborative city/ies	24	14	5	2	4	7	1	10	19	22	53	161
urban sharing	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	8	7	18
share city/ies	4	-	-	2	-	1	1	4	1	1	2	16
shareable city/ies	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	-	3	7	-	14
Total	43	18	11	13	10	18	17	48	96	146	214	634
%	7	3	2	2	2	3	3	8	15	23	34	100

In Table 2 we can see, as already mentioned, that until 2010 the keywords “collaborative city” or “collaborative cities” were much more used (38 documents) when compared to the keywords “sharing city” or “sharing cities” (19 documents). Also, the keyword “urban sharing”, even if it is not yet a widely used keyword, it is becoming more relevant and used by recently published papers in the last three years (2017-2019, 18 papers found).

In addition, it is observed in Fig. 2.2, that the publications until 2009 represent 7% and that, since 2017, the publications have increased considerably from 15% (2017), 23% (2018) to 34% (2019). This is one of the fundamental reasons why this study adopted an SLR approach.

Figure 2.2. Evolution of publications on sharing city until 2019



Step 3. The publications were further filtered to include only peer-reviewed journal articles until 2019, which further reduced the number to 391 papers from journals indexed in the WOS and Scopus databases. Sharing cities have also been the subject of theoretical and methodological reflection in other sources, such as reports (Davidson & Infranca, 2016; Viable Cities, 2017; World Economic Forum, 2017), conference papers and book reviews (Berg, 2017; Martin, 2018; McBride, 2017), as well as books, such as those published by Shareable (2018) and by Fuster (2018). Shareable (2018) records successful initiatives that have been developed around the world, organized into categories such as finances, food, mobility, work, land, waste, etc. Fuster (2018) studied the collaborative platforms and management models in Europe and especially in Spain. However, only articles that have gone through a double review process were included in this literature review.

Table 2.3 shows the number of publications per journal in those journals that have published most about sharing cities. It is observed that the journal that has published the most articles in the field is the Journal of Cleaner Production with 33 papers. Following this are the journals Sustainability (25 articles), Technological Forecasting and Social Change (10 articles), Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions, Geoforum and International Journal of Sustainable Energy Planning and Management with 7 articles each (Table 2.3).

Step 4. The articles were selected after reading the title and the abstract to identify the aspects related to the implementation of sharing cities and their different social and urban practices. When the abstract was not clear enough, the entire article was read in order to assess its relevance and fit to the scope of the study. In concrete, we checked the research objectives, the relevance of the findings and the context of study of these papers. A total of 145 articles resulted from this process. Similar steps have been followed in other SLR (Bonatto et al., 2015; Mara et al., 2020; Tasca et al., 2010).

Step 5. In the last stage, the information collected was synthesized and we evaluated its inclusion or exclusion according to the objectives established in our study. A final sample of 80 articles resulted from this analysis (Table 8 in Appendix of the published article). The following inclusion and exclusion criteria were adopted:

Table 2.3. Evolution of the number of publications in journals WOS and Scopus

Journal	until 2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total
Journal of Cleaner Production	-	-	-	3	4	14	12	33
Sustainability	-	-	1	2	2	7	13	25
Technological Forecasting and Social Change	-	-	-	1	3	2	4	10
Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions	-	-	-	-	6	1	-	7
Geoforum	-	-	1	-	1	1	4	7
International Journal of Sustainable Energy Planning and Management	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	7
Local Environment	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	5
Urban Policy and Research	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	5
IEEE Transactions on Intelligent Transportation Systems	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	4
Transportation	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3
Cities	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	3
Energies	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Government Information Quarterly	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	3
IEEE Intelligent Transportation Systems Magazine	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	3
International Journal of Sustainable Development and Planning	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	3
Journal of Business Ethics	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
Journal of Developing Societies	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	3
Others journals	38	8	3	25	40	56	90	260
Total	40	11	8	32	63	94	143	391
%	10	3	2	8	16	24	37	100

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Criteria for including articles:

- a. Academic papers that had gone through a double review process.
- b. Empirical and conceptual papers that analysed implementation initiatives (*top down*, *bottom up*, mixed focus) and theoretical approaches to the sharing city.
- c. Papers that treat different social practices of sharing identified in groups and communities (e.g. street food, use of green space, public art, activism, etc.), which made it possible to analyse the human dynamics of sharing. The human dynamics of sharing refer to the interactions between the different actors of the sharing city, e.g. local government and companies, companies and citizens, local government and citizens, communities of citizens and so on. These practices are periodical and involve different everyday activities (Barabási, 2005). According to Cellucci and Di Sivo (2017, p. 391) citizens, in particular “can participate in a multidisciplinary network to implement a collective creation process, changing the space they live in to adapt it to their needs”, which emphasizes how these actors can produce and transform the city.

Criteria for excluding articles:

- a. Sources such as books, conference papers, book chapters and interviews were excluded.
- b. Papers where social practices related to initiatives and the overall project of the sharing city is not identified/discussed/studied.
- c. Papers that do not mention at all the sharing city or collaborative city within the paper although it is included as a keyword (e.g. papers that focus instead on the hackable city or on the technocentrality of smart cities, etc.).
- d. Papers that mainly focus on how sharing platforms work from a technical perspective (e.g. analysis of ridesharing platforms in Asia, P2P economic networks, sharing platforms related to Green entrepreneurship, etc.) but there is no reference to the human dynamics of sharing. Articles from computer science and systems engineering were not included.

4. Findings

In this section we present the results of this review. In the first part we carry out a descriptive analysis of the literature in this field in terms of the types of studies, the methodologies and research techniques employed, the scope of previous research, research subjects etc. Then,

we have structured this section according to the research questions set. First, we discuss the sharing social practices across different contexts and outline what is being shared in the city in previous literature. Second, we link previous literature with the objectives of the sharing city. Third, we discuss the implementation approaches of the sharing city by categorizing them in top-down, bottom-up and mixed approaches. Fourth, we explain what disciplines have principally dealt with the sharing city. We highlight how heterogeneous previous research is and that the sharing city label is interpreted in different forms, depending on the disciplines that have studied it and the implementation strategies, either empirically employed or only suggested in theory.

4.1. Organizing the literature on the sharing city

Following the inclusion criteria described above (Step 5), the 80 articles analysed were classified according to the different types of study (e.g. literature review, empirical, case study, prototype, etc.), methodologies and research techniques used, as well as the types of approaches used (top down, bottom up or mixed, see 4.2). This indicates how the authors approached the idea of the sharing city, and the actors who have participated in its implementation (see Table 2.3). During the first decade, publications were based on the transforming power of communities (Collins, 2004; Dodge, 2009; Franqueira, 2010; Pastor et al., 2003; Vestbro & Horelli, 2012) and how innovation could shape social changes (Cohen et al., 2016).

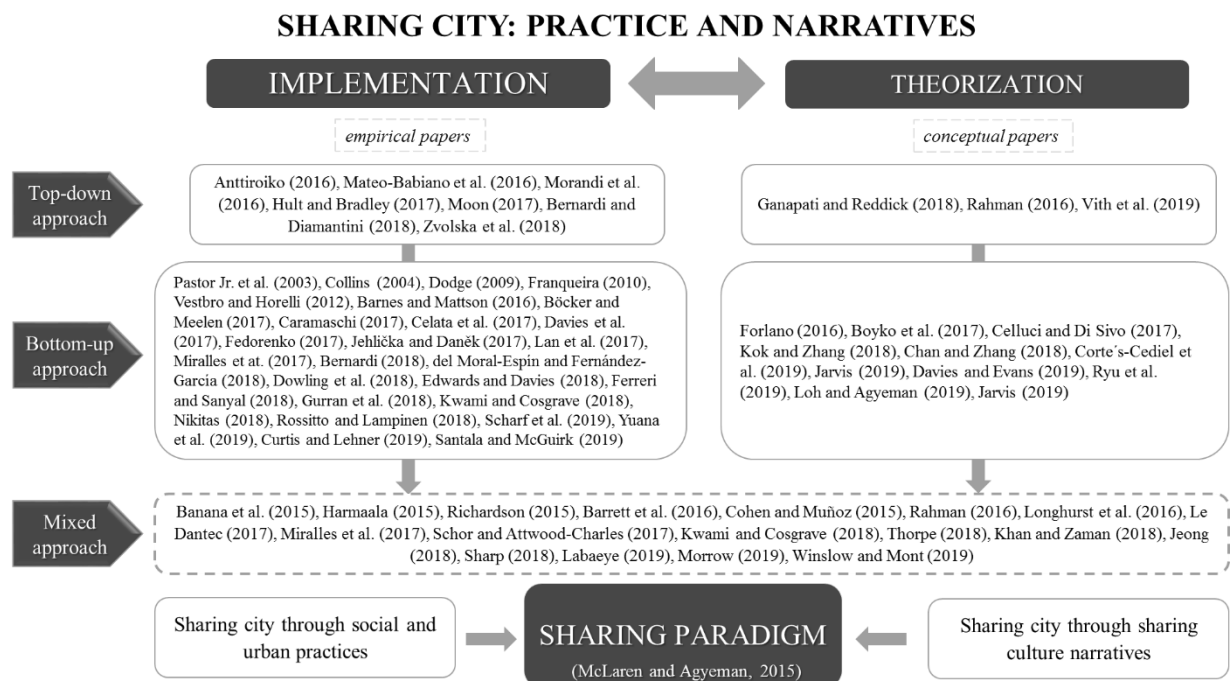
Since 2017, the number of publications in the sharing city field has significantly increased, especially analyses of consumer practices with a socio-economic and environmental viewpoint. For example, Agyeman et al. (2016) studied environmental justice and sustainability of everyday practices and activisms, focusing on food, energy movements, and energy and climate justice. Barnes and Mattson (2016) analysed the drivers and inhibitors of collaborative consumption, while Cohen and Muñoz (2016) evaluated different types of sharing activities in the city (food, goods, mobility, spaces, etc.) and how they contribute to a transformation of the economy. Topics such as urban design and management have also been documented (Cohen & Muñoz, 2016; Forlano, 2016; Mateo-Babiano et al., 2016; Morandi et al., 2016).

Empirical studies (43 papers) are aimed at understanding the reality and varied meanings of the phenomenon predominate in the literature (Creswell, 2009). The data obtained indicate that the conceptual basis of the sharing city originates in the implementation, that

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is, starting from the development and dynamics in each of the cities or experimental places (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; Boyko et al., 2017; Cohen et al., 2016; Harmaala, 2015; Jarvis, 2019; Khan & Zaman, 2018; Labaeye, 2019; Morandi et al., 2016; Sharp, 2018). Fig. 2.3 shows the empirical studies on the implementation of the sharing city, as well as those studies that seek to theoretically clarify the emerging and multifocal nature of this concept. While social practices are related to implementation, the study of sharing narratives is associated with a theoretical reflection on the meanings of the sharing city and how it has been constructed by different actors. Other studies show the mixed approach through the interaction between the two perspectives.

Figure 2.3. Sharing city: Practice and narratives



Qualitative studies predominated in the scientific production, representing 76% of the research carried out, followed by quantitative methods (15%), and finally mixed methods (9%). In order of use, content analysis, interviews, and observation were the most widely used techniques. Likewise, in many studies the data collection methods were mixed, e.g. combined interviews and observations or vignette surveys, among others (e.g. Bernardi, 2018; Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; Edwards & Davies, 2018; Hult & Bradley, 2017; Lan et al., 2017; Ma et al., 2018; Richardson, 2015; Rossitto & Lampinen, 2018; Zvolska et al., 2019). Qualitative content analysis techniques are the most used in the different research studies. In general, diverse approaches have been used to explore the concept of the sharing city, and interpretive tools have been used to go deeper into its meanings. This provides a

broad approach to the study object, and facilitates various readings, especially symbolic readings (Krippendorff, 2004). Some examples would be the works elaborated by Longhurst et al. (2016), Brown and Vergragt (2016) and Caramaschi (2017) to study positive changes and dynamics in the community; or the framing analyses proposed by Sharp (2018) and Stabrowski (2017) based on media content.

The results of this research show that stakeholder participation reinforces the social construction of the discourse of sharing cities. The research subjects explored in articles were users and residents (25 articles), organizations (e.g. Ashoka, Shareable, Global Ecovillage Network, OuiShare, Foodsharing.de, The Food Project Boston, Lande), governments (19 papers), and experts (1 article - Barnes and Mattson, 2016). Eight articles refer to the study of digital platforms, and the effects and consequences of AirBnb have been the most analysed (Ferrerri & Sanyal, 2018; Gurran et al., 2018; Sharp, 2018; Stabrowski, 2017). There are also community-based projects, such as foodsharing.de (Morrow, 2019), Share Sydney's Map (Santala & McGuirk, 2019), and Community Engagement Playbook (Le Dantec, 2017).

4.2 Sharing practices in the Sharing City

According to Reckwitz (2002, p. 249) social practices are a “routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge”. Furthermore “...a practice represents a pattern which can be filled out by a multitude of single and often unique actions reproducing the practice” (p. 250). In the sharing literature these practices follow a social logic and are guided by symbolic values such as mutuality, openness, empathy and an ethic of care (John, 2013). However, according to Chan and Zhang (2021) sharing practices in the city have been often appropriated by the sharing economy.

Our results show that sharing practices in the sharing city literature take place in different areas; food, mobility, objects, governance, spaces and ideas (see Table 2.4). Spaces refer to shared spaces, and include the shared use of public and private space in the city such as coworking spaces, hackerspaces, fab labs and cohousing (Chan & Zhang, 2021; Lehavi, 2018; Morandi et al., 2016; Rossitto & Lampinen, 2018; Vestbro & Horelli, 2012). Another example would be Finnish public school spaces that are open as sports and music clubs in the evenings, so that the schools have another use at night (see Harmaala, 2015). Regarding

food, the literature mainly focuses on projects of community gardening, practices regarding cooking, eating and redistribution of surplus food, make use of waste food etc. (Caramaschi, 2017; Davies & Evans, 2019; Davies et al., 2017a, 2017b; Edwards & Davies, 2018; Jehlička & Daněk, 2017; Loh & Agyeman, 2019; Miralles et al., 2017; Morrow, 2019; Scharf et al., 2019).

The articles on mobility emphasize bike sharing (Birdsall, 2014; Lan et al., 2017; Ma et al., 2018; Mateo-Babiano et al., 2016; Mugion et al., 2018; Nikitas, 2018; Yuana et al., 2019) and car-sharing (Dowling et al., 2018; Joo, 2017; Mugion et al., 2018; Winslow & Mont, 2019). Sharing of objects varies from book and tool libraries where the property of the objects shared does not belong to any particular individual to residents swapping their clothes, household items, etc. Regarding city governance, it refers to encouraging and coordinating different stakeholders to achieve and co-create the sharing city, being one of its most essential elements. This involves policy making (Barnes & Mattsson, 2016; Barrett et al., 2016; Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; Morandi et al., 2016; Muñoz & Cohen, 2017), creation of structures and networks for co-governance (Banana et al., 2015; Bernardi, 2018; Cohen et al., 2016; Cohen & Muñoz, 2016; Dodge, 2009; Jeong, 2018) or even different stakeholders defining specific norms and procedures about how decision making should take place in the city (Ferreri & Sanyal, 2018; Gurran et al., 2018; Rahman, 2016).

Finally, sharing of ideas and knowledge among different actors also takes place in the city through workshops, competitions, public hearings etc. (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018) either to define broader issues such as what sharing is, the type of sharing that takes place in the city and how to encourage it in order to construct the sharing city or in order to produce specific outcomes such as the *Share Map* in Sydney (Santala & McGuirk, 2019). The two latter categories of sharing practices, city co-governance, ideas and knowledge emphasize a very important aspect of the sharing city projects, that of citizen empowerment and active participation in city matters.

Table 2.4 shows that sharing practices in the sharing city involve tangible objects (e.g. spaces, objects, food, etc.) or intangibles like ideas and knowledge (Agyeman & McLaren, 2017; Katrini, 2018; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015; Ryu et al., 2019). Certainly, such distinction may be diffuse since for instance in urban gardening and fab labs spaces and objects may be shared, but also knowledge and ideas can be shared as well. A good example of intangible sharing would be the case of *The Friendship Center* in Lancaster (UK) where

socially isolated elders can interact and share time, knowledge and hobbies with others (Boyko et al., 2017).

Some of these areas, e.g. mobility, books, food and spaces, have been studied in the sharing economy literature (for instance Miralles et al., 2017). But, a difference between the sharing city and the sharing economy is that in the sharing economy we talk about social practices that take place among users (providers or consumers), while in the sharing city we talk about citizens. In the sharing city, more actors are involved (beyond those participating in the exchange), particularly the government emerges as an actor of great importance as our findings show. Furthermore, the sharing city is, and needs to be, the result of collaboration among different stakeholders. That is why sharing the governance of the city is essential in the sharing city. As Sharp (2020, p. 263) highlights, “sharing cities are a new urban imaginary of the sharing economy grounded in grassroots innovation, municipal provisioning of sharing infrastructure (...) encourage urban experimentation that brings civil society, local government and market actors together to co-produce and co-govern the city as commons”.

Table 2.4. What is being shared in the city?

Typology	Category
Food	Food sharing systems, urban gardening etc. e.g. food desert transformation (Caramaschi, 2017).
Mobility	Bike sharing, e.g. Divvy Bike-sharing program, Chicago (Birdsall, 2014). Car sharing, e.g. GoGet, Sydney (Dowling et al., 2018).
Objects	Books, e.g. Lancaster County Council; Clothes, e.g. Clothes swap; household items, e.g. borrow club. (Boyko et al., 2017). Tools, e.g. Tool pool supported by Malmö Municipality (Zvolska, Voytenko Palgan, et al., 2019).
Spaces	Coworking, e.g. the case of WeWork (Lehavi, 2018). Makerspace, e.g. STPLN, Malmö (Hult & Bradley, 2017). Fab labs, e.g. Fab labs in Milan (Morandi et al., 2016). Cohousing, e.g. Scandinavian cases (Vestbro & Horelli, 2012). Public space e.g. urban changes produced by international students, Auckland city (Collins, 2004).
City Co-Governance	Establishing mechanisms of collective decision making in the city, e.g. mechanism of sociocracy in decision taking in ecovillages (Wittmayer et al., 2019). Creation of structures and networks for co-governance, e.g. Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice (Dodge, 2009). Co-created policy making in specific fields led by local governments, e.g. launch of <i>Sharing City, Seoul</i> (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018).

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Ideas and knowledge	Co-production in local communities, e.g. Share Map, Sydney (Santala & McGuirk, 2019).
	Discussions and exchange of ideas among actors regarding urban sharing, e.g. co-design workshops in the UK to identify the current state of sharing and how to promote it to enhance sustainability (C. T. Boyko et al., 2017).

4.3 The objectives of the sharing city

As previously mentioned, the sharing city aims to achieve various objectives that could be beneficial for the city and involved actors. In Table 2.5 we include the following five objectives of the sharing city: the revival of the community in the city, fostering citizen empowerment, reducing inequalities in the city, creating a sustainable city and generating social innovation through new economic arrangements in the city. For the achievement of these broad and ambitious goals, different actors such as governments, companies and producers, but above all, individuals and communities need to be brought together (Zhang & Chen, 2018).

In some cases, there is one predominant objective discussed in a study, for instance how to create a more sustainable city through the use of public transport (Mugion et al., 2018) or urban food systems (Scharf et al., 2019). But in most cases, different objectives are set at the same time. For example, Jehlička and Daněk (2017) discuss both the economic and environmental significance of home grown shared food in an urban setting. Also, sharing cities could both foster relationships among different actors and encourage the emergence of alternative food systems (Caramaschi, 2017; Davies et al., 2017a, 2017b; Edwards & Davies, 2018; Miralles et al., 2017). Then, coworking spaces such as the self-organizing network *Hoffice* (Rossitto & Lampinen, 2018) can be examples of both community creation and social innovation through new types of production and work. The authors explain how such models encourage trust and openness on one hand and participatory efforts to facilitate individual work on the other by placing emphasis both on new technologies, work flexibility and togetherness.

Table 2.5. Linking reviewed studies with the objectives of sharing cities

Objectives	How they translate in previous literature	Examples of studies where these objectives are discussed/promoted
Objective 1: The revival of the community in the city	Social engagement and trust.	Celata et al., 2016; Morrow, 2019; Rossito and Lampinen, 2018; Schor and Attwood, 2017; Thorpe, 2018.
	Urban transformation to facilitate the emergence of communities.	Banana et al., 2015; Celluci and Di Sivo, 2017; Collins, 2004; Lehavi, 2018; Loh and Agyeman, 2019; Santala and McGuirk, 2019, Sharp, 2018.
	Community-based efforts.	Banana et al., 2015; Pastor et al., 2003; Santala and McGuirk, 2019.
Objective 2: Fostering Citizen Empowerment	Social movements and co-creation.	Agyeman et al., 2016; Dowling et al., 2018; Rooij and Frank, 2016; Wittmayer et al., 2019.
	Promoting a cultural shift in the city to include the citizen in matters related to the city.	Barnes and Mattson, 2016; Böcker and Meleen, 2017; Brown and Vergragt, 2016; Jeong, 2018; Longhurst et al., 2016.
	Theoretical papers that define the sharing city prioritizing the role of citizens and the importance of empowering them.	Cheng, 2016; Jarvis, 2019; Jeong, 2018; Khan and Zaman, 2018; Ryu et al., 2019.
	Creating platforms and other structures where citizens can participate in city matters.	Anttiroiko, 2016; Edward and Davies, 2018; Ferreri and Sanyal, 2018; Gurran et al., 2018; Stabrowski, 2017, Yuana et al., 2019.
Objective 3: Reducing inequalities in the city	Social justice and equality.	Caramaschi, 2017; Hult and Bradley, 2017; Morrow, 2019.
Objective 4: Creating a sustainable city	Educating the citizen in adopting more sustainable habits.	Bernardi, 2018; Boyko et al., 2017; Forlano, 2016; Harnaala, 2015; Hult and Bradley, 2017; LeDantec, 2017; Lupton, 2018.
	Governance strategies and sharing agendas in relation to sustainability.	Barrett et al., 2016; Bernardi and Diamantini, 2018; Curtis and Lehner, 2019; Fedorenko, 2017; Ganapati and Reddick, 2018; Rahman, 2016; Scharf et al., 2019; Vith et al., 2019.
	Sustainable urban design and other interventions.	Birdsall, 2014; Kwami and Cosgrave, 2018; Mateo-Babiano et al., 2016; Morandi et al., 2016; Zhang and Chen, 2018.
Objective 5: Generating Social Innovation through new economic arrangements in the city	Urban entrepreneurship in relation to sharing.	Cohen et al., 2016; del Moral and Fernández, 2018; Labaeye, 2019; Wittmayer et al., 2019; Zvolska et al., 2019a, 2019b.
	Collaborative consumption practices.	Cheng, 2016; Huber, 2017; Davies et al., 2017a; Davies et al, 2017b; Davies and Evans, 2019; Joo, 2017; Richardson, 2015.
	Places as social and economic connectors.	Caramaschi, 2017; Chan and Zhang, 2021; Cohen et al., 2016; Franqueira, 2010.
	Measuring service quality of sharing initiatives in the city.	Camboim et al, 2019; Mugion et al., 2018.
	Sharing Business Models.	Lan et al., 2017; Muñoz and Cohen, 2017.

Similarly, Cohen and Muñoz (2016) point out that coworking spaces allow for professional and social interaction, while representing an opportunity for economic development and investment. Using the case of the Urban Station, the authors point out that coworking spaces also alleviate congestion in cities. Furthermore, Akhavan et al. (2018) further explain how a sharing initiative such as coworking spaces can have an explicit impact on the city through the emergence of social streets and the revitalization of public space.

Besides the human centric focus of the sharing city, another objective that differentiates the sharing city from other city projects and labels is that of citizen empowerment and participation (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018). This is emphasized in the implementation of different city projects like the one in Seoul where the master plan is “citizen –and people-oriented” (SMG, 2011) and plans by goals are established together with citizens (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018). The main idea is that of inclusivity and democracy since anyone in the city could and should participate in the governance of the city (Richardson, 2015). This is also related to the third objective of reducing inequalities in the sharing city. The objective of social justice is often implicit in previous literature but it is present (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015). For instance, Morrow (2019) studies public fridges in Germany with the double objective of minimizing food waste and granting access to food for whomever needs it. Similarly, *Bike Kitchen* is a DIY workshop where anyone can ask for help to repair bicycles, and loan tools and spare parts, all for free (Hult & Bradley, 2017). The initiatives of New York City Green Carts, Get Healthy Philly, Stockbox Grocers, Food Share described in Caramaschi (2017) also aim to revitalize low-income neighbourhoods.

In any case, a common ground among all these objectives is their linkage to the concept of co-creation, from shared housing (Chan & Zhang, 2021), coworking spaces (Lehavi, 2018; Morandi et al., 2016), hackerspaces (Chan & Zhang, 2021) and community gardens (Cohen & Muñoz, 2015; Scharf et al., 2019) to policy making (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; Santala & McGuirk, 2019). Citizens of sharing cities carry out a series of co-creation practices in the aforementioned spaces, giving them meaning and certain symbolic qualities, metaphors and feelings (Blokland, 2017; John, 2017). Vestbro and Horelli (2012) indicate that cohousing is a revival of past models of community, and that its aim continues to be collaboration between residents. To achieve this, it is essential to pay attention to design factors, as well as spatial quality, access and interior communication.

In general, the sharing city is presented as an urban project that can have a positive impact upon the city and previous literature narrates it in positive terms in relation to the five objectives defined here.

4.4. Implementation approaches of the sharing city label: Top-down, bottom-up and hybrid approaches

In terms of management of the sharing city, initiatives can be proposed and executed in various ways. When the initiative is designed and implemented by the public administration, we are referring to a top-down approach (Capdevila & Zarlenga, 2015). Other types of initiatives originated by communities, companies and civil society, are characterized as bottom-up approaches (Capdevila & Zarlenga, 2015; Forlano, 2016; Harmaala, 2015). We can also find mixed approaches, because as Capdevila and Zarlenga (2015, p. 266) state “top-down and bottom-up initiatives are not opposed forces but, on the contrary, can have a synergistic effect on the innovation capacity of the city”.

In these works, they explore the two-way force between dialogues and agreements between movements, independent organizations and institutional actors. A total of 21 of the articles in the literature (26,2%) are about the mixed approach (Barrett et al., 2016; Lehavi, 2018; Morrow, 2019). However, 51 papers are about the bottom-up approach, which shows that it is the predominant approach in the scientific literature (63,7%), and the aim is to study the role of communities and enterprises to rethink the urban (Caramaschi, 2017; Celata et al., 2017; Davies et al., 2017a; Franqueira, 2010; Jarvis, 2019; Lan et al., 2017; Loh & Agyeman, 2019; Rossitto & Lampinen, 2018). Furthermore, for Dodge (2009), the opinion of civil society is an important factor in decision-making in urban management processes. The study of the *Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice* evidences that the actors use institutional channels to communicate and influence municipal administration, and negotiate it to mediate with the power. The study analysed coercive and non-coercive communication to bring environmental justice to the state of New Mexico (USA), using tools such as storytelling, testimonies and reports.

Organizations such as Sharing Cities Network *tell stories* about the sharing urban practices (Sharp, 2018, p. 1) and contribute to the dissemination of sharing values and urban activisms (see www.shareable.net and #MapJam 3.0). Sharp (2018) highlights that sharing city discourses represent a form of social change and impact urban governance, but above all these narratives are an opportunity to promote urban transformation. McLaren and

Agyeman (2015, p. 278) affirm that communication management is fundamental in the sharing paradigm, especially with regard to social capital, reputation and relationships. Although there are no specific studies on the role of brand building of sharing cities, relevant works such as Harmaala (2015), Khan and Zaman (2018) and Wittmayer et al. (2019) reveal the importance of using place branding tools in the perception of the sharing city.

The top-down approach has been the least studied in the literature. Even though the design of public policies and management strengthens the economic and social scope of the sharing city project (Bernardi, 2018; Birdsall, 2014; Gurran et al., 2018), only 11 articles (14%) study the role of the municipal administration within the sharing city (Bernardi, 2018; Ganapati & Reddick, 2018; Hult & Bradley, 2017; Mateo-Babiano et al., 2016). The most studied mixed approach case in the literature is Seoul (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; Fedorenko, 2017; Moon, 2017).

The top down approach is part of several institutional agendas. For example, Malmö (Sweden) is considered one of the most successful sharing city cases in Europe (see www.sharingcities.se). Hult and Bradley (2017) study how the local authorities promote the use of shared infrastructures through workshops and consultation with citizens. Two examples of this are *STPLN*, a multipurpose maker space, and *Garaget*, a place to hang out, have a coffee, borrow things and go to cultural events. Malmö seeks to promote a sharing society, in which environmental awareness and social justice are the basis for ethical behaviour by means of citizen communication.

4.5. Sharing city: a topic of interest across disciplines

The notion or label Sharing City has been studied in different academic disciplines. We have classified the articles according to the disciplines in which they have been published. It is not a matter of establishing exclusive categories, but rather of grouping the studies based on the area of knowledge from which they originate. Of the 80 articles that we have included in this review, more than half have been published in the management area (see Table 2.6), adopting focusses such as food consumption and production, innovation, business models etc. From urban planning, 17 articles have been published with perspectives such as mobility, public space, and space planning. The discipline that has a lower number of articles is architecture, with five articles, focused on design theory and methodology and social design.

Table 2.6. Sharing city as a multidisciplinary topic

Discipline	Perspective adopted	Focus	Sources
Management	Sharing Places in the sharing city	Co-working spaces: shared offices.	Lehavi, 2018; Morandi et al., 2016; Rossitto and Lampinen, 2016.
		Co-housing spaces: shared households.	Huber, 2017; Chan and Zhang, 2021; Lehavi, 2018; Vestbro and Horelli, 2012.
	Sharing Food in the sharing city	Structures and initiatives to access and share food.	Agyeman et al., 2016; Caramaschi, 2017; Davies and Evans, 2019; Davies et al., 2017a; Davies et al., 2017b; Edward and Davies, 2018; Jehlička and Daněk, 2017; Loh and Agyeman, 2019; Miralles et al., 2017; Morrow, 2019; Scharf et al., 2019.
	Sharing Platforms Economy and the sharing city	Typologies of new Business Models of Sharing Platforms.	Cohen et al., 2016; Muñoz and Cohen, 2017.
		The potential and criticisms of sharing platforms.	Anttiroiko et al., 2016; Barnes and Mattson, 2016; Celata et al., 2017; Cheng, 2016; Ferreri and Sanyal, 2018; Ganapati and Reddick, 2018; Rahman, 2016.
	Governance of sharing initiatives: the participation and collaboration between different actors in sharing city projects	Top-down governance: governments and public administration as the main actor.	Bernardi and Diamantini, 2018; Böcker and Meelen, 2017; del Moral-Espín and Fernández, 2018; Fedorenko, 2017; Moon, 2017.
		Public and private sector cooperation: strategic relationships and networks between private companies and public administration to foster urban sharing.	Banana et al., 2015; Barrett et al., 2016; Bernardi, 2018; Brown and Vergragt, 2016; Cohen and Muñoz, 2016; Cortés-Cediel et al., 2019; Dodge, 2009; Camboim et al., 2019; Harmaala, 2015; Pastor et al., 2003; Schor and Attwood-Charles, 2017; Thorpe, 2018; Vith et al., 2019.
		Bottom-up governance: the civil society as the main actor.	Boyko et al., 2017; Jeong, 2018; Zvolška et al., 2019a, 2019b.
	The sharing city from the consumer/user's perspective	Motivations and preferences of different social actors to participate in the sharing city.	Jarvis, 2019; Ryu et al., 2018; Santala and McGuirk, 2019.
	Branding of sharing city initiatives	Discourses and frames of interpretations used to brand and position sharing city projects.	Curtis and Lehner, 2019; Jeong, 2018; Khan and Zaman, 2018; Labaeye, 2019; Lehavi, 2018; Longhurst et al., 2016; Richardson, 2015; Sharp, 2018; Stabrowski, 2017; Wittmayer et al., 2019.
Architecture	Design Theory and Methodology	Differences of Shared Spaces: Explains the types of spaces that are shared, the particularities of each while categorizing them according to the use and relationships that occur within them (e.g. co-working space vs. hackerspace).	Chan and Zhang, 2021.

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Urban planning	Mobility planning for sharing in the city and launch of sharing schemes for urban transport and city support for shared mobility infrastructures	Social design: Highlights aspects such as the designer's social role as the promoter of relationships in the shared environment and citizens' commitment in the production of shared spaces.	Franqueira, 2010; Forlano, 2016; Le Dantec, 2017; Lupton, 2018.
		Bike-sharing schemes.	Birdsall, 2014; Mateo-Babiano et al., 2016; Lan et al., 2017; Ma et al., 2018; Nikitas, 2018; Winslow and Molt, 2019; Yuana et al., 2019.
		Car-sharing schemes.	Joo, 2017; Dowling et al., 2018; Mugion et al., 2018.
	Use of public space for sharing in the city	Transformation of public space for collective use.	Celluci and Di Sivo, 2017; Collins, 2004; Hult and Bradley, 2017.
	Space planning for sharing in the city	Management and regulation of physical space from a sharing and urban co-creation perspective.	Gurran et al., 2018; Kwami and Cosgrave, 2018; Rooij and Frank, 2016; Zhang and Chen, 2018.

Table 2.7 shows, within the final dataset of this SLR, what journals have published most research in the field of sharing cities and also indicates the category and the impact index they have in WOS and Scopus databases. In our dataset, the journals that have published most articles about this topic are: Journal of Cleaner Production and Sustainability with 7 articles, Geoforum with 6 publications; Urban Policy and Research with 3 documents; Development and Society, and Cambridge Journal of Regions with 2 papers each. As evidenced in Table 7 the theoretical scope of the sharing city includes social, economic, environmental, political and urban aspects.

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Table 2.7. Journals with most publications in our dataset

Journal	WOS category	JIF 2019 Rank (WOS)	Scopus category	SJR 2019 Rank (Scopus)	Authors	No of publications
Journal of Cleaner Production	Science (Environmental Science; Engineering, Environmental; Green and Sustainable Science and Technology)	7.246	Environmental Science (General Environmental Science); Business, Management and Accounting (Strategy and Management); Engineering (Industrial and Manufacturing Engineering); Energy (Renewable Energy, Sustainability and the Environment)	1.886	Bernardi & Diamantini (2018); Brown & Vergragt (2016); Cohen & Muñoz (2016); Ma et al. (2018); Mugion et al. (2018); Yuana et al. (2019); Zvolska, Voytenko Palgan, et al., 2019.	7
Sustainability	Social Science (Environmental Studies) and Science (Green and Sustainable Science and Technology and Environmental Science)	2.576	Social Sciences (Geography, Planning and Development); Environmental Science (Management, Monitoring, Policy and Law); Energy (Renewable Energy, Sustainability and the Environment)	0.581	Barrett et al. (2016); Caramaschi (2017); Curtis & Lehner (2019); Labaeye (2019); Lan et al. (2017); Scharf et al. (2019); Winslow & Molt (2019).	7
Geoforum	Social Sciences (Geography)	3.098	Social Sciences (Sociology and Political Science)	1.616	Davies & Evans (2019); Davies et al. (2017); Dowling et al. (2018); Loh & Agyeman (2019); Morrow (2019); Richardson (2015).	6
Urban Policy and Research	Social Science (Environmental Studies; Geography; Regional and Urban Planning; Urban Studies)	2.000	Social Sciences (Geography, Planning and Development; Urban Studies)	0.784	Edwards & Davies (2018); Gurran et al. (2018); Sharp (2018).	3
Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society	Social Science (Development Studies; Economics; Geography)	4.483	Social Sciences (Geography, Planning and Development; Sociology and Political Science); Economics, Econometrics and Finance (Economics and Econometrics)	2.217	Celata et al. (2017); Stabrowski (2017).	2
Development and Society *		-	Social Sciences (General Social Sciences)	0.145	Fedorenko (2017); Jeong (2018).	2

* Continued as Journal of Asian Sociology since 2019

In the articles analysed in this review, the study field with the most contributions is management, identified in sectoral applications in environment, technology, tourism, public policy, business, food, etc. (Anttiroiko, 2016; Bernardi, 2018; Celata et al., 2017; Cheng, 2016; Mateo-Babiano et al., 2016; Miralles et al., 2017; Muñoz & Cohen, 2017). The topics are diverse, and mainly analyse the *implementation* of sharing initiatives, for instance in mobility and alternatives of shared transport- one of the topics of greater interest in existing literature- such as bike-sharing programs (e.g. Birdsall, 2014; Lan et al., 2017). Previous literature is concerned with quality evaluations and how such systems can contribute towards more sustainable mobility systems and cities (Mugion et al., 2018). The experience of sharing transport (cars, bikes, etc.) is not only a sustainable social practice but also could permit establishing human relations and its organization requires planning to ensure wellbeing (Dowling et al., 2018). Regarding the management of shared mobility schemes, not only the medium of transport is taken into consideration but also how to adjust platforms and sharing infrastructures to minimize traffic and optimize the use of vehicles. Another popular case in management is food-sharing. Social practices about this involve cooking, eating, access and distribution of food, and certainly, policies for a food sharing ecosystem (Davies & Evans, 2019). According to Caramaschi (2017, p. 744) “adding food to the core elements of the planning and design processes improves the liveability of our cities and will deliver a more sustainable city”. This is evidenced in studies like the one by Miralles et al. (2017) where alternative food networks in the city are studied to determine how resources are shared and where (e.g. community gardens), the level of social participation and the organization of the initiatives. These studies can be useful for policy-making and the development of new food ventures. In a similar vein, Edward and Davies (2018) explain how food –sharing takes place in Melbourne, through the mapping of initiatives and projects such as 3000 Acres (a space to grow vegetables), Open Table (spaces to reduce food waste and to encourage community interaction), Food Justice Truck (foodbank), RipeNear.Me (a start-up that connects urban food production with consumers). These sharing practices not only aim for greater food security, but also to recover the city and the use of public spaces.

The literature on the sharing city in the field of management is broad. Governance is one of the topics studied. Bernardi and Diamantini (2018) have examined the cases of the sharing cities Seoul and Milan from a technological, economic and human dimension ensuring that a participatory and co-management focus among actors is necessary to foster urban sharing. In a similar line, Camboim et al. (2019) claim that city governance models

need to be oriented towards a social innovation perspective to integrate technological, environmental and social activities. However, the scope of management research in this field is wide and include how to manage and implement sustainable infrastructures, community relations and technological development.

Design is also a key disciplinary area in sharing cities and their practices (Forlano, 2016; Franqueira, 2010; Le Dantec, 2017; Lupton, 2018; Zhang & Chen, 2018). Concepts such as social design, place-making and co-design rethink the collaborative use of space for sharing among governments, residents, entrepreneurs and tourists. The sharing city space is considered as a channel through which participation and creation are encouraged (Hoyne, 2015; Manzini, 2019). The physical space conditions the practices and initiatives that can be carried out, and conversely "...sharing practices are likely to affect urban spaces" (Chan & Zhang, 2021) An example of how transformations in urban space are linked to social practices is the example of *Peace of Land* (Berlin) (Scharf et al., 2019), a community gardens initiative managed by the actual community. Those interested implement their own projects, educational activities and permaculture. Here, both the established social practices and space design serve to promote knowledge and learning and are the main focus of the study. Birdsall (2014) studies another case, and explains that in Chicago, urban design has changed thanks to the bike-sharing boom, and the policies of the Chicago Transport Department to prioritize bicycle-friendly culture through street reforms and bicycle routes.

5. Discussion

More than often, the sharing city is described from a commons based approach (Caramaschi, 2017; Chan & Zhang, 2020; Khan & Zaman, 2018) that generates, sharing practices with routines, habits and rituals of collaboration among the city actors (Davies, 2019), although previous literature does not fully explore in what social practices the sharing city is articulated. So, in terms of the implementation of sharing city projects, in this review we have analysed the literature on sharing cities in relation to the actors involved and their social practices and have highlighted the importance of the human dynamics of sharing. In the exploration, we identified four emerging points of scientific production: the diversity of the concept of sharing city, the importance of the concept of community, the relationship between space and the sharing economy and the future outlook.

5.1. Understanding the diversity of the sharing city

The sharing city concept is complex because it is a *suitable costume* to bring together a variety of initiatives and practices. In this sense, from the point of view of management, the sharing city can be associated, for example, with the platform economy (Jehlička & Daněk, 2017; Yuana et al., 2019); in architecture and urban design the sharing city could be a place where sharing activities take place (Chan & Zhang, 2021; Le Dantec, 2017) and where communication, innovation, creativity and social change are boosted (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; Harmaala, 2015).

The research on the sharing city is diverse and this can be seen in its orientation: 46% of the papers in this review combine profit and non-profit initiatives, 32% just profit and 22% just non-profit, but all of them insist on the importance of how sharing promotes social cohesion in the city. Ryu et al. (2019) point out that the literature on the sharing economy has focused predominantly on sharing practices with monetary compensations. In spite of the sharing city and the sharing economy being two interconnected fields, there seems to be more emphasis on the social aspect of sharing and community development.

However, in the area of management we identified 58 items that reduce the sharing city to different scales, focussed on, for example, coworking spaces, tourist accommodation, communal gardens and something more intangible and ephemeral such as an event that promotes urban sharing (e.g. The Melbourne ShareFest 2014 – Sharp, 2018 or OuiShare Fest Paris 2015 – Richardson, 2015), but not on the infrastructure or planning areas. From a management focus, the sharing city seems to be built through performances of the sharing economy. Our results indicate that management is the area with the largest number of articles, although there are other areas such as urban planning and architecture that also have various studies on the sharing city. We classified 17 articles in urban planning and 5 in architecture in this review. These articles deal with spaces for sharing on a larger scale (e.g. public spaces, buildings), and address areas such as mobility, the environment and urban regeneration, with a clear influence of social design on planning processes (Hoyne, 2015; Le Dantec, 2017). Furthermore, according to Boyko et al. (2017, p. 14) “as many examples of sharing depend on physical space and assets, both urban planners and designers need to think more carefully about how to design new and existing developments and infrastructures -and the important spaces in between- to inspire sharing”.

In other words, the sharing city is interpreted through the lenses of each discipline, and this means that there is no consensus on the theoretical definition of this concept. In this regard, the visions of each approach are isolated. Our study shows that the sharing city must be understood through different lenses, paying more attention to how different actors relate to each other in the city. As Davies (2019, p. 69) states, "the multifaceted and multifunctional nature of sharing (...) means that sharing initiatives frequently interact with a range of other organisations from public, private and civil society sectors". It is necessary to identify the different stakeholders involved in the process. The literature has been mainly interested in studying communities (citizens, sharing initiatives, students, service users, entrepreneurs) and administrations (councils or local governments). According to Govers (2018, p. 68), "communities are constructed by government, private sector and civil society at large". In addition, during the year 2019, conceptual articles increased by 46%, based on the relationship between various actors involved in sharing activities (Curtis & Lehner, 2019; Loh & Agyeman, 2019). However, other stakeholders, such as the media, social entrepreneurs, urban managers, as well as private companies (e.g. banks, industries), even when involved in sharing city projects, have not been explored. In addition, since the sharing city is a fundamentally social and economic proposal that addresses the urban, it requires interdisciplinary visions that allow its ideas to be defined more concretely, especially in its own theoretical terms.

5.2. *The importance of the community concept*

Santala and McGuirk (2019, p. 444) state that "sharing city is based on pragmatic, community-based solutions that are implemented to address common needs". This notion is oriented towards a comprehensive vision of the community and the relationships that occur within it through exchanges (Labaeye, 2019; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015), as well as ideologies, beliefs and values (Laamanen & Wahlen, 2019). For example, organizations like *Shareable*, *RIPESS* or *Ashoka* bring together a network of enthusiasts in sharing communities to promote alternatives for change from social entrepreneurship (Wittmayer et al., 2019). *Impact Hub* combines business incubators and coworking spaces to empower communities of social innovators (Longhurst et al., 2016). Others like *LetsPlayPlanet* (co-created local trips) or *Zipbob* (an online social dining platform) promote relationships between members to create a change in sustainable tourism (Bernardi, 2018). Therefore, the consolidation of the sharing city not only comes through greater social cohesion among citizens, but also the cohesion of their promoter networks.

5.3. The central role of space and its relationship with the sharing economy

First, the study and importance of space is central when we research the sharing city and its purpose. The final concept is the idea of exchange, mainly economic and social (Harmaala, 2015, p. 319), and it is conceived as a channel of collaboration (e.g. between users and platforms, or producers and consumers, etc.), in which interactions occur. For Kramvig (2019, p. xix) “a place can be described as a bounded geographic space, a multiple figure of materialities, politics and investments”. For authors such as Collins (2004), Forlano (2016), Franqueira (2010) and Le Dantec (2017), the space for sharing exists and is modelled and transformed by individuals, and has a social base. Others like Boyko et al. (2017), Miralles et al. (2017), Zhang and Chen (2018) highlight its inscrutable relationship with the sharing economy, and this has helped to build their imaginary. Sharing “...needs to be thought of as a practice woven through, rather than separate from, the socio-material relations of the city” (Dowling et al., 2018, p. 16).

Secondly, the sharing city and sharing economy present similarities in terms of where sharing takes place and much of the sharing city literature is focused on the sharing economy. These two areas are theoretically linked (Harmaala, 2015). In the sharing economy, the urban space is an enabling environment for economic, social and environmental change (McLaren & Agyeman, 2017; Santala & McGuirk, 2019). In this sense, “cities are only getting started in understanding the sharing economy, what it means for their city, and what kind of policy can be used to support those services that lead to positive benefits while limiting negative externalities” (Cohen & Muñoz, 2016, p. 9). However, the sharing city notion focuses much more on the citizen and on the idea of community empowerment and co-governance. Furthermore, much of the critique about sharing economy platforms (e.g. Martin, 2016) raises doubts regarding their positive social, environmental and economic impact on the city and their fit with the objectives of the sharing city, e.g. social justice and the gentrification phenomenon linked to sharing accommodation platforms.

6. Conclusions and implications

Studies on the sharing city show that it is in an experimental phase and in the process of being defined. It is a notion *adapted* to particular visions of what *should be*. Based on the results of this SLR, the sharing city is a term under construction that encompasses different interpretations and different implementations. How the sharing city is put into action

depends on the urban context and its particularities but also by its promoters and their governance of the city project (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018). For instance, the example of Seoul (Fedorenko, 2017; Moon, 2017) is narrated on different terms than the one of Malmö (Hult & Bradley, 2017) or Sydney (Santala & McGuirk, 2019).

A broader consensus is necessary for it to become a sustainable and viable concept over time. The literature has documented a part of these processes, and alerts to the need for a theoretical framework for greater clarity and recognition (Chan & Zhang, 2021). Other cities have on their future agendas the resolution of economic, environmental and welfare challenges (Khan & Zaman, 2018), and these are also goals of the sharing city and its administration. In this order, urban identity and differentiation are aspects that this notion of city must explore with clear implications for policy makers. For example, viewing the sharing city as a desirable city brand has direct repercussions on future local government policies. For Khan and Zhaman (2018, p. 223), “city branding notions and labels help to train the spot light on particular priority urban planning issues, offering ways to deal with them effectively”. For example, the referent most quoted in the literature is Seoul (Bernardi, 2018; Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; Fedorenko, 2017; Moon, 2017), seen as a viable model and organization of a sharing city, which not only benefits the positive reputation of the city, but also those who propose and promote it (e.g. government, private enterprises, social enterprises, etc.).

Our results can be of interest both to academics and practitioners. For academics, a more in-depth understanding of the sharing city is provided, gaps are identified and future research lines are suggested.

Moreover, in this SLR, we have evidenced that sharing in the city takes different forms and shapes. We agree with McLaren and Agyeman (2015, p. 322), in that sharing “... offers a new strategy and direction for cities”. So, for local governments/policy makers the carried out study of the social practices related to the sharing city or the establishment of different objectives in relation to the sharing city can serve as a broader inspiration or as a guide for the implementation of sharing city projects in terms of urban development and transformation that serves the particular interests and necessities of each context.

Understanding the concept of the sharing city is crucial for policy makers who wish to define urban regeneration policies. We have found that the sharing city has rightfully attracted the interest of different disciplines and demands a multidisciplinary approach. In

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practical terms this means that cities that wish to embark upon sharing city projects need to assemble multidisciplinary teams. For instance, city design and infrastructures are important not only because they facilitate sharing practices but also because they enable the emergence of new ones (Chan & Zhang, 2020, 2021; Katrini, 2018). Furthermore, in this SLR we have established specific objectives in relation to the sharing city which allows seeing how it could fit with other city projects that local governments may wish to implement or have already implemented such as the smart city, the eco city, the resilient city, etc., especially since certain cities are interested in more than one city labels at the same time (De Jong et al., 2015). The goals of the sharing city, their monitoring and accomplishment carried out by local governments could be also used to evaluate their performance against broader Sustainable Development Goals (Winans et al., 2021). In addition, setting clear objectives in relation to the sharing city can be useful in the aforementioned branding of the city.

Finally, there are also managerial implications for firms who need to understand what sharing cities stand for, what purposes and goals they serve and what social practices they involve. Firms are another agent of the city who can attempt to achieve the sharing city's goals in collaboration with citizens, local governments and other institutions. Our findings suggest that sharing practices could take place along very diverse contexts, e.g. food, waste management and mobility, so firms can define what their impact and contribution (social and environmental) are to the sharing city project either through their main economic activity or through their CSR practices.

In practice, the “sharing city label” is aspirational, but it materializes in specific actions and transformations in the city. For example, recovering public spaces for co-production among city residents and urban leisure such as *Garaget* and *STPNL*, in Malmö (Hult & Bradley, 2017), or *Cycle Atlanta* (Le Dantec, 2017), a project of collaboration among cyclists and urban planners to improve mobility using existing routes, to revitalize city infrastructures and to optimize transport connections. In all these initiatives, there are different dimensions from urban development, city sustainable growth to the social aspects and the human dynamics of sharing.

Moreover, the effectiveness of a concept such as the sharing city should look critically towards the long term. Its scope and implications are in an experimental phase, so evaluating its urban and social impacts would be premature at this point. We believe that this work makes the following contributions: to understand how and who has studied the sharing city,

to define it in terms of the social practices involved, to categorize the type of interventions carried out and to delineate its objectives and how it can positively impact on the city. Overall, exploring in depth the sharing city concept and what it may involve offers a fuller understanding and a basis for discussion for practitioners and academics of a previously fuzzy concept. Moreover, the sharing city project overlaps with other city projects such as the smart city (Cortés-Cediel et al., 2019; Khan & Zaman, 2018), for instance in sustainability related goals, so certain initiatives and social practices could serve for both projects. The greatest challenge is to verify that the sharing city is not a buzzword and that its actions effectively constitute an improvement in the quality of urban life and sustainability.

7. Research gaps and future research

Considering the current sharing city studies and based on the findings of the review, in this section we identify the main gaps in the literature on the sharing city and propose future lines of research,

First, more empirical studies are needed on how sharing activity is carried out in the physical space. For Davies and Evans (2019, p. 157) “the concept of place emerges as a key factor in the performance of sharing”. Within this experience, space conditions certain practices that may or may not favour collaboration. Cases such as *Hoffice* (Rossitto & Lampinen, 2018) in which the privacy and organization of the domestic space is adapted for work use, or that of the chain of coworking spaces *WeWork*, which modifies industrial buildings to convert them into work spaces (Lehavi, 2018), demonstrate that space reconfigures the sharing practice. According to Zhang and Chan (2020, p. 5) “the spatial dimension of sharing has yet to be recognized as an essential variable in elucidating the phenomenon of sharing”. This idea has already been emphasized by Le Dantec (2017) who suggested studying the relationships established between the physical place and the sharing activity; similarly, to Lupton (2018) who not only reaffirms this, but also points out that social approaches are necessary to create design methods. In relation to this, there is also little literature on urban planning and the sharing city. As a result, sometimes the city that aims to be a sharing city is not properly conditioned to undertake this project. Furthermore, in sharing cities the physical space is often transformed into a *shareable resource* (Zhang & Chan, 2020) which has received little attention in previous literature. Future research can answer questions such as how space is shared, by whom and how space transformations in

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the city evolve over time. In turn, such space transformations in the city could be examined in multidisciplinary studies in relation to place identity and cultural identity. Then, further studies, rather than focus on isolated initiatives, should research how to implement the sharing city from a strategic perspective that takes into account the implications for designing the space and also urban planning.

Second, considering the little attention that top down approaches have received in the literature, and knowing the experiences in various cities around the world, the sharing city is an important topic for research in political marketing and its relationships with political goals (e.g. government campaigns, public policy planning, political brands etc.). Although there has been research about the community and the citizen in the context of the sharing city, there are limited insights into the strategic environment of the sharing city and what communication and marketing tools governments and administrations use to gain public opinion. In particular, we suggest exploring how sharing city projects allows to construct a shared identity and certain city brand positioning. So, the sharing city can be alternatively studied through other theoretical lenses such as place branding and place management and how value is created in the sharing city and for whom (Cohen et al., 2016).

Other potential avenues for future research could be to examine city governance from different theoretical lenses such as an institutional theory perspective (Sharp, 2018), or a network theory perspective (Pflieger & Rozenblat, 2010). The latter seems an interesting path for research especially since new networks and alliances are currently formed between city governments on how to deal with the governance of sharing city projects. For example, Sharing Cities Alliance claims to have started “a global movement of collaboration, co-creation and knowledge sharing between cities”. Furthermore, researchers have paid relatively little attention to sharing city governance effects. Certainly some examples can be found (see for instance Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; Vith et al., 2019; Zvolska et al., 2019a; 2019b), but more research could take place especially when we compare it to governance effects and other popularized city labels such as the smart city, which has been studied in depth.

Third, it is assumed that the foundation of the sharing city is the citizen, who is at the centre of everything, and the search for fairer structures and well-being for the user; however, there are no studies that address the behaviour of the sharing city user as a consumer. It is necessary to analyse their interactions, perceptions and attitudes towards

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collaborative urban structures, their willingness to participate in the community and practice local activism. In other words, beyond the bottom-up initiatives that can be observed in different cities of the world, it would be interesting to understand how residents themselves understand the sharing city, and get to know their attitudes towards participating in new structures and spaces that promote sharing and collaboration. It would be interesting to assess whether these opinions change according to the typology of the initiative (e.g. whether it is bottom-up or top-down) or according to the ideological political affinity between the resident and the government that promotes the sharing city in the cases of top-down approaches. At least in principle, interpretive tools used in anthropology, marketing or semiotics could contribute to this approach.

The sharing city is a broad phenomenon with multiple nuances, which makes it very complex. Human beings are used to sharing in the city, often without being aware of it. Therefore, it is necessary to resize concepts and consider the overlaps that may arise with other city labels. Aspects such as citizen participation or collaborative policy making are not exclusive to the sharing city, and although technological platforms are channels that facilitate communication, cooperation and convening, a city in which sharing is the basis of relationships can also take shape without them. Also, past experiences of the sharing city are narrated in positive terms in previous literature, but there are also critiques and disagreement regarding the management of these initiatives (Morrow, 2019; Ryu et al., 2019). Future research can adopt a more critical perspective regarding the expectations versus reality of sharing city projects.

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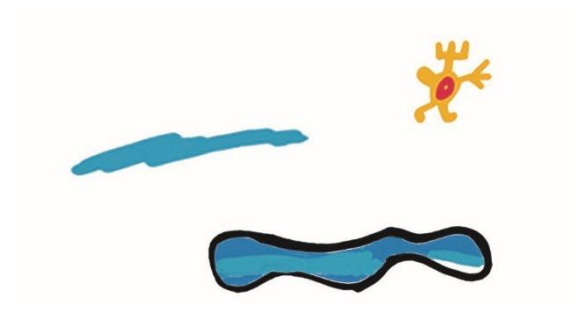
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Chapter 3.

The institutional actor in the sharing city emergence

Chapter 3. The institutional actor in the sharing city emergence

Chapter overview

As highlighted in the previous chapter, the role of the local administration in promoting the sharing city is decisive to achieve it, especially in the top-down approach. Although the sharing city discourse is linked to that of the sharing economy, it has a broad spectrum, with multiple interpretations and ways of being informed (Curtis & Lehner, 2019). This has produced that the sharing city unfolds urban imaginaries that present alternatives to shape the future of the city through different actions linked to citizen participation and social inclusion (Sharp, 2020; Vanolo, 2017).

“Cities are an immense trial and error laboratory,” said Jacobs (2011, p. 32). Within them, strategies and interventions adapt to materialize a desired future, and improve the quality of urban life through the offer of resources, opportunities, and well-being (Khan & Zaman, 2018). The role of the local administration in projecting this image is very influential, since they not only assume the structural change of the city, but also the communication of this change and the creation of a place identity (Govers & Go, 2009).

In urban governance and management, the institutional actor of the sharing city has clearly focused on integrating this culture into the social practices and city imaginaries. Local administration is key in this process, especially due to its regulatory and organizational nature (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2020). Although alternative paradigms of power emerge from the sharing city (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015), the government role establishes its own systems to initiate and guide sharing activities.

Successful benchmarks such as Seoul (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; Fedorenko, 2017; Moon, 2017), Amsterdam (Bergren, 2015; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015) and Malmö (Hult & Bradley, 2017; Leonette et al., 2021), have been widely documented in the literature on sharing city, as models of good practices. The achievements of these cities in launching sharing initiatives and the support of their political, social and economic actors have been disseminated in the press, especially in the official communication channels of these cities’ governing bodies. This benefits the city brand and the positive perception by the public, and this information shapes successful branding campaigns to position the territories (de San Eugenio Vela, 2012; Huertas, 2014).

According to Eshuis and Edwards (2013, p. 1067), “place branding is used as an urban governance strategy for managing perceptions about places, (...) it may involve ideas about economic and spatial development”. In the creation of these messages, visions of communication and political marketing are combined, oriented to the design and to public policies implementation, in which the citizen is incorporated as one of the most important actors in the process (Eshuis et al., 2014), and as well as the private sector, organizations and groups of influence. Narratives that show collaboration and agreement between various interest groups in the city are powerful *vis-à-vis* outsiders and also strengthen the sense of local identity (Govers & Go, 2009).

The sharing city label (Khan & Zaman, 2018) promotes a set of values based on the practices of the collaborative economy and urban development (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015). Objectives based on sustainability, collaboration between citizens and community empowerment, are typical of the sharing city (Manzini, 2019); For this reason, more than a concrete and delimited definition, the sharing city is “... a mentality and a dynamic participatory process” (Shareable, 2018, p. 33).

This chapter analyzes how the idea of the sharing city Barcelona is communicated. To prepare this study, official news and documents issued by the Barcelona City Council - the institutional actor under examination- have been used. The strategic communication of these initiatives and projects have been studied over a period of three years, since the city council began to publish information about its sharing city project in 2015 until 2017. This research has allowed us to identify the communication strategies used by the local administration for the dissemination of its objectives, and also how the discourses and narratives of sharing strengthen the urban agenda and key areas of intervention.

As a result, an article published in the journal *Cities*, specialized in urban policies and planning, with an impact factor of 4,802 and first quartile (Q1) in Web of Science and Scopus, is presented.

1. Strategic communication

For Holtzhausen and Zerfass (2015), strategic communication is an umbrella concept that groups together activities of public relations, marketing, specialized journalism, diplomacy, and even political communication. It is important to note that it is an organizational discipline, which facilitates the realization of the plans and strategies of a group (Falkheimer et al., 2017; Holtzhausen & Zerfass, 2015), and which also provides

economic and reputational value to its issuer (Edwards, 2018; Gregory & Halff, 2017; L'Etang, 2009).

Although strategic communication is based on organizational objectives, the social and cultural context also shapes the identity of the actor who communicates (e.g. a company, a hospital, etc.) (Edwards, 2018). One of the sectors that uses these approaches the most is the public sector. But in addition, it is one of the most complex to manage, precisely because of the heterogeneous nature of its stakeholders, and the type of campaigns it designs to establish contacts (Wakeman, 2016). Specifically, governments take advantage of their communication channels to inform their plans and decisions, legitimize power and establish contact networks with their key actors (Parker, 2010).

The institutional actor is understood in this work as the government, specifically the Barcelona City Council, which establishes the strategic communication process that has been explored. In this city, collaborative economy initiatives have been promoted, and a platform has been established for the dissemination of business models oriented to social transformation, shared governance and citizen co-creation (Fuster-Morell & Senabre, 2020; Winslow & Mont, 2019). Through digital media such as social networks, *apps*, newspapers and the official website, this actor presents the different issues that are part of the government plan, and that refer to existing local problems (e.g. access to housing and speculation, environmental pollution, public spaces underused, etc.). The analysis of these documents allows us to know what the solutions and how the crisis will be addressed by public administration (Bentele & Nothhaft, 2015).

1.1 The case of Barcelona

Barcelona is a city that has used strategic communication tools to strengthen its urban identity and transmit positive attributes, such as being creative, diverse, cosmopolitan, avant-garde, intelligent and cultural (Bakıcı et al., 2012; Compte-Pujol et al., 2018; Morillo, 2018). An example of this is through the organization of large events -such as the 1992 Olympic Games, which positioned it internationally as a model of renewal- (Campelo, 2017), also as a leader in innovation and development of *startups* -such as development of the 22@ district- (Capdevila & Zarlenga, 2015), or, in relation to the reconstruction and revitalization of its natural spaces (Maciocco, 2008).

As of 2015 and after a career in social activism, Ada Colau is elected mayor of Barcelona. This victory brought about a refocusing of urban management in which citizen

participation and ongoing collaboration of different sectors of the city, gambled by drawing fair and sustainable strategies (Cohen et al., 2016; Morillo, 2018). Incorporating the sharing culture into various areas of government promoted a change in traditional political processes, and a challenge when integrating a large group of stakeholders in management (Cañigüeral, 2016; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015). Barcelona, following the example of cities such as Seoul, Milan or Amsterdam, joined to the international scene with the *sharing city* label and its set of practices (Norton, 2021).

Previous studies such as those by Morillo (2018) and Muñoz (2008) have already highlighted how Barcelona has oriented itself towards urban branding, using discourses and narratives that have turned it into a brand city. The positioning of this city in recent years has emphasized social and economic development, through support for entrepreneurship projects, innovation and citizen participation, "... precisely the areas in which the city council wanted to improve its international reputation in order to become a real open-for-business city" (Compte-Pujol et al., 2018, p. 248), and which is part of the current agenda of the local administration.

In the strategic communication of the institutional actor, certain objectives are established that must be consistent with the values, beliefs and goals of the organization, but above all, they offer a homogeneous image of the issuer and the context in which it operates (Fredriksson & Pallas, 2015; Wakeman, 2016). This is not a one-way process. As it is an activity linked to public relations, communication actions need to bring together stakeholders (Govers & Go, 2009) as co-creators of a desired image (Cassinger & Thelander, 2017; Khan & Zaman, 2018). The favorable consensus of public opinion is relevant to be able to make sense of it and undertake new urban projects (L'Etang, 2009).

2. Different approaches of the sharing city, key players and the example of Barcelona and other cities

Transforming Barcelona into a sharing city has been one of the objectives to improve the quality of urban life by promoting the common good (Vidal & Fuster-Morell, 2018). However, the greatest challenge for this goal was to integrate citizens to the policies of open governance and cooperation (Cañigüeral, 2016). The Barcelona Municipal Action Plan 2016-2019 (PAM) states that: "If they manage to involve citizens, listen to their voice, cities can become a basic space for guaranteeing rights and countering a global economic system that creates imbalances and inequalities". In order

to promote sharing in the city of Barcelona, a brand story in which its human, inclusive and innovative attributes are emphasized, gives logical meaning to the sharing city initiatives (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2019).

The sharing city promotes lifestyles based on collaboration and community networks (Laamanen & Wahlen, 2019), which propose social practices in which sharing is exercised and new imaginaries and meanings are built (Sharp, 2020). Its enthusiasts affirm that it represents a path towards sustainability and inclusion (Cohen et al., 2016; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015), and this is part of its most powerful storytelling, above all, because it implies the cooperation of citizen actors who must identify with the particular vision of sharing (Manzini, 2019). Krasny (2019, p. 126) ensures that “when something is shared by a group of people, they become part of it”, this is highlighted in examples such as co-government initiatives (Sharp, 2020), platform economy (Fuster-Morell & Senabre, 2020), entrepreneurial ecosystems (Muñoz & Cohen, 2017) or community development (Labaeye, 2019). The sharing city narrative is disruptive, precisely because it presents an alternative or solution to urban problems (e.g. housing, transportation, etc.), but through an efficient and innovative administration of physical, economic and social resources (Palladino, 2017). Support in technological and digital platforms benefits information networks, being a support to connect new actors both offline and online (Boyko et al., 2017; Harmaala, 2015).

Despite the fact that in the theoretical proposals of the sharing city, the citizen actor is one of the agents of change with the greatest dominance (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; Sharp, 2018), the municipal administration has a significant influence on sharing practices. They can establish strategic guidelines and provide the necessary infrastructure and services so that certain key initiatives can be developed (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; Długosz, 2014).

For Sharp (2020, p. 266), the sharing city expands the role of the citizen as a *city maker*. In this idea, it has an active participation in the intervention of the city, being a creator of urban and economic value (Harmaala, 2015; Katrini, 2018). Incorporating the sharing economy in the city is an activity that can be approached from the efforts of various actors. And although it comprises almost all stakeholders, the direction is not always the same. One of the approaches that we can find is the *bottom-up*, in which decisions about sharing and the type of initiatives arise from the community, in a more

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organic and informal way (Boyko et al., 2017; Capdevila & Zarlenga, 2015). Although these initiatives may impact on the development of policies or structural changes, they are managed independently through movements, collectives, or individuals.

In contrast to the *bottom up*, the *top down* approach operates differently. This is characterized by designing centralized policies and managing more bureaucratic structures, and with an emphasis on strategic control (Kubickova & Campbell, 2020). In this approach, the driving force falls on the local government, and its alliances and management agendas are used (Bernardi, 2015; Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018). The initiatives conceived under these ideas usually have an infrastructure designed to share, and also establish the priorities that have to be worked on, pointing out key points (Boyko et al., 2017; Capdevila & Zarlenga, 2015; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015). One of the cases where this is evidenced is in Seoul, known as the first sharing city (Fedorenko, 2017; Jo, 2021). The *Sharing City Seoul* project has been implemented following a co-governance scheme, promoting the creation of innovative companies, technology and platforms, establishing ordinances for its execution (Foster & Iaione, 2016). Another example is Copenhagen, a city where sharing has been focused from the social practices and culture of cycling (Colville-Andersen, 2018; Gössling, 2013). In the Danish capital, sharing urban life in public space is a way to democratize it through use and enjoyment. This is encouraged by local authorities, and the strategy has been to involve citizens in this process (Gehl, 2010). In Latin America, the example of Medellín is a planning and revitalization model, through the policies established in the social urbanism project (Agyeman & McLaren, 2017; Malandrino, 2017; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015). Priority areas such as transportation, housing and culture have been addressed with the active participation of the communities in decision-making. The perception of a violent city has been changed to an inclusive one, under citizen empowerment, education and the fight against inequalities.

Finally, the hybrid or mixed approach is characterized by shared management (Katrini, 2018). Although most of the sharing city projects are focused from the top-down or the bottom-up, they are not exclusive approaches. According to Capdevila & Zarlenga (2015, p. 266), “Top-down and bottom-up initiatives are not opposed forces but, on the contrary, can have a synergistic effect on the innovation capacity of the city”. Such is the case of Sydney, a city with a drive for the sharing culture of both the government and the communities (Santala & McGuirk, 2019). The administration has adapted its

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infrastructure to shared mobility, and is also developing strategies to improve urban spaces for inclusion (see for example, *A City for All: Draft Inclusion (Disability) Action Plan 2017-2021*). In turn, the communities propose uses and adaptations of transport networks and public spaces. Urban design interventions to prioritize social contact and improve the quality of the landscape are part of consultative processes, in which the opinion of both actors defines the action.

Table 3.1 differentiates the approaches to the sharing city. As we have already explained, these are not conflicting or opposing ideas (Capdevila & Zarlenga, 2015). The limits of these approaches can be fuzzy, as they depend on urban plans, strategies and agendas. In Milan, for example, its local government has proposed a plan for the collaborative economy in the city, but several of its initiatives are led by communities and social organizations that manage resources (Tartari, 2021). “Real solutions to the problems of cities and society can only emerge if they are co-produced by informed community members and enlightened city officials” (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015, p. 324).

Table 3.1. Approaches to the sharing city

	Top down approach	Bottom up approach	Mixed approach
Characteristics	Controlled by an institutional actor, who exercises the greatest leadership within the local context. Establishes the guidelines of the sharing city project.	Coordinated by emerging and independent actors, outside the governmental or private structure.	It uses both approaches for urban management. The efforts to implement the sharing city belong to both actors: the institutional and the community.
Examples	Local governments (e.g. Barcelona City Council, Seoul Municipal Government, Malmö Municipality, etc.)	Citizen initiatives (e.g. Hammarby Sjöstad 2.0 – Stockholm-, Supermarkt –Berlin-. Organizations like Shareable, OuiShare)	Sharing Cities Alliance (joint work between society and government); Sydney Master Plan (Australia)

Source: Author’s own elaboration.

2.1 The sharing city and other urban labels

Although its implementation is not unique, the sharing city has positioned itself as an alternative to focus on the social and at the same time, on justice narratives (McLaren & Agyeman, 2017). The main objective has been to improve the quality of life in cities through the benefits of the collaborative economy and the values it assumes. This, in addition, is related to other city labels such as the *smart city* (Khan & Zaman, 2018; Yigitcanlar et al., 2019) *sustainable city*, *green city* (Vanolo, 2017), which have also taken advantage of strategic communication tools for the creation of promotional campaigns. In spite of the optimistic spirit of these ideas, if a city that concrete and practical results is positioned evidence is not so, all would be attractive messages and aspirations unrealized (Asplund & Ikkala, 2011).

Cities make their projects and futures visible through communication. They create their own imaginaries using branding techniques and rhetorical and creative elements (Kavaratzis, 2012; Ntounis et al., 2020; Vanolo, 2015, 2017). For Parker (2010, p. 31), “the urban is the space where the materialization of discourse (...) reaches its fullest expression”. This elaboration accompanies tangible elements and precise actions, such as the example of Medellin, in which the media served to disseminate the urban policies of the model, making it known internationally as a positive experimental reference, and in which the city changes from being characterized from violent to innovative (Duque Franco & Ortiz, 2020). Social urbanism was not only a revitalizing policy, but a brand narrative (Doyle, 2018). Another widely referenced case is that of Seoul (Fedorenko, 2017; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015), in which the city leads a global knowledge reinforced by marketing campaigns and institutional advertising. The Seoul Metropolitan Government coordinates its own public relations plans and recognizes the potential of events and contacts with the press to publicize its sharing city project (Jo, 2021).

3. Barcelona: an example of the *top-down* approach

In reference to the case of Barcelona, we find what Zvolska et al. (2019) call a “facilitating city” (p. 638), in which the government makes possible and strategically promotes the collaborative culture through the creation of companies and organizations, innovation plans, public policies, etc., such as this has been the case of Gothenburg (see www.sharingcities.se, Lund et al., 2021) or Seoul (see Bernardi &

Diamantini, 2018; Jo, 2021). In Barcelona, the storytelling built by the institutional actor has been based on a sharing model that has taken advantage of existing attributes and perceptions, such as being one of the most sustainable cities (ARCADIS, 2018) and that had been projected internationally as a *smart city* (Camboim et al., 2019). For Cohen et al. (2016, p. 8) “Ada Colau, has shifted the priorities of the city away from a technology-driven smart city agenda toward a focus on how smart solutions can support social inclusion”, and studies such as those by Bernardi and Diamantini (2018) and McLaren and Agyeman (2015) point out that the sharing city is a more human and less technocratic vision than the smart city, even though they share certain meeting points. These aspects are explored in the article resulting from this chapter.

3.1. Interpreting the institutional information of the sharing city Barcelona

As we have already highlighted, it is common for organizations to establish their own communication strategies to reach their audiences or stakeholders. Communication is planned and evaluated to generate certain effects on these audiences. For Capriotti (1999, p. 39) when an organization differentiates its audiences, “it is identifying different positions in relation to it, which will develop specific roles for each position”. In a city, it is complex to classify these groups, not only because of their breadth, but also because of their diversity (Huertas, 2014), however, all publics that are related to the city must be considered when it comes to developing projects in which are -or will be- involved (Braun et al., 2013; Ginesta & de San Eugenio, 2020).

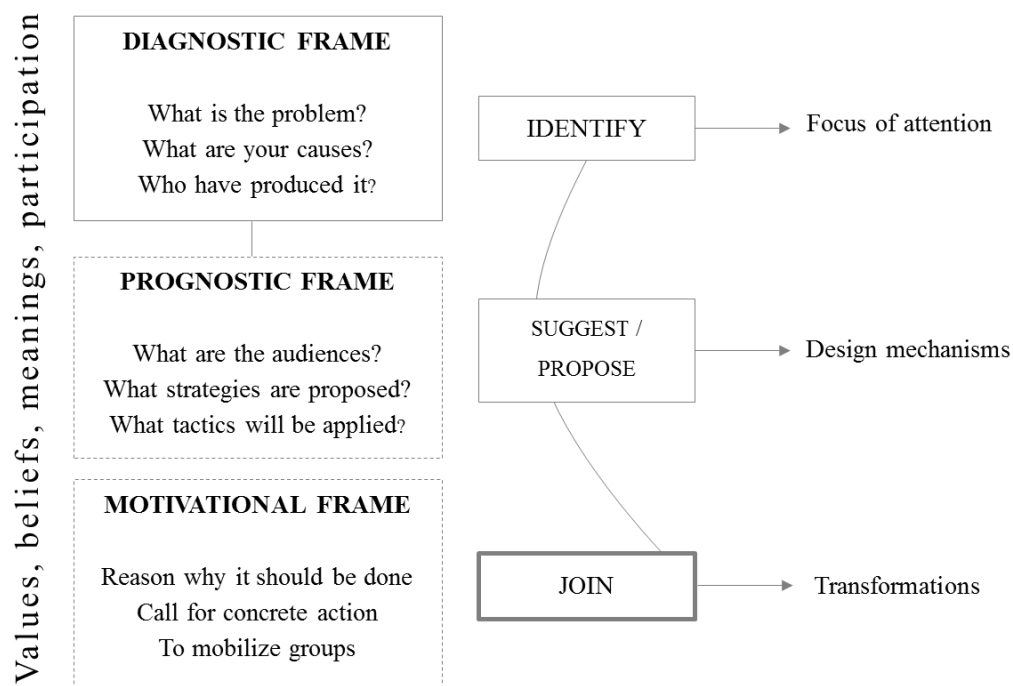
Within the strategic communication that Barcelona City Council has designed to transmit its ideas and initiatives of sharing city, two important things are evident: the first is that the institutional actor uses its official communication channels to report the day-to-day life related to the *sharing* culture in the city. This indicates that in terms of communication, it also has a *top down* logic (Cassinger, 2018; Castelló, 2019). It is controlled by its own team, as well as by press partners. The second is the stakeholder-oriented approach, that is, to a key audience that is not only a consumer of information, but also lives the reality of the city and constantly audits the work of the government (Cassinger, 2018; de San Eugenio-Vela et al., 2020; Kavaratzis, 2012). This coincides with what was stated by Míguez González (2010, p. 158):

“La organización, por ejemplo, puede comunicarse estratégicamente para atraer la atención de sus públicos sobre temas importantes, para establecer procesos de

decisión en colaboración con ellos o para demostrar su identificación con sus intereses, opiniones y valores; **a medida que las organizaciones eligen ciertas alternativas y llevan a cabo ciertas acciones están ensalzando los valores que consideran mejores**". (emphasis added)

Understanding communication management allows us to understand the objectives of organizations. Barcelona City Council is a strategist for the sharing city, because it thinks about it, executes it and controls it, but it also communicates it. In order to make the implementation of the sharing city possible –both in Barcelona, as in any other place– participation is essential, which is why adding the stakeholders becomes a main objective. "A sharing city will need a public commitment to its vision, backed by the necessary strategies, institutions, and resources" (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015, p. 299).

Figure 3.1. Interpretive frames, based on Benford and Snow (2000) and, Snow and Benford (1988)



Source: Author's own elaboration.

For Boisen (2015, p. 15) “places tell stories, raise expectations, and promise specific values”. Marketing actions can induce certain images of the city, so that the messages that come from communication -such as public relations, social networks , advertising, etc.- influence the perception and reputation that someone becomes of the city (Baker, 2019; Huertas, 2014). Its narratives are part of its urban identity and its projection of the present and future. To analyze how the sharing city Barcelona is communicated, we have worked with the *frame* analysis or interpretive frames, “a way of making sense of the social realities and the everyday, (...) to generate affinity and to incite action”(Laamanen et al., 2015, p. 461). Interpretive frameworks provide clues to understanding the meanings of ideas and the meaning of beliefs. This seeks to convey these ideas and beliefs stakeholders, and achieve certain actions, such as participation (Snow & Benford, 1988) (see Figure 3.1).

For Castelló (2019), interpretive frameworks -frequently used in public management- offer a general vision of a problem. From its identification, assessment or proposal, to a way to solve it and invite others to support the objective. The incorporation of social narratives in the communication of urban projects has been part of the discourse of the sharing city (John, 2017). In our case, “sharing in the community is exemplified in motivational framing” (Laamanen et al., 2015, p. 466).

In this chapter, the interpretive frameworks of the Sharing City label or project in Barcelona were analyzed. For this, the following data was used:

- 67 documents extracted from the official website of the Barcelona City Council, for a period of four years (2015-2018). It was taken from the first published article that made reference to the subject. The sample is made up of news and press releases. (see Appendix in the published article).
- Other documents that were not included in the sample expanded on the conceptual and practical aspects of the former, as well as allowing an in-depth understanding of the approach to urban governance in Barcelona. These were:
 - Barcelona Municipal Action Plan (PAM).
 - Impulse Program for a Green Infrastructure.
 - Barcelona Green and Biodiversity Plan 2012-2020 (Catalan).
 - Barcelona + Sustainable Map (video).
 - Plan to promote the social and solidarity economy 2016-2019.

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- Plan for the promotion of youth and quality employment.
- Citizen Participation Regulation.
- Decidim Social Contract.
- The participatory democracy platform in Barcelona (promotional material).
- Adolescence and youth plan 2017-2021.

Although these documents were not included in the total number of news items, they were read and taken into account. So for a better understanding and analysis they were reviewed in detail. Like the data in the article, these documents are public and available on the web. The information we use are organizational documents. According to Silverman (2020), these are important because they **represent a reality**. In this type of documents, the veracity is not questioned, but rather how they respond to a social commitment and the legitimacy of their activities (p. 309). The intention of studying this type of material produced by an institution is because they bring the reader closer to understanding how it develops its narratives, promotes practices and identifies with its stakeholders (Atkinson & Coffey, 2004).

4. The analysis process

The resulting article from this chapter has used a qualitative approach. The content analysis method has been applied, which allows the creation of thematic categories and the identification of social constructions through discourse (Cassell & Symon, 2004; Schreier, 2012). New themes emerge from an organization's communication, so this is a flexible and context-based method that helps to understand its culture (Moisander & Valtonen, 2006). The documents of an organization not only inform about the work of the same, but they justify, explain and share the meanings of their actions (Charmaz, 2014).

For Huertas (2014), content analysis serves to know what identity the territory is communicating through its media (e.g. website, social networks, etc.), as well as to identify what its attributes and emotional values are. In addition, the content analysis "... is a good method to use if [the] research question is descriptive" (Schreier, 2012, p. 43), such as that of the article corresponding to this chapter:

**"How the sharing city project is understood, framed and strategically
communicated by the municipal administration? "**

The first stage of the analysis consisted of an immersion in the data, and identifying the perspectives of the news set (Hennink et al., 2020). Being a flexible stage, at that time it was decided to also review the organizational documents on which some news were based. They were then arranged in individual cards with the following items:

- Author: signed by a person (a journalist or editorial member of the Barcelona City Council), or an organization (e.g. Urbana Ecology group, Decidim.Barcelona group, etc.)
- Title: title of the news or press release.
- Language : Catalan, Spanish and English.
- Year and date: data on when the information was published.
- Purpose: record of what is communicated. For example, a contest, an ordinance, a new urban policy, etc.
- Topic: topic analyzed. For example, mobile solutions, public spaces, mobility, etc. This would allow the creation of categories, after analysis and coding.
- Actors: who was involved or referred to. For example, a councilor, a citizen group, a Neighborhood Council, etc.
- Category : once encoded information analyzed and assigned a category. In some cases, more than one category was assigned to each story.

An initial group of categories was built after reviewing some news stories, and identifying the topics they covered. "The [content analysis] method forces to select certain key aspects of your material and to focus on those" (Schreier, 2012, p. 59). One of the most complex stages is the process of definition and adaptation of the categories, as it requires great precision and specificity (Silverman, 2020). Despite this, during the coding process, new unexpected categories of practices and narratives may emerge that are also part of the identity of the project (Huertas, 2014). After analyzing each news item, thematic codes were determined. These are detailed in Table 3.3 of this chapter (Table 2 of the published article).

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The codes were created based on the topics covered in the data. Its creation implied a high component of inference, typical of content analysis (Charmaz, 2014; Krippendorff, 2004a; Silverman, 2020). During the exploration process, the codes act as “filters” that allow the information to be analyzed based on the proposed conceptual structure (Schreier, 2012, p. 63). These codes are built based on aspects observed in the material, or what Schreier (2012) calls “data-based strategy”, when it is intended to delve into highly descriptive details (p. 87). For example, the category: *institutional participatory processes*, is the one with the greatest coverage by the issuer, and is the one that communicates the greatest intention on the part of the institutional actor to join and transform. Another, such as *urban planning and environment*, shows the creation of plans and policies to improve the quality of urban life. Unlike the previous example, it does not seek citizen participation, although the tone of the news accentuates the interest in the well-being of the community. These aspects are detailed in the development of the article that accompanies this chapter.

Empirical Paper

Exploring the strategic communication of the sharing city project through frame analysis: The case of Barcelona sharing city.

Published in Cities, volume 110, March 2021, 103082.

Introduction

Modern cities face various problems of social inequality, affordable housing, traffic difficulties, environmental pollution, among others (Khan & Zaman, 2018; Marchetti et al., 2019). These pathologies invite for changes in city planning and policies (Khan & Zaman, 2018). For instance, the increasingly popular concept of smart cities largely focused on introducing cutting-edge technology in city infrastructures to achieve more efficient and sustainable territories. However, smart cities' overarching focus on a techno-centric understanding of the city, led different authors to argue that the city should be thought not only in terms of efficient management, but also in social and human terms (Muñoz & Cohen, 2017). For many city theorists, the city should be understood as a shared space for all citizens emphasizing the human interaction that takes place and the social capital generated (Agyeman et al., 2013; Calzada & Cobo, 2015; Khan & Zaman, 2018). In fact, in a previous critique of the smart city, Calzada and Cobo (2015) argue that the aspects of human interaction, citizenship and community have been ignored in the smart city notion, but are at the forefront of the sharing city concept.

In any case, both city labels, the widely popularized 'smart city and the relatively more recent 'sharing city', have quickly become a *leitmotif* in discourse on urban planning and management (Crivello, 2015). These labels aim to represent best practices, but there is no homogeneous global discourse about what these labels mean and into what city practices they should be converted (Joss et al., 2019). In the case of smart cities, the absence of a broadly common framing template led to cities proclaiming themselves as 'smart' evidencing a process of 'smartwashing' (Desdemoustier et al., 2019a; Hollands, 2008). Also, the smart city project has been appropriated by different actors, companies for instance (Desdemoustier et al., 2019b; Söderström et al., 2014). The same problem could emerge for the far less theorized notion of the sharing city.

The need to further study the sharing city concept is timely especially since public administrations have taken an interest in this concept (see, for instance, www.sharingcities.eu) and international sharing city networks have started to appear (e.g. www.sharingcitiesalliance.com). Also, local governments are important actors in current debates regarding the sharing economy given that the locus of action of sharing economy is largely urban (Vidal & Fuster-Morell, 2018; Vith et al., 2019). Municipalities can adopt different roles either by monitoring and regulating the activity of sharing economy platforms or by actively participating, promoting and launching sharing initiatives. However, besides some notable exceptions (see Vith et al., 2019 for example), we still lack an in-depth understanding of how sharing and the sharing economy is interpreted by local governments, how such interpretations affect their governance strategy and finally how the government communicates their ‘sharing-related’ governance strategy to the general public.

Cities around the world like Seoul, Milan, Malmö or Amsterdam have already taken on the sharing city project and have designed policies in that respect (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018). Other cities are in a process of doing exactly that. An example is Barcelona which is the case of study in this paper. Barcelona constitutes an interesting case study for various reasons. First, in Barcelona there is a strong presence of sharing economy platforms (Berrone et al., 2016; Fuster-Morell, 2018) and some rapidly growing platforms were founded and have their headquarters in the city (see examples of Glovo, Social Car and Wallapop). Second, the Municipality of Barcelona (MoB from now on) has acted in certain cases as a promotor of the sharing economy (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015), as various sharing economy projects have received their funding from the MoB (Fuster & Espelt, 2019; La Vanguardia, 2018). Third, the latest local government has shown interest in the sharing city project through the participation in international networks such as Sharing Cities Action, the co-signing of the Declaration of principles and commitments of collaborative cities during the 2018 Sharing Cities Summit that took place in Barcelona and the organization of sharing economy events such as the OuiShare Fest for three consecutive years (2015, 2016, 2017). Fourth, the case of Barcelona confirms previous research regarding the potential negative backlash of sharing economy platforms: evading regulations and breaking the law, unfair competition to existing players, labour exploitation, rising housing prices, gentrification inter alia (Martin, 2016; Scholz, 2017; Schor, 2014). The activity of sharing economy platforms has a real impact

on cities, so local governments, such as the MoB, often have to take a stand on possible conflicts. For example, as Barcelona is one of the cities that receive most tourists annually [9,09 million in 2019 (Mastercard Report, 2019; Observatori del Turisme a Barcelona, 2018)], any debate about the sharing economy is “tied to debates about the negative consequences of tourism” in the city (EU Sharing and Caring, 2018, p. 57). Recent conflicts in Barcelona involved residents’ protests against Airbnb and the clash of taxi drivers with ride-sharing platforms. All these indicate that the MoB has already acted as monitor, regulator and promoter of the sharing economy in line with its own interpretation and positioning towards sharing and the sharing economy.

Thus, the main research aim of this paper is to explore how the sharing city project is understood, framed and strategically communicated by the municipal administration. Naturally, this involves a prior interpretation and positioning of the municipality with regards the notions of sharing and the sharing economy, which are also explored here. In order to achieve this research aim, we analyzed the 67 news items, press releases and reports, published in the Barcelona City Council website over a four-year period (2015-2018). The timeframe was defined by data availability as the first document found was published in 2015. The analysis was carried out using a frame analysis perspective, previously widely used in the study of social movements (Harlow, 2011; Vicari, 2010) but also in studies of places and communities (Martin, 2003). Frame analysis is based on three frames; the diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing (Snow & Benford, 1988). We chose to use frame analysis because it permits to see what is “hidden and highlighted” in discourse with the intention to evoke certain interpretations (Vogel, 2011). On one hand, our findings show how the municipal administration of Barcelona understands the sharing city project, e.g. the span of activities and policies, which areas are emphasized or the nexus of the sharing city project with the notion of sharing and the sharing economy. On the other hand, our findings reveal that the sharing city is strategically presented by the municipality as an opportunity, good practice and citizen empowerment. We conclude that the strategic communication of the sharing city project aims to legitimize both the actions of the MoB and the MoB itself, while responsabilizing citizens for the project’s success.

The article is organized as follows: first, a contrast is made between the smart city and the sharing city in order to be able to position and conceptually define the notion of the sharing city. This distinction is important so as not to generate further confusion between

these two labels, due to their conceptual proximity (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015). Also, the role of municipalities in the implementation of these urban projects is discussed. Methodological aspects are then clarified concerning the data collection and analysis. Next, findings are presented along the three framing tasks. Finally, the main conclusions are drawn and a discussion is provided.

Literature review

Both the notions of smart city and sharing city have been used to represent best practices and city regeneration projects. Nonetheless, we lack a homogeneous global discourse about what these labels mean and into what city practices they should be converted (Joss et al., 2019). Also, in light of the absence of a broadly common framing template or a specific list of procedures/criteria to award the smart or sharing city status, many cities proclaim themselves as ‘smart’ or ‘sharing’ (Desdemoustier et al., 2019a; Hollands, 2008). This may create a bifurcation between the ideal notion of an efficient, high-tech smart city or of a humanised, empowering sharing city and the reality (Hollands, 2008).

Furthermore, the conceptual distinction among the smart city and the sharing city remains unclear. This largely happens because both concepts overlap in some areas (see Table 3.2). In fact, Bernardi and Diamantini (2018) claim that the sharing city is a derivative of the smart city.

In this section, both concepts are presented and their similarities and differences are highlighted (see Table 3.2). It is important to clearly delineate them conceptually since each of them represents a distinct field of action for institutions and citizens. In other words, both concepts have performative functions. Söderström et al. (2014, p. 308) explain nicely these implications when they argue that “smart cities, like creative cities, sustainable cities or livable cities are part of contemporary language games around urban management and development. These games involve experts, marketing specialists, consultants, corporations, city officials etc. and frame how cities are understood, conceptualized and planned. [...] shape the imaginaries and practices of a myriad of actors concretely building the city through particular case studies or pilot projects, decisions and everyday action, like creating a new electricity system for a neighborhood”.

For Snow, Døjbak, and Obel (2016, p. 92), a smart city “can be understood as a community in which citizens, business firms, knowledge institutions, and municipal

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agencies collaborate with one another to achieve systems integration and efficiency, citizen engagement, and a continually improving quality of life”. Ahvenniemi et al. (2017) stress that, in addition to sustainability and quality of life, technology is the greatest differential aspect to guide the structure of a smart city. For example, several authors explain that smart cities use specialized technologies and big data analysis to achieve effective management of the city, but also to tackle problems related to mobility, energy efficiency or housing in an urban environment (Ahvenniemi et al., 2017; Allam & Dhunny, 2019; Fernandez-Anez et al., 2018; Maalsen, 2019). These are in line with the sustainable development goals, thus allowing a reduction in costs and the management of resources while promoting environmental awareness (Sikora-Fernandez, 2018; Zvolska, Lehner, et al., 2019).

Govers (2018) claims that another characteristic of smart cities is precisely how they rethink the role of the citizen as an active promoter of change, becoming a permanent player in the place-making process thanks to a “collaborative spirit”. In a similar line, Snow et al. (2016) have argued that “... organizing a smart city initiative requires consensus about its overall philosophy as well as the broad organizing principles that support the philosophy”. Govers (2018) and Snow et al. (2016) talk about citizen engagement suggesting that the establishment of communities and local networks is one of the major challenges for the attainment of the smart city project. In most cases, collaboration and cooperation becomes possible through the use of technological platforms (Almirall et al., 2016). Nevertheless, other authors criticize the smart city notion for being too technocratic, for evangelizing digitalisation while ignoring human interaction, social capital and the role of citizenship in the implementation of the smart city (Calzada & Cobo, 2015; Vanolo, 2016; Yigitcanlar et al., 2019). Vanolo (2016, p. 35) for instance concludes that “what seems to lack in utopian imaginaries of the smart city is the idea of citizens’ empowerment, and precisely the idea that smart cities will be also sort of huge agora in which every citizen will have the possibility of having a voice”.

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Table 3.2. Main Characteristics of Smart and Sharing Cities

Characteristics	Smart Cities	Sharing Cities	Commonalities
Social change	Boosting links through information technology.	Boosting environments that promote social links and collaboration.	Active participation of citizens
Citizen empowerment	This model visualizes the user as an intelligent citizen who adapts to the strategies.	The value of the community is redefined as co-creative power. Commons guide the individual and collective efforts.	Citizen is central in the change process.
Technological innovation	Technology is operationally the basis of interaction and transformation processes.	Technology complements the processes of interaction and transformation	Technological platforms mediate change and boost the new paradigm. They facilitate results measurement.
Urban intervention	Renewal of existing infrastructure and proactive attitude for the future.	Regeneration and reactivation through placemaking and participatory urbanism. Open innovation.	Space and all its dimensions are used for communication and social innovation.
Environmental impact	Sustainability is the path towards the improvement of the city and its preparation for future challenges.	Holistic understanding of the city in ecological terms. Importance of environmental education.	The new urban models guarantee the quality of natural landscapes and new constructions.

The sharing city is another, more recent city label that has emerged to conceptualize an ideal city (Khan & Zaman, 2018). As Table 3.2 shows, the smart and sharing city share commonalities (Ahvenniemi et al., 2017; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015; Snow et al., 2016; Subirats Hume, 2017). To name a few, they share fundamentals such as improving quality of life and promoting an efficient use of resources whereas sustainability is a concern in both (Dril et al., 2016; Khan & Zaman, 2018). Technology is present in the sharing city project, but its use aims to facilitate social purposes, while it is not as prominent and central as in the smart city notion. So, while the sharing city is also described as efficient and innovative enjoying technological infrastructures, it clearly places much more focus on the human dimension of the city, on co-creation, participation and social justice, or else a human-centric focus that the smart city project lacked (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015).

For Agyeman et al. (2013) the sharing city is ideally an urban project where shared interests become prioritized, novel forms of sharing are enabled and promoted, and the city is seen as a shared space for all citizens. Furthermore, the sharing city is presented as an alternative to the increasing privatization and commercialization of public space (Gabriel, 2013). So, another aspect of sharing cities projects is how the space is shaped to serve shared interests. They seek to take advantage of what already exists and recover unused areas, in order to achieve urban regeneration (Franqueira, 2010). Moreover, in sharing cities, according to the World Economic Forum (2017), collaboration among people facilitates trust and increases social inclusion. Sharing, in its different expressions, aims to consolidate the sense of community. Building from the definition of Belk (2010, p. 717) the idea of sharing in sharing cities is of a “communal act that links us to other people” creating feelings of bonding and solidarity. Different initiatives that take place in cities, e.g. sharing food and/or kitchen appliances, sharing a transport vehicle, participating in timebanks or sharing the workspace may generate social capital particularly when there is human interaction involved (Chan & Zhang, 2021). Another interesting aspect of sharing cities, as proposed by Agyeman et al. (2013), is its focus on citizen empowerment and participation. As a revival of the ancient greek polis, the sharing city could ideally foster citizens’ collaboration and active engagement for the issues of concern for the city encouraging values such as equality, democracy, solidarity and ethics.

Some authors (e.g. Agyeman et al., 2013; Longhurst et al., 2016) present empirical cases where the implementation of the sharing city embraces new modes of economic exchange

dynamics organised around peer-to-peer principles. Sustainability is sought through the promotion of technological platforms and other networks that enable access versus ownership and the reuse, recycling and redistribution of products (Longhurst et al., 2016).

But while in some empirical cases of sharing city projects partnerships with sharing economy platforms are involved, like Portland and Airbnb in 2014, others cities approach with caution or even oppose to certain corporate sharing economy platforms (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; Chan & Zhang, 2021). Thus, one of the main differences among sharing city projects around the world is how the urban project is positioned regarding the notion of sharing and the sharing economy. Previously, Martin (2016) identified both positive and negative framings of the sharing economy: as an economic opportunity, as a path towards sustainability, as a field for incoherent innovation and as part of the neoliberal model that creates unregulated marketplaces. Other authors have openly criticized that the concepts of sharing and the sharing economy have been conflated and misleading (Eckhardt & Bardhi, 2016; John, 2013; Skågeby, 2015). For example, Skågeby (2015) argues that the notion of sharing has been co-opted by the sharing economy and that sharing in the sharing economy is often no more than a business model disguised “under the guise of collective resource sharing” when it is basically a “short-term individualist money-exchange”. Similarly, for Belk (2014) much of the contemporary sharing economy is pseudosharing. He explains that sharing platforms differ in terms of the reciprocity expected from users, their ethos, logic and orientation. So, whereas the open learning platform studied by Carfagna (2018) and the timebanks in Papaoikonomou and Valor (2016) are governed by an ethos of communalism, cooperativism or even activism, Zipcar offers mainly economic benefits, rather than social (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012). As a result, Eckhardt and Bardhi (2016) propose that many of the so-called ‘sharing economy’ platforms should be instead called access-based platforms. Certainly, the overuse of the word sharing has not been coincidental, as it holds “positive connotations of equality, selflessness and giving” in the sense of “sharing and caring” (John, 2013). To all that, we should add the potential negative backlash of sharing economy platforms on cities and its residents, e.g. unfair competition to existing players, labour exploitation, rising housing prices, gentrification inter alia (Martin, 2016; Scholz, 2017; Schor, 2014). For instance, the phenomenon of Airbnb-induced gentrification and the loss of rental housing have already been raised as concerns for cities (Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018).

Although, the sharing that takes place in the city goes far beyond the corporate sharing economy, e.g. shared use of infrastructures, services and environmental resources with the emergence of cooperatives, transport schemes based on sharing, community gardens, etc. (Agyeman et al., 2013; Chan & Zhang, 2021; Cohen & Muñoz, 2016), the implementation of the sharing city project requires municipalities to adopt certain positioning with regards sharing economy platforms. First, because as aforementioned, the activity of sharing platforms has real effects on cities and may create conflicts. Second, because if ideally the sharing city aims for human interaction and citizen empowerment and participation, then some sharing economy platforms may fulfill, or not, these purposes as previous empirical evidence shows. For instance, for Arvidsson (2019, p. 13) sharing platforms may even “de-socialize practices of sharing”.

Finally, the way the sharing city project is implemented varies. Previous empirical evidence shows both bottom-up and top-down approaches of sharing city projects. Examples of the bottom-up approach can be found in Belgrade and Berlin with initiatives such as the Urban Hub (Belgrade) and Urban Hacking (Berlin) aiming to improve the common public space and to allow citizens to “share sociability...to share relaxation... to share information” (Krasny, 2019, p. 132). In the specific case of Berlin, local administrations have placed little interest in pursuing a sharing city project (Zvolska, Lehner, et al., 2019). In other bottom-up initiatives, the local government enables and supports them, but they are still initiated and carried out by the local community. For example, Share Sydney is a collective for sharing in Sydney that created *The Sharing Map*, an interactive tool to connect with others, participate and use technologies for urban commons (www.thesharingmap.com; Santala & McGuirk, 2019). Through this tool, communities can locate resources e.g. bikes, co-working spaces, community kitchens, community gardens, transport, etc. In other cases the role of the government is much stronger, e.g. in Copenhagen and Seoul, as local governments embrace sharing in their city planning. For instance, the Resident’s Participatory Budgeting System in Seoul allows citizens to decide democratically which projects should be funded (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015). Also, Seoul’s local government promotes collaborative economy and social entrepreneurship projects, and finances sharing networks. Local governments can create a productive and participatory environment for its inhabitants, its governing authorities, investors, etc. (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015) holding a leading role or a supportive role by enabling a bottom-up initiatives.

In any case, even if citizens can create sharing projects without any government intervention, often citizens' active engagement in the decision making regarding the city's problems implies that the local government would allow this to happen. For example, local governments are the ones in charge of drafting and executing public budgets. Even if citizens want to participate in this process, they are not able to, unless allowed. In the end, the sharing city project could be a combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches (Camboim et al., 2019). This means that the role of municipalities is critical in the implementation of these urban projects (Desdemoustier et al., 2019b). Municipalities can act as enablers, active supporters, monitors and regulators (Vidal & Fuster-Morell, 2018; Vith et al., 2019). Their role and their posture depends on their interpretation of sharing, the sharing economy and the sharing city. Furthermore, it is worth remembering that the smart city or the sharing city are also types of city branding (Hollands, 2008). The management of the city brand and the administration of official messages tend to be centralized in local governments or institutions linked to them with the aim of positioning the city as an attractive destination (Andersson & James, 2018). In other words, municipalities may decide on communication strategies to achieve differentiation and claim superiority imbuing the city with positive meanings (Johansson, 2012). Also, municipalities execute and facilitate conceptual, strategic and operational aspects of city branding. The type of city branding chosen by municipalities allows to "train the spot light on particular priority urban planning issues, offering ways to deal with them effectively" (Khan & Zaman, 2018, p. 223). After all, the city brand perception has an indirect impact on the municipalities' image. In other words, city brands may become reputational assets for municipalities (Noguera, 2012).

Previous literature lacks a clear understanding first, about how municipalities define sharing and the sharing economy and second, about how the sharing city project is strategically communicated by them. This precisely calls for further research in order to delve deeper into the 'sharing' vision of city management and to understand the initiatives (the hows and whats) that articulate the sharing city project.

Methodology

Data gathering and analysis

This study focused on documents found in the Barcelona City Council website (www.barcelona.cat). All data was publicly available. To limit the search only to documents

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related to the sharing city project, the following keywords were used: “*sharing city*”, “*sharing cities*”, “*collaborative city*”, “*collaborative cities*” in Catalan, Spanish and English (the languages used on the council website). The first article posted dated in 2015, so a timeframe of four years was established (2015-2018). The final sample was made up of 67 *thematic units* (Krippendorff, 2004) which consists of news items, press releases and reports (see Appendix in the published version).

First, all documents were downloaded. All of them were read at least once prior to their analysis. Also, other documents, not included in the final data set of analysis, were looked up in order to gain a more holistic understanding of the city governance approach. These were:

- Barcelona Municipal Action Plan (PAM)
- Programme to promote urban green infrastructure
- Barcelona green and biodiversity plan 2012-2020 (Cat)
- +Sustainable Barcelona map (video)
- Plan to promote the social and solidarity-based economy 2016-2019
- Plan to promote high-quality youth employment
- Citizen Participation Regulation
- Social Contract of *Decidim*
- The participative democracy platform in Barcelona (promotional material)
- Adolescence and youth plan 2017-2021

Although, some useful insights were gained, some of these documents offer technical information for a more specialized audience.

Once the documents read, different Nvivo codes were created to represent all the areas which the MoB linked to the sharing city project. The classifications provided by Shareable (2018) and Arnold (2017) served as an inspiration for the final themes generated. For instance, Shareable (2018) (<https://www.shareable.net/>) talks about eleven categories including food, work, energy, water, technology, finance, governance etc. Arnold (2017) also mentions money, communities, item sharing and bottom-up movements. Table 3.3 presents a full list of the 11 thematic categories identified through an inductive process (Holley & Colyar, 2009). This means that the themes were not preestablished even though

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other classifications were used as inspiration. Given that coding here was inductive, if new codes were identified in the data then they were added.

Table 3.3. Thematic categories and frames

Thematic category	Contents	Examples	Total news found	Framing
Education	Trends, educational innovation, education for collaborative culture	1- Subsidies for socially oriented educational projects by the City Council; 2- Pedagogical program for digital and 3D production in the classrooms.	9	Prognostic, Motivational
Strategic Innovation and New Technologies	Platform economics, smart application development, device development	1- Smart City App Hack Contest; 2- Technologies for a networked democracy, with an intermunicipal approach.	13	Diagnostic, Prognostic, Motivational
Entrepreneurship	Business initiatives, social entrepreneurship, business models in collaborative economy	1- Contests and provision of services in the Office of Attention to Companies (OAE); 2- Training programs and workshops for Social Economy and Solidarity initiatives.	4	Prognostic
Institutional Participatory processes	Regulatory and administrative frameworks, design of public policies and strategic implementation, new models of governance	1- New participatory processes by platform decidim.barcelon; 2- Participation of Barcelona in the C.I.T.I.E.S (International Center of Innovation and Knowledge Transfer of the Social and Solidarity Economy); 3- Forum Procommons.	17	Diagnostic, Prognostic, Motivational
Housing	Management and development of housing, co-housing, alternative housing models	1- Construction of 110 apartments in 5 municipal plots according to the cohousing formula; 2- "Homes that make our city" day. Presentation of housing policies of the City Council, dignification of neighborhoods.	9	Diagnostic, Prognostic, Motivational
Employment	Job creation, collaborative work models	1- Events to promote youth entrepreneurship e.g. Saló de l'Ocupació Juvenil.	3	Diagnostic, Prognostic

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Community Development	Community empowerment and neighborhoods, formation of social groups	1- Barcelona, refuge city. Convert young people into political actors in the city; 2- Presentation of the Neighborhood Plan in neighborhoods; 3- Diagnosis and proposals on uses and shared areas of the Plaza de Ferrán Reyes, by the neighbors.	7	Prognostic, Motivational
Food	Food management, urban agriculture, distribution and food programs	1- Participation of local food markets in the Barcelona International Community Day; 2- Contest of green roofs (orchards of self-supply).	1	Motivational
Urban planning and the environment	Regeneration of public spaces, habitat and sustainable urban development	1- Redevelopment projects of the District of Sarrià - Sant Gervasi; 2- Program to Promote the Urban Green Infrastructure; 3- Revitalization of the delta del Llobregat.	11	Diagnostic, Prognostic, Motivational
Transport	Shared transport, management and urban mobility	1- "Thinking Cities" Award for the use of mobile applications to obtain cycling data; 2- Mobility Week at the Fàbrica del Sol.	2	Prognostic
Art and creativity	Intervention of space, practices and activism through art.	1- Tribute to Albert Musons; 2- Installation of a giant margarita in the Castillo de Montjuïc, by Phillip Stanton.	3	Motivational

Source: Author's own elaboration (Sánchez-Vergara et al., 2021).

It is also worth mentioning that once all documents were read multiple times and a number of codes were created (e.g. food, employment etc.) then we proceeded to quantify them, e.g. how many times the sharing city project was linked to food or transport. This permitted to see where the MoB placed more emphasis and which areas emerged as central for the sharing city project according to the MoB. Most documents were found in the category *Institutional participatory processes* (n=17) followed by Strategic Innovation and New Technologies (n=13). Table 3.3 provides further information regarding each of the thematic categories, e.g., what each category means in our coding process, examples and number of documents found per category. Afterwards, the frame analysis method was used to further analyze the documents. Goffman (1974, p. 21) introduced the term frames and defined them as “schemata of interpretation”. There are multiple definitions of frames, but the following are particular useful. For Entman (1993, p. 52) frames are those aspects that

become salient in communication in order to place the attention on specific problems and their “causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment and recommendation”. Jones (2019) claims that frames allow to obtain details, to understand the social sense which can be given to certain information, and to construct perceptions and arguments. Moreover, Lakoff (2010) further emphasizes the intentionality of framing arguing that frames constitute linguistic constructions that present issues in a certain way and that manage to influence attitudes and opinions towards these issues. In other words, frame analysis places the attention on how language is used by social actors that aim to mobilize, convince, raise visibility, etc. about specific issues. In epistemological terms, frame analysis emerges from discourse theory and is based upon social constructivism (Fletcher, 2009). Social constructionism rejects universal truths and begins with the premise that there is no pre-existing reality, instead individuals invent structures (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Also, meanings are created through the use of language (Easterby-Smith et al., 2012). In framing analysis and discourse theory, discourse is neither apolitical nor neutral (Fletcher, 2009).

For that reason, framing has been widely used in social movements (Benford & Snow, 2000) and policy making (Fletcher, 2009; van Hulst & Yanow, 2016). Framing aims to motivate, to persuade, to discourage, to attract and to mobilize other actors (Laamanen et al., 2015). Snow and Benford (1988) have provided a categorization of three frames that was later used in different fields (Baldy, 2019; Jones, 2019; Martin, 2003).

- Diagnostic frame: in which problems are detected, identified and defined.
- Prognostic frame: here solutions are offered to these problems.
- Motivational frame: which provides the rationale for taking action to address the problem.

We are employing the same categorization in order to understand how the sharing city project is framed by the municipality of Barcelona in terms of problems and solutions. The three frames, diagnostic, prognostic and motivational, were not imposed on the data, but instead they were used as lenses to explore the data. We presented our findings/codes along these three core framing tasks. In most cases, documents fitted with more than one frames. In fact, in ten out of eleven categories more than one frame is identified, and in four all three frames (see Table 3.3).

Table 3.4. Framing strategies and examples from dataset

Frames	Examples	Category
Diagnostic: Current Situation	The first green map of the city of Barcelona (...) was already made in a participatory way, throughout the years 1997 and 1998 and was published in paper format in 1999 by the council. The Barcelona + Sustainable map has taken its essence and adapted it to the new technologies that exist today.	Strategic innovation and new technologies
	<i>A map to rediscover the city (20.01.2017):</i> https://www.barcelona.cat/infobarcelona/es/un-mapa-para-redescubiertir-la-ciudad_455390.html	
Prognostic: Responding to a need	Where can we find stores in Barcelona with a section of organic or local products? Where can we find electric vehicle charging points? These and many other questions related to socio-environmental issues are answered in the new Interactive Barcelona + Sustainable Map (B + S).	
	<i>A map of the sustainable initiatives of the city is born (18.04.2014):</i> https://www.barcelona.cat/infobarcelona/es/my-new-post-5203_60268.html	
Motivational: Invitation to collaborate and participate	It is an interactive map, made in a collaborative way among citizens, companies, entities and administration, which aims to promote the sustainability of the city and strengthen and energize the citizen network of Barcelona. We invite you to participate in it!	Institutional participatory processes; Strategic innovation and new technologies
	"The more companies and entities join and want to collaborate with the map, the more we will advance in the culture of sustainability in Barcelona" (...) The initiatives included in the map are selected through citizen participation processes and have to meet the following basic principles: sustainability, co-responsibility, equity, inclusion, innovation, transparency and proximity ". <i>A map of the sustainable initiatives of the city is born (18.04.2014)</i> https://www.barcelona.cat/infobarcelona/es/my-new-post-5203_60268.html	

Source: author's own elaboration (Sánchez-Vergara et al. 2021).

Certainly, frame analysis is not the only framework that could have been used in the present study. Previously, Vith et al. (2019) used comparative qualitative analysis to compare public documents of different sharing cities. Also, Wittmayer et al. (2019) used

narrative analysis to study past, present and futures ‘narratives of change’ for social transformation (including sharing) and their performative function.

We chose to use frame analysis because it permits to see what is “hidden and highlighted” in discourse with the intention to evoke certain interpretations (Vogel, 2011). Benford and Snow (2000, p. 617) have explained “prognostic framing activity typically includes refutation of the logic or efficacy of solutions advocated by opponents as well as a rationale for its own remedies”. This, on one hand, emphasizes the potential of action and agency to solve the problem (Benford & Snow, 2000), but also it legitimizes the suggested path of action and the actor that suggest it. While frame analysis has been widely used in social movements literature, we argue that its use should be further considered to study public discourse because it shows how public discourse aims to convince people of certain solutions to diagnosed problems while prompting them to act in favour of certain policies instead of others (Vogel, 2011). Also, “framing the problem is a fundamental aspect of policymaking” (Baldy, 2019, p. 6). Recent research on the sharing economy has employed framing to understand how the sharing economy has been conceptualized in news media discourse (see Leung et al., 2019; Yuana et al., 2019) and in academic research (Martin, 2016). However, we lack research with regards how the sharing city project is framed, and thus understood, by municipalities. First, the diversity of frames could reveal the municipality’s particular vision on what constitutes a sharing city. Second, the triple framing allows exploring what this actor (municipality) seeks to achieve at the strategic communication level.

The context: Barcelona in crisis

In recent years, Barcelona has been facing problems of different nature, from the reduction of public budget, rising insecurity, pollution, high vehicle density and inefficient lack of resources and spaces (Russo & Scarnato, 2018; Winslow & Mont, 2019). Barcelona, as the rest of Spain, was hardly hit by the 2007 financial crisis registering until the present among the highest unemployment rates in the EU. Some of the main alleged principles of the sharing economy such as the efficient use of underutilized assets, the transition towards sustainability or the financial benefits for users (Vaughan & Daverio, 2016) could potentially present an interesting alternative for the city and its residents. In the EU report Sharing and Caring COST Action (2018, p. 78) it is pointed out that in the case of Spain, “the sharing economy emergence happened during the last financial crisis, which has

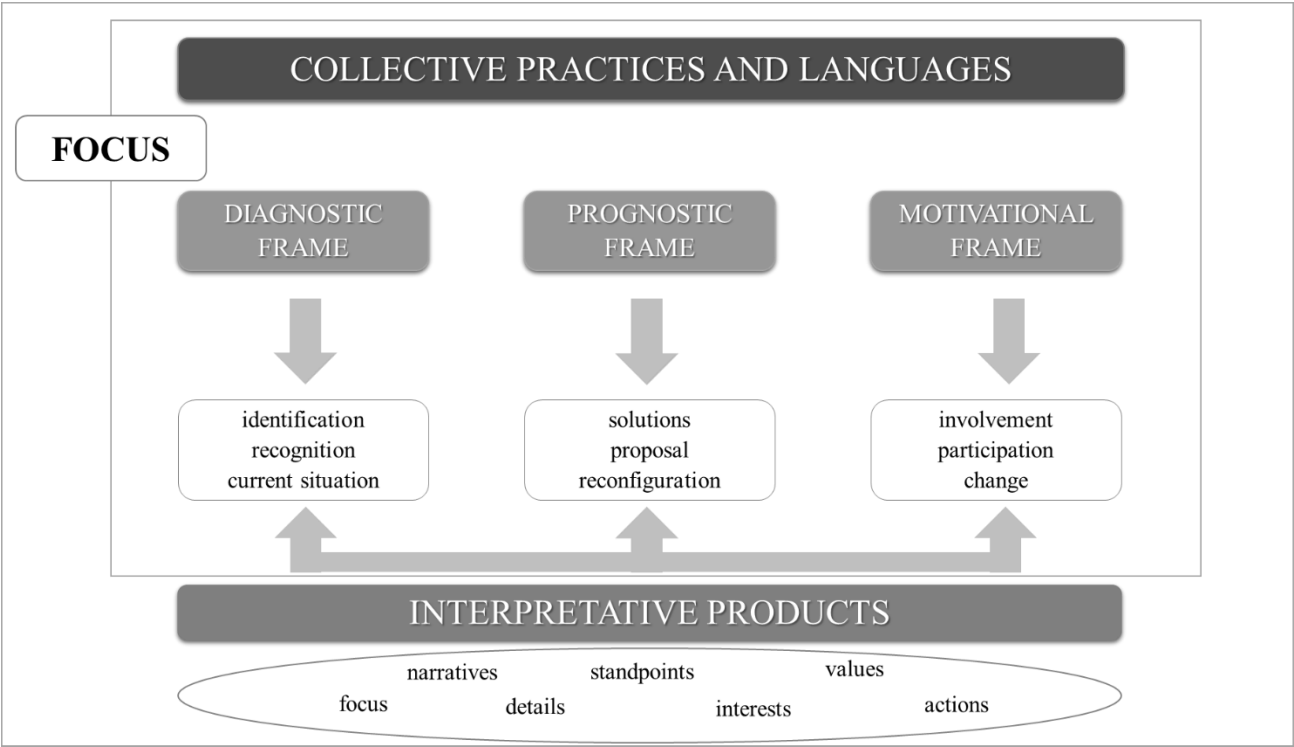
reduced people's buying power worldwide". But against this background, the MoB and the Catalan government have taken measures to deal in particular with the "tourismification of the city" (Judd & Fainstein, 1999; Russo & Scarnato, 2018, p. 456) and the impressive increase of house rentals through sharing platforms which have been linked to phenomena of gentrification and rising housing prices. Also, the MoB has taken action to limit the activity of platforms such as Uber, BlablaCar and Cabify (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2014). However, this should be contextualized in a broader effort in Spain to develop a legal framework to regulate sharing economy initiatives, to protect the rights of 'self-employed' workers (see examples of recent Spanish court decisions against the Deliveroo and Glovo online food delivery platforms) and to enforce incoming taxation rules (EU Sharing and Caring COST Action, 2018). Other policies of the MoB aimed to address the problems of traffic congestion and pollution in the city by presenting the use of public transport and bicycle sharing schemes as an alternative option (Winslow & Mont, 2019).

Findings

This section presents how the municipality of Barcelona framed the sharing city project. More specifically the three frames suggested by Benford and Snow (2000) reveal how the municipality, through different public documents, strategically builds associations between specific pathologies of the city (diagnostic frame) and the solutions provided (prognostic frame) in relation to the sharing city project. Hence, in the examined documents, the municipality uses discourse to 'detect the problem' and to 'generate alternatives and offer solutions'.

Moreover, the suggested solutions often require collective effort and citizen engagement so the motivational frame shows how the municipality intends to mobilize citizens to take action. One such example is the *+Sustainable Barcelona map* (see Table 3.5). The language used in each of the frames is also worth of attention with regards the strategic message transmitted. For instance, in the example of the map a positive and optimistic tone is used, which seeks to transmit an image of trust and to mobilize participation.

Figure 3.2. Framing tasks



Source: author’s own elaboration (Sánchez-Vergara et al. 2021).

Frame 1. Diagnostic: Confronting the crisis

As mentioned above, the framing approach places emphasis on the definition of the problems in order to establish causal attributions and naturally connect with the recommendations proposed in the public discourse. In other words, the definition of problems allows the legitimization of certain paths of action (Eilders & Lüter, 2000; Snow et al., 2007) especially for policy makers and governments (Baldy, 2019). The literature warns us on this subject that the limits between diagnosis and prognosis can sometimes be difficult to articulate (Benford, 1993; Snow et al., 2007).

In general, the documents analysed present the problem in different degrees of magnitude and urgency. In some cases, the problem is constructed in explicit negative terms, emphasizing the impact it has on residents. For example, housing appears as of utmost importance and is presented in relation to ‘price speculation’, ‘instability’, ‘inequality’, ‘gentrification’, ‘problem’, ‘lack of access to housing’, etc. Access to housing is presented as a resident’s right that requires control and measures. The situation of housing is narrated as an “emergency” for the city, which in turn is strategically used to promote the cohousing model as an alternative in the face of difficult access to dignified housing, speculation and instability. In addition, other actions, such as a revision of the law which regulates rent, are presented in the examined public documents as alternative paths of institutional solutions.

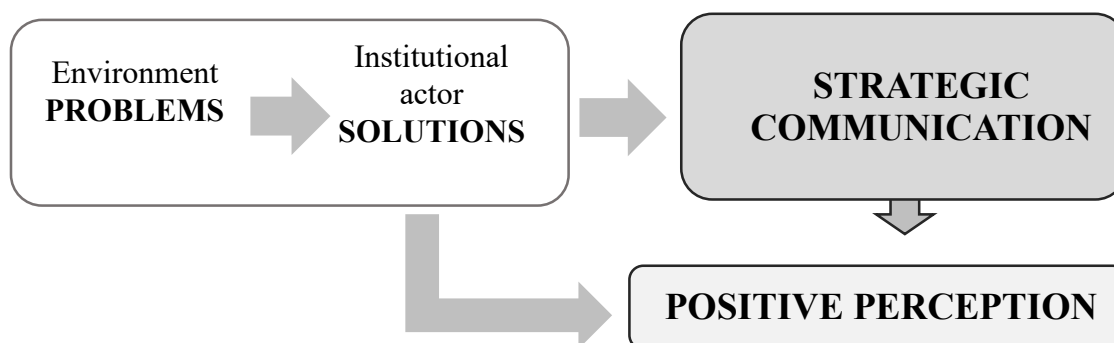
In other cases, the analysis of the documents shows that the problem may be also expressed in a milder manner by arguing for instance that the city is not fulfilling its potential. Such examples are, for instance, to argue for the improvement of existing green spaces or for the warm embracement of new technologies in order to make city management more efficient. While in the example of housing, different documents present the problem in a clear negative light, for other issues the current state set out is not problematic but may be improved. Previously, diagnostic frames had been used to provide a notion of what “it should be like if it had no problems” (Martin, 2003, p. 739). We add that diagnostic framing permits the municipality to articulate the ‘ideal city’ not only by imagining it without problems, but by imagining its best version.

In any case, whether the diagnosis carried out aims to show an emergency for the city or to indicate its margin for improvement, the municipality is highlighted in the documents as the main actor that places effort in remediating the situation in areas related to public services, revitalization of neighborhoods, employment generation etc.

Frame 2. Prognostic: Communicating the change

The documents are framed in a strategic manner to communicate that Barcelona City Council actively seeks to offer alternatives in the face of problems which affect the city and its communities. Prognosis framing includes a plan of attack and frame-consistent tactics for carrying it out (Snow et al., 2007). It is indicative that out of 67 documents, 54 include prognostic frames, thus representing 80% of the total. In other words, the documents analysed may first discursively construct the problems or issues of concern, but most of the emphasis is actually placed on communicating the solutions to problems by constantly pointing out the change brought on by the municipality. This in turn, contributes to the projection of a positive image of the MoB and its actions (Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3. The institutional communication of solutions in the city



Source: author's own elaboration (Sánchez-Vergara et al. 2021).

As already mentioned, the housing category is one of the thematic categories to which much attention is paid. Documents emphasize the right to housing and the dignity associated with this right. So, what is implicitly pointed out is that the city hall is willing to protect this right and in that regard, they explain the actions taken. The aim is very clear "... to progress with the idea of housing as a social right" (https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/ciutatvella/es/noticia/ciutat-vella-inicia-su-primer-proyecto-de-vivienda-cooperativa-en-cesion-de-uso_497526).

In order to deal with the issue of housing, the local government has actively promoted the cohousing model, has announced an increase in public housing and has established the *Neighbourhood Plan*.

[About the *Neighbourhood Plan*]: “This is a plan for the neighborhood and against gentrification. The neighborhood plan intends to reduce inequality among the different neighborhoods of the city. In the case of South Raval and South Gothic, the plan fights against gentrification and in favour of neighbors’ rights to live in the neighborhood in accessible and dignified conditions” (https://www.barcelona.cat/infobarcelona/es/el-plan-de-barrio-se-presenta-al-vecindario-del-raval_638149.html).

Furthermore, the municipality frames this plan of action as their fight against gentrification. The language used aims to establish that other actors are also involved so solutions do not solely depend on the city council in spite of their efforts. Other measures, such as the provision of cultural facilities, the refurbishment of buildings and interventions in specific problematic neighbourhoods, form part of the solutions proposed. Also, the documents often refer to other positive European experiences, such as Berlin, Copenhagen and Vienna, to offer some kind of guarantee of the suggestions’ potential.

The issue of gentrification and lack of housing in the city has been raised by Barcelona City Council as a direct implication of the increasing activity of accommodation sharing platforms such as Airbnb. In fact, the documents published in the Barcelona City Hall website tend to represent Airbnb under a clear negative light: “Either Airbnb abides by the law or they cannot operate in Barcelona”, “Airbnb undertakes to remove illegal flats from its platforms”, etc. Also, in most documents the municipality’s actions are foregrounded: “Barcelona fines Airbnb and Homeaway...”, “proceedings to fine...”, “municipal inspections...”. Unlike other sharing cities, in the case of Barcelona the economic activity of platforms of the so-called sharing economy is under scrutiny (Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018). In this case, the city council endeavours to reverse the negative impact generated by the so-called sharing economy through different practices and projects which often invite citizen collaboration and participation. The clear participatory focus of these solutions treats the citizens as an essential actor to bring about change and solve problems, so we tend to find a combination of prognostic and motivational frames in these cases. In previous literature, prognostic frames aimed to incite collective action (Martin, 2016), and at the same time to enhance a true sense of community and empowerment (Manzini, 2019).

For example, in the analysed documents the municipality announces the organization of competitions, such as *hackathons* for the construction of cooperative housing, the *Procomuns Forum* –an annual event for the cocreation of public policies-, the

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announcement of the green roofs competition where the municipality offers subsidies so that citizens come together and design green rooftops. Another example would be the participatory budgets and plans for the encouragement of culture, feminism, sexual diversity and the social and solidarity-based economy in the districts of Gràcia and the Eixample. What these all share in common is that the citizen is framed as part of the solution. The municipality aims to show that in a true sharing city the answers to the problems entail a process of dialogue, negotiation and consensus where different stakeholders, and certainly citizens, participate.

Furthermore, our findings show that in these documents the municipality openly opposes and criticizes the uncontrolled activity of certain sharing platforms. This framing is also interesting because it reveals what the municipality considers to be sharing and what is not. It also questions previous literature that places the sharing economy at the heart of the sharing city project (Agyeman et al., 2013; Longhurst et al., 2016). Instead, in the documents the MoB mainly supports organizations that promote the collaborative economy with a social benefit orientation. In fact, in one of the documents the City Hall provides a clear distinction of what is considered as sharing or collaborative economy. The document initially compares Uber and Fairmondo saying that they are both examples of the platform economy representing, though, different models: “Uber is a private company that maximises profit, whereas Fairmondo is a cooperative that belongs to its members, is based on open source and environment-friendly products, and maximises community building, what is known as the platform cooperativism model.” (<https://www.barcelona.cat/metropolis/en/contents/challenges-and-opportunities-platform-economy-cities>). Moreover, an analytical tool is proposed in the same document to distinguish the real sharing platforms using criteria such as the platform’s sustainability, performance, organizational democracy, participation policies and social responsibility.

Frame 3. Motivational: Inviting to join

According to Martin (2003, p. 736), a motivational frame “describes the group of actors and potential actors exhorting people to act”. As aforementioned, for the municipality, “citizen participation improves democracy and, thanks to the contributions of neighbours, the social demands and needs of the territory can be met... The efficiency of public policies increases with a broader consensus. The objective is therefore for citizens to participate in the decisions of the city” (<https://www.barcelona.cat/infobarcelona/es/nuevos-procesos->

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participativos-nuevo-portal-decidim-barcelona_423675.html). Citizen participation is constantly explained as a central principle in the sharing city notion, both in previous literature (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015) and in our findings. In that regard, the MoB initiated a number of projects and spaces where the citizen is rhetorically placed at the heart of the sharing city project. Table 3.5 presents examples of events and initiatives that invite citizens and other actors to co-create and participate in the sharing city project.

A good example is the *decidim.barcelona* platform which is described in the documents as a “...space for the participation of all Barcelona residents, [which] will be the framework for the participatory processes of the city and of the neighbourhoods to collectively construct the municipal policies with the citizens” (https://www.barcelona.cat/infobarcelona/es/nuevos-procesos-participativos-nuevo-portal-decidim-barcelona_423675.html).

Table 3.5. Examples of projects, events and spaces organized by the MoB that aim to mobilize different city actors

Example	Description
Barcola	A group whose initials stand for Barcelona Colaborativa which has integrated members from public administration, OuiShare, universities, private companies etc that propose policies in relation to the implementation of the sharing city.
Procomuns	A policy brainstorming forum with monthly meetups. These are organized by Barcola and Barcelona Activa, among others. The objective is to co-design public policies to promote the procommons model and to build open collaborative platforms. They seek to actively involve citizens.
Decidim.barcelona platform	A platform where any citizen can propose ideas of projects and initiatives in relation to the sharing city. These ideas are also voted and commented in the platform, whereas suggestions are invited regarding the use of the city's budget.
LAB Metadecidim sessions	These are related to the decidim.barcelona platform. They are monthly in-person assemblies, where anyone willing to participate is able to, that serve to further discuss models of city governance.
Hackathons	Hackathons inviting people to create apps to design solutions regarding mobility, culture, tourism, urbanism, energy, commerce etc. For instance, the Apps4transparency hackathon aimed to develop an application that would enhance citizens' access to information on procedures related to the MoB.
+Sustainable Barcelona map	An interactive map co-created by citizens, companies and public administration. The map permits to get to know new spaces and touristic itineraries of largely unknown shops, spots and new experiences for

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	citizens and tourists. This initiative fosters urban sustainability and strengthens citizen networks in Barcelona.
La comunicadora	A program that promotes sharing economy platforms offering consulting, training, technical support to procommons business models. It is operating within the Barcelona Activa agency, which is in charge of fostering entrepreneurial initiatives in the city.

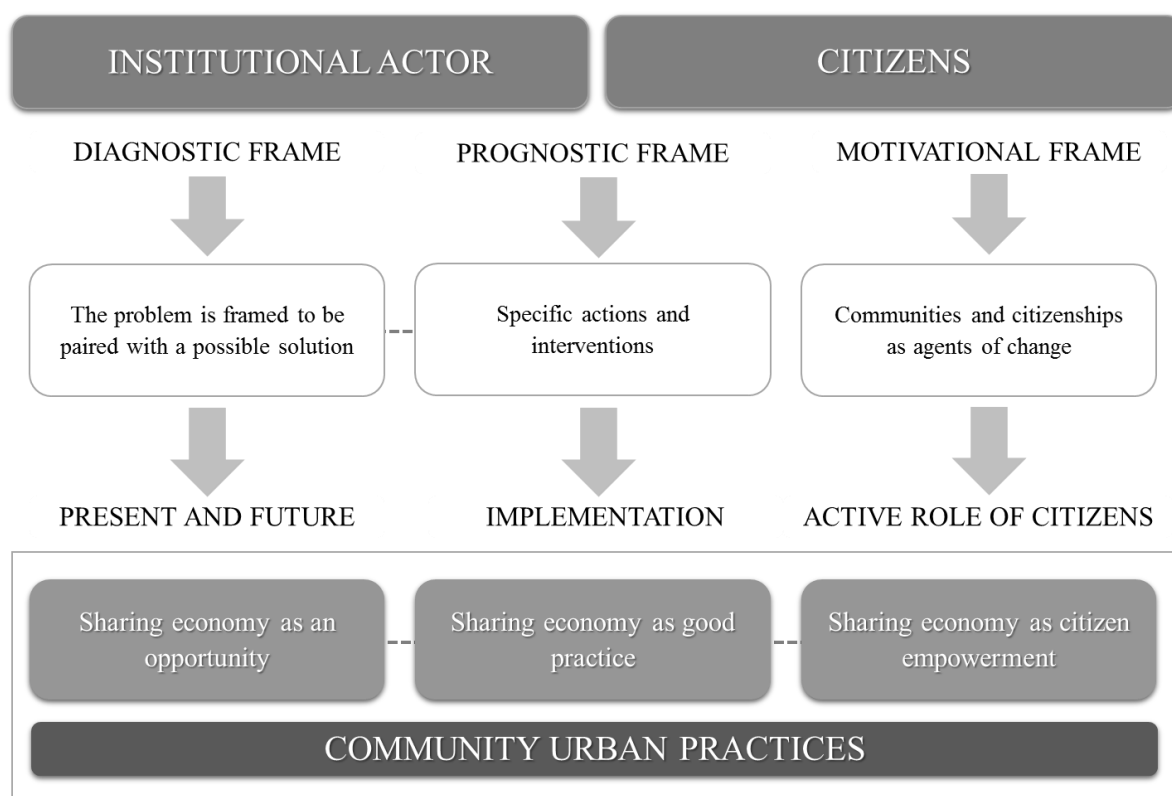
Source: author's own elaboration (Sánchez-Vergara et al. 2021).

The presentation of the South Raval *Neighbourhood Plan* was carried out by means of a neighbourhood festival, in which photographs of the residents were displayed, using the motto “*We are from the Raval*”. Also, the music playlist was compiled by all participating neighbours. The promotion of encounters of this type not only guarantees access to information on new policies and initiatives of the city hall, but also brings together citizens and helps to measure their degree of participation. These urban dynamics moreover provides a sense of identity and integration and, above all, fosters a sense of community which can motivate the citizens even more (Govers, 2018).

It seems that the municipality aims for citizen empowerment and participation in the long term. In a document it is indicated that “the objective is for young people to become political players of the city and to formulate commitments and feasible recommendations for improvement which can be channelled and applied through the municipal plan (<https://www.barcelona.cat/infobarcelona/es/empieza-el-audiencia-publica-a-los-chicos-y-las-chicas-que-se-centra-este-curso-en-el-refugio-423501.html>). To achieve this, the municipality often informs in the analysed documents that they will provide the required structures (e.g. platforms, spaces).

Other areas, such as art, also allow for citizens involvement. In 2016, the artist Philip Stanton produced a giant installation in the courtyard of Montjuïc Castle, where Barcelona residents participated in the creative process. The redesign of *GuíaBCN*, on the Council website, also asked from citizens and associations to design contents.

Figure 3.4. Main findings of frame analysis



Source: author’s own elaboration (Sánchez-Vergara et al. 2021).

Discussion

The ideal sharing city has emerged as another best practice city project in recent years. However, similar to the smart city, there is no coherent global discourse about the practical implementation of the sharing city project, which may lead in very distinct interpretations of the same notion (Joss et al., 2019). This paper has explored how the sharing city project is envisaged by the MoB and it is strategically communicated as part of the city’s governance.

In our analysis, it is rather evident that consensus, dialogue and active citizen participation are central elements in the sharing city notion that the MoB projects. Table 3.5 presents different events and initiatives where citizens and other actors are invited to co-create with the MoB. Also, seventeen documents were found in the Institutional Participatory Processes category, which represents the most saturated thematic category, where new modes of governance, structures and spaces to facilitate dialogue in the city are communicated. Also, seven documents were found in the Community development category describing initiatives that increase human interaction in the city. The

decidim.barcelona platform would be an example of the former category whereas the establishment of neighbourhood communities an example of the latter. All these reveal that the rhetoric of the sharing city project foregrounds the importance of the citizen and lies on the principles of empowerment, participation, democracy and human interaction. Similarly to what has been argued before, the sharing city is presented with a clear human centric focus emphasizing citizen benefit and participation above all (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015).

Certainly, this does not mean that the sharing city should not rely on new technologies or should not be oriented towards sustainability and innovation. In the case of Barcelona, a good number of documents are placed in the Strategic Innovation and new technologies category (n=13) that is focused on the development of technology applications and platform economy. The importance of technology is found in many categories from education (see the example of promoting the use of 3D printers in schools) to transport and the facilitation of sustainable modes of transport in the city using mobile applications. Furthermore, the analyzed documents suggest a clear support of certain private entities like Fab Lab Barcelona or public entities like the BarCola which offer tools, services and resources to the community in order to generate social and economic innovation.

According to the results obtained, the sharing city project is narrated as an opportunity and a work in progress. The idea that “there is more to be done”, but that the government “is working on it” is constantly transmitted. Also, another idea that is emphasized is that solutions arise collectively. This has a dual purpose. It both seeks to convince the audiences to identify with the ideas promoted and to demonstrate the achievements of the municipal administration in leadership of the collaborative city. It moreover makes it clear that the impetus of the model is top-down, but it has conceived a civic collective structure to bring it to fruition (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015).

Moreover, the incentives offered to citizens to participate in the sharing city project are diverse (Böcker & Meelen, 2017, p. 37). Citizens’ participation is rendered meaningful and they are enticed to collaborate with the government to produce social change in their city, or else as an expression of care towards their city (Laamanen et al., 2015). With some options there may be economic (*OAE – Barcelona Activa, Smart City Expo World Congress, etc.*), environmental (*+Sustainable Barcelona map, Programme to Promote Urban Green Infrastructure, furniture collection, Fábrica del Sol, etc.*), artistic (*tribute to Albert Musons,*

flowers in Montjuïc Castle), technological (*Smart City App Hack, Mobile Week BCN, etc.*), or social incentives (*agreement with Elisava, Plaza Ferrán Reyes, festive presentation South Raval Neighbourhood Plan, etc.*). Previous research suggests that the permanent collaboration between governmental power and citizens may also reinforce the sense of local identity and allows communities to endorse their rights through participation (Compte-Pujol et al., 2018; Kavaratzis, 2012; Kavaratzis & Kalandides, 2015).

The use of frame analysis permitted to explore the indivisible problem-solution nexus. According to Vicari (2010, p. 509) frame analysis “investigates processes of signification: it looks at the way meaning becomes functional to mobilize collective action”. The underlying idea is that discourse can perform different tasks: it may intend to identify a problem and attribute blame and causality (diagnostic), to provide solutions (prognostic) and to mobilize certain group/s to act (motivational) (Vicari, 2010). Furthermore, it can prove a particularly useful lens to examine public discourses because it shows how institutions try to convince people of their suggested or adopted policies by establishing such policies as the sensible path of action (Vogel, 2011). Eilders and Lüter (2000), for instance, show through frame analysis how the German government tried to legitimize its participation in the Kosovo war.

In this particular case, the documents analysed placed greater emphasis on the prognosis which shows a strategic intention to reflect numerous achievements, initiatives and efforts on the part of the municipality. Achievements can be successfully communicated if they are framed as solutions to specific problems. However, this means that problems need to be clearly articulated first. In this sense, the frame analysis has been a useful lens in identifying diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames to justify not only why the sharing city is a loadable goal of city management, but also what context-specific practices are useful and timely in line with the municipality’s agenda. Furthermore, the sharing city is proposed as the result of the joint collaboration of citizens, the government and other actors; hence, motivational frames aim to mobilize and empower citizens. However, at the same time this shows how the MoB ‘responsibilizes’ the citizens in the implementation of the sharing city project. The documents analysed implicitly suggest that the successful implementation of the sharing city project largely depends on whether citizens will take on their responsibilities. However, as Clarke (2005, p. 451) puts it, citizens are “subjects of practices of governmental constitution...they are not just ‘responsible’, they are the product of processes of responsibilization”.

Our findings also show how the sharing city is understood and framed in relation to the notion of sharing and the sharing economy. First of all, unlike other empirical cases (Agyeman et al., 2013; Longhurst et al., 2016), here the endorsement of the sharing economy by the sharing city project is questioned. We have previously explained that the notions of sharing and the sharing economy have been criticized in previous literature and different authors have explicitly argued that many sharing economy platforms have nothing to do with sharing (Belk, 2014; Eckhardt & Bardhi, 2016; Schor, 2014; Skågeby, 2015). Although it is not our intention to enter in this debate, our findings show a similar positioning on the part of MoB. The MoB explains what is included/excluded from their definition of sharing. For instance, the presentation of Uber as a profit-maximizing company versus the cooperative Fairmondo that maximises community building by the MoB, which we presented in our findings section, are good examples of what the MoB understands as sharing and part of the sharing economy. In the documents, it can be seen that the local government is particularly critical of certain sharing platforms echoing already raised concerns about the lack of regulation and various negative externalities (Martin, 2016). The MoB embraces a very concrete notion of sharing and the sharing economy, that of collective benefit, cooperativism, peer-to-peer production and consumption with a social orientation. These interrelated aspects, namely first how the sharing city project is articulated in relation to the sharing economy and second the definition of sharing that local governments embrace, could be used by future research in order to develop taxonomies of the implementation of sharing city projects. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that the analysed documents correspond to the first term of office of a leftist party. However, a future party change could bring on a different approach for the sharing city project. Therefore, a potential boundary condition of this study is the political orientation of the local government, which seems to play its part on how the sharing city project is being implemented.

Conclusions

In this paper, we have tried to explore how the sharing city project is understood and strategically communicated in the case of Barcelona by the municipality. In relation to methodology adopted, frame analysis allowed us to delve into how the government favours its political brand through the communication of the sharing city project seeking to strengthen the trust in this institutional actor and its proposals. The content, as well as the narrative tone and style of the examined documents aim to show public opinion the evidence

of the municipality's achievements and to announce future plans. Also, the communication of the government's actions and policies "accompanies the 'architectural' phase of the exercising of power and the implementation of an agenda" (Noguera, 2012, p. 79).

The MoB is presented as the main institutional player that manages the implementation of the sharing city project in Barcelona. The municipality is the actor that enables, controls and promotes the sharing city (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018). However, the analytical method and dataset chosen put the spotlight on one actor whereas more actors are, without a doubt, involved in sharing city projects. Future research could provide insights about how different actors participate in these processes, especially for sharing cities where many bottom-up initiatives take place. Also, the interaction between actors and the conflicts that take place could be of interest.

Sharing cities have been defined in a very citizen-centric manner, which is further confirmed in our data (Agyeman et al., 2013; Chan & Zhang, 2021). In turn, this means that the sharing city project promulgates new understandings of citizenship or what Joss et al. (2019) call a new citizenship regime. This new citizenship regime is intentionally articulated by the MoB as more democratic and participatory with obvious benefits for the empowered citizens in order to further legitimize the sharing city project. However, while there are numerous examples of the projects and spaces that would allow for co-creation of the local government with citizens and other stakeholders (e.g. see Table 3.5), the main focus of the MoB communication efforts is on informing about these initiatives leaving in the background how citizens would exactly exercise their agency. For example, the *decidim.barcelona* platform is an open space for citizens to make suggestions for how to spend the public budget, but the MoB would make any final decisions. Moreover, there is lack of information on how these initiatives are received by residents and how much they feel that their voices are being heard. An example is the presentation of the *Neighborhood Plan for the Gothic and Raval neighborhoods* (see Findings) but without any evidence of the residents' feedback on it. This is an oxymoron given the centrality of citizens as actors in the sharing city project.

Then, other aspects that draw the attention is whether all citizens can equally participate in the spaces that the MoB opens for them or certain groups will be excluded (Calzada & Cobo, 2015). For example, digital tools such as online platforms or mobile applications are commonplace which excludes the digitally and technology illiterate citizens and the ones

without access to internet and technologies, e.g. homeless and other marginalized groups. The consideration of the digital divide is only an example of whether the suggested policies and projects are inclusive enough for all citizens.

Furthermore, in our empirical case the sharing city project is ultimately a project of the MoB which invites for citizens' participation. In spite of the value that the initiatives taking place may have, local governments decide and define what is sharing and ask for specific types of participation from their citizens. Also, these projects may aim to mainly favour the political brand endorsed by local governments. For instance, Asplund and Ikkala (2011, p. 125) points out that initiatives to foster social entrepreneurship or green infrastructures "bring social prestige and an immediate feeling of activity" which positively reinforces the city place brand and the municipality's political brand (Jernsand & Kraff, 2018). Alternatively, these projects could be unreflexively adopted as "an obligatory passage point...to modernization" (Krivý, 2018, p. 13). It remains to further examine the real social impact that the sharing city project has on the city, on the residents and other actors. For instance, is bridging and bonding social capital created? Moreover, examining citizens' and other stakeholders' views regarding whether sharing city projects live up to their hype could be an interesting line of future research.

Conclusion for chapter 3

This chapter has shown how the institutional actor and promoter of the sharing city establishes the strategic communication of their project. Through the identification of problems, the city government better establishes the solutions and motivates citizens and other actors for participation in the designed and proposed interventions. Citizen involvement is one of the objectives of the sharing city projects but this also can positively impact on the visibility of the city government's policies and projects and ultimately on their political brand.

The local government of Barcelona uses their available channels to transmit positive ideas about the sharing city project (its objectives, multiplicity of actors involved and potential impact). In this way it not only informs, but it also offers an account of its alliances and links with other organizations (e.g. Barcelona University School of Design and Engineering ELISAVA, International Transfer Center and Innovations and Knowledge in Social and Solidarity Economy CITIES, etc.) for the realization of new actions within the broader sharing city project. For example, the use of existing and new platforms and spaces in relation to the sharing city project is emphasized, such as the *Barcelona + Sostenible* map which informs about what sustainable initiatives are being carried out, or *Barcelona Activa* which traditionally promotes entrepreneurship and can facilitate the emergence of new sharing ventures. All these establish the city government either as a "companion" of other actors or as a leader of interventions that all ultimately aim to improve city quality of life and the city brand of Barcelona.

To manage the strategic communication of the sharing city Barcelona, public relations techniques are used, such as press releases, events (e.g. Mobile Week Bcn), participatory workshops (e.g. Red Fab Lab), contests (e.g. public tender for the design of cooperative housing), and agreements (e.g. Barcelona City Council and Pangea association), which form part of our analyzed data. The purpose of these efforts is to add credibility and increase the good perception of the different stakeholders involved in the city, such as private companies or universities. In this sense, an institutional public relations approach is adopted to set the urban aspirations of the city, always in line with the government's agenda.

Regarding the content analysis method employed here, it is considered to offer significant advantages for understanding the sharing city Barcelona. On the one hand, it

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identifies priority areas of intervention (e.g. municipal policies, green infrastructure, government-community relations, etc.) and their information coverage. On the other hand, it describes the current positioning of the city (emphasizing the problematic areas) and what it wants to become in the future. The sharing city –especially in the top down approach- has a clear political component (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015), since the institutional actor is fundamental in decision-making and negotiation processes. In the case of Barcelona the city government exercises the greatest control of the sharing city project and legitimizes its presence and action through its communication strategy.

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Chapter 4.

Sharing from the business perspective.

The case of coworking spaces



Chapter 4. Sharing from the business perspective. The case of coworking spaces.

Empirical paper

Creating a sense of sharing in coworking spaces. The role of space in shaping community narratives.

Ready for submission to Geoforum journal

1. Introduction

There are different categories within the sharing city concept (e.g. food, finances, mobility, technology, governance, etc.) (Shareable, 2018). One of these is shared spaces. Shared spaces contribute to the urban commons and are co-produced through collective and political action by citizens and decision-makers (Agyeman et al., 2013). Shared spaces include other sub-categories, for example, hackerspaces, co-living buildings, shared kitchens, repair cafes, community gardens, etc. These spaces can be public or private, with or without access conditions, and offer different experiences. The shared space is conceived as a generator of community engagement, participation and civic relations (Le Dantec, 2017). For the sharing cities management, these shared spaces are part of urban development (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015).

Among the shared spaces that are proliferating rapidly are coworking spaces (Bouncken & Reuschl, 2018; Gandini, 2015). These typologies are relatively new (Jeske & Ruwe, 2019; Merkel, 2019), and are one of the most successful business models under the umbrella concept of the sharing economy and sharing city (Bouncken & Reuschl, 2018; Durante & Turvani, 2018, p. 17). For Gandini (2015, pp. 194–195), coworking spaces are “...places where independent professionals live their daily routines side-by-side with professional peers”. In coworking spaces, “the concept of sharing is central to new ways of working in the city, that are more fragmented while being more focused on entrepreneurship” (La Fabrique de la Cité, 2015, p. 24). Entrepreneurs and freelancers are the main coworkers (Butcher, 2018; Zea, 2013). According to Ivaldi et al. (2018, p. 224), “sharing a common space provides community to those who otherwise would not enjoy relational support while working from home”.

Orel and Dvouléty (2019) claim that coworking spaces have become increasingly popular over the last ten years. Today there are more than 20,000 in the world, and for

the year 2022 an increase of 19% compared to the year 2019 is expected (Hobson, 2020). This global industry is increasingly competitive and is expanding considerably in “business cities” (Grazian, 2020; Jeske & Ruwe, 2019; Moriset, 2014) and cities that have implemented the sharing economy as part of their development strategies. The aim of the coworking spaces is to increase efficiency in resource management and collaborative consumption (Jamal, 2018; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015; Orel & Bennis, 2020), for example, in rental expenses and operating costs, and above all, help other members (Chan & Zhang, 2021).

Coworking spaces seek to obtain social and environmental benefits (e.g. avoid social isolation, foster relationships, reuse infrastructures, etc.) as well as economic benefits, as they are transforming the business fabric through new investments and resource use (Orel & Kubátová, 2019). In addition, according to Huang et al. (2020), these spaces add value at the urban scale, since they promote new uses and regenerate places. In architecture, for example, they promote the creation of new typologies in office design. This set of benefits and advantages is strategically reinforced by branding and marketing that aim to create these models and commercially disseminate them as new concepts for work (Gandini, 2015; Moriset, 2014).

Coworking spaces are a shareable resource (Chan & Zhang, 2020), and a type of organization that aims to promote itself as a sustainable practice (Butcher, 2018; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015), with its own organization, management and dissemination norms. Enthusiasts of coworking and coworking spaces often seek benefits such as motivation, productivity and collaboration (Orel & Alonso-Almeida, 2019).

This article studies a fundamental aspect of coworking: the configuration of the physical coworking space in relation to the ideas of sharing. We carried out fieldwork in which we interacted with managers and those in charge of the offices, in order to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: How does the physical space in coworking offices shape sharing practices between users?

RQ2: How do community managers organize the sharing dynamics in a coworking space?

We take two sharing cities as references: Barcelona and Berlin. These cities have the greatest growth in the coworking movement (Capdevila, 2019; Hobson, 2020) and are important innovation ecosystems for coworking communities (Capdevila & Zarlenga, 2015; Startup Guide World IVS, 2018). The paper is structured as follows. First, the concept of the sharing city and the coworking space is introduced as a typology of shared space. Second, we establish a conceptual framework of coworking and two fundamental elements of its construction: its physical design and the manager's role in the community. Third, we present the methodological guidelines of the proposed qualitative research and describe the fieldwork carried out in the cities of Barcelona and Berlin in coworking offices. Then, we present the findings identified during the exploration and discuss how the physical coworking space influences the sharing practices and the role of its actors within these practices. Finally, we discuss some implications and future lines of research in the study of coworking spaces.

2. Literature Review

Coworking spaces in a sharing context

The first coworking space appeared in 2005 in San Francisco (Brown, 2017; Butcher, 2018; Gandini, 2015; Seo et al., 2017). Initially, it emerged as a practical solution to the need for a space for freelancers to work, avoid isolation and strengthen professional collaboration between entrepreneurs (Gandini, 2015; Yang et al., 2019). Over the years, and with the specialization of these business models (Chan & Zhang, 2021; Merkel, 2015), coworking spaces now not only represent places to work, but also places for developing social relationships and leisure (Bouncken & Reuschl, 2018; Leclercq-Vandelannoitte & Isaac, 2016) as well as the “start-up-lifestyle” (Bouncken & Reuschl, 2018, p. 320). Capdevila (2014, p. 5) defines coworking as, “...an alternative to working alone or in an office for a company. It not only refers to a physical space but also to a way of working in co-location. coworking spaces distinguish themselves from mere shared offices by focusing on the community and its knowledge sharing dynamics”.

Table 4.1 Definitions of the coworking space

Authors	Definition of Coworking Space
Bouncken and Reuschl (2018)	Coworking-spaces allow communication and learning creating professional communities, which could serve as pools of ideas, knowledge, knowhow, skills, and innovation for private and business clients advancing their business model. Coworking-users will follow economic motives but also noneconomic motives. (p.331)
Brown (2017)	Coworking spaces are predominantly an urban phenomenon, they are the new <i>third space</i> . As originally conceived, coworking was less about physical space/design and more an informal means of organizing people who shared similar attitudes and values and who wanted to adopt a loose commitment to a shared way of working (p. 113)
Butcher (2016)	Co-working is a space for dispositions, a habitus where members symbolically construct a collective sense of belonging that sets boundaries against the constitutive outsider. However communal in feel, the dominant dispositions within co-working spaces are entrepreneurial. The symbols of community are thus adapted for entrepreneurial identity work, and commodified for ambitions towards the capitalist ideal of ‘progress’ (p. 101)
Durante and Turvani (2018)	Coworking is generally regarded as a positive urban phenomenon, fuelling regeneration processes and enhancing competitiveness, even if some authors evoke the presence of a “coworking bubble”. (p. 21)
Kojo and Nenonen (2017)	Co-working places can contribute to the well-being of mobile users by offering the possibility to manage the use of place and time, which increase satisfaction, productivity and mindfulness – in other words, social sustainability. (p.171)
Luo and Chan (2020)	“Coworking spaces are micro-projects scattered around cities which provide an increasingly broad potential for informal partnerships among companies of various sizes, in diverse fields, and auxiliary associations” (p. 98)
Merkel (2019)	Co-working is formalized into a professional, high-priced service because of its growing commercialization through international real state companies, and is now celebrated, embraced and supported by city governments (p. 541) In academic research on co-working, there is a need to understand better the different emerging communities within the spaces, what constitutes and sustains them, their inclusionary and exclusionary practices as well the urban spaces this practices produces, to scrutinize its political potentials (p.542).

Source: Author’s own elaboration based in cited articles.

The organizational structure of coworking spaces constitutes a challenge for management. By reinventing traditional concepts, such as business strategy and culture (e.g. changes in shared values, norms, beliefs, corporate identity, etc.) (Guerras & Navas, 2015), new forms of work and the workplace are designed (Chan & Zhang, 2021; Holman et al., 2003; Weijs-Perrée et al., 2019). Coworking spaces can vary in scale and specialization¹, so they are also alternative places for networking and meet-ups between members. As Kojo and Nenonen (2017, p. 171) state, “co-working spaces appear to be more about people and connectivity than the physical spaces themselves”.

A sense of community and sharing the workspace are not new ideas. However, the term of coworking is new (de Peuter et al., 2017). Studies have been carried out on coworking from different disciplines, and especially in business management and organizational studies (Capdevila, 2015; de Peuter et al., 2017; Spinuzzi et al., 2018), as well as in areas such as psychology, sociology, geography, economics and engineering (Ivaldi et al., 2018; Mariotti et al., 2017). Coworking spaces have also been researched in the field of urban studies, especially in the imaginary of space (Bouncken et al., 2021; Orel & Alonso-Almeida, 2019) and the creation of associated typologies, such as makerspaces, fab labs and innovation hubs (Akhavan et al., 2018; Capdevila, 2015; Chan & Zhang, 2021; Merkel, 2015, 2017). Nonetheless, from a management perspective, Merkel (2017) states that there is little literature on the effects of sharing and the collaborative activities of coworking. The author explains that creative and innovation processes emerge from the space that need to be studied in depth, and that the coworking practice requires strengthening with new methodological approaches. This coincides with the findings of van Dijk (2019) and Orel and Alonso (2019) who associate coworking with the creation of lifestyles and experiences. They point out that this has to be observed on site and deserves further exploration by the scientific community, especially with empirical studies. The study of non-material attributes and sensations that arise within the space can provide a greater understanding of coworking.

The Physical Coworking Space

The spatial component is fundamental in the coworking activity. Not only due to the physical configuration, but also because the creative and flexible environment is a

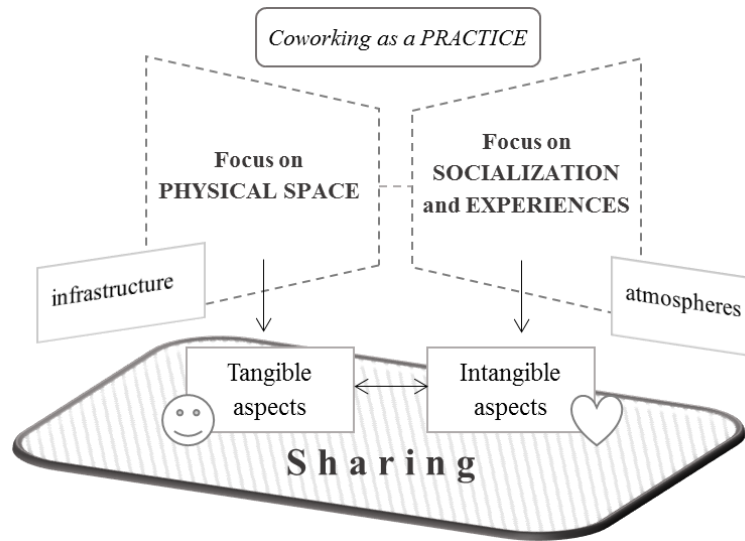
¹ See for example, *Esdip Berlin*, a small creative community for artists and designers, or *Impact Hub*, a coworking space for social entrepreneurs. Other cases, like *WeWork*, are international coworking spaces chains for entrepreneurs and large companies, or *Cloudworks*, who work under the same concept in Spain.

facilitator of interaction (Cheah & Ho, 2019; Seo & Ock, 2016), and the emergence of new businesses (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015). Coworking implies sharing more than a physical space, as experiences and knowledge are also shared among members (Jakonen et al., 2017). For Merkel (2017) the practice of coworking has a social base, which consists in the relationships between its members and hospitality, and also a material base, focused on the design of the space that is shared.

Sharing and design are two related and connected areas (Chan & Zhang, 2020). In fact, the authors propose “to rethink sharing as a category of design” (p. 2). Understanding the shared space, and specifically the coworking space, implies making a multi-scale study of its context, its practices and meanings (Capdevila, 2015). The configuration of these offices underlies the strategies for transforming urban space (see Butcher, 2018; Ivaldi et al., 2018; Mariotti et al., 2017), although the emphasis is on the interior (Butcher, 2018), because it is in the inside spaces where community activities take place. For Seo et al. (2017), a space and interior strategy is necessary for user diversity and is also part of supporting the management of the coworking space.

In the coworking collaborative environment everything begins in the physical space. Design is one of the key factors when a coworking space is created (for the promoter), or when an office is chosen (for the coworker) (Spinuzzi, 2012). According to Merkel (2015), elements such as the floor plan, the arrangement of the tables to enable eye contact, the distribution of the social areas, such as the kitchen, meeting rooms and break rooms, favour contact between workers and are decisive for interaction. The study by Bouncken et al. (2021) indicates that there are relationships between the materiality of the coworking space and the symbolic connotations. People develop affiliations with spaces that enhance their creativity and facilitate collaboration (see Figure 4.1). For this, it is important that coworking spaces allow flexible distributions that promote the coworker’s concentration, but also contact with other members in leisure and entertainment activities (Garrett et al., 2017; Kojo & Nenonen, 2017; Seo et al. , 2017). For Gruen and Mimoun (2019, p. 92), “consumers of collaborative spaces would not merely seek a place to work, but a place to work with others”.

Figure 4.1 The spaciality of coworking



Source: Author's own elaboration.

In coworking spaces, contact with others and serendipity production are prioritized, so their design must allow opportunities for social support and networking, strategically adapted to the specific needs and requirements of the users (Orel & Alonso-Almeida, 2019; Richardson, 2016). “Spatial design should attract entrepreneurs and other participants who feel comfortable enough to interact with the space” (Cheah & Ho, 2019, p. 5). Chan & Zhang (2021) point out that proximity is one of the factors that determines interaction and collaborative behaviours, and provides an infrastructure to facilitate contact. Therefore, customizing the space for the user is essential for promoting and enhancing collaboration (Orel & Alonso-Almeida, 2019).

Place atmospheres

For Moriset (2014, p. 7), “beyond the room layout, coworking is first an atmosphere, a spirit, and even a lifestyle”. A coworking space is a physical community in which marketing techniques are applied, because in this logic, they are a sales point (or place) (Zea, 2013). The space communicates aspects such as the identity of the users, their values and their status (Efstathiou et al., 2019). For Kotler (1974) the place atmospheres are design actions that produce specific effects on the users. It is a reality created to enhance the consumption experience. Atmospheres are a “silent language” (p. 48) which may even be more important than the product itself, that is why they are strategically designed

(Bouncken et al., 2020; Hancock, 2020; Orel & Alonso-Almeida, 2019; Weijs-Perrée et al., 2019).

Although it is a concept that was initially used in retailing (Kotler, 1974), there are other atmospheres studied in the literature. For example, Steadman et al. (2020) studied the atmospheres at football games, and indicate that sound aspects such as the noise produced by the fans, the songs that are played in the background and the applause, contribute to the effervescence of the moment and give meaning to the experience. Similarly, the type of stadium, the seats chosen and the views affect the atmosphere. Another example is presented by Moliner-Tena et al. (2019), who state that designing place atmospheres in banking entities has a positive impact on public perception, promoting trust in the service and in the relationship between clients and executives. Brocato et al. (2015) affirm that emotional bonds are generated between users and organizations, and these are associated with the sense of place (place identity, place dependence, social bonds with employees). Therefore, the place atmospheres are decisive for strengthening the quality of the service of an organization.

Not just physical aspects are considered in place atmospheres. The experiences that are part of the place atmospheres are also related to emotions and sensations (Sumartojo et al., 2019). Certain stimuli can be controlled in a place, such as music, lighting and smell (Steadman et al., 2020), as well as textures and temperature (Kotler, 1974). The design “... has the power to enrich our lives by involving our emotions through image, shape, texture, color (...). We can use our empathy and understanding of people to design experiences that create opportunities for active participation and engagement” (Brown, 2020, p. 144). Everything that can be perceived is part of the experience of *being* in a space can be examined as part of place atmospheres (de Vaujany et al., 2019).

With that in mind, office design has been adapted to the technological changes and the flexibility that work demands today (Jakonen et al., 2017). It has also adapted to the new types of companies and organizations that are different from the traditional ones (de Vaujany et al., 2019), and whose objective is to promote the consolidation of communities and collaboration among their members (Ansio et al., 2020).

The strategic role of the coworking manager

Although the space significantly influences the collaborative dynamics, this is not enough to achieve real forms of sharing (Brown, 2017). The mere location of coworkers

in the physical space does not guarantee interactions and exchanges, nor does it guarantee a true sense of community (Spinuzzi, 2012). Therefore, other types of efforts are required from the staff, and specifically from a fundamental figure in the coworking space: *the coworking manager* (Merkel, 2015). This staff member is also known as the *community manager*, *community coordinator* or *coworking space manager*, and “is responsible for the maintenance of the spaces and the community” (Kojo & Nenonen, 2017, p. 169). Their basic activities are related to communication, promotion, public relations, alliances, mentoring and education (Ivaldi et al., 2018; Seo & Ock, 2016). Merkel (2015) defines the community manager as a “visionary host” who focuses on three fundamental aspects of coworking: communication, community and collaboration.

Studies such as those of Mariotti et al. (2017), Ivaldi et al. (2018), Capdevila (2014), Orel and Alonso-Almeida (2019) and Merkel (2015) have obtained relevant data on the experiences of coworking managers or hosts², specifically in terms of support activities and other services that can be externalized (e.g. press services, marketing and sales, logistics, procurement, etc.). The role of the community manager is operational, and also strategic. For example, Butcher (2018) indicates that tasks such as adjusting the prices of desks or organizing events are part of their responsibilities. In addition, since in coworking offices the dynamics are quite ritualized (e.g. events, meetings, meals, courses, etc.), the manager plans and develops strategies to promote networking, relationships between members and collaboration dynamics (Fabbri, 2016).

For Bouncken et al. (2018, p. 401), [the community manager] “...rays internally and externally, attracting interest of externals for membership in the coworking spaces (...), can facilitate and establish practices, such as project structures, project pitches, creativity sessions, participation in open innovation projects, and opportunities for project work for incumbents”. This professional is a facilitator of links between different actors (Orel & Bennis, 2020) and is crucial for the formation of the community, which is the aim of the coworking space (Blagoev et al., 2019). They are a spokesperson and a business communicator, and therefore, they also play a mediating role between coworkers and the administrative structure in conflict situations.

² According to Merkel (2015), the coworking hosts are usually the founders and/or managers of the space. “They embody and practice the coworking values in their daily activities and feel responsible for the coworkers in their space. Hospitality is their major concern” (p. 128)

Previous research on people in the coworking space has placed special emphasis on the role of coworkers and user communities (e.g. Gruen & Mimoun, 2019; Jakonen et al., 2017; van Dijk, 2019). With regard to the coworking manager, studies on their mediating and connecting role within the space stand out (Brown, 2017; Capdevila, 2014), and even on their management styles (Ivaldi et al., 2018). Studies such as those of Brown (2018) and Ivaldi et al. (2018) emphasize that the manager's role in the coworking space is fundamental for consolidating the values, practices and the formation of the corporate culture. Despite this, there are also criticisms about the role of the coworking manager in practice, mainly when they do not create and develop the value of sharing within the space (Bouncken & Reuschl, 2018; van Dijk, 2019), focusing more on economic sustainability and not sufficiently on people (Ivaldi et al., 2018).

3. Methodology

One of the most important stages in the research process is the design that guides it. In this work, we deal with an emerging issue, which involves direct contact with participants and their dynamics within a given context. Therefore, we chose a qualitative approach, which according to Creswell (2009), is ideal for exploring interactions and interpreting the daily reality of space. For Kuntz (2010, p. 145), “space is socially produced and contributes to human meaning-making in often unexpected and relatively unexplored ways (...), if we are to study social processes in space, we must use a qualitative approach that accounts for material-discursive interactions” (p.146). Qualitative research is useful when we want to identify characteristics in social and cultural practices of a specific context, as well as identify the behaviours of those who inhabit a space where certain activities occur (Hennink et al., 2020), in specific situations (Schreier, 2012) and which later can be analysed inductively (Saunders et al., 2009).

In qualitative research, it is interesting to understand *how* a social reality is constructed, and for this, it is essential to describe the practices. This includes institutionalized discourses that shape that reality, and who it represents, their roles and position within that context (Moisander & Valtonen, 2006). In addition, practices represent values, routines and commitments between those who execute them and the context (Schau et al., 2009), so they are valuable information for understanding experiences within a culture and discovering new ideas (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

The theoretical vision of social constructionism is fundamental within this approach (Easterby-Smith et al., 2012; Saunders et al., 2009). The main idea of this paradigm is that human beings construct their reality through social practices and their interactions (Edley, 2001; Lazzaro-Salazar, 2018). Workspaces, for example, have been researched from this perspective because they provide an understanding of the cultural patterns and experiences that their participants live (Creswell, 2009, p. 8). Studying these participants, seen as social actors, provides a series of subjective meanings that define the identity processes of an organization (Saunders et al., 2009).

Constructionism encompasses the ways in which social actors make their own representation of the world they live in (Silverman, 2020), and how they make sense of that reality (Easterby-Smith et al., 2012). Within this position there is subjective knowledge “...based on the shared signs and symbols which are recognized by members of a culture” (Grbich, 2007, p. 8), in which the researcher is part of the observed reality and maintains a close relationship with the research field (Easterby-Smith et al., 2012; Eriksson & Kovalainen, 2008).

Grounded Theory

The Grounded Theory is the methodology we applied in the study. It is characterized by developing theory that emerges from the data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), and prioritizes rigorously and systematically studying cases (Charmaz, 2014; Savin-Baden & Howell, 2013). The Grounded Theory is a *constellation of methods* (Goulding, 2002, p. 14), and “...its focus is on narrative rather than numerical data and it is an approach toward building rather testing theory” (Savin-Baden & Howell, 2013, p. 183).

Grounded Theory “...can provide a route to see beyond the obvious and a path to reach imaginative interpretations” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 323). It is an inductive approach (Locke, 2003) in which the presence of the researcher and their close relationship with the reality of the study, or field, is fundamental (Easterby-Smith et al., 2012; Strauss & Corbin, 2002). For Patton (2002), Grounded Theory is useful for studying the reality of an organization and its cultural settings. Therefore, direct contact with the business context, its management and practices, is an advantage because it provides a holistic, and at the same time, detailed perspective. In addition, it makes it possible to test concepts and theories while the fieldwork is being carried out.

In this research, the field examined is coworking offices. The Grounded Theory approach is appropriate since we worked with data extracted from an analysis process at the study location (Patton, 2002). We aimed to identify the characteristics and common codes (e.g. regulations, programming of spaces according to privacy and use, etc.), and emerging categories of interest (e.g. the new health measures implemented as a result of COVID-19). Grounded Theory allows some flexibility in the research process and the data are analysed when they are collected and in the interaction with the field (Charmaz, 2014; Easterby-Smith et al., 2012). The data were analysed while they were being collected, and this allowed us to reconstruct the analysis model (Ravitch & Carl, 2021) and evaluate it during the process.

Grounded Theory is a methodology in which creativity is valuable for identifying, relating and constructing meanings, and in which the researcher "...is required to enter the worlds of those under study in order to observe the subject's environment and the interactions and interpretations that occur" (Goulding, 2002, p. 39). The Grounded Theory approach supports the use of various research techniques, with the objective of establishing relationships and variables between the information obtained (Hwee, 2014).

This work analyses the spatial dimension of coworking spaces in relation to how their configuration and physical structure favour sharing, or not. This is supported by a study of the place atmospheres created in each of the offices that make up the sample, as well as the ways in which these spaces are managed by the coworking or community manager. A qualitative interpretive approach based on empirical work (Easterby-Smith et al., 2012) was used to understand the tangible and intangible aspects of the shared space.

Sample

The research sample is made up of 17 coworking spaces, of which 6 are located in Berlin and 11 in Barcelona. These two cities have the highest concentration of coworking offices in Europe (Capdevila, 2015; Hobson, 2020; Startup Guide World, 2018, 2020), and are cities where the ideas of the sharing economy and sharing city have been significantly developed (Arnold, 2017; Cohen et al., 2016; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015). For Patton (2002) the size of the sample in qualitative research depends on what the researcher wants to know and the purposes of their work, and therefore there are no pre-established rules. Patton proposes using purposeful sampling, in which the phenomenon of interest is evidenced through specific examples. According to Savin-Baden and Howell

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(2013, p. 188) purposeful sampling aims to “...understand the essence of what is happening in the situation as well as to consider how the participants work within the situation”.

The fieldwork allows “...collecting data in a natural setting, meaning a setting in which the phenomenon would naturally occur” (Ravitch & Carl, 2021, p. 67). Observation made this possible in each of the coworking spaces and the areas which the researchers could access. There was unrestricted access to all common spaces. This was not possible, however, in the case of private offices, meeting rooms and administrative areas. Therefore, these areas were not considered at the beginning of the fieldwork, which was carried out between December 2019 and March 2021, first in Berlin and later in Barcelona.

The first part of the fieldwork consisted of a search through web pages and well-known sources of the coworking panorama, including www.deskmag.com, a digital magazine specialized in coworking, www.coworkingspain.es, a directory of coworking spaces in Spain, and www.coworkingresources.org, a portal for shared workspaces, as well as brochures, corporate advertising and accounts on social networks. For Strauss and Corbin (2002, p. 58), the use of non-technical literature can complement interviews and observations, especially at the “starting point” of the project and enable formulating some guidelines. In this case, the sample was filtered by including only those offices that highlighted the value of sharing as part of their offer, and referred to issues such as sustainability, community and collaboration in the description of their business model. In addition, offices were selected in which the common physical space was the main and most important area.

Each of the coworking spaces was contacted through an email, presenting the researchers and the work that was intended to be carried out. Thirty invitations were sent to coworking offices both in Barcelona and Berlin, of which 17 accepted to be part of the study. Once the face-to-face meeting was completed, the offices were attended and initial interviews were conducted with coworking managers or people with a similar position. In addition, we interviewed two consultants specialized in shared spaces and one interior designer of coworking spaces, who has designed two of the spaces in Barcelona.

The days and times for the observation were established during the first part of the exploration process. According to Patton (2002), aspects such as the selection of time

periods are fundamental for data collection, taking into consideration special activities such as celebrations or events. Following this idea, the observation criterion was based on what we wanted to identify: how the space facilitated sharing, through which practices and the elements that allowed it. Coworking and its space are part of a community culture (Butcher, 2016; McGrath, 2018), which we were interested in learning about and understanding.

One of the main barriers to having access to companies was the distrust from coworking managers to allow outsiders to access their work. Although it was emphasized that it was an academic study, the receptivity of some offices was low. For certain spaces, access to the data was achieved through the intervention and recommendation of members. According to Saunders et al. (2009), it is important to have contacts within organizations as this allows better access to them, and it is one of the stages of the research process that must be treated most carefully. The nature and objectives of the project need to be explained to the organization, ensuring the confidentiality of the information and in some cases, its anonymity if required.

The researcher's credibility will allow them to establish a positive relationship with the company (Saunders et al., 2009, p. 182). For example, in two of the coworking spaces located in Berlin it arose as an initiative of their managers for the researcher to accompany them in their working hours. This consisted of supporting them in different activities such as reception at the front desk, events, attention to suppliers, distribution of meeting rooms, location of new coworkers, and other community activities, such as general supervision of personnel. A key aspect in data collection is getting closer to the subjects' and informants' activities (Creswell, 2009).

The following table indicates the spaces that make up the sample:

Table 4.2 Coworking spaces analysed

Code	Office	City	Opening	Surface
CW1	Rent24 Coworking – Berlin Schöneberg	Berlin	2016	1500m ²
CW2	Rent24 Coworking – Berlin Mitte	Berlin	2017	1500m ²
CW3	Betahaus Berlin Kreuzberg	Berlin	2009	3000m ²
CW4	Betahaus Berlin Neukölln	Berlin	2020	4000m ²
CW5	ESDIP Berlin	Berlin	2012-2020	300 m ²
CW6	AHA Factory	Berlin	2013	250m ²
CW7	Spaces 22@ Barcelona	Barcelona	2017	1867m ²
CW8	Collective Coworking	Barcelona	2019	600 m ²
CW9	Betahaus Barcelona	Barcelona	2015	2000m ²
CW10	Quartdenou Beach Coworking	Barcelona	2016	220 m ²

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CW11	Impact Hub Barcelona	Barcelona	2020	1500m ²
CW12	Cloudworks Barcelona Sagrada Família	Barcelona	2015	3000m ²
CW13	Cloudworks Passeig de Gràcia	Barcelona	2018	1169m ²
CW14	Aticco Verdaguer	Barcelona	2019	2115m ²
CW15	Aticco Urquinaona	Barcelona	2016	6000m ²
CW16	OneCoWork Plaça Catalunya	Barcelona	2018	2000 m ²
CW17	OneCoWork Catedral	Barcelona	2019	2500m ²

Source: Author's own elaboration.

Research techniques

We applied semi-structured interviews and non-participant observation in 17 coworking spaces in Berlin and Barcelona. Previous studies have also used both interviews and observation in coworking research. For example, Walden (2019) used them to study the motivations and communication of teleworkers in a coworking space. Orel and Alonso (2019) also used these two research techniques to explore the interactivity between members and the collaboration ambience, while Capdevila (2014) studied collaborative practices in coworking spaces in Barcelona by interviewing managers and members of coworking spaces and observing the community activities. Ansio et al. (2020) combined these techniques to identify how community and collaboration were understood in the corporate discourse of municipal organizations. In conclusion, these two qualitative research techniques have been frequently combined in the literature. Ritchie and Lewis (2003, p. 38) emphasize that interviews and observation provide complementary data to each other, both in how things happen and people's perspective of this. We describe these techniques in detail below:

Interviews

The interview is one of the data collection techniques most used in Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2014), and allows knowledge to be extracted from the research context itself (Easterby-Smith et al., 2012). An interview is "...a conversation with a purpose, where the interviewer's aim is to obtain knowledge about the respondent's world" (Thorpe & Holt, 2008, p. 118). According to the benefits developed by Creswell (2009, p. 179), the interview: First, allows (a) Access to participants who cannot be directly observed: these participants include coworking managers, hosts or community managers. Given their work pace and the flow of activities, some of which are more private and restricted, such as billing or purchases, the interview was an ideal technique for exploring strategic aspects of managing the office and its space. Second, (b) Participants can provide historical information: both in Berlin and Barcelona, coworking spaces are recent

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typologies of shared spaces, designed and managed as such. The configuration of the physical structure is conditioned to the gradual growth of the business model and its operational needs over time (e.g. Betahaus Barcelona). And third, (c) The researcher can control the line of questioning: the interviews were based on topics such as the management of the physical space, the practices that occur within it and how this physical space is coordinated by the manager or administration. The different conversations took place under these lines.

Table 4.3 Summary of data sources in interviews

Interviewee	Position	Professional Profile	Duration	Date
CWM1	Site Manager - Berlin	Advertising & Public Relations / Fashion stylist	45min.	06.02.2019
CWM2	Front desk	Drama, Art & Music Studies	40min.	07.02.2019
CWM3	Community relations & Operations Manager	Labour Relations & Communication Management	28min.	27.08.2020
CWM4	Office Manager	Finances	33min.	02.09.2020
CWM5	Front desk	Mass Media Communications	31min.	02.09.2020
CWM6	Community Manager	Advertising & Public Relations	28min.	14.09.2020
CWM7	Host Coordinator	Trade Management	28min.	06.10.2020
CWM8	Communication Manager & Community Team Leader	Mass Media Communications	39min.	03.11.2020
CWM9	Business Developer Innovation Manager	Graphic Design, Marketing Management	40min.	12.11.2020
CWM10	Location Manager	Entrepreneurship, TV host	42min.	11.12.2020
CW-Int	Head of design	Interior Design	31min.	16.02.2021
CW-Exp1	Content director	Industrial Design	133min.	01.09.2020
CW-Exp2	Sharing initiatives consultant	Marketing, Tourism	60min.	13.10.2020

Source: Author's own elaboration.

Observation

Observation is a research technique that allows systematic contact with the reality of the context to be studied, in addition, it "...allows researchers to obtain a detailed description of social settings or events in order to situate people's behaviour within their own social-cultural context" (Hennink et al., 2020, p. 170). Participant observation makes it possible for the researcher to be close to the study object, exploring and identifying what is really important for the group. In addition, according to Ang (2014), it allows us to check *in situ* whether the research questions that we have asked ourselves from the beginning have been the correct ones, or whether they should be reformulated.

The observer's role in this work is that of "observer-as-participant" (Burgess, 2002; Easterby-Smith et al., 2012; Waddington, 2004). Although the researcher participated in some events and dynamics typical of coworking spaces, they tried not to interfere in the daily activities and to maintain a certain distance, which was in accordance with both the researcher's and the coworking space manager's decision. As Easterby-Smith et al. (2012, p. 467) point out, for the "observer-as-participant" it is important to identify with the field they are studying, but they should not influence it. For Waddington (2004, p. 154), the observer "maintains only superficial contacts with the people being studied (...), for example, by asking them occasional questions". The greatest advantage is that it places the observer in the context without being intrusive, and at the same time, it gives them access to the day-to-day reality.

As mentioned above, at the initiative of the coworking managers, the role of observer changed in two offices in Berlin (CW1, CW3). When access to these two coworking spaces was allowed, their managers invited the researcher to participate in tasks such as customer service, the distribution of new coworkers in the spaces and in the initiation tours. Immersion in this context generated a higher level of contact and an in-depth understanding of the organizational management (Saunders et al., 2009). Therefore, in these two offices the researcher was a participant in the observation process. Non-participation was maintained in the rest of the offices observed.

Table 4.4. Summary of the observation process

Office	City	Timeframe	Type of observation	Date
CW1	Berlin	26h	Participant	December 2018 – February 2019
CW2	Berlin	7h	Non-participant	February 2019
CW3	Berlin	18h	Participant	February 2019
CW4	Berlin	8h	Non-participant	February 2019
CW5	Berlin	3h	Non-participant	December 2018
CW6	Barcelona	5h	Non-participant	September 2020
CW7	Barcelona	4h	Non-participant	September 2020
CW8	Barcelona	15h	Non-participant	September 2020
CW9	Barcelona	4h	Non-participant	September 2020
CW10	Barcelona	17h	Non-participant	September - October 2020
CW11	Barcelona	24h	Non-participant	February 2021
CW12	Barcelona	16h	Non-participant	February 2021
CW13	Barcelona	7h	Non-participant	November 2020
CW14	Barcelona	14h	Non-participant	February 2021
CW15	Barcelona	24h	Non-participant	November – December 2020
CW16	Barcelona	26h	Non-participant	March 2021

Source: Author's own elaboration.

Fieldnotes

One of the complementary and fundamental techniques of observation and interviews are fieldnotes (Waddington, 2004). These notes are made throughout the exploration process so as not to forget relevant ideas or reflections that need to be expanded (Thorpe & Holt, 2008). Fieldnotes do not have a predefined format, and are a useful tool for recording collected data, specific details observed, and even for establishing emerging research categories (Goulding, 2002). For Patton (2002), “fieldnotes contain the description of what has been observed. They should contain everything that the observer believes to be worth noting” (p. 302). Fieldnotes are essential, especially when working with primary data. Sensory aspects that can influence data collection need to be recorded (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003), “...what is not optional is the taking of field notes” (Patton, 2002, p. 302).

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Figure 4.2 Fieldnotes during the research



Source: Author.

Table 4.5 Summary of the data collection techniques

	Interviews	Observation	Fieldnotes
Number	13 interviews	16 spaces	3 notebooks
Time	578 min. (13 interviews)	218 hours (On working days. Between 3 and 9 hours per day. 1-4 times a week)	During the visits to each space
People	Coworking and community managers, Communications & PR Responsible, Brand coordinators, Business developer, Design chief.	Coworkers, management staff, suppliers, maintenance staff	Coworkers, management staff, suppliers, maintenance staff
Place	Private rooms, common areas (e.g. lounges, main kitchen, etc.)	Flexible (or hot) desk area and common areas.	Allocated space and common areas.
Tools	Mobile phone recorder, pen, notebook.	Camera, pen, notebook.	Pen, notebook.
Other sources	Earphones, computer.	Corporate websites, social media, brochures, advertising.	Markers.

Source: Author’s own elaboration.

4. Findings

In this article we explore the interior space of coworking offices in Barcelona and Berlin through a continuous process of observation. In addition, we interviewed their community managers, or the name given to this figure in each office, as experts in coworking and sharing practices in workspaces, and an interior designer specialized in coworking spaces.

After the fieldwork we identified the following aspects:

- (a) the importance of common areas for sharing;
- (b) place atmospheres: the inside starts from the outside;
- (c) events: the promotion strategy;
- (d) the community manager and their role in sharing.

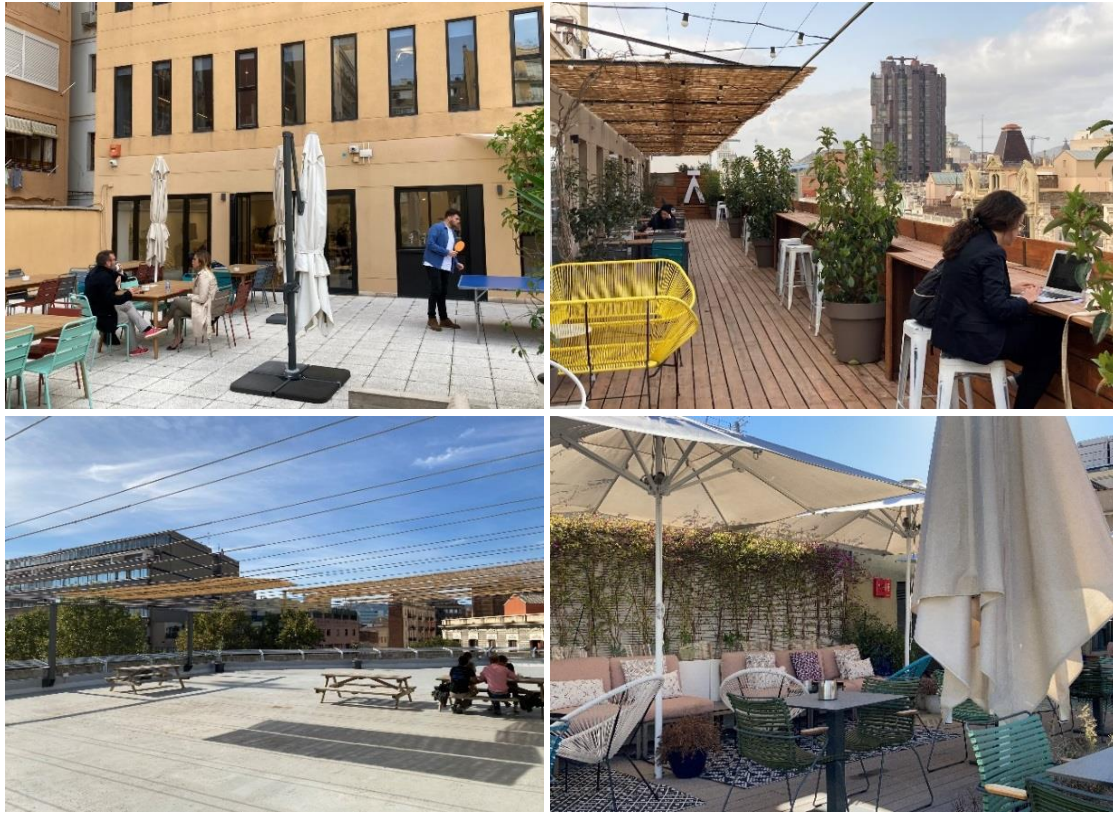
These four aspects are discussed below:

The importance of common areas for sharing

Space is a key factor in sharing (Davies & Evans, 2019). One of the basic characteristics of coworking spaces is their flexible and versatile design, which is the basis for socially integrating their members so they can interact (Bouncken et al., 2018). That is, the physical space is a conductor of personal relationships, as well as professional ones, many of them influenced by physical proximity (Parrino, 2013; Seo et al., 2017). The search for networking opportunities is one of the motivations that some coworkers apply for selecting an office (Jeske & Ruwe, 2019; Merkel, 2017; Moriset, 2014). For example, in Spaces 22@ this is called the "business club", an area designed for entrepreneurs to meet and connect their businesses. However, in other offices this happens in canteens or cafeterias, in a more organic way, as well as in leisure areas. According to the manager of CW14: *"We [referring to the management team] have realized that the space where most things happen is without doubt the terrace. It's the space where things are shared the most. (...) in non-work spaces, in the canteen area, at the ping-pong table (...) if you go and look at lunchtime, this is where we do yoga, the Tuesday breakfasts, the afterwork get together on Thursdays (...) more than one business has been born on the terrace, through two or more different companies collaborating"*.

Figure 4.3. Terraces of coworking spaces in Barcelona

(from top/left to right: Aticco Verdaguer, Aticco Urquinaona, Impact Hub Barcelona, and OneCoWork Plaça Catalunya)



Source: Author.

In all coworking spaces there are common areas, which are carefully designed and supervised to facilitate sharing, and where the sense of community, cooperation and trust prevails (Orel & Alonso-Almeida, 2019). These values correspond to the ideas of the sharing cities, in which coworking spaces represent an efficient way to take advantage of buildings and reduce urban congestion (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015). All the coworking spaces that are part of this research are located in rehabilitated buildings that have been conditioned for office use. In some cases, specific floors are rented and in others, the entire property, depending on the budget and business objectives. According to the interviewees, it is very important that the coworking spaces' infrastructure has large areas for sharing, even more so than work areas. Despite this, they are also critical of international franchise models (e.g. WeWork) in which effective work areas are excessively limited and leisure areas are favoured, which they consider a mistake.

We also interviewed an interior designer from two of the coworking spaces that are part of the sample. This professional told us that the basic premise for designing

coworking offices is to generate meetings between workers. So the main areas are a central kitchen and a covered terrace for chillout, so that the space promotes interaction. On chance meetings as an affective form, Jakonen et al. (2017) point out that within the coworking space, contacts and relationships are part of the “commodities” that are offered. Within the space, according to the authors, affective and sentimental environments are generated by the design and organization of the space. This is evident in coworking spaces that have more open and visually connected floors. Another way to increase the level of socialization is by using areas for photocopiers and stationery supplies, located on each floor of private offices, for example in the case of *OneCoWork* in Barcelona. The coffee corners, which are small stations to prepare coffee that have all the necessary kitchen utensils and are located on all floors, are also a meeting point.

Modifying the layout in coworking offices is one of the most frequent activities in the management of the physical space. Therefore, the inclusion of design teams in the coworking spaces administration is essential to manage the spaces efficiently. For directors and CEOs of the offices, hiring specialized interior design consultants is a necessity for shaping the physical space to enhance sharing. Some offices even have their own *in-house* design team who are in charge of adapting new requirements (e.g. installation of new companies, supply of furniture, etc.) or architecture, and who plan the rehabilitation and maintenance of buildings dedicated to coworking, such as *OneCoWork* and *Aticco*. According to the interior designer interviewed, this work is also supported by coworking managers, who supervise the maintenance and set ups that they have on a daily basis. In addition, an event agenda reinforces that the configuration encourages participation, and at the same time it is evaluated as it is being used.

According to the information obtained during the fieldwork, interaction is mainly conditioned by the type of plan contracted in the office. For example, according to the space managers, the coworkers who share the most are those with fixed plans (fixed desks). Those that share the least, are those who are located in private offices within the coworking spaces. The spaces in which coworkers share most are usually the same in all the coworking spaces, and canteens-kitchens, outdoor terraces or attics, and leisure areas prevail (although not all coworking spaces have leisure areas). However, coworking spaces also have areas for socializing, such as lounges, which are not used for these purposes, and, on the contrary, some coworkers prefer them for working. This is frequent in the Berlin offices, while in Barcelona it was observed that work is carried out in the

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places arranged for it. This means that for coworking managers all spaces with “social” characteristics are multipurpose and can be used for work, giving coworkers the option to do so if they like.

After the lockdown due to COVID-19, one of the biggest challenges in managing the coworking spaces was adapting their areas to the new health measures and enforcing biosafety protocols. A series of rules have been implemented both in Barcelona and in Berlin and which all coworkers must comply with. In the larger offices, coworkers signed a compliance agreement, with a very well defined protocol. In small offices this was done more informally, through email agreements or information through social media. The spatial planning was not altered in any of the offices, so the arrangement of the furniture was kept as it was initially defined. However, transparent screens were incorporated to avoid direct contact in the flex and fix areas, and some tables were disabled to maintain greater social distance. The capacity in all areas has been limited, and cleaning and disinfection utensils are supplied (e.g. paper towels, sprays, sanitizing gels) at the entrances of each office and at strategic points. In reference to space, the greatest consequence caused by the COVID-19 crisis has been the reduction in workplaces in all coworking spaces.

Another common and frequently used space is the main kitchen. In coworking spaces, sharing food at lunchtime is one of the most established social practices among its members. As we indicated previously, the dynamics of sharing in the workspace are conditioned by the contracted plan. Workers who rent private offices, a modality with increasing demand from entrepreneurs and of interest for the owners of the spaces, usually have lunch in their own spaces, despite it being one of the management team’s goals that they have lunch in the common areas. Workers who use plans like flex and fix are more willing to use the kitchen. However, with COVID-19 this situation has changed significantly, and in some offices that have more than one kitchen or one floor, workers are asked to use the one that corresponds to them. A coworking manager even stated that one of the most popular cohesion activities in his space was a *salad day*, in which each member brought an ingredient and they made bowls of salad that were shared. For reasons of biosecurity and distancing, this can no longer be done. Although workers do not have to wear a mask at their workstation, in the kitchen it is mandatory to wear one.

Figure 4.4. Kitchens are not just a functional space, but also social and networking spaces



Source: Author.

The kitchens of the coworking spaces were planned to be spaces that are shared throughout the day. That is why they are continually being cleaned and organized by the maintenance staff. All kitchens are equipped with all the necessary utensils (e.g. plates, cutlery, glasses, cups, napkins, etc.) that can be used by all members, as well as coffee, tea and herbal tea machines. In some cases, there are refrigerators with beverages sponsored by a company, snacks and desserts in *honesty markets* in which coworkers can take what they want and pay for it without intermediaries or supervision. In addition, there are community order and cleanliness regulations and agreements that each coworker must comply with, such as not leaving dirty dishes in the sink and classifying waste in containers. It is during leisure and recreation times that these spaces are most used, thought of as a kind of "home kitchen" in which the different members meet by chance and new ties can emerge.

Figure 4.5. Honesty markets in coworking spaces from Barcelona and Berlin
 Through self-service, members can buy drinks or snacks without intermediaries or supervision.



Source: Author.

In addition to the kitchen, a socializing space is the terrace, a large outdoor patio incorporated in the building. In general, coworkers in Berlin use the outdoor areas of the coworking spaces very little, and indeed not all the spaces have them. The activity of sharing is concentrated inside. However, in Barcelona this is very different, especially after lunch, when a coffee break is often shared in the open air, and some smokers also gather in open, outdoor spaces on the top floor. As we will describe later, the climate and light are two determining elements when it comes to enjoying the space.

Place atmospheres: the inside starts from the outside

For Sumartojo (2020, p. 191), place atmospheres refer to space, and they recognize subjective aspects within it, such as the meanings and emotions that are produced, and also, what the senses perceive. According to Steadman et al. (2020), the place atmospheres are not only the indoor space, they also start from the outside and can be prolonged after the experience. The place atmospheres are "...co-produced between the practices and dispositions of individuals or groups, and myriad other elements from which and out of which they form and re-form" (Edensor, 2015, p. 83).

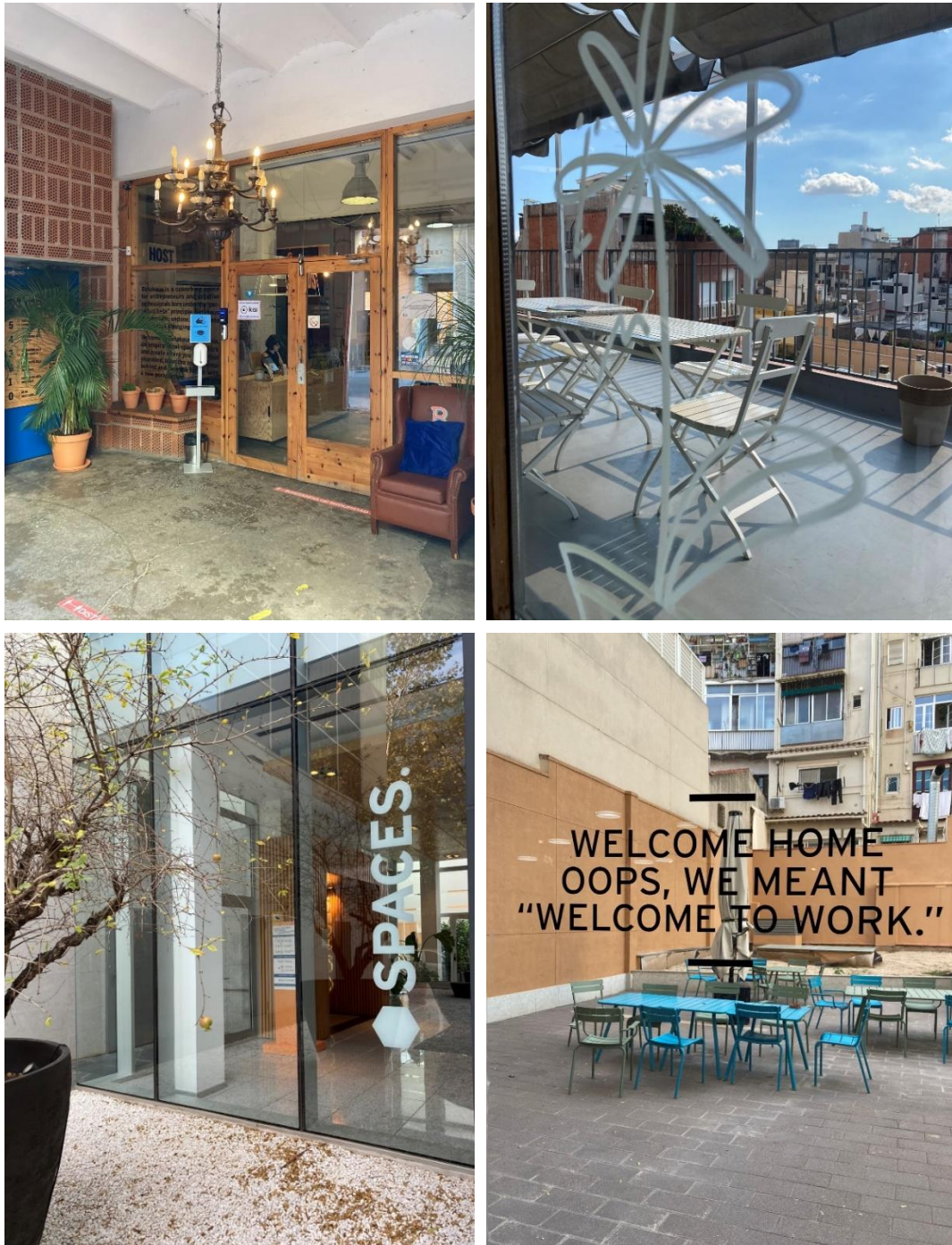
The location of the buildings is a strategic factor that is always taken into account and is part of the atmosphere created. In our results this can be verified in all the cases that make up the sample. The directors and investors of the coworking spaces are aware of the strategic importance that this has, and consider the advantages of the real estate market (Yang et al., 2019). They actively look for favourable scenarios to locate business hubs (Coll-Martínez & Méndez-Ortega, 2020).

In Berlin, for example, *Betahaus* has created its offices in the districts with the most economic and commercial potential. This coworking space started in Kreuzberg (Startup World, 2018), a place known for its vibrant artistic development, and recently began in Neukölln, an area that is growing rapidly in the startup environment. According to the coworking manager of *Betahaus* Neukölln, "*To our cofunders it was attractive to find a location here. In the next ten years they expect a lot of growth and a lot of traffic in this area, because the market is growing*". There is a similar case in Barcelona with the 22@ district, one of the strategic points in the development of innovation and collaboration (Capdevila & Zarlenga, 2015). For the coworking manager of *Spaces 22@* Barcelona, the location of the building was chosen based on how the area was growing and to attract future companies. "*We made a bet on the technological district par excellence in Barcelona 22@. In the end, the three centres that are currently planned for the city will be in the same district. It is the booming area in Barcelona*". Also in Barcelona, there is a completely different example in which the location is significant. *Betahaus* is a coworking space located in the Gràcia district, an area characterized by its bohemian lifestyle, its diversity and historical richness. For its coworking manager, the location is also due to other reasons, such as strengthening the neighbourhood culture that Gràcia is known for, and being a key environment for the community, since it has established collaborative alliances with businesses in the area. "[The coworking space] *helps you feel*

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part of something, you are joining the Gràcia neighbourhood, and Barcelona in general". Exploring the city through its places serves to establish relationships of belonging between the context and the people (Edensor, 2020b; Stedman, 2002).

Figure 4.6. The location of the coworking space is part of the atmosphere created, and the aesthetic discourse of the corporate brand of the CW



Source: Author.

The interior space is one of the determining elements within the coworking space value proposition (Seo & Ock, 2016) and is part of the total product that the consumer

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experience implies (Kotler, 1974). The vertiginous growth of coworking activity in Barcelona and Berlin has implied a work of conscientious differentiation by its investors, so that importance has been given to creating special and creative environments (Merkel, 2015; Orel & Alonso-Almeida, 2019). The characteristic organization of coworking spaces is an open plan, in which its members share a space with a certain proximity (Ivaldi et al., 2018; Waters-Lynch et al., 2016).

Figure 4.7. The interior space of the coworking space is a fluid scheme without visual barriers.



Source: Author.

Other elements of the space are key when it comes to the creation of its atmospheres. For example, lighting is the point most valued by those who design and manage coworking spaces in Barcelona and Berlin. For Edensor (2020a), the lighting conditions the experience of spaces, it can influence social practices because it affects human emotions and the perception of context. In this sense, natural light is one of the most used elements in Barcelona's spaces. The weather is usually sunny throughout the year, and culturally, the use and enjoyment of terraces increases from spring to autumn. This makes the arrangement of outdoor top floor spaces (attics) and terraces an attraction that is not

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only used in the city, but in the coworking spaces. For example, at *Aticco*, they use this space as part of their brand storytelling. The attic is one of its most important spaces due to the light source, at *Aticco* and also at *OneCoWork*, *Betahaus Barcelona*, *Impact Hub Barcelona*, *Cloudworks* and *Collective*. In addition, adding light and nice views also increases the sense of place. This is the case of *Cloudworks Passeig de Gràcia*, which has views of a large part of Gran Via de les Corts Catalanes, one of the most representative shopping streets in the city, next to Passeig de Gràcia, a large commercial and business boulevard, characterized by its modernist architecture. Also, in *Cloudworks Sagrada Familia*, from the terrace it is possible to see icons such as the Basilica of the Sagrada Familia and the Agbar Tower. In tours for potential clients, coworking managers emphasize these views as one of the most used attributes in the coworking spaces' communication and sales processes. It is also the fundamental point of the atmosphere, its organization and aesthetic experience (de Vaujany et al., 2019).

Another case in this study is that of *Quartdenou*, a space located in Barceloneta, a coastal neighbourhood in the Port Vell district, with long beaches and historical sites around Barcelona's port. It is a small office located in a renovated house. One of its greatest attractions is its proximity to the beach, which allows its coworkers to go swimming and then go back to work. Its coworking manager affirms that associating the workspace with the sea, sports and a healthy lifestyle is the basis of the business model, and also of the atmosphere that has been created: "*I wanted a space here in Barceloneta because I surf, I fell in love with the building, with the soul of it (...) I chose Barceloneta because it is authentic, it has that point of village life. First it was a personal impulse, then I checked it out as a business*". In this case, the atmosphere of the place is recreated in the symbolism of a natural element (the sea), and in the "look and feel" that it generates (Mueller & Schade, 2012).

The interior space

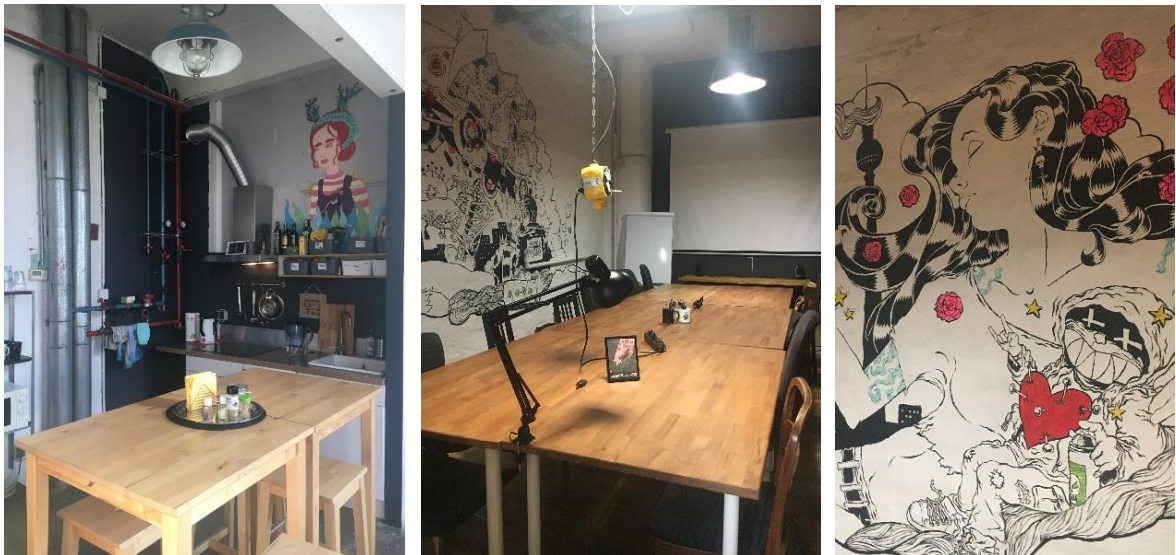
The social areas of a coworking spaces are essential so that there can be sharing among users, therefore special attention is paid to them and they are designed to *evoke* family spaces, a community of trust and interaction (Orel & Alonso-Almeida, 2019). Environments are created that can foster business values. For example, according to its coworking manager, *Betahaus Barcelona* assumes a "perpetual beta" principle, in which everything is unfinished and constantly changing (see www.betahaus.es). It is a space that

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is growing organically according to its users' needs and requirements, so it appears to be under permanent construction. A similar case is that of *ESDIP Berlin*, a collaborative space aimed at artists, designers and photographers, in which coworkers painted murals and illustrations that other members added to later. In this space, the aim was that the interior environment expressed artistic creativity, not only on the walls but also in the different types of mismatched furniture, the installations and exposed ductwork like in a large industrial loft.

Figure 4.8. ESDIP Berlin Coworking

ESDIP Berlin is not just a coworking space, but also an art and design school. Its coworkers are creative professionals who participate in the setting of the space.



Source: Author.

Figure 4.9. Betahaus Barcelona

At Betahaus Barcelona, the space is based on the “beta” principle, which means *always under development*

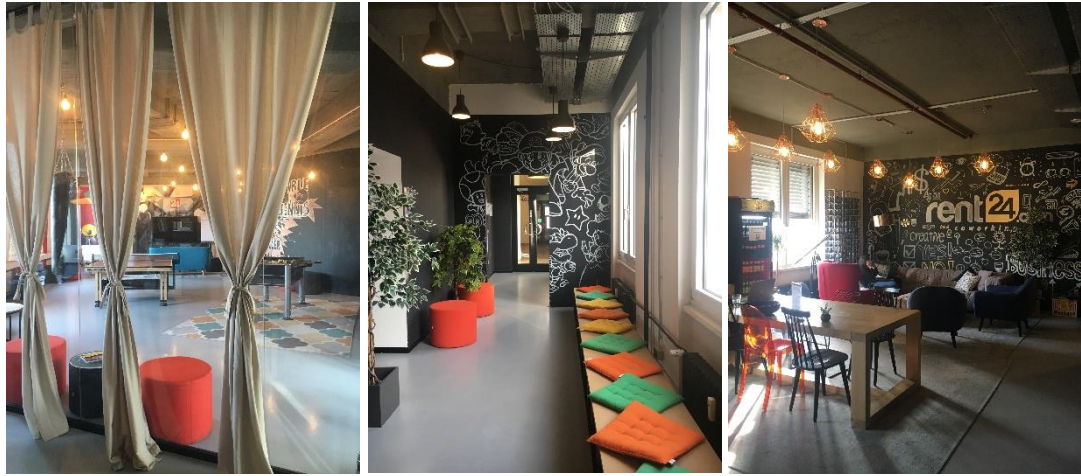


Source: Author.

Other cases such as *OneCoWork* and *Aticco*, in Barcelona, and *Rent24*, in Berlin, opt for a different procedure, which is completely controlled and planned by their interior designers and design teams. According to the designer of *OneCoWork*, “we wanted to recreate the idea of the *Soho House*” (an English social club with eclectic and bohemian decor), so special emphasis was placed on leisure areas. The atmosphere of *OneCoWork* is of a bright and open space, despite the contrasts in the wall decoration and the furniture with many different upholstery patterns. Each of the layouts made “should look like the opening day, so the managers supervise before opening each morning that everything is as in the photos, and if not, they adapt it again”, says its interior designer. On the other hand, *Aticco* has created a set of open, white spaces, combined with wood, with a Nordic inspiration. The intention is to achieve the maximum level of light and warmth, which positively influences concentration in work. In both *Rent24 Berlin* and *OneCoWork*, a mix of varied elements is arranged in a space with a cosmopolitan appearance, and

emphasis is placed on social areas over work areas. An eclectic concept, in the manner of a large lounge dominates the views of the space.

Figure 4.10. Social areas at Rent24 Berlin



Source: Author.

The place atmospheres are managed by the management team of each office. The senses that they seek to stimulate are not only visual. For example, in *Rent24* popcorn machines have been located at the entrances of the offices, and popcorn is being made continually. Each member can be served in an identified bag. The smell spreads through certain areas and is an identity element of the leisure space, and also serves to gather the coworkers around the machine. At *Betahaus Barcelona*, the smell of natural plants is characteristic of its small interior gardens and terraces, and characteristic of this coworking space in general. According to Böhme (2019), smell is a creator of atmospheres, it produces emotions and nuances the space. In addition, the smell of nature positively impacts the work experience by reducing stress, and creating pleasant perceptions, away from urban life (Kastenholz et al., 2020).

Figure 4.11. The smell and sound of the popcorn machine is an element of the atmosphere of this office



Source: Author.

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In other cases, the stimuli are given by sound. The music lists are created for the flex workspace and social areas throughout the day, and controlled by the manager of each space. During the COVID-19 quarantine, *Betahaus* created *Betatunes* on Spotify so that each “beta” (coworker) could listen to coworking music in their home office. At *Impact Hub Barcelona*, “El trueque Sessions” allows its members to show their musical skills and play an instrument alongside other coworkers. In *OneCoWork*, a music list has been programmed that is listened to throughout the day and even allows members to access it.

In contrast, silence is also one of the most common practices of coworking spaces, almost as a rule (Faure, Aroles, & de Vaujany, 2020). However, noises such as telephone conversations, computer keys, elevators and of course, the musical background are frequent. In Barcelona, there are few quiet rooms within the spaces, although in the interviews the managers recognized that they should be included in the planning of the space. In Berlin they are common, although they only have large offices, which usually have larger budgets for infrastructure modification. In both cities and for such purposes, one of the most valued, and demanded, devices are soundproof telephone booths. After COVID-19, these are the facilities that coworkers most require, and their use has increased significantly during the last year (Hoyne, 2021).

One of the characteristics of the coworking spaces that generates the most attention for coworkers is that the offices are dog friendly. According to coworking managers, this is one of the most attractive points for those who take their pets to work and must choose a space in the city. Other amenities that coworking spaces may include are day-care, libraries, movie theatres (e.g. *Rent24 Berlin*), gyms (e.g. *Rent24 Berlin*, *Aticco Barcelona*), yoga rooms, showers (e.g. *Quartdenou*, *Rent24*), and parking for bicycles and electric scooters (e.g. *Betahaus*). Finally, all the spaces in the sample have conference rooms and lockers, although access to these is limited and sometimes implies an extra cost.

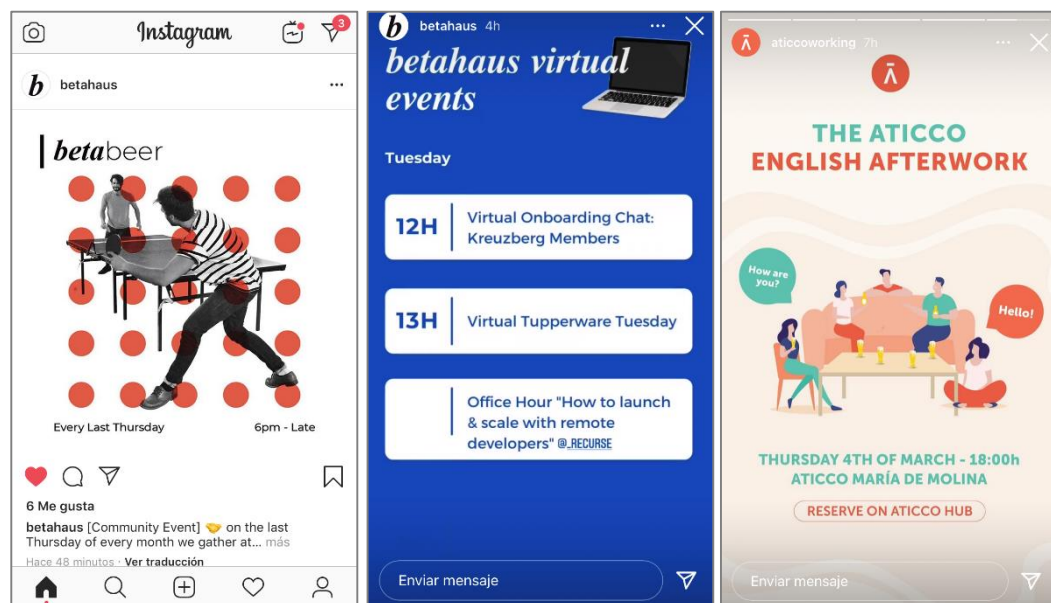
Events: the promotion strategy

For Edwards (2018), events are public relations tools and are used as a promotional instrument for organizations. They serve to convey the meanings, values and behaviours of the company. They also show a set of habits that make up the business brand, and how it is “presented” to its audiences (Vieira, 2018). The events are part of a ritualization of the space for sharing (Fedorenko, 2017; Schultze, 2020), and through them the sense of

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community is strengthened. In addition to communicating the brand identity of the coworking spaces, the events promote opportunities for networking among the members and strengthen the bond with the organization. All the coworking spaces in this study have their own agenda of events that are designed according to varying degrees of formality. Some are part of the usual schedule (e.g. breakfasts, *happy hour*, yoga classes, etc.) and some are related to special events, such as Christmas, or *Oktoberfest* in Germany. Coworking managers affirm that a significant part of their responsibilities is dedicated to events. However, another consequence of COVID-19 has been the decrease in events, and in some cases, their disappearance. In reference to this, a coworking manager pointed out that: *“For Halloween, before [COVID-19] we would have had a big party with 200 people, this year [after COVID-19] we did some smaller activities, so that less people could get together. A pumpkin workshop, showing a scary movie, a panellet workshop³, some chestnuts⁴... and so we could fulfil our objective for people to interact”* (manager CW14).

Figure 4.12. Along with face-to-face events, virtual ones are an alternative after COVID-19



Source: Instagram official accounts of Betahaus Berlin and Aticco Barcelona.

Publicizing the business brand through a tour is one of the most important events in a coworking space. In some offices it is organized on a weekly basis, its character is more

³Traditional Catalan pastry.

⁴Chestnuts, they are eaten roasted at the "castañada", a traditional festival in Catalonia. It is celebrated on the 1st of November.

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formal, usually in groups, and involves a tour of all the facilities. At the *Betahaus* headquarters (both in Barcelona and Berlin) one day a week is reserved for this, which coincides with the *betabreakfast*, a free breakfast for entrepreneurs, to which visitors and future coworkers can also come. This event lasts two hours and the start-ups that work in that office are presented. A similar activity is offered by *Impact Hub Barcelona*, in an event called "*My first coffee*" in which the new partners share with others their business models of social impact, aligned with the philosophy of the coworking spaces. This activity takes place every Tuesday and also includes breakfast. Similarly, *Aticco* organizes the "Community Coffee Break" every week in each of its different centres in Barcelona. In Berlin, it is also planned in the same way. In the two *Rent24* locations that are part of this study, this event is called "Community Breakfast" and happens twice a week.

Figure 4.13. Social events that include networking
Community breakfast, Rent 24 and My First Coffee, at Impact Hub Barcelona



Source: Author.

One aspect to highlight is that these activities are planned by the internal team of each office, and are coordinated by the coworking manager, who, during the event acts as its host, and ensures that the required protocol is followed. This task may be reinforced by the person responsible for marketing and communication of the coworking space, but the visible face is still the coworking manager. For Ivaldi et al. (2018), the coworking manager plays the role of an actor, because in their activity they play a character on stage in a "theatrical" way. They also play the role of a storyteller who transmits meanings and shapes an organizational reality through promulgation. In small spaces like *Quartdenou Beach Coworking* or *ESDIP Berlin*, this activity and dual role is more organic, following more flexible and less structured rules. The difference is with larger coworking spaces, in

which the manager's role is more complex, and requires more specific training in communication skills, CRM and personal branding (e.g. *OneCoWork*, *Rent24*, *Cloudworks*, *Spaces*, *Betahaus*).

One of the events in which this is evident is in the tours for potential members, one of the most frequent rituals (sometimes personalized) and the first informal contact between the client-space. For de Vaujany et al. (2019, p. 6), in the tours, the aesthetic of the space plays a central and pivotal role, because it gives it a “sense of place”. The tour in the coworking space is an event with a commercial and promotional vision. “It is a first step towards the «community», (...) it is part of a process that can lead to a «club», an elite group, and a set of the happy few” (p. 10). Before COVID-19, there were fewer restrictions for doing the tour, and some coworking spaces have stopped doing them in groups, such as *Betahaus Berlin*. In *Betahaus Barcelona*, the tour was individual and only one of the authors of this article and the coworking manager participated. During the tour, not only the space and its benefits are presented, but experiences of successful entrepreneurs or start-ups that work there are described. At *ESDIP Berlin*, a coworking space specialized in art and design, the tour was led by the coworking manager during working hours, so they previously asked the coworkers for permission to do so, since silence was required for concentration in the space. They all agreed, and as a joke, one of the photographers asked the researcher to help them with an instrument, as “payment” for the interruption. The tour finished in the kitchen, where the operating rules of the place were explained.

Events within public relations are a way of transmitting the lifestyle and microculture of a community (L’Etang, 2006). In coworking spaces they are a tool for encouraging sharing and bringing their members closer. One of the managers interviewed emphasized that the physical space alone cannot promote interaction, and that without events, this would not be possible. It is about “working with the senses” to live an aesthetic experience of the organization (Śliwa, 2018).

Figure 4.14. Social events in some coworking spaces in Barcelona



Source: Impact Hub Barcelona official Instagram account and author.

The post-COVID-19 reality has substantially changed this panorama. For the interviewees “... *going back to the events has been very difficult*”. In some offices they have opted for virtual events and this has not had the hoped-for results. In others, the number of participants has been decreased and options are offered for a more segmented target (e.g. TupperSex, Beach Volley Ball, Aticco Runners, in *Aticco*). Unlike before the coronavirus, now prior reservations are requested to control capacity, and coworkers are also asked to sign security agreements and comply with health protocols. Despite this, the flow to them has decreased. The coworking spaces managers are aware of the importance of the events for the formation and consolidation of the community; therefore, they consider them as one of the urgent areas that must be recovered.

The community manager and their role in sharing

The coworking manager is the coworking space staff member who is in charge of consolidating and promoting the sense of community (Kojo & Nenonen, 2017; Spinuzzi, 2012). They are not only a connector, but also a host of the organization (Ivaldi et al., 2018; Mariotti et al., 2017) and the main person in charge of creating the place atmosphere (Bouncken et al., 2017, p. 405). For Brown (2017, p. 121) the role of coworking managers is the closest thing to that of a “conductor of an orchestra”. Indeed, they are a key figure in the day-to-day life of a coworking space, whose presence begins with the presentation of the office and continues after contracting, in the accompaniment of the user.

In our research we are interested in analysing how community managers manage the sharing dynamics in the coworking space. Interviewees from the offices in both Berlin and Barcelona agree that social activities are necessary to promote interaction. However,

in the case of Barcelona, the main problem for coworking managers is that coworkers, such as those who work in private offices within coworking spaces, are not enthusiastic about afterwork activities.

Although the coworking manager recognizes their role as a connector, they admit that it is not always possible to achieve this connection despite the efforts made by the management team to develop a sense of community. However, when affective bonds have been created between the members, they are usually permanent and prolonged relationships (e.g. they sit in nearby positions, eat together, carry out leisure activities outside the office, etc.) in which the manager does not play a part. To promote the integration of the coworkers in the community, the coworking manager can suggest specific events or activities according to the coworker's profile. However, this customization of the service is not frequent. In the research we found that the greater the capacity of the coworking spaces, the less the manager's control over the interactions and relationships between community members. The scale and the number of workers are decisive to be able to coordinate the space efficiently. For example, in our research, the largest space has 400 coworkers and the smallest has 10. Likewise, we find offices that occupy complete buildings with six floors dedicated to coworking activity, and others with just one floor.

Although the coworking manager coordinates the entire physical space, they are located in the flex area or close to it, at a customer service post or desk. The fix area and private offices require less monitoring, since those who have contracted these plans already know how the space works well. In this scenario, those who go to the coworking manager do so to consult logistical matters such as the internet network, the receipt of parcels or mail, to manage the attendance of guests, rent the meeting rooms, etc. The work of the coworking manager in most of the spaces in this research is that of a rational agent (Ivaldi et al., 2018) who organizes processes and provides technical knowledge for the management of the space. It is also evident that their greatest dedication is to communication and sales strategies, as well as to monitoring internal projects (e.g. maintenance of the facilities, adaptation of new offices, technology, etc.).

In the Berlin offices, the coworking manager carries out more supervision and marketing and public relations support activities. In some cases, the manager also works within the space in a company related to the coworking sector, which is why they also act

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as a coworker (in the Barcelona sample there is only one case like this, in Berlin all the cases are like this). In most coworking spaces, there is more than one coworking manager in each space, and they work in shifts or days, and they focus on specific tasks such as managing purchases, updating social networks, etc. Depending on the organizational structure of each office, this may vary, but the manager is always available to the coworkers.

In all the coworking spaces we identified that those managers who design and execute the promotional communication of the space are also the promoters of sharing activities. These activities can be previously planned (e.g. weekly breakfast or a sports session) or casual (e.g. lunch on the terrace), and in all of them the manager acts as a natural integrator. However, during fieldwork we identified that the coworking managers' attitude and leadership style is related to the users' motivation to share, as well as to designing and proposing new encounters. The manager's personality, their knowledge of their clients and their interests are necessary to do this work as a promoter, so a proactive coworking manager is necessary in adverse circumstances, such as the COVID-19 pandemic. Their role as a facilitator of sharing is essential, adapting security measures and guaranteeing community participation.

Even when coworking managers point out that knowledge such as sales and project management are fundamental, they stated that it is increasingly common to value soft skills in contracting processes, especially communication, and interpersonal relationships. The managers interviewed stated that charisma is a personal characteristic that constantly benefits their management, and generates empathy and trust with other members.

The biggest difference in the role of the coworking manager before and after COVID-19 lies in adding hygiene and biosafety control tasks to their activities. They also must communicate the health and care measures that the space offers to users. During the lockdown, the managers used corporate social networks to provide information about new measures, and once people came back to the offices, to reinforce the internal protocol. One of their biggest current challenges is to help retain coworkers and offer new contracting modalities through special promotions (e.g. hourly plans, free monthly payments, gift vouchers, etc.), as there has been a considerable decrease in users due to the pandemic. For most of those interviewed, in the COVID-19 scenario, sharing as a

core activity of the coworking spaces is not impossible, but it represents a challenge for the future of coworking.

5. Discussion

The research results show that the physical coworking space, although it has been designed for sharing, does not do it by itself and requires a series of management strategies to achieve it. The key areas for sharing in a coworking space are the common areas, and these are where most of the social interactions occur. In Barcelona, the external spaces predominate, such as outdoor terraces and attics, while in Berlin, these spaces are internal, such as kitchens and lounges. However, there are no exact rules, and they may be determined by other factors, such as the formation of affinity groups (both within the same office, as well as between coworkers from different companies), the types of plan contracted (which depends on the frequency of attendance at the coworking space), and of course, proximity, which continues to be an important aspect when it comes to people interrelating (Parrino, 2013).

Previous studies (Ansio et al., 2020; Bouncken et al., 2021; Orel & Alonso-Almeida, 2019) have shown that the coworking space is the main channel of social interaction to achieve collaboration and a sense of community, but also a nucleus for networking and continuous learning (Butcher, 2018). This has been a fundamental basis of this work, in which we relate sharing practices to the space, and in which values such as cooperation and communication are part of the sharing narratives (Bouncken & Reuschl, 2018; Orel & Alonso- Almeida, 2019). Specifically, in answer to our research questions:

How does the physical space in coworking offices shape sharing practices between users?

According to our results, the physical space facilitates sharing and is configured to make this happen. However, not all coworking spaces layouts lend themselves to this. Since before COVID-19 we identified a growing interest in the installation of private offices in coworking spaces, which is one of the most profitable forms of business for the office administration as it generally involves more services being hired. In contrast, it was observed (and confirmed by managers) that members of private offices have little availability and intention to share with other users or participate in organized activities in the coworking space. Although private areas were not explored in this article, in

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interviews with managers this was a recurring theme. This issue deserves further research in other studies, since currently, and in part due to the crisis caused by COVID-19, these private offices represent a conflict between the distribution of the areas of the coworking spaces. Not only is the demand from large companies for private offices growing in order to reduce capacity and relocate their workers, but this also implies the reduction of common areas, especially flex zones, in the future. According to data provided by managers, the contracting of these spaces in recent months has grown significantly.

The fieldwork began a year before COVID-19 appeared, so we were able to observe both scenarios. At the time we finished this study, one of the coworking spaces that made up the sample has definitively closed its doors due to the economic effects of the pandemic in Berlin, and several of them, especially in Barcelona, have reformulated their commercial strategies. For example, fix zones have been changed to flex zones, so that the number of users could be increased, and new telephone booths have been installed. When the coworkers returned after lockdown, the space was not structurally altered, but the places were decreased. The strictest measures in terms of space are social distancing, and protocols for disinfection of tables before and after use, as well as the use of masks in any space outside the personal work area. As a security measure, some flex users sit in the same place every day; however, this is not always possible, as someone who arrives earlier can sit at that position.

In coworking spaces, atmospheres continue to be one of the elements that most attract users and they are the reason why they choose that particular office to work in (Fuzi, 2015). Even today when the outlook seems adverse, human interaction and feeling part of something are benefits that these offices continue to generate (Garrett et al., 2017). For the future, work infrastructures will aim for hybrid schemes where people come first and the physical space is rethought to promote their well-being and provide new opportunities for sharing (Migliore et al., 2021; Tremblay & Scaillerez, 2020; Vierling, 2021).

How do community managers organize the sharing dynamics in a coworking space?

Our results show that due to COVID-19, the workspace has changed and will continue to change, but the essence of coworking, the community, has not changed. In this sense, the role of the coworking manager is strategic, since they have become an "optimistic character" who must offer security to the coworkers in their office, and at the same time, maintain a favourable climate in which to work. For the interviewees this is the most

difficult part, since conditions are not always the best. A significant difference between the Berlin coworking spaces and those in Barcelona is that the social health situation has not been managed in the same way in the two countries, and this has influenced the users' decisions both to return to the space and to unsubscribe. Rethinking community activities in coworking spaces is the biggest challenge for managers, although this decision no longer falls so much on managers as on other areas such as marketing and communication, especially in medium to large companies. For small companies (with 8-12 employees) the situation is favourable: coworkers prefer spaces with fewer people and preferably “bubble groups⁵”, rather than with more insurance.

New tasks, which have emerged from lockdown and from the return to the post-pandemic offices, have been added to the work of the coworking manager. Adapting the space to the conditions required by the health authorities, and ensuring compliance with the new measures are what the managers mention most, as well as added marketing and sales work. We found that in this circumstance of "returning to reality", the role of the coworking manager is oriented to that of a rational agent (Cunliffe, 2014; Ivaldi et al., 2018) who carries out technical and operational processes related to the stability and growth of the company. The narrative of sharing within the coworking space has been reinvented, and at least for now, for users it is more important to receive guarantees of health safety, flexibility of the plans and the benefits that the coworking service company brings them, than join community activities that may involve a health risk. Despite this, contact with friends from the office and their affinity groups is important. The manager of *Betahaus Barcelona* stated, *"The most difficult thing for us as a coworking space has been managing the fear of coming back after the coronavirus"*. The feeling of being part of a "big family" is highly valued in the coworking space, before the pandemic and now; so much so that it is a reason for coworkers not to leave or change offices, even in a crisis such as the pandemic. The difference is that sharing is now much more limited to the immediate group.

From the fieldwork, we have identified that regardless of the size of the space that the manager coordinates, the coworking manager organizes the sharing based on their own leadership style and personality. This is beneficial for the company if the manager is a

⁵Or stable coexistence groups. These are small groups of people who interact frequently, for example, a family that lives in the same house, a group of students in a classroom, or even members of the same office. Bubble groups or stable coexistence groups are a security measure to control and prevent the spread of the coronavirus.

proactive, empathetic person with a vocation for interpersonal relationships. However, it is an inconvenience when the manager does not have these characteristics. For the manager of *Betahaus Berlin*, *"negotiation is the most important and essential skill of a coworking manager"*, and without that there is little that can be achieved, since the users are very different from each other and do not understand the manager's activities.

The figure of the coworking manager is sometimes undervalued (Brown, 2017), and human resource teams *"must be aware that he or she is the backbone of that location (...) and must represent that community"* (manager CW13). Therefore, it must be a person with visible relational qualities and oriented to the public. According to our data, for the manager, promoting sharing within the workspace is a more intuitive task, which occurs on a day-to-day basis and is not limited to specific moments. However, it is during the events that they are most aware of their performative role (Garrett et al., 2017), and of their role as connectors. The sharing narratives are formed daily in the space, because the most important practice is learning to cowork.

Events are an active channel of brand communication between the business and coworkers, and the coworking manager is a mediator of this process. For example, according to the interviewees, the user community are mainly foreigners, and their integration is also sought from the coworking space, *"we are a facilitator of the arrival of that person who comes from another country, and we aim for the user to feel included in both the formal and spontaneous events"* (manager CW13). Another way to achieve this is through welcome experiences that have been designed around a specific user, which can be an entrepreneur, or a complete company that is not based in the country.

The space and the management of atmospheres... for sharing.

In this article we have studied the management of the physical coworking space, and the role of managers in the co-creation of that space in two European cities with a tradition in the world of coworking: Berlin and Barcelona. A similar style of space management and manager activities is observed in the two cases. However, according to information provided by the interviewees and from informal conversations with coworkers, we found that the users do have different profiles. Although these were not part of the study, as the research focuses on the administration (e.g. CEOs, coworking managers, design managers), we were able to verify that the intention to share and interact, the motivations

for joining a coworking space and the way of relating to the management team differ among users.

For the managers of a coworking space, it is common to see the atmospheres as one more element, and in some cases a fundamental element, of the corporate communication. For brands, their commercial and service spaces add value and shape experiences (Kotler & Keller, 2016). Designing the place atmospheres contributes to distinguishing the company in front of the clients and to being recognized (Kotler, 1974). The managers interviewed state that the design is a differential factor both for the worker and for the management team. The space and all the stimuli that are presented within it cannot only be planned but also controlled, and this is the manager's responsibility.

Due to the pandemic, the current situation is complicated for coworking spaces, both in relation to the health measures that must be taken, and the efforts made to retain the coworkers and attract future ones. The spaces must comply with the health protocols set out by the health authorities and compliance with these measures is audited periodically, so the feeling of trust and care is an added value that the offices are busy strengthening. Furthermore, the atmospheres of coworking spaces should not only be creative and inspiring (Weijs-Perrée et al., 2019, p. 546), but must also convey safety, since they "... combine the objective and the subjective" (Edensor & Sumartojo, 2015, p. 251) and this is something that the client observes and evaluates.

6. Conclusion

Managing the coworking space is a dynamic and particular activity that adapts to each business. The base and purpose of these spaces is the community (McGrath, 2018), so the efforts to build and strengthen it are part of the management tasks. It is a continuous and sustained activity over time. Our study has shown that sharing a space is not just about using the same tables, chairs, kitchen or phone booths, but that the space where you work can be an environment for relationships and also have a commercial purpose (Gruen & Mimoun, 2019). In theory, the shared workspace is a business model that has been promoted by the sharing economy (Durante & Turvani, 2018; Jamal, 2018; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015) in its ideas of taking advantage of infrastructures, giving access to resources and encouraging entrepreneurship. In practice, for our interviewees, the coworking space takes advantage of the values of sharing such as participation and

sustainability, although its primary goal is not social. However, within the corporate discourse, sharing is part of its storytelling.

In this context, space plays a tangible and leading role. It is the scenario in which things happen and it must offer all the necessary comforts for users and companies (e.g. Internet access, furniture, services, etc.), as well as the conditions for certain relationships and interactions to occur (Bouncken & Reuschl, 2018). Coworking spaces use aesthetic attributes to achieve creative and differentiating environments, using atmospheres to create moods and emotions (Böhme & Thibaud, 2017). These efforts are used in the offices' sales and negotiation processes with future users. This work shows that even when the space is designed to facilitate sharing, and the creation of place atmospheres is used to emphasize the desired character of the office, if the management does not make a coordinated effort to make sharing part of the strategy, it does not happen.

Coworking spaces are a representation of the creative world, and they need to be studied as aesthetic, collaborative and interpersonal relationship experiences (de Vaujany et al., 2019). Regardless of their size, it was evident that the meaning of these spaces is the creation of a community, as well as the facilities that it offers both companies and entrepreneurs. These spaces offer operational advantages and efficient time management. Those who contract the space do not need to worry about the day-to-day duties of a traditional office so they can focus on developing their businesses. In addition, if required, which often happens when businesses grow, the coworking office can customize new spaces and facilities for them. For entrepreneurs or companies, the coworking space ensures the creation of work networks and the establishment of alliances and future business opportunities, and it is also a suitable space for leisure and making new friends.

As some specific points of this work we would like to highlight that to manage coworking spaces focused on sharing, it is fundamental to:

Learn to manage uncertainty

The fieldwork of this research began in 2018, at which time the development of coworking spaces was relatively linear in the cities where the study was carried out. New spaces appeared and others were maintained. Start-ups and the entrepreneurial ecosystem continued to grow, but the most difficult test has been COVID-19, which has been negatively affecting coworking offices since 2020 (Rese et al., 2021). In fact, in Berlin,

one of the spaces that makes up the sample of this article closed its doors due to the pandemic, and in Barcelona, although none closed, the situation has been critical.

Coworking spaces (and possibly the entire world) were not prepared for a crisis like the one we have experienced during the last year. However, according to the interviewees, it was precisely the sense of community that made it possible to keep these spaces running. For example, in small offices, members changed their work schedules to control capacity. In others, no fees were charged for the months not occupied, and some members even collaborated with the owners in the process of adapting the new measures. Although many workers left, the majority continued in the offices after lockdown ended.

Design a safe atmosphere

In coworking spaces, the place atmospheres created by their teams after COVID-19 have focused on offering a hygienic and safe space. Being perceived as reliable environments is the added value that the offices are constantly promoting. The creation of mandatory compliance measures for all users has led to these spaces being perceived as “closed bubbles”, based on the confidence of knowing that each member takes the proper health care. For example, wearing a mask in the personal workspace is not mandatory, and is only required in common areas such as kitchens, hallways, bathrooms, etc. Moreover, in private offices, it is also optional. The spaces are constantly disinfected and in positive cases, they have a special action protocol. As a shared space, a coworking office requires rules and agreements to create a sense of community (Chan & Zhang, 2020).

Atmospheres are effective and maximized within the business model, but the management teams do not have complete control over their scope and planning. In large offices they are more controlled, while in small offices, although they are less controlled, they are more spontaneous. Managers of small coworking spaces consider that atmospheres are “artificial” and qualify them in a negative way because they do not arise “naturally”, while in large offices, they are a management element that must be addressed like any other. Although atmospheres involve the senses, communicate feelings (Anderson, 2009) and emotions (Schmitz, 2019) and are generators of specific behaviours (Wolf, 2019), people in coworking spaces are not always fully aware of their influence, despite the fact that there is already evidence of their positive impact on user perception (de Vaujany et al., 2019; Moriset, 2014; Orel & Alonso-Almeida, 2019).

Consider the coworking manager as a supporting actor

From an organizational point of view, in a coworking space people are what is most important, that is, both the group of coworkers and the group who manages the space (Stancheva, 2021). Previous studies have indicated the importance of the managing group (Brown, 2017; Ivaldi et al., 2018; Merkel, 2015). The coworking manager is a person capable of managing space in every way, because they are precisely the person who knows it the most. They are a catalyst for the space and a driver of community feeling (Dandoy, 2021). The results of this work indicate that after the arrival of COVID-19, the manager's role has not changed significantly. New space-related coordination and monitoring tasks have been added, such as monitoring compliance with health measures or controlling access to offices even more. However, they are a figure whose responsibilities change from space to space, depending, for example, on their professional profile or other skills. Although there is no standard qualification for recruiting this profile, preparation in areas such as finance, public relations, human resources and hospitality is positively valued.

The coworking manager is not the protagonist of the space, but they can be a key figure in the sharing dynamics. Despite this, they do not always take these tasks on. Their role is more of a connector than a promotor. In offices where there are people in charge of events or communication, these professionals have the greatest weight in fostering collaborations between workers, and the manager is oriented to the operability of the space and above all, to sales. The manager's control over the business strategy becomes more visible in small offices, especially if the manager is the owner.

We found that the coworking manager's role in sharing narratives is heterogeneous and full of codes that are specific to their particular office's corporate culture. For example, in small independent offices and those focused on social impact, the manager's role is more active and oriented to developing the community and the environment specifically in their participation in the entrepreneurial initiatives that their office hosts. In medium and large offices this changes, the manager is more of a space operator and does not get involved, or very little, in the coworkers' businesses. However, as we noted in the discussion, their leadership style and personality determines these dynamics, even in the largest coworking spaces.

Share... (provided there are events)

The promoters of coworking businesses have different stories and motivations, but there is also a central value: sharing (Ansio et al., 2020; Chan & Zhang, 2021; Orel & Alonso-Almeida, 2019; Rese et al., 2021). Community building is a task that requires planning, strategy and time, and involves human contact. Times of interaction are necessary for the community and our results show that social events are the main source of coworking space relationships. The events have a dual focus: to encourage members to relate with each other and strengthen engagement with the office and its corporate brand.

Values such as reciprocity, trust and co-creation arise from sharing and benefit relational capital (Johnston & Lane, 2021). Events are an opportunity for the community to become visible, recognized and publicized. Organizing and implementing events was, until the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, one of the bases of managing coworking spaces; however, when interaction became a problem, the strategy changed. Digital events, limiting the number of participants and activating special protocols are some alternatives applied to recuperate events, which has been one of the biggest challenges for managers in the pandemic.

7. Limitations and future research

The biggest limitation of this work was the collection of data after the emergence of COVID-19, which coincided with the visits to offices in Barcelona. This affected not only the observation period but also led to a number of restrictions on the use of space, which did not exist in the case of Berlin. Access to the management teams of the different coworking spaces was also a limitation, since not all the coworking managers were willing to collaborate with the research, either because they did not have time or because they thought it was a covert tactic of competition coworking spaces.

This article focused on the physical space and the coworking manager's role in sharing. Specifically we focused on the management processes and strategies carried out by the company's management team, so if we consider coworkers to be the central public to which numerous efforts are directed, future research could include data on the coworker's perception of the place atmospheres and how they influence sharing. New approaches could emerge by using a phenomenological focus and delving into personal experience. In addition, exploring recruitment processes for the coworking manager, and how their

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professional profiles and personal skills are valued, would reveal what offices are looking for in a manager, their ability to promote sharing and act as agents of transformation for a user community.

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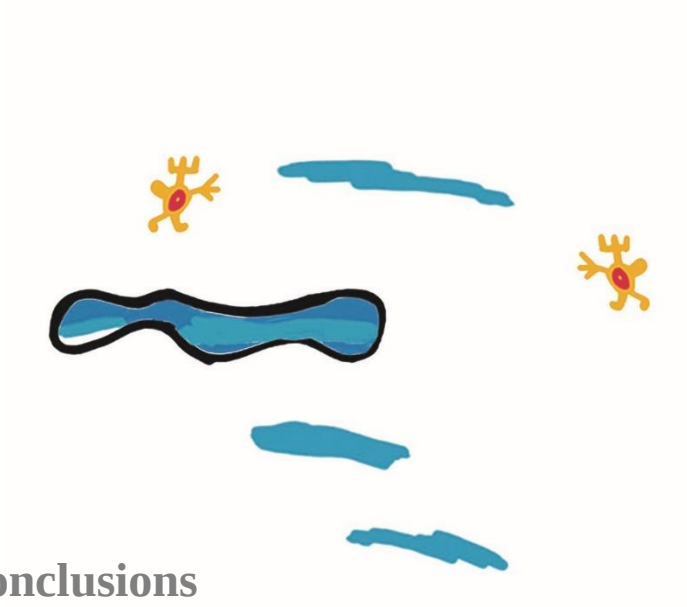
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Conclusions

Chapter 5. Conclusions, limitations and future research

Chapter overview

This thesis deals with a recent, but emerging topic, the sharing city, approaching it from both a theoretical and a practical perspective and organised into a compendium of articles. It places special emphasis on the ways the sharing city is managed, the resources used to do so, and the means used to achieve it. There are two reasons for this interest. The first reason is that some cities have implemented sharing in their government agendas with apparently positive results such as changes in public policy and social practices, and community participation (Boyko et al., 2016; John, 2017; Shareable, 2018); and the second that it is an urban idea that conceptually requires to encompass different types of actors, and the *sharers* are not just institutions but any actor geared towards social change (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; Matofska & Sheinwald, 2019). Although over the last 10 years, the sharing movement in the city has provided alternative visions based on collaboration and co-creation, there is still a shortage of studies that clarify aspects such as what objectives it sets, how inclusive it is, what concrete results are reflected in the urban space, and what areas of knowledge contribute to its debate. The present doctoral thesis seeks to contribute to this effect. (see Table 5.1)

The main objective of this thesis was to analyse the urban practices and social narratives in the sharing city. The sharing city involves projects in different areas of sharing and focuses on the communities and other actors. These form the basis of the generally favourable discourse constructed over recent years about the sharing city (Boyko et al., 2017; Shareable, 2018; Sharp, 2020). However, while the literature on the sharing city has not been the object of direct criticism, the projects that form part of the sharing economy have been somewhat questioned within the neoliberal discourse because of their contradictions and confusions, affirming that their orientation can ignore social considerations, and that they benefit from a purely commercial vision (Böcker & Meelen, 2017; Martin, 2016; Schor, 2014).

Furthermore, one of the main debates about the sharing economy is its true sustainable potential (Curtis & Lehner, 2019), an aspect which in the sharing city has focused largely

on urban and forward planning (McLaren & Agyeman, 2017; Yigitcanlar et al., 2019). This is an area that this thesis seeks to explain.

Table 5.1. Summary of contributions

Research gap	Research question	Contribution	Where?
We lack understanding regarding the social and urban implications of being recognized as a sharing city	How is the sharing city implemented and through which actors?	To provide a conceptual framework of the sharing city according to the classification of the previous literature.	Chapters 2,5
		To explore the areas of knowledge where the sharing city has been analyzed.	Chapters 1,2,3,5
		To identify the stakeholders in the context of the sharing city and their forms of participation.	Chapters 2,3,4,5
We lack a holistic perspective of the studies that analyze how the sharing city is thought / materialized with respect to physical space	What urban practices and social narratives does the sharing city promote and what practices take place in the sharing city?	To relate the sharing city with the physical space and identify how it is transformed.	Chapters 2,3,4,5
		To describe the discourses and themes that the sharing city presents through its different social actors.	Chapters 2,3,5
	What imaginaries are built from the sharing city and how are they communicated strategically?	To understand how the sharing city is represented in Barcelona, and differentiate it from other cities that have adapted the sharing city label.	Chapters 3,5
		To explore place atmospheres in coworking spaces.	Chapters 4,5
		To identify the role of physical space in sharing practices	Chapters 2,3,4

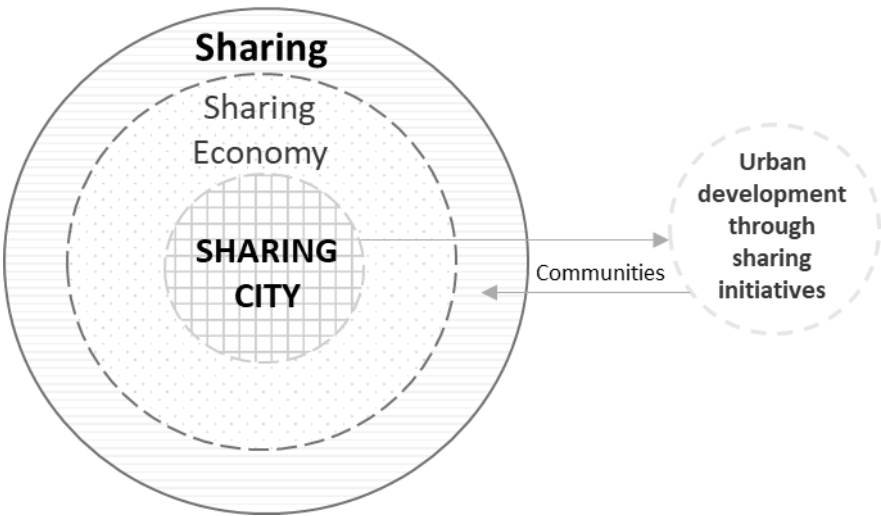
To identify the management and communication process of the sharing city and shared spaces

Chapters 3,4

Source: author’s own elaboration.

As pointed out in the previous chapters, one of the main characteristics of the sharing city is the extensive scope of the topic. It is not a homogeneous concept, but rather allows for different meanings and also certain imprecisions, due to its similarity to other urban labels. McLaren and Agyeman (2015, p. 4) point out that the term “sharing city” is deliberately ambiguous, leaving a margin for different ways of understanding and transformation. It is a permeable approach which, in any of its versions, looks to co-create the urban future and promote more sustainable structures (Harmaala, 2015; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015, 2017b). It is a potential alternative for urban leadership and is developed by actors such as governments, organisations, and communities.

Figure 5.1. The broad spheres of sharing



Source: author’s own elaboration.

Development of the chapters

The first chapter of this thesis was the introduction. According to Mason and Merga (2018), the structure of both a first chapter and the conclusion of a thesis is largely the same whether it is a compendium of articles or a traditional thesis. In the present work, the first chapter describes the general framework of the research, how it is structured,

what research questions are being asked, and the objectives. The importance of seeing the sharing economy as a phenomenon that is dependent on other ideas (see Figure 5.1), whose values refer to the social logic of sharing (John, 2013), and the conceptual umbrella it comes under (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; Dowling et al., 2018; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015), is also explained.

This thesis recognises the complexity of the concept of the sharing city and the fact that it has different layers (see Figure 5.2). The concept is still emerging and has been influenced by other related ideas from place management, co-governance, and the public administration. The scientific literature demonstrates a growing academic interest in this general topic, and so the second chapter of this thesis takes on a theoretical perspective in the form of a systematic literature review. The result was the article published in *Journal of Cleaner Production*, entitled “*The emergence of the sharing city: A systematic literature review to understand the notion of the sharing city and explore future research paths*”. This article consolidates the relationship between the sharing city and the values and characteristics of the sharing economy, explaining how the different urban labels that have emerged in the recent literature are related to this notion (e.g., creative city, eco city, ethical city, smart city, resilient city. See for example, Barrett et al., 2016; Boyko et al., 2017; Khan & Zaman, 2018). It emphasizes the heterogeneous nature of the sharing city and the fact that it is an idea adapted to specific urban contexts, indicating that there are as many “sharing cities” as there are cities that implement this notion. The results of this paper confirmed some aspects covered in the previous literature, especially regarding the role of the government and community participation in their implementation.

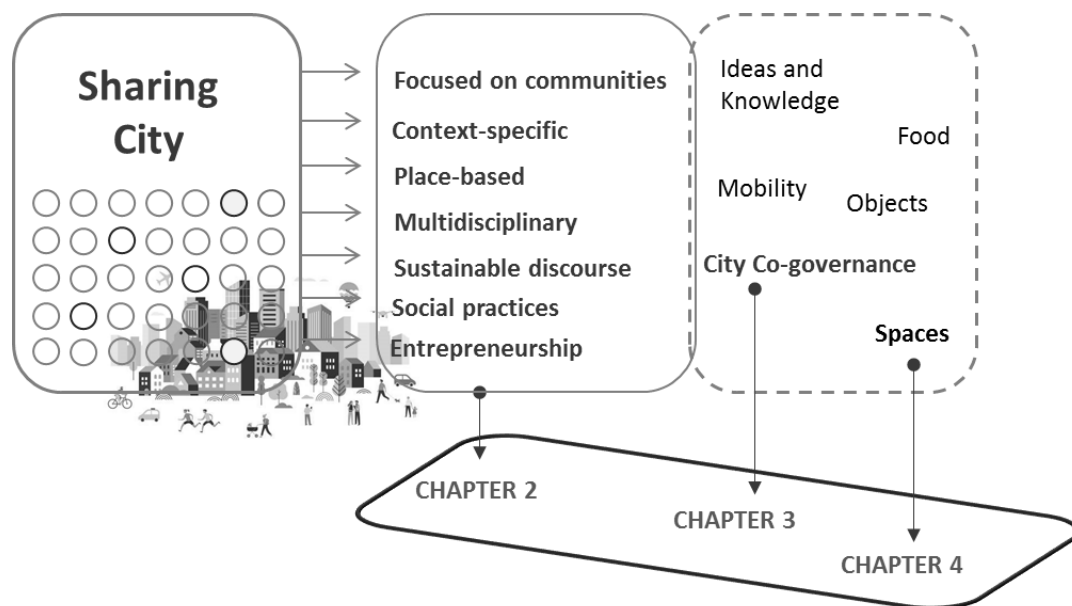
Furthermore, although the sharing city has mainly been studied in terms of its management, most notably the role of the government, operations management, and marketing, the abovementioned article also demonstrates that disciplines like architecture and urban planning are emerging areas of knowledge for the sharing city, opening new paths for its future and understanding. For McLaren and Agyeman (2015, p. 323), the study of the sharing city requires not only an interdisciplinary approach but also a cross-disciplinary approach. This idea concurs with Muñoz and Cohen (2017), who establish that these approaches contribute to the relationship between research, practice, and policy. To this effect, another of the reflections of this thesis is that any sharing city project must be viewed from different perspectives, with cross-disciplinary visions adapted to both the

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existing culture and to the sense of sharing it is trying to promote. As the results of the article presented in Chapter 2 show, the urban government is a key element in the crystallisation of the sharing city due to its structuring and cohesive role (Bernardi, 2015; Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018). Without an approach based on the community and contact between governments, private companies, organisations and other interest groups, a sharing city would not be possible.

The main contribution of this chapter was the classification and categorisation of the existing scientific literature. As pointed out in the published article, it was the first systematic review of the topic of the “sharing city”. Its aim was not only to compile the relevant academic production but also to identify the areas of interest and the relationships between initiatives of interest for the city. As a general idea, the sharing city is a suitable costume (Sánchez-Vergara et al., 2021), adaptable and changing according to the current urban and economic agenda. While it is a set of positive ideas for the development of the community, it could be rightfully confused with a place branding strategy, which serves to position the city and communicate brand attributes. However, it must ultimately be evaluated in terms of its drive for significant transformation, and not just for its aspirations.

Figure 5.2. Theory and practice explored in the doctoral thesis



Source: author's own elaboration.

Chapter 3 seeks to understand the vision of the government and the top-down approach in the direction of the sharing city. In recent years, Barcelona has implemented these ideas through different initiatives related to key areas such as housing, mobility and the environment, co-governance, and social entrepreneurship, among others. The city uses its official channels of communication to broadcast its support for sharing projects and to identify itself as a sharing city. This was the starting point of another result of the thesis, communicated in the published article “*Exploring the strategic communication of the sharing city project through frame analysis: The case of Barcelona sharing city*”, in Cities, which categorised the topics dealt with by the institutional actor and analysed how their discourse about sharing was built. A contribution of this research was the establishment of a relationship between institutional communication and urban planning, achieved through analysing news items and documents produced by the city council referring to the sharing city Barcelona. It was observed how this actor presents its sharing narratives while inviting others to collaborate in effecting change and transformation, identifying the concept with values like sustainability, empowerment, social justice, equality, and inclusion.

The spectrum of communication in the sharing city Barcelona is wide. Journalistic, public relations, and promotional tools are used to meet the objectives of urban and community development. The institutional account creates an imaginary of the potential city where quality of life and well-being is claimed to be guaranteed, and towards which the city council claims to be “actively working”. According to Cidell (2017, p. 170), “An imaginary encapsulates three time periods at once: the past, or how things got to be the way they are; the present, or how the world works here and now; and the future, or how things should be and what we should do to get there”. The Barcelona case presents the sharing city by making visible the problem together with the solution to it, demonstrating the possible benefits and their own idea of city, which is ultimately for everyone. (see, for example, Figure 3.1, p. 90, Figures 2 and 3, in the published article).

Studying how a sharing city project is reported not only allows us to find out about the project itself but also about the brand communication strategies and tactics the city uses as such, and which refer to its urban and social identity, and its capacity to implement new creative models and to display its cultural dynamics (Asplund & Ikkala, 2011). “If places want to maintain their image in the future, communication will become

increasingly important as well” (Govers & Go, 2009, p. 261). Creating an urban imaginary in which the city is positioned as a sharing city raises awareness and projection at both a local and an international level (de San Eugenio Vela, 2012) (see for example, the case of Seoul -Jo, 2021; Johnson, 2013- or Berlin as a Sustainable and Green city -Kalandides & Grésillon, 2021). Every proposal the city makes to construct its social narratives and the methods it uses to raise its profile and project its identity are communication elements that define it (Huertas, 2014; Kavaratzis, 2004).

The next empirical article is contained in Chapter 4. It refers to the private company as a relevant actor, and to one of the shared spaces most popularised in the sharing city, the coworking spaces (Bouncken & Reuschl, 2018; Chan & Zhang, 2021; Durante & Turvani, 2018). These spaces have become the icons of the start-up culture and new businesses (Avdikos & Merkel, 2020; Migliore et al., 2021; Waters-Lynch & Potts, 2017), and are one of the most influential types of sharing and collaboration in the world (McGrath, 2018; Tremblay & Scaillerez, 2020).

As the literature has amply documented, and the results of this investigation reaffirm, the coworking spaces are conceived and developed with a clear sense of community (Capdevila, 2014; Orel & Kubátová, 2019; Spinuzzi et al., 2018). Furthermore, for McGrath (2018, p. vi), coworking is also a physical space. However, these spaces are neither standardised nor designed in the same way. The coworking space is not only intended as a place to work, but also as a place to generate relationships, links, and ties between individuals who, although they are actually in the same space, do not necessarily work together (Bouncken et al., 2021; Ivaldi et al., 2020). The physical space must therefore promote this contact among its members, or at least facilitate it (Orel & Alonso-Almeida, 2019). The findings of this thesis suggest that while the coworking space is organised and designed to be shared, and this can happen in a natural way among its users, promoting collaborative spaces does in fact depend on other factors to do with the use of the common space (e.g., terraces, flex zones, kitchens, etc.), and the planned strategies defined by the management team (e.g. organisation of events, connections among members, etc.).

One of the ways to create effects in the experience between the user and the space is through place atmospheres. These refer to sensorial experiences perceived in a space (de

Vaujany et al., 2019; Hancock, 2020). While this is a tool used in retail marketing, it can actually be applied to any commercial space to generate connection between the client and the brand (Anderson, 2009; Kotler, 1974). Place atmospheres are created and managed by the internal teams of coworking spaces, and sometimes in collaboration with interior design departments and consultancies.

In all the offices analysed, place atmospheres are considered to connect the user with the space. The management in these spaces recognise the importance of creating a pleasant perception and how this increases the value of the corporate brand. This means that care is taken with every detail. It was observed that the atmospheres not only condition the interior space, but that this care for detail starts from outside the building. Locating coworking spaces in privileged areas of the city, which are easy to access and develop, heightens engagement. It is a consumer experience bolstered by the location; hence, this is the first consideration to start a coworking space. Regarding the interior, natural light is the element most valued by users, and the priority concern for the office. The comfort of the communal areas like the kitchen and the dining room, the terraces, and the open roof space is one of the most well-thought-out elements of coworking spaces. According to the managers, these are the areas where most of the interpersonal and networking contact takes place, and so they must give off the feeling of sharing a house. This “home hearth” atmosphere generates a certain level of trust, which is what is being sought in terms of the services offered.

Observing the space to be shared as an affective space enables us to identify a series of practices that connect people with the surroundings. Obviously, in a coworking space people share, since this is the basis of this type of business (Capdevila, 2015; Chan & Zhang, 2021). However, the COVID-19 pandemic has modified ways of sharing and the sharing lifestyle (see for example, Ceinar & Mariotti, 2021), also transforming the coworking service. In the sample studied, it was observed that the changes made are linked with the new health measures (e.g., social distancing, disinfecting points, etc.), controlling user capacities, and creating new contracting plans. However, the overriding concern in the post-COVID-19 scenario is company care and permanent positions, aimed at economic recovery through fixed quotas and promotions. Business planning is becoming increasingly short-term in outlook, even when future growth in coworking services is considered optimistically. For example, a new *Betahaus* coworking space was

opened in Berlin during the pandemic and *Impact Hub* was opening in Barcelona in one of the country's most critical moments in terms of COVID-19. The fourth *OneCoWork* office and another *Cloudworks* office are also planned to be opened in Barcelona in 2021. The new spaces hope to comply with the new health regulations, and will facilitate remote working and provide maximum flexibility for contractors (Ceinar & Mariotti, 2021; Foertsch, 2021).

While communal events and activities are gradually being re-introduced, managers of these spaces have confirmed that co-worker participation in them has diminished, and when this research came to an end in March 2021, this agenda had not yet been fully re-established. The results indicate that the role of the communications and marketing teams is fundamental to build user trust and to lend credibility to the office's corporate brand. Many coworking spaces did not close during lockdown, with user requests and queries dealt with through databases, IT tools, and social networks. The managers stated that a digital presence and virtual support for users in logistics and operational matters was essential, and just as important as looking after the actual physical space. A positive brand experience links the stakeholder with the business, increases their satisfaction, and creates an image that is consistent with the infrastructure (Hanna & Rowley, 2011).

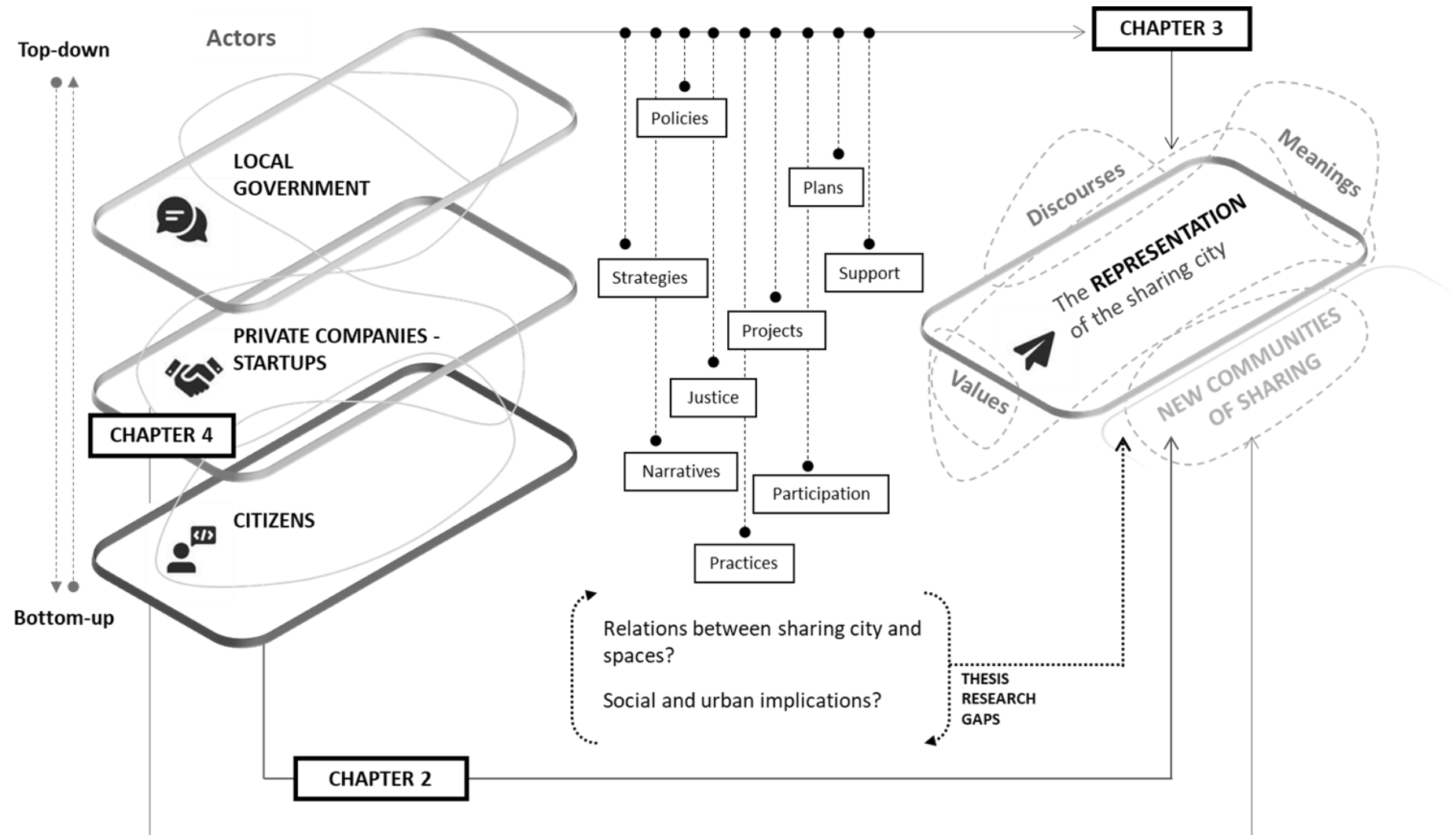
The coworking manager is responsible for managing the space as a general coordinator. While promoting sharing does not depend solely on this person, the managers are its most visible face in terms of the user community, and the main promoter of collaboration (Ivaldi et al., 2018). The results indicate that there is no one professional profile of coworking manager or of the work they do. In the cases studied, the coworking manager could be a company strategist or an operator of the space. While they shared some common tasks (e.g., showing people the space, processing claims, etc.), depending on the space, they could be a sales executive, a project manager, or a link person between the different departments of the organization. Excepting individual differences and styles, a coworking manager is basically a community builder (Manzini, 2019).

Figure 5.3 shows the interrelationship between the different social actors explored in the thesis, and which are part of the groups that manage sharing initiatives. Although they are independent actors, their collaboration makes it possible to project the sharing city. In

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the development of the research, it is evident that the new communities of sharing originate from this cohesion.

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Source: author's own elaboration.

Methodologies applied and conclusions drawn

This thesis is guided by the constructivism / interpretivism position (Creswell, 2009; Easterby-Smith et al., 2012; Hennink et al., 2020; Silverman, 2020). The main aim was to explore the multiple realities, practices, and narratives of the city's new sharing communities. The focus of the research was on understanding how people interpret an emerging idea of the city. This epistemological tradition mainly draws out shared meanings (Grbich, 2007) and reveals how the multiple realities of the sharing city make it a dynamic idea with different ways of implementation and more than one interpretation (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015).

Regarding Chapter 2, as mentioned previously, the systematic literature revision was applied. This was a suitable choice because it enabled the scientific production to be objectively organised based on rigorous criteria. This methodology allowed all the procedures developed that could be replicated by other researchers to be documented. On the understanding that the concept of sharing city is revolutionary and has little existing theory, the systematic revision seemed recommendable as a starting point (Easterby-Smith et al., 2012). The sharing city can be explained from top-down, bottom-up, and mixed approaches, which also provides keys to be able to address the issue of future actors and their social practices. The advantage of this type of review is its transparency in terms of the search processes (Ginieis et al., 2012), also helping in this study to establish a quality parameter in the final selection of the articles (Moustaghfir, 2008). It further provides the means to categorize what is shared in the city (e.g., food, mobility, objects, spaces, etc.), to see what disciplines the sharing city has been studied from, and how it has been approached.

Regarding Chapter 3, the frame analysis was used to study the sharing city Barcelona communication strategy. The meaning structures of the data were outlined using the interpretive frameworks, and thematic categories for the institutional information were established (Schreier, 2012). The main contribution of this method to the research is that it facilitated the identification of how another creates their reality and the understanding of what is underlying in the narratives. The frame analysis is likewise appropriate when political communication is also addressed (Castelló, 2019). "Being concerned with the discourse means being concerned with the processes of interpretation and social

interaction [since] the interest is in systematic relationships between text and context. A significant advantage of using the frame analysis was that it helped to understand how the sharing city is implemented in Barcelona. The information gathered showed how discourse is a tool to transmit values and beliefs, seeking identification between citizens and an institutional project (Snow & Benford, 1988).

Regarding Chapter 4 (article 3), application of the grounded theory methodology was consistent with the exploration required. Not only has this methodology been used consistently in management research, but it is also ideal for analysis within the organisations, in their natural settings (Goulding, 2002). In situ investigation in the coworking spaces required direct contact with this “social world” and its managers, and so it was an effective choice (Hennink et al., 2020; Locke, 2003), helping us to identify how the space encouraged sharing, and how the place atmospheres were created for the management staff. The combination of investigation techniques such as interviews, observation, and fieldnotes helped with the gathering of knowledge based on the scenario where the practices of sharing took place. To this effect, “the grounded theory perspective locates the phenomena of human experiences within the world of social interaction” (Grbich, 2007, p. 71)

Limitations and future research

While the main limitations of each chapter have been mentioned in each of the articles, there are some others that must be pointed out. Regarding the theoretical part (Chapter 2), in this thesis only peer-review journal articles were considered, despite there being other documents such as books, reports, and articles for the public that may be very useful to characterise the sharing city. An example of this is the reports issued by the town councils and organizations, which facilitate the identification of key aspects of the institutional actor and the evaluation of the dissemination of their policies, agendas, etc. The review of grey literature is very useful in the exploratory phase and to understand sharing practices (Arcidiacono & Gandini, 2018; Savin-Baden & Howell Major, 2013). Sources of this type describe cultural discourse and social representations, also providing a high level of detail; the time needed to produce/issue them is shorter than for scientific articles and they are often a manifestation of the technical vision of the organisation (Moisander & Valtonen, 2006; Saunders et al., 2009). Furthermore, the chapter presented

a general analysis of the entire scientific production, without focusing on a specific area of research or determining which countries or authors produce the highest number of studies. To this effect, a quantitative analysis could contribute with new interpretations about the sharing city in the literature.

Other limitations were also identified in the empirical chapters. For example, Chapter 3 did not examine the audiences to whom the messages were directed. While the main interest was in exploring the strategic perspective of those that plan, develop, and manage the sharing city in Barcelona, the vision of the receiver can also contribute with important data and facilitate the evaluation of the perception of these groups regarding the initiatives taking place and the entire ‘sharing culture’ promoted in the city. Therefore, future studies could focus on citizen imaginaries of sharing, how the communities react to such initiatives described in the press, and how they get involved in them. Qualitative research techniques like focus groups could provide valuable raw material to identify social narratives, based on the experience of the receiver. Furthermore, observation of initiatives like neighbourhood councils and participative budget proposals would provide useful data on degree of participation, residents’ priorities, and the awarding of new projects. This type of study would give a voice to the most important actor in the sharing city: the community. It can also provide useful insights about how empowered and connected citizens really feel since this is one of the main objectives of sharing city projects.

In the case of Chapter 4 (article 3), the secondary data were scarce. From the start, the idea was to work with primary data gathered in situ, but there was no access to information about the business model. Free access publications like corporate brochures, websites, and social networks were reviewed, but not statistics, employment reports, distribution plans, or figures for activity attendance. Some quantitative data would have been useful as this type of data complements primary information and helps with decision making and re-evaluates the research strategy.

Another limitation of this chapter is the investigation of the co-worker. Although the objective was to study the management and organisation of the physical space, users’ responses are enriching to evaluate their perceptions. In this study, the users were not researched as part of the data and access to them was very limited due to the COVID-19 restrictions. Future qualitative studies could consider their emotions as a reaction to the

place atmospheres (Kastenholz et al., 2020; Mazzetti, 2017; Moliner-Tena et al., 2019). Similarly, methods like autoethnography would bring us closer to the interpretation of group culture in the coworking space and to sharing a space from the point of view of those who do so (Chang, 2008; Easterby-Smith et al., 2012; Patton, 2002). Recording users' personal life and daily stories is another way of collecting relevant data about the day-to-day and meaning given by each user to their role in the coworking space (Goulding, 2002).

Last, the sharing city must be studied from the perspective of place branding, on one hand, and political marketing, on the other. According to Asplund and Ikkala (2011, p. 125) "implementation of major projects needs consistent place management efforts exerted with high levels of energy and over a long time (...) before measurable effects can be communicated". In reviewing the topic of the sharing city, questions emerge about their qualities as fashionable brand attributes to achieve a better positioning (Asplund & Ikkala, 2011; Khan & Zaman, 2018; The Place Brand Observer, 2018; Vanolo, 2016, 2017). This is a vision that requires different critical approaches, irrespective of their enthusiastic discourses and constant narratives of positive change featured in the literature. A question that needs to be asked is whether the sharing city contributes to improving the image of the city, a tourist destination, or an investment. Another question is whether the sharing city represents a real opportunity for social and urban transformation. And last, future investigations should consider whether the sharing city is another notion emerging from the extensive imaginary of sustainability, and whether its transcendence will depend on what the sharing economy consists of as an alternative model or whether it could one day be an independent concept. In addition, future research can examine to what extent the imaginaries and urban aspirations that are related to the sharing city are used in the marketing mix to promote political parties. Also, the effectivity of such imaginaries can be assessed by exploring voters' perceptions on those regards.

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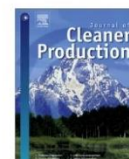
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Chapter 5. Conclusions

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Appendices



Review

The emergence of the sharing city: A systematic literature review to understand the notion of the sharing city and explore future research paths



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ABSTRACT

The Sharing City is a concept that has emerged in recent years as a new notion for urban development. The Sharing City shares common discursive ground with the Sharing Economy, which is now in vogue. However, the sharing city adopts a clear human centric focus which differentiates it from other city labels or the more economic, commercial focus of previous literature on the sharing economy. The concept of the sharing city focuses, to a great extent, on how people interact with each other in order to share resources, spaces, infrastructures experiences etc within the city. Sharing city projects emphasize citizen and community participation and promote values such as social justice, well-being and sustainability. But also, by engaging in sharing practices, actors transform the city. This study analyses for first time the academic landscape of the sharing city and its social practices using a systematic literature review methodology. It is based on a systematic search of the literature in the WOS and Scopus databases resulting in the review of 80 peer-reviewed papers. Our systematic literature review shows how previous literature in this field has evolved over time. Also, it focuses on the social practices linked to the sharing city and presents in what contexts sharing in the city is taking place, what actors have led the initiatives, what disciplines have studied the sharing city and what objectives the sharing city sets. Then, gaps and future research lines are discussed. Although the sharing city has been studied mainly by certain specific disciplines, it is a concept with a multidisciplinary nature that invites new approaches and focusses. Also, implications for practitioners are suggested.

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1. Introduction

The emerging concept of sharing city has been described as a notion, label (Khan and Zaman, 2018) or banner (Longhurst et al., 2016) that emphasizes a set of collaborative practices around the city and within different fields (e.g. food studies, urban studies, mobility, tourism, etc.). According to Dlugosz (2014, p. 2), the sharing city "... Is a liveable city –a place where citizens can share infrastructure, utilise idle (public) resources, gain more access to data, establish and participate in sharing enterprises, advance community interaction, and more". These ideas are framed in the sharing paradigm, a broad concept proposed by McLaren and Agyeman (2015), in which the territory of sharing includes spaces and things (e.g. tools, libraries, bicycles, etc.), services (e.g. child-care, time-banks, health) and experiences or activities (e.g. skills, leisure, etc.) oriented towards the "well-being" of the city's residents. The ultimate purpose of the sharing city project is the long term creation of more fair, democratic and sustainable cities (McLaren and Agyeman, 2015; Richardson, 2015).

Visiting the notion of the *sharing city* is important since various initiatives and sharing city projects can be found all around the world, e.g. Seoul, Milan, Toronto, Copenhagen, Melbourne, etc., with clear implications for urban development (Chan and Zhang, 2020; McLaren and Agyeman, 2015; Palm, Södergren and Bocken, 2019) and political agendas of local administrations (Manzini, 2019; Vith et al., 2019). On one hand, the sharing city label has attracted the interest of local, national and transnational government and non-governmental organizations such as OuiShare. Also, there are international networks and initiatives that focus on the sharing city such as the Sharing Cities Network, Sharing Cities Action, Sharing Cities Sweden and Sharing Cities Alliance. Recently, a project was also funded by the European Union, the Sharing Cities EU funded project. On the other hand, the notion of sharing city has been receiving increasing attention from the academia in line with the "notable surge of interest in the academic community –and beyond– in the notion and practices of sharing" (John, 2017, p. 12). Such interest is also confirmed by the results of this literature review.

Previous reviews of the sharing city have been conducted (Dlugosz, 2014; Harmaala, 2015; Longhurst et al., 2016; Khan and Zaman, 2018; Vith et al., 2019), but this is the first systematic literature review that deals with the sharing city concept. Systematic literature reviews scan existing literature using clearly stated search choices and selection criteria and are particularly useful when the topic researched is found across different academic disciplines (Tranfield et al., 2003; Mora et al., 2017; Wilhelm and Ruhlandt, 2018). Research on the sharing city is not only fragmented and scattered, but also we lack both an overall view of how the sharing city has been approached in previous literature and a systematized understanding of the implementation of sharing city projects. With these in mind we have formulated the following research questions in this SLR:

- What disciplines have studied the sharing city and what perspective has been adopted in each?
- What objectives of the sharing city have been examined in previous research?
- What actors participate in sharing city projects in previous literature? To what extent are sharing city projects the result of top-down, bottom-up or mixed approaches according to previous literature?
- What social practices have been linked to the implementation of sharing city projects in previous literature?

Table 1 explains the broader theoretical gaps identified, the specific research questions formulated and the added value of this literature review. In this manuscript we aim to provide more clarity on the sharing city concept and its implementation by shedding light to different aspects related to its theorization and implementation.

Also, similar to other SLR, we provide an overview of previous literature in this field by exploring how the literature on the sharing city has evolved over the years (e.g. total number of papers, main journals/outlets for publication, predominance of empirical versus conceptual papers and qualitative versus quantitative studies, types of data recollection, etc.).

To answer these research questions, we reviewed the scientific production from 1992 to 2019 in the Web of Science from Thomson Reuters (WOS) and Scopus from Elsevier databases that met certain criteria established by the authors (for further details see Methodology). The following section presents the emergence and conceptualization of the sharing city label. The methodology section presents the research design adopted for this systematic literature review. Next, the findings of the analysis of the articles are presented in line with the different research questions formulated. A discussion follows and implications for practitioners and academics. Finally, research gaps and future lines of study are identified at the end of the review.

2. The sharing city as a new city label

The sharing city encompasses technological, human and economic aspects. As such, its definition has been built on various and diverse conceptual blocks. First, one of its main frames of reference is the sharing paradigm and the sharing economy (Bernardi and Diamantini, 2018; Labaeye, 2019; McLaren and Agyeman, 2015). According to Bernardi and Diamantini (2018, p. 31), the sharing city concept "... denotes a merging of the sharing economy with urban development", whereas Vith et al. (2019, p. 1023) have approached the sharing city as the "locus of action and central actor in the debates over the nature and organization of the sharing economy". Some authors such as Fuster (2018) and Nikitina et al. (2020) highlight the importance and the role of peer-to-peer economic technology platforms in the development of the sharing city as a new way of creating offline and online communities that enable

Table 1
Defining the Research Questions and the added value of the SLR.

Theoretical gaps	Research questions	Added value
We lack an overall review of how the sharing city has been approached in previous literature.	What disciplines have studied the sharing city and what perspective has been adopted in each?	To provide a more holistic understanding of the sharing city concept given that previous literature is highly fragmented. Such approach paves the path for future multidisciplinary work.
We lack a systematized understanding regarding the implementation of sharing city projects in previous literature.	What objectives of the sharing city have been examined in previous research?	To understand the priorities set in previous research and to evaluate the potential of sharing city projects for the society.
	What actors participate in sharing city projects in previous literature? To what extent are sharing city projects the result of top-down, bottom-up or mixed approaches according to previous literature?	To examine the sharing city as a multi-actor project which requires collaboration and the establishment of networks in the city.
	What social practices have been linked to the implementation of sharing city projects in previous literature?	To fully understand what social practices have been linked to sharing in the city.

various types of sharing (sharing equipment, space, energy, infrastructures, objects etc.). However, other authors such as Sánchez-Vergara et al. (2021) highlight that sharing cities such as Barcelona may be cautious or even hostile towards certain sharing economy platforms and question whether social innovation is truly generated.

Then, some definitions of the sharing city place more focus on sustainability (Cohen and Muñoz, 2016; Boyko et al., 2017) similar to other urban labels such as the smart city (Khan and Zaman, 2018; Snow et al., 2016). In this case, it is pointed out that cities can become more sustainable through sharing, e.g. carbon reduction, reuse of products etc. (Boyko et al., 2017), so the sharing city needs to enable sharing in the path of transformation towards sustainable development.

But, to further differentiate the sharing city from other city labels, other authors emphasize its human centric focus (Bernardi and Diamantini, 2018; McLaren and Agyeman, 2015). For Chan and Zhang (2021), the sharing city is place based, and its configuration regulates practices, behaviours and strategies linked to space as promoters of relationships between communities. The idea of the sharing city goes beyond commercial aspects (which are often the focus of the sharing economy) and emphasizes social aspects. According to McLaren and Agyeman (2017, p. 23), the concept of the sharing city "... must go beyond the 'sharing economy', and explores approaches that are more cultural than commercial, more political than economic, and that are rooted in a broad understanding of the city as a "co-created urban commons". The commons approach is also characterized by solidarity and "commoning" (Chan, 2019, p. 152). Hence, the concept of the sharing city focuses, to a great extent, on how people in the city interact with each other in order to share resources, spaces, experiences etc. (Bernardi and Diamantini, 2018). Furthermore, it seeks to involve everyone in the city and to allow for the emergence of networks that not only fight against social isolation but also reduce social inequalities (McLaren and Agyeman, 2017). Overall, the sharing city discourse has been framed in a context of togetherness and socio-spatial justice (Jarvis, 2019; McLaren and Agyeman, 2015).

For other authors (Bakıcı et al., 2013; Camboim et al., 2019; Capdevila and Zarlenga, 2015; Snow et al., 2016), community empowerment is one of the strongest points of this notion of the city. Different authors believe that the sharing city cannot exist without citizen involvement (Caramaschi, 2017; Khan and Zaman, 2018). The ideas of consensus and participation of local actors are emphasized and it is highlighted that the sharing city can only be co-created (Khan and Zaman 2018). In the sharing city, the inclusion of the experiences of those who inhabit it is an essential part of its representation and the communities are the strength necessary for achieving the desired city. As Franqueira (2010) puts it, the

sharing city becomes a "social laboratory" where citizens, companies, governments and other institutions can collaborate together to achieve common goals for the city.

Our understanding of the sharing city is that of an ambitious project that aims to improve the city in various fields, e.g. unsustainable overconsumption, social isolation, spatial inequalities, scarcity of resources and spaces, environmental degradation, limited citizen involvement etc. (McLaren and Agyeman, 2015; Sharp, 2020; Voytenko et al., 2021). The sharing city is supposed to achieve the following goals which further justifies its momentum and attractiveness for administration and other social actors: i) the revival of the community in the city, ii) citizen empowerment, iii) solidarity and social justice, iv) sustainability and efficiency, v) social innovation through new economic arrangements. Moreover, the sharing city invites for the collaboration of different social actors to achieve the sharing city goals, i.e. the sharing city is co-created. While all these principles are important, the first three truly differentiate the sharing city from other city labels and projects.

However, it is also worth mentioning that the implementation of sharing city projects is highly "context-specific" (McLaren and Agyeman, 2015). The sharing city does not follow a rigid and predetermined pattern and it is affected by local culture in terms of not only what is being shared but also in terms of what actors are involved in the project (Shareable, 2018). For instance, in Copenhagen or Amsterdam the cycling culture is essential for local culture so bike sharing schemes fostered by the city hall are central for urban mobility (Gössling, 2013). But in a city like Berlin, communities and non-public organizations have much more importance as they lead sharing initiatives e.g. food sharing networks (see *food-sharing.de*). In other cases, companies are actively involved and benefit from sharing initiatives like the case of Sydney where collaborative platforms are used by city residents to increase the visibility of local shops (see *The Sharing Map Sydney*).

3. Methodology

To examine the academic literature on the "sharing city", we applied the systematic literature review (SLR) method, which has already been used in various studies on the sharing economy (Arcidiacono et al., 2018; Dillahunt et al., 2017; Jin et al., 2018; Ryu et al., 2019; ter Huurne et al., 2017). This work has employed the SLR method for two reasons. Although we acknowledge that previous work has included reviews of the sharing city concept (e.g. Vith et al., 2019), no systematic literature review has been conducted previously in the field of the sharing city. Literature in this field is scattered across disciplines and SLR are particularly useful in this sense (see Mora et al., 2017). The second motive is because through a SLR a more objective review can be done when compared

to “traditional” literature reviews (see Williams et al., 2020). In traditional literature reviews the criteria on how to establish the inclusion/exclusion of papers is not clearly defined. This leads to a subjective selection of articles early on in the identification process of documents. Instead, as suggested by other authors that have conducted SLR, this methodology provides a transparent and reproducible selection process and analysis on a specific topic (Cook et al., 1997; Davis et al., 1995; Merli et al., 2018; Moustaghfir 2008; Williams et al., 2020). So, this is the first SLR for the specific study of “sharing cities” and “collaborative cities”.

One of the advantages of SLR is that they document all procedures carried out so they can be replicated by other researchers using previously planned methods (Cook et al., 1997; Ginieis et al., 2012). Results of multiple primary studies are synthesized with strategies that limit bias and random error (Cook et al., 1995). These strategies include an exhaustive search of all potentially relevant articles and the use of explicit and reproducible criteria in the selection of documents for review. Furthermore, different authors (Cook et al., 1997; Merli et al., 2018; Williams et al., 2020) argue for the usefulness of SLR, because this methodology provides a transparent and reproducible selection process and analysis on a specific topic and can help reducing the subjectivity bias that exists on the part of the researcher in collecting the information. We implemented the guidelines proposed by Mara et al. (2020), Moustaghfir (2008), Okwir et al. (2018) and Tranfield et al. (2003). In Fig. 1 we present the five steps followed to carry out the SLR, which are detailed in the following sections.

Step 1. To apply the SLR method, first keywords need to be defined for the search. Tranfield et al. (2003) suggest that more than one researcher needs to participate in the decisions related to the selection of keywords and their combinations should generate effective search strings. In this case, all authors participated in these decisions. Regarding the keyword selection, initially, the literature review begun with the keywords “sharing city” and “sharing cities”, which allowed us to identify 429 papers. To extend the number of papers, we went through them and observed that authors used a greater variety of keywords to refer to “sharing city/ies”. So, more

keywords were added, in concrete “share city”, “share cities”, “shareable city” and “shareable cities”. Also, we noticed that the keywords “collaborative city” and “collaborative cities” were repetitively found especially in early works so these were also incorporated as keywords. Finally, in recent years the term of “urban sharing” has emerged, which holds relevance with research in the field of “sharing city/ies”, so it was also incorporated as keyword for this SLR. In total, 9 keywords were finally employed. As a result, the keywords employed were the following:

1. “sharing city” OR “sharing cities”
2. “shareable city” OR “shareable cities”
3. “share city” OR “share cities”
4. “collaborative city” OR “collaborative cities”
5. “urban sharing”

We performed the search in the Web of Science (WOS) database of Thomson Reuters and Scopus from Elsevier. We should mention that when searching in WOS, the option of “All Databases” was selected. This means that the search was carried out at the same time in various databases (Web of Science Core Collection; MEDLINE; SciELO Citation Index; Current Contents Connect; Derwent Innovations Index; KCI-Korean Journal Database and Russian Science Citation Index). These databases provide a wide coverage of areas within this discipline and offer different search, navigation and filtering options (Ginieis et al., 2012; López-Illescas et al., 2008; Okwir et al., 2018).

The initial search was performed searching for the 9 keywords in the entire text (ALL), both in WOS (“Topic”) and Scopus (“All fields”), to ensure that we compiled all the publications that contained any of the previously selected keywords in the text. Fig. 1 shows that 661 results were finally produced, which were further filtered in the subsequent stages by applying the exclusion criteria established by the research protocol (Jones and Gatrell, 2014).

Step 2. Duplicate publications were eliminated and 634 publications were obtained until 2019 (Table 2). We also realised that this concept is relatively new in the academic literature as the first

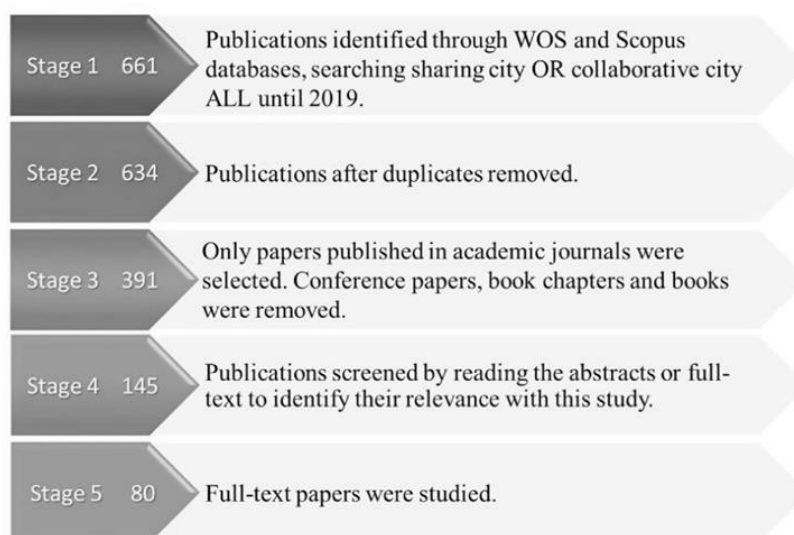


Fig. 1. Flow diagram of the article selection process.

studies that study specifically “sharing cities” begun in 2003. In Table 2 we observe that until 2009, only 43 articles had been published. Then, during the period 2010–2015, on average, approximately 14 documents related to sharing cities or collaborative cities were published annually. Likewise, it is necessary to note that in the last four years (2016, 2017, 2018 and 2019) 48, 96, 146 and 214 studies have been published respectively. This evidences the growing importance that this topic has acquired in academic research. Table 2 shows the number of publications in chronological order.

In Table 2 we can see, as already mentioned, that until 2010 the keywords “collaborative city” or “collaborative cities” were much more used (38 documents) when compared to the keywords “sharing city” or “sharing cities” (19 documents). Also, the keyword “urban sharing”, even if it is not yet a widely used keyword, it is becoming more relevant and used by recently published papers in the last three years (2017–2019, 18 papers found).

In addition, it is observed in Fig. 2, that the publications until 2009 represent 7% and that, since 2017, the publications have increased considerably from 15% (2017), 23% (2018) to 34% (2019). This is one of the fundamental reasons why this study adopted an SLR approach.

Step 3. The publications were further filtered to include only peer-reviewed journal articles until 2019, which further reduced the number to 391 papers from journals indexed in the WOS and Scopus databases. Sharing cities have also been the subject of theoretical and methodological reflection in other sources, such as reports (Davidson and Infranca, 2016; Viable Cities, 2017; World Economic Forum, 2017), conference papers and book reviews (Berg, 2017; Martin, 2018; McBride, 2016), as well as books, such as those published by Shareable (2018) and by Fuster (2018). Shareable (2018) records successful initiatives that have been developed around the world, organized into categories such as finances, food, mobility, work, land, waste, etc. Fuster (2018) studied the collaborative platforms and management models in Europe and especially in Spain. However, only articles that have gone through a double review process were included in this literature review.

Table 3 shows the number of publications per journal in those journals that have published most about sharing cities. It is observed that the journal that has published the most articles in the field is the Journal of Cleaner Production with 33 papers. Following this are the journals Sustainability (25 articles), Technological Forecasting and Social Change (10 articles), Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions, Geoforum and International Journal of Sustainable Energy Planning and Management with 7 articles each (Table 3).

Step 4. The articles were selected after reading the title and the abstract to identify the aspects related to the implementation of sharing cities and their different social and urban practices. When the abstract was not clear enough, the entire article was read in order to assess its relevance and fit to the scope of the study. In concrete, we checked the research objectives, the relevance of the findings and the context of study of these papers. A total of 145

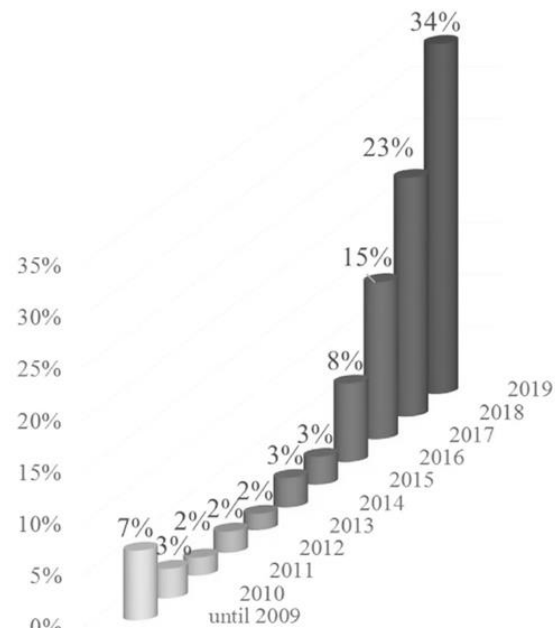


Fig. 2. Evolution of publications on sharing city until 2019.

articles resulted from this process. Similar steps have been followed in other SLR (Bonatto et al., 2015; Mara et al., 2020; Tasca et al., 2010).

Step 5. In the last stage, the information collected was synthesized and we evaluated its inclusion or exclusion according to the objectives established in our study. A final sample of 80 articles resulted from this analysis (Table 8 in Appendix). The following inclusion and exclusion criteria were adopted:

3.1. Criteria for including articles

- Academic papers that had gone through a double review process.
- Empirical and conceptual papers that analysed implementation initiatives (*top down*, *bottom up*, mixed focus) and theoretical approaches to the sharing city.
- Papers that treat different social practices of sharing identified in groups and communities (e.g. street food, use of green space, public art, activism, etc.), which made it possible to analyse the human dynamics of sharing. The human dynamics of sharing refer to the interactions between the different actors of the sharing city, e.g. local government and companies, companies

Table 2
Keyword analysis and articles until 2019.

Keyword	until 2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total
sharing city/ies	15	4	6	8	4	10	13	34	71	108	152	425
collaborative city/ies	24	14	5	2	4	7	1	10	19	22	53	161
urban sharing	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	8	7	18
share city/ies	4	—	—	2	—	1	1	4	1	1	2	16
shareable city/ies	—	—	—	1	1	—	2	—	3	7	—	14
Total	43	18	11	13	10	18	17	48	96	146	214	634
%	7	3	2	2	2	3	3	8	15	23	34	100

Table 3
 Evolution of the number of publications in journals WOS and Scopus.

Journal	until 2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	Total
Journal of Cleaner Production	–	–	–	3	4	14	12	33
Sustainability	–	–	1	2	2	7	13	25
Technological Forecasting and Social Change	–	–	–	1	3	2	4	10
Environmental Innovation and Societal Transitions	–	–	–	–	6	1	–	7
Geoforum	–	–	1	–	1	1	4	7
International Journal of Sustainable Energy Planning and Management	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	7
Local Environment	–	–	–	–	1	2	2	5
Urban Policy and Research	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	5
IEEE Transactions on Intelligent Transportation Systems	–	2	2	–	–	–	–	4
Transportation	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	4
Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	3
Cities	1	–	–	–	–	2	–	3
Energies	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	3
Government Information Quarterly	–	1	–	–	–	1	1	3
IEEE Intelligent Transportation Systems Magazine	–	–	1	1	–	1	–	3
International Journal of Sustainable Development and Planning	–	–	–	–	2	1	–	3
Journal of Business Ethics	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	3
Journal of Developing Societies	1	–	–	–	1	1	–	3
Others journals	38	8	3	25	40	56	90	260
Total	40	11	8	32	63	94	143	391
%	10	3	2	8	16	24	37	100

and citizens, local government and citizens, communities of citizens and so on. These practices are periodical and involve different everyday activities (Barabási, 2005). According to Cellucci and Di Sivo (2017, p. 391) citizens, in particular “can participate in a multidisciplinary network to implement a collective creation process, changing the space they live in to adapt it to their needs”, which emphasizes how these actors can produce and transform the city.

3.2. Criteria for excluding articles

- Sources such as books, conference papers, book chapters and interviews were excluded.
- Papers where social practices related to initiatives and the overall project of the sharing city is not identified/discussed/ studied.
- Papers that do not mention at all the sharing city or collaborative city within the paper although it is included as a keyword (e.g. papers that focus instead on the hackable city or on the technocentricity of smart cities, etc.).
- Papers that mainly focus on how sharing platforms work from a technical perspective (e.g. analysis of ridesharing platforms in Asia, P2P economic networks, sharing platforms related to Green entrepreneurship, etc.) but there is no reference to the human dynamics of sharing. Articles from computer science and systems engineering were not included.

4. Findings

In this section we present the results of this review. In the first part we carry out a descriptive analysis of the literature in this field in terms of the types of studies, the methodologies and research techniques employed, the scope of previous research, research subjects etc. Then, we have structured this section according to the research questions set. First, we discuss the sharing social practices across different contexts and outline what is being shared in the city in previous literature. Second, we link previous literature with the objectives of the sharing city. Third, we discuss the implementation approaches of the sharing city by categorizing them in top-down, bottom-up and mixed approaches. Fourth, we explain what disciplines have principally dealt with the sharing city. We

highlight how heterogeneous previous research is and that the sharing city label is interpreted in different forms, depending on the disciplines that have studied it and the implementation strategies, either empirically employed or only suggested in theory.

4.1. Organizing the literature on the sharing city

Following the inclusion criteria described above (Step 5), the 80 articles analysed were classified according to the different types of study (e.g. literature review, empirical, case study, prototype, etc.), methodologies and research techniques used, as well as the types of approaches used (top down, bottom up or mixed, see 4.2). This indicates how the authors approached the idea of the sharing city, and the actors who have participated in its implementation (see Table 2). During the first decade, publications were based on the transforming power of communities (Collins, 2004; Dodge, 2009; Franqueira, 2010; Pastor Jr. et al., 2003; Vestbro and Horelli 2012) and how innovation could shape social changes (Cohen et al., 2016).

Since 2017, the number of publications in the sharing city field has significantly increased, especially analyses of consumer practices with a socio-economic and environmental viewpoint. For example, Agyeman et al. (2016) studied environmental justice and sustainability of everyday practices and activism, focusing on food, energy movements, and energy and climate justice. Barnes and Mattson (2016) analysed the drivers and inhibitors of collaborative consumption, while Cohen and Muñoz (2016) evaluated different types of sharing activities in the city (food, goods, mobility, spaces, etc.) and how they contribute to a transformation of the economy. Topics such as urban design and management have also been documented (Cohen and Muñoz, 2016; Forlano, 2016; Mateo-Babiano et al., 2016; Morandi et al., 2016).

Empirical studies (43 papers) are aimed at understanding the reality and varied meanings of the phenomenon predominate in the literature (Creswell, 2009). The data obtained indicate that the conceptual basis of the sharing city originates in the implementation, that is, starting from the development and dynamics in each of the cities or experimental places (Bernardi and Diamantini, 2018; Boyko et al., 2017; Cohen et al., 2016; Hamaala, 2015; Jarvis, 2019; Khan and Zaman, 2018; Labaeye, 2019; Morandi et al., 2016; Sharp, 2018). Fig. 3 shows the empirical studies on the implementation of the sharing city, as well as those studies that seek to theoretically clarify the emerging and multifocal nature of this concept. While

social practices are related to implementation, the study of sharing narratives is associated with a theoretical reflection on the meanings of the sharing city and how it has been constructed by different actors. Other studies show the mixed approach through the interaction between the two perspectives.

Qualitative studies predominated in the scientific production, representing 76% of the research carried out, followed by quantitative methods (15%), and finally mixed methods (9%). In order of use, content analysis, interviews, and observation were the most widely used techniques. Likewise, in many studies the data collection methods were mixed, e.g. combined interviews and observations or vignette surveys, among others (e.g. Bernardi, 2018; Bernardi and Diamantini, 2018; Edwards and Davies, 2018; Hult and Bradley, 2017; Lan et al., 2017; Ma et al., 2018; Richardson, 2015; Rossitto and Lampinen, 2018; Zvoloska et al., 2019a). Qualitative content analysis techniques are the most used in the different research studies. In general, diverse approaches have been used to explore the concept of the sharing city, and interpretive tools have been used to go deeper into its meanings. This provides a broad approach to the study object, and facilitates various readings, especially symbolic readings (Krippendorff, 1997). Some examples would be the works elaborated by Longhurst et al. (2016), Brown and Vergragt (2016) and Caramaschi (2017) to study positive changes and dynamics in the community; or the framing analyses proposed by Sharp (2018) and Stabrowski (2017) based on media content.

The results of this research show that stakeholder participation reinforces the social construction of the discourse of sharing cities. The research subjects explored in articles were users and residents (25 articles), organizations (e.g. Ashoka, Shareable, Global Eco-village Network, OuisShare, Foodsharing.de, The Food Project Boston, Lande), governments (19 papers), and experts (1 article - Barnes and Mattson, 2016). Eight articles refer to the study of digital platforms, and the effects and consequences of Airbnb have been the most analysed (Ferrerri and Sanyal, 2018; Gurran et al., 2018; Sharp, 2018; Stabrowski, 2017). There are also community-based projects, such as foodsharing.de (Morrow, 2019), Share Sydney's Map (Santala and McGuirk, 2019), and Community Engagement Playbook (Le Dantec, 2017).

4.2. Sharing practices in the sharing city

According to Reckwitz (2002, p. 249) social practices are a "routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge". Furthermore "... a practice represents a pattern which can be filled out by a multitude of single and often unique actions reproducing the practice" (p. 250). In the sharing literature these practices follow a social logic and are guided by symbolic values such as mutuality, openness, empathy and an ethic of care (John, 2013). However, according to Chan and Zhang (2021) sharing practices in the city have been often appropriated by the sharing economy.

Our results show that sharing practices in the sharing city literature take place in different areas; food, mobility, objects, governance, spaces and ideas (see Table 4). Spaces refer to shared spaces, and include the shared use of public and private space in the city such as coworking spaces, hackerspaces, fablabs and cohousing (Chan and Zhang, 2021; Lehari, 2018; Morandi et al., 2016; Rossitto and Lampinen, 2016; Vestbro and Horelli, 2012). Another example would be Finnish public school spaces that are open as sports and music clubs in the evenings, so that the schools have another use at night (see Harmaala, 2015). Regarding food, the literature mainly focuses on projects of community gardening, practices regarding cooking, eating and redistribution of surplus food, make use of waste food etc. (Caramaschi, 2017; Davies and Evans, 2019; Davies et al., 2017a; Davies et al., 2017b; Edward and Davies, 2018; Jehlička and Daněk, 2017; Loh and Agyeman, 2019; Miralles et al., 2017; Morrow, 2019; Scharf et al., 2019). The articles on mobility emphasize bike sharing (Birdsall, 2014; Lan et al., 2017; Ma et al., 2018; Mateo-Babiano et al., 2016; Mugion et al., 2018; Nikitas, 2018; Yuana et al., 2019) and car-sharing (Dowling et al., 2018; Joo, 2017; Mugion et al., 2018; Winslow and Mont, 2019). Sharing of objects varies from book and tool libraries where the property of the objects shared does not belong to any particular individual to residents swapping their clothes, household items, etc. Regarding city governance, it refers to encouraging and coordinating different stakeholders to achieve and co-create the sharing city, being one of

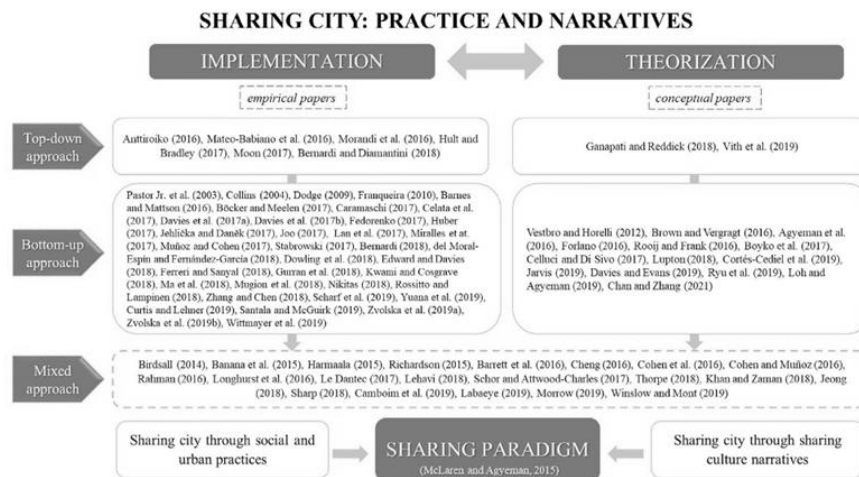


Fig. 3. Sharing city: Practice and narratives.

Table 4
 What is being shared in the city?

Typology	Category
Food	Food sharing systems, urban gardening etc. e.g. food desert transformation (Caramaschi, 2017).
Mobility	Bike sharing, e.g. Divvy Bike-sharing program, Chicago (Birdsall, 2014). Car sharing, e.g. GoGet, Sydney (Dowling et al., 2018).
Objects	Books, e.g. Lancaster County Council; Clothes, e.g. Clothes swap; household items, e.g. borrowclub, (Boyko et al., 2017).
Spaces	Tools, e.g. Tool pool supported by Malmö Municipality (Zvolska et al., 2019a). Coworking, e.g. the case of WeWork (Lehavi, 2018). Makerspace, e.g. STPLN, Malmö (Hult and Bradley, 2017). Fab labs, e.g. Fab labs in Milan (Morandi et al., 2016). Cohousing, e.g. Scandinavian cases (Vestbro and Horelli, 2012). Public space e.g. urban changes produced by international students, Auckland city (Collins, 2004)
City Co-Governance	Establishing mechanisms of collective decision making in the city, e.g. mechanism of sociocracy in decision taking in ecovillages (Wittmayer et al., 2019). Creation of structures and networks for co-governance, e.g. Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice (Dodge, 2009).
Ideas and knowledge	Co-created policy making in specific fields led by local governments, e.g. launch of "Sharing City, Seoul" (Bernardi and Diamantini, 2018). Co-production in local communities, e.g. Share Map, Sydney (Santala and McGuirk, 2019). Discussions and exchange of ideas among actors regarding urban sharing, e.g. co-design workshops in the UK to identify the current state of sharing and how to promote it to enhance sustainability (Boyko et al., 2017).

its most essential elements. This involves policy making (Morandi et al., 2016; Barrett et al., 2016; Barnes and Mattson, 2016; Muñoz and Cohen, 2017; Bernardi and Diamantini, 2018), creation of structures and networks for co-governance (Dodge, 2009; Banana et al., 2015; Cohen et al., 2016; Cohen and Muñoz, 2016; Bernardi, 2018; Jeong, 2018) or even different stakeholders defining specific norms and procedures about how decision making should take place in the city (Rahman, 2016; Ferreri and Sanyal, 2018; Gurrán et al., 2018). Finally, sharing of ideas and knowledge among different actors also takes place in the city through workshops, competitions, public hearings etc. (Bernardi and Diamantini, 2018) either to define broader issues such as what sharing is, the type of sharing that takes place in the city and how to encourage it in order to construct the sharing city or in order to produce specific outcomes such as the *Share Map* in Sydney (Santala and McGuirk, 2019). The two latter categories of sharing practices, city co-governance, ideas and knowledge emphasize a very important aspect of the sharing city projects, that of citizen empowerment and active participation in city matters.

Table 4 shows that sharing practices in the sharing city involve tangible objects (e.g. spaces, objects, food, etc.) or intangibles like ideas and knowledge (Katrini, 2018; McLaren and Agyeman, 2015; 2017; Ryu et al., 2019). Certainly, such distinction may be diffuse since for instance in urban gardening and fab labs spaces and objects may be shared, but also knowledge and ideas can be shared as well. A good example of intangible sharing would be the case of *The Friendship Center* in Lancaster (UK) where socially isolated elders can interact and share time, knowledge and hobbies with others (Boyko et al., 2017).

Some of these areas, e.g. mobility, books, food and spaces, have been studied in the sharing economy literature (for instance Miralles et al., 2017). But, a difference between the sharing city and the sharing economy is that in the sharing economy we talk about social practices that take place among users (providers or consumers), while in the sharing city we talk about citizens. In the sharing city, more actors are involved (beyond those participating in the exchange), particularly the government emerges as an actor of great importance as our findings show. Furthermore, the sharing city is, and needs to be, the result of collaboration among different stakeholders. That is why sharing the governance of the city is essential in the sharing city. As Sharp (2020, p. 263) highlights, "sharing cities are a new urban imaginary of the sharing economy grounded in grassroots innovation, municipal provisioning of sharing infrastructure (...) encourage urban experimentation that brings civil society, local government and market actors together to

co-produce and co-govern the city as commons".

4.3. The objectives of the sharing city

As previously mentioned, the sharing city aims to achieve various objectives that could be beneficial for the city and involved actors. In Table 5 we include the following five objectives of the sharing city: the revival of the community in the city, fostering citizen empowerment, reducing inequalities in the city, creating a sustainable city and generating social innovation through new economic arrangements in the city. For the achievement of these broad and ambitious goals, different actors such as governments, companies and producers, but above all, individuals and communities need to be brought together (Zhang and Chen, 2018).

In some cases, there is one predominant objective discussed in a study, for instance how to create a more sustainable city through the use of public transport (Mugion et al., 2018) or urban food systems (Scharf et al., 2019). But in most cases, different objectives are set at the same time. For example, Jehlička and Daněk (2017) discuss both the economic and environmental significance of home grown shared food in an urban setting. Also, sharing cities could both foster relationships among different actors and encourage the emergence of alternative food systems (Caramaschi, 2017; Davies et al., 2017a; Davies et al., 2017b; Edwards and Davies, 2018; Miralles et al., 2017). Then, coworking spaces such as the self-organizing network *Hoffice* (Rossitto and Lampinen 2018) can be examples of both community creation and social innovation through new types of production and work. The authors explain how such models encourage trust and openness on one hand and participatory efforts to facilitate individual work on the other by placing emphasis both on new technologies, work flexibility and togetherness. Similarly, Cohen and Muñoz (2016) point out that coworking spaces allow for professional and social interaction, while representing an opportunity for economic development and investment. Using the case of the *Urban Station*, the authors point out that coworking spaces also alleviate congestion in cities. Furthermore, Akhavan et al. (2019) further explain how a sharing initiative such as coworking spaces can have an explicit impact on the city through the emergence of social streets and the revitalization of public space.

Besides the human centric focus of the sharing city, another objective that differentiates the sharing city from other city projects and labels is that of citizen empowerment and participation (Bernardi and Diamantini, 2018). This is emphasized in the implementation of different city projects like the one in Seoul where the

Table 5
 Linking reviewed studies with the objectives of sharing cities.

Objectives	How they translate in previous literature	Examples of studies where these objectives are discussed/promoted
Objective 1: The revival of the community in the city	Social engagement and trust. Urban transformation to facilitate the emergence of communities.	Celata et al., 2016; Morrow (2019); Rossito and Lampinen (2018); Schor and Attwood (2017); Thorpe (2018). Banana et al. (2015); Celluci and Di Sivo (2017); Collins (2004); Lehavi (2018); Loh and Agyeman (2019); Santala and McGuirk (2019), Sharp (2018).
Objective 2: Fostering Citizen Empowerment	Community-based efforts. Social movements and co-creation. Promoting a cultural shift in the city to include the citizen in matters related to the city. Theoretical papers that define the sharing city prioritizing the role of citizens and the importance of empowering them. Creating platforms and other structures where citizens can participate in city matters.	Banana et al. (2015); Pastor Jr. et al. (2003); Santala and McGuirk (2019). Agyeman et al. (2016); Dowling et al. (2018); Rooij and Frank (2016); Wittmayer et al. (2019). Barnes and Mattson (2016); Böcker and Meelen (2017); Brown and Vergragt (2016); Jeong (2018); Longhurst et al. (2016). Cheng (2016); Jarvis (2019); Jeong (2018); Khan and Zaman (2018); Ryu et al. (2019).
Objective 3: Reducing inequalities in the city	Social justice and equality.	Anttiroiko (2016); Edward and Davies (2018); Ferreri and Sanyal (2018); Gurrán et al. (2018); Stabrowski (2017); Yuana et al. (2019). Caramaschi (2017); Hult and Bradley (2017); Morrow (2019).
Objective 4: Creating a sustainable city	Educating the citizen in adopting more sustainable habits. Governance strategies and sharing agendas in relation to sustainability. Sustainable urban design and other interventions.	Bernardi (2018); Boyko et al. (2017); Forlano (2016); Harmaala (2015); Hult and Bradley (2017); Le Dantec (2017); Lupton (2018). Barrett et al. (2016); Bernardi and Diamantini (2018); Curtis and Lehner (2019); Fedorenko (2017); Ganapati and Reddick (2018); Rahman (2016); Scharf et al. (2019); Vith et al. (2019). Birdsall (2014); Kwami and Cosgrave (2018); Mateo-Babiano et al. (2016); Morandi et al. (2016); Zhang and Chen (2018).
Objective 5: Generating Social Innovation through new economic arrangements in the city	Urban entrepreneurship in relation to sharing. Collaborative consumption practices. Places as social and economic connectors. Measuring service quality of sharing initiatives in the city. Sharing Business Models.	Cohen et al. (2016); del Moral and Fernández (2018); Labaeye (2019); Wittmayer et al. (2019); Zvolška et al. (2019a), 2019b. Cheng (2016); Huber (2017); Davies et al. (2017a); Davies et al. (2017b); Davies and Evans (2019); Joo (2017); Richardson (2015). Caramaschi (2017); Chan and Zhang (2021); Cohen et al. (2016); Franqueira (2010). Camboim et al. (2019); Mugion et al. (2018). Lan et al. (2017); Muñoz and Cohen (2017).

master plan is “citizen –and people– oriented” (SMG, 2011) and plans by goals are established together with citizens (Bernardi and Diamantini 2018). The main idea is that of inclusivity and democracy since anyone in the city could and should participate in the governance of the city (Richardson 2015). This is also related to the third objective of reducing inequalities in the sharing city. The objective of social justice is often implicit in previous literature but it is present (McLaren and Agyeman, 2015). For instance, Morrow (2019) studies public fridges in Germany with the double objective of minimizing food waste and granting access to food for whomever needs it. Similarly, *Bike Kitchen* is a DIY workshop where anyone can ask for help to repair bicycles, and loan tools and spare parts, all for free (Hult and Bradley 2017). The initiatives of New York City Green Carts, Get Healthy Philly, Stockbox Grocers, Food Share described in Caramaschi (2017) also aim to revitalize low-income neighbourhoods.

In any case, a common ground among all these objectives is their linkage to the concept of co-creation, from shared housing (Chan and Zhang, 2021), coworking spaces (Lehavi, 2018; Morandi et al., 2016), hackerspaces (Chan and Zhang, 2021) and community gardens (Cohen and Muñoz, 2016; Scharf et al., 2019) to policy making (Santala and McGuirk 2019; Bernardi and Diamantini 2018). Citizens of sharing cities carry out a series of co-creation practices in the aforementioned spaces, giving them meaning and certain symbolic qualities, metaphors and feelings (Blokland, 2017; John, 2017). Vestbro and Horelli (2012) indicate that cohousing is a revival of past models of community, and that its aim continues to be collaboration between residents. To achieve this, it is essential to pay attention to design factors, as well as spatial quality, access and interior communication.

In general, the sharing city is presented as an urban project that

can have a positive impact upon the city and previous literature narrates it in positive terms in relation to the five objectives defined here.

4.4. Implementation approaches of the sharing city label: top-down, bottom-up and hybrid approaches

In terms of management of the sharing city, initiatives can be proposed and executed in various ways. When the initiative is designed and implemented by the public administration, we are referring to a top-down approach (Capdevila and Zarlenga, 2015). Other types of initiatives originated by communities, companies and civil society, are characterized as bottom-up approaches (Capdevila and Zarlenga, 2015; Forlano, 2016; Harmaala, 2015). We can also find mixed approaches, because as Capdevila and Zarlenga (2015, p. 266) state “top-down and bottom-up initiatives are not opposed forces but, on the contrary, can have a synergistic effect on the innovation capacity of the city”.

In these works, they explore the two-way force between dialogues and agreements between movements, independent organizations and institutional actors. A total of 21 of the articles in the literature (26,2%) are about the mixed approach (Barrett et al., 2016; Lehavi, 2018; 2018; Morrow, 2019). However, 51 papers are about the bottom-up approach, which shows that it is the predominant approach in the scientific literature (63,7%), and the aim is to study the role of communities and enterprises to rethink the urban (Caramaschi, 2017; Celata et al., 2017; Davies et al., 2017; Franqueira, 2010; Jarvis, 2019; Lan et al., 2017; Loh and Agyeman, 2019; Rossito and Lampinen, 2018). Furthermore, for Dodge (2009), the opinion of civil society is an important factor in decision-making in urban management processes. The study of the

Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice evidences that the actors use institutional channels to communicate and influence municipal administration, and negotiate it to mediate with the power. The study analysed coercive and non-coercive communication to bring environmental justice to the state of New Mexico (USA), using tools such as storytelling, testimonies and reports.

Organizations such as Sharing Cities Network tell stories about the sharing urban practices (Sharp, 2018, p. 1) and contribute to the dissemination of sharing values and urban activism (see www.shareable.net and #MapJam 3.0). Sharp (2018) highlights that sharing city discourses represent a form of social change and impact urban governance, but above all these narratives are an opportunity to promote urban transformation. McLaren and Agyeman (2015, p. 278) affirm that communication management is fundamental in the sharing paradigm, especially with regard to social capital, reputation and relationships. Although there are no specific studies on the role of brand building of sharing cities, relevant works such as Harmaala (2015), Khan and Zaman (2018) and Wittmayer et al. (2019) reveal the importance of using place branding tools in the perception of the sharing city.

The top-down approach has been the least studied in the literature. Even though the design of public policies and management strengthens the economic and social scope of the sharing city project (Bernardi, 2018; Birdsall, 2014; Gurran et al., 2018), only 11 articles (14%) study the role of the municipal administration within the sharing city (Bernardi, 2018; Ganapati and Reddick, 2018; Hult and Bradley, 2017; Mateo-Babiano et al., 2016). The most studied mixed approach case in the literature is Seoul (Bernardi and Diamantini, 2018; Fedorenko, 2017; Moon, 2017).

The top down approach is part of several institutional agendas. For example, Malmö (Sweden) is considered one of the most successful sharing city cases in Europe (see www.sharingcities.se). Hult and Bradley (2017) study how the local authorities promote the use of shared infrastructures through workshops and consultation with citizens. Two examples of this are STPLN, a multipurpose maker space, and Garaget, a place to hang out, have a coffee, borrow things and go to cultural events. Malmö seeks to promote a sharing society, in which environmental awareness and social justice are the basis for ethical behaviour by means of citizen communication.

4.5. Sharing city: a topic of interest across disciplines

The notion or label Sharing City has been studied in different academic disciplines. We have classified the articles according to the disciplines in which they have been published. It is not a matter of establishing exclusive categories, but rather of grouping the studies based on the area of knowledge from which they originate. Of the 80 articles that we have included in this review, more than half have been published in the management area (see Table 6), adopting focusses such as food consumption and production, innovation, business models etc. From urban planning, 17 articles have been published with perspectives such as mobility, public space, and space planning. The discipline that has a lower number of articles is architecture, with five articles, focused on design theory and methodology and social design.

Table 7 shows, within the final dataset of this SLR, what journals have published most research in the field of sharing cities and also indicates the category and the impact index they have in WOS and Scopus databases. In our dataset, the journals that have published most articles about this topic are: Journal of Cleaner Production and Sustainability with 7 articles, Geoforum with 6 publications; Urban Policy and Research with 3 documents; Development and Society, and Cambridge Journal of Regions with 2 papers each. As evidenced

in Table 7 the theoretical scope of the sharing city includes social, economic, environmental, political and urban aspects.

In the articles analysed in this review, the study field with the most contributions is management, identified in sectoral applications in environment, technology, tourism, public policy, business, food, etc. (Anttiroiko, 2016; Bernardi, 2018; Cheng, 2016; Celata et al., 2017; Mateo-Babiano et al., 2016; Miralles et al., 2017; Muñoz and Cohen, 2017). The topics are diverse, and mainly analyse the implementation of sharing initiatives, for instance in mobility and alternatives of shared transport—one of the topics of greater interest in existing literature—such as bike-sharing programs (e.g. Birdsall, 2014; Lan et al., 2017). Previous literature is concerned with quality evaluations and how such systems can contribute towards more sustainable mobility systems and cities (Mugion et al., 2018). The experience of sharing transport (cars, bikes, etc.) is not only a sustainable social practice but also could permit establishing human relations and its organization requires planning to ensure wellbeing (Dowling et al., 2018). Regarding the management of shared mobility schemes, not only the medium of transport is taken into consideration but also how to adjust platforms and sharing infrastructures to minimize traffic and optimize the use of vehicles. Another popular case in management is food-sharing. Social practices about this involve cooking, eating, access and distribution of food, and certainly, policies for a food sharing ecosystem (Davies and Evans, 2019). According to Caramaschi (2017, p. 744) “adding food to the core elements of the planning and design processes improves the liveability of our cities and will deliver a more sustainable city”. This is evidenced in studies like the one by Miralles et al. (2017) where alternative food networks in the city are studied to determine how resources are shared and where (e.g. community gardens), the level of social participation and the organization of the initiatives. These studies can be useful for policy-making and the development of new food ventures. In a similar vein, Edward and Davies (2019) explain how food—sharing takes place in Melbourne, through the mapping of initiatives and projects such as 3000 Acres (a space to grow vegetables), Open Table (spaces to reduce food waste and to encourage community interaction), Food Justice Truck (foodbank), RipeNear.Me (a startup that connects urban food production with consumers). These sharing practices not only aim for greater food security, but also to recover the city and the use of public spaces.

The literature on the sharing city in the field of management is broad. Governance is one of the topics studied. Bernardi and Diamantini (2018) have examined the cases of the sharing cities Seoul and Milan from a technological, economic and human dimension ensuring that a participatory and co-management focus among actors is necessary to foster urban sharing. In a similar line, Camboim et al. (2019) claim that city governance models need to be oriented towards a social innovation perspective to integrate technological, environmental and social activities. However, the scope of management research in this field is wide and include how to manage and implement sustainable infrastructures, community relations and technological development.

Design is also a key disciplinary area in sharing cities and their practices (Forlano, 2016; Franqueira, 2010; Le Dantec, 2017; Lupton, 2018; Zhang and Chen, 2018). Concepts such as social design, place-making and co-design rethink the collaborative use of space for sharing among governments, residents, entrepreneurs and tourists. The sharing city space is considered as a channel through which participation and creation are encouraged (Hoyne, 2015; Manzini, 2019). The physical space conditions the practices and initiatives that can be carried out, and conversely “... sharing practices are likely to affect urban spaces” (Chan and Zhang, 2021, p. 158.) An example of how transformations in urban space are linked to social practices is the example of *Peace of Land* (Berlin) (Scharf et al.,

Table 6
 Sharing city as a multidisciplinary topic.

Discipline	Perspective adopted	Focus	Sources
Management	Sharing Places in the sharing city	Co-working spaces: shared offices.	Lehavi (2018); Morandi et al. (2016); Rossitto and Lampinen, 2016.
		Co-housing spaces: shared households.	Huber, 2017; Chan and Zhang (2021); Lehavi (2018); Vestbro and Horelli (2012).
	Sharing Food in the sharing city	Structures and initiatives to access and share food.	Agyeman et al. (2016); Caramaschi (2017); Davies and Evans (2019); Davies et al. (2017a); Davies et al. (2017b); Edward and Davies (2018); Jehlička and Daněk (2017); Loh and Agyeman (2019); Miralles et al. (2017); Morrow (2019); Scharf et al. (2019); Cohen et al. (2016); Muñoz and Cohen (2017).
	Sharing Platforms Economy and the sharing city	Typologies of new Business Models of Sharing Platforms. The potential and criticisms of sharing platforms.	Anttiroiko et al. (2016); Barnes and Mattson (2016); Celata et al. (2017); Cheng (2016); Ferreri and Sanyal (2018); Ganapati and Reddick (2018); Rahman, 2016. Bernardi and Diamantini (2018); Böcker and Meelen (2017); del Moral-Espín and Fernández (2018); Fedorenko (2017); Moon (2017).
	Governance of sharing initiatives: the participation and collaboration between different actors in sharing city projects	Top-down governance: governments and public administration as the main actor. Public and private sector cooperation: strategic relationships and networks between private companies and public administration to foster urban sharing.	Banana et al. (2015); Barret et al. (2016); Bernardi (2018); Brown and Vergragt (2016); Cohen and Muñoz (2016); Cortés-Cediel et al. (2019); Dodge (2009); Camboim et al. (2019); Harmaala (2015); Pastor Jr. et al., 2003; Schor and Attwood-Charles (2017); Thorpe (2018); Vith et al. (2019).
	The sharing city from the consumer/user's perspective Branding of sharing city initiatives	Bottom-up governance: the civil society as the main actor. Motivations and preferences of different social actors to participate in the sharing city. Discourses and frames of interpretations used to brand and position sharing city projects.	Boyko et al. (2017); Jeong (2018); Zvolška et al. (2019a), 2019b. Jarvis (2019); Ryu et al., 2018; Santala and McGuirk (2019). Curtis and Lehner (2019); Jeong (2018); Khan and Zaman (2018); Labaeye (2019); Lehavi (2018); Longhurst et al. (2016); Richardson (2015); Sharp (2018); Stabrowski (2017); Wittmayer et al. (2019).
Architecture	Design Theory and Methodology	Differences of Shared Spaces: Explains the types of spaces that are shared, the particularities of each while categorizing them according to the use and relationships that occur within them (e.g. co-working space vs. hackerspace). Social design: Highlights aspects such as the designer's social role as the promoter of relationships in the shared environment and citizens' commitment in the production of shared spaces.	Chan and Zhang (2021). Franqueira (2010); Forlano (2016); Le Dantec (2017); Lupton (2018).
Urban planning	Mobility planning for sharing in the city and launch of sharing schemes for urban transport and city support for shared mobility infrastructures	Bike-sharing schemes. Car-sharing schemes.	Birdsall (2014); Mateo-Babiano et al. (2016); Lan et al. (2017); Ma et al. (2018); Nikitas (2018); Winslow and Molt (2019); Yuana et al. (2019). Joo (2017); Dowling et al. (2018); Mugion et al. (2018).
	Use of public space for sharing in the city	Transformation of public space for collective use.	Celluci and Di Sivo (2017); Collins (2004); Hult and Bradley (2017).
	Space planning for sharing in the city	Management and regulation of physical space from a sharing and urban co-creation perspective.	Curran et al. (2018); Kwami and Cosgrave (2018); Rooij and Frank (2016); Zhang and Chen (2018).

2019), a community gardens initiative managed by the actual community. Those interested implement their own projects, educational activities and permaculture. Here, both the established social practices and space design serve to promote knowledge and learning and are the main focus of the study. Birdsall (2014) studies another case, and explains that in Chicago, urban design has changed thanks to the bike-sharing boom, and the policies of the Chicago Transport Department to prioritize bicycle-friendly culture through street reforms and bicycle routes.

5. Discussion

More than often, the sharing city is described from a commons based approach (Caramaschi, 2017; Chan and Zhang, 2020; Khan and Zaman, 2018) that generates, sharing practices with routines, habits and rituals of collaboration among the city actors (Davies, 2019), although previous literature does not fully explore in what social practices the sharing city is articulated. So, in terms of the implementation of sharing city projects, in this review we have

analysed the literature on sharing cities in relation to the actors involved and their social practices and have highlighted the importance of the human dynamics of sharing. In the exploration, we identified four emerging points of scientific production: the diversity of the concept of sharing city, the importance of the concept of community, the relationship between space and the sharing economy and the future outlook.

5.1. Understanding the diversity of the sharing city

The sharing city concept is complex because it is a *suitable costume* to bring together a variety of initiatives and practices. In this sense, from the point of view of management, the sharing city can be associated, for example, with the platform economy (Jehlička and Daněk, 2017; Yuana et al., 2019); in architecture and urban design the sharing city could be a place where sharing activities take place (Chan and Zhang, 2021; Le Dantec, 2017) and where communication, innovation, creativity and social change are boosted (Bernardi and Diamantini, 2018; Harmaala, 2015).

Table 7
 Journals with most publications in our dataset.

Journal	WOS category	JIF 2019 Rank (WOS)	Scopus category	SJR 2019 Rank (Scopus)	Authors	No of publications
Journal of Cleaner Production	Science (Environmental Science; Engineering, Environmental; Green and Sustainable Science and Technology)	7.246	Environmental Science (General Environmental Science); Business, Management and Accounting (Strategy and Management); Engineering (Industrial and Manufacturing Engineering); Energy (Renewable Energy, Sustainability and the Environment)	1.886	Bernardi and Diamantini (2018); Brown and Vergragt (2016); Cohen and Muñoz (2016); Ma et al. (2018); Mugion et al. (2018); Yuana et al. (2019); Zvolaska et al. (2019a).	7
Sustainability	Social Science (Environmental Studies) and Science (Green and Sustainable Science and Technology and Environmental Science)	2.576	Social Sciences (Geography, Planning and Development); Environmental Science (Management, Monitoring, Policy and Law); Energy (Renewable Energy, Sustainability and the Environment)	0.581	Barrett et al. (2016); Caramaschi (2017); Curtis and Lehner (2019); Labaeye (2019); Lan et al. (2017); Scharf et al. (2019); Winslow and Molt (2019).	7
Geoforum	Social Sciences (Geography)	3.098	Social Sciences (Sociology and Political Science)	1.616	Davies and Evans (2019); Davies et al. (2017); Dowling et al. (2018); Loh and Agyeman (2019); Morrow (2019); Richardson (2015).	6
Urban Policy and Research	Social Science (Environmental Studies; Geography; Regional and Urban Planning; Urban Studies)	2.000	Social Sciences (Geography, Planning and Development; Urban Studies)	0.784	Edwards and Davies (2018); Gurran et al. (2018); Sharp (2018).	3
Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society Development and Society ^a	Social Science (Development Studies; Economics; Geography)	4.483	Social Sciences (Geography, Planning and Development; Sociology and Political Science); Economics, Econometrics and Finance (Economics and Econometrics)	2.217	Celata et al. (2017); Stabrowski (2017).	2
		—	Social Sciences (General Social Sciences)	0.145	Fedorenko (2017); Jeong (2018).	2

^a Continued as Journal of Asian Sociology since 2019.

The research on the sharing city is diverse and this can be seen in its orientation: 46% of the papers in this review combine profit and non-profit initiatives, 32% just profit and 22% just non-profit, but all of them insist on the importance of how sharing promotes social cohesion in the city. Ryu et al. (2019) point out that the literature on the sharing economy has focused predominantly on sharing practices with monetary compensations. In spite of the sharing city and the sharing economy being two interconnected fields, there seems to be more emphasis on the social aspect of sharing and community development.

However, in the area of management we identified 58 items that reduce the sharing city to different scales, focussed on, for example, coworking spaces, tourist accommodation, communal gardens and something more intangible and ephemeral such as an event that promotes urban sharing (e.g. The Melbourne ShareFest, 2014 – Sharp, 2018 or OuiShare Fest Paris, 2015 – Richardson, 2015), but not on the infrastructure or planning areas. From a management focus, the sharing city seems to be built through performances of the sharing economy. Our results indicate that management is the area with the largest number of articles, although there are other areas such as urban planning and architecture that also have various studies on the sharing city. We classified 17 articles in urban planning and 5 in architecture in this review. These articles deal with spaces for sharing on a larger scale (e.g. public spaces, buildings), and address areas such as mobility, the environment and urban regeneration, with a clear influence of social design on planning processes (Hoyne, 2018; LeDantec, 2018). Furthermore, according to Boyko et al. (2017, p. 14) “as many examples of sharing depend on physical space and assets, both urban planners and designers need to think more carefully about how to design new and existing developments and infrastructures -and the important spaces in between-to inspire sharing”.

In other words, the sharing city is interpreted through the lenses

of each discipline, and this means that there is no consensus on the theoretical definition of this concept. In this regard, the visions of each approach are isolated. Our study shows that the sharing city must be understood through different lenses, paying more attention to how different actors relate to each other in the city. As Davies (2019, p. 69) states, “the multifaceted and multifunctional nature of sharing (...) means that sharing initiatives frequently interact with a range of other organizations from public, private and civil society sectors”. It is necessary to identify the different stakeholders involved in the process. The literature has been mainly interested in studying communities (citizens, sharing initiatives, students, service users, entrepreneurs) and administrations (councils or local governments). According to Govers (2018, p. 68), “communities are constructed by government, private sector and civil society at large”. In addition, during the year 2019, conceptual articles increased by 46%, based on the relationship between various actors involved in sharing activities (Curtis and Lehner, 2019; Loh and Agyeman, 2019). However, other stakeholders, such as the media, social entrepreneurs, urban managers, as well as private companies (e.g. banks, industries), even when involved in sharing city projects, have not been explored. In addition, since the sharing city is a fundamentally social and economic proposal that addresses the urban, it requires interdisciplinary visions that allow its ideas to be defined more concretely, especially in its own theoretical terms.

5.2. The importance of the community concept

Santala and McGuirk (2019, p. 444) state that “sharing city is based on pragmatic, community-based solutions that are implemented to address common needs”. This notion is oriented towards a comprehensive vision of the community and the relationships that occur within it through exchanges (Labaeye, 2019; McLaren and

Agyeman, 2015), as well as ideologies, beliefs and values (Laamanen and Wahlen, 2019). For example, organizations like *Shareable*, *RIPESS* or *Ashoka* bring together a network of enthusiasts in sharing communities to promote alternatives for change from social entrepreneurship (Wittmayer et al., 2019). *Impact Hub* combines business incubators and coworking spaces to empower communities of social innovators (Longhurst et al., 2016). Others like *LetsPlayPlanet* (co-created local trips) or *Zipbob* (an online social dining platform) promote relationships between members to create a change in sustainable tourism (Bernardi, 2018). Therefore, the consolidation of the sharing city not only comes through greater social cohesion among citizens, but also the cohesion of their promoter networks.

5.3. The central role of space and its relationship with the sharing economy

First, the study and importance of space is central when we research the sharing city and its purpose. The final concept is the idea of exchange, mainly economic and social (Harmaala, 2015, p. 319), and it is conceived as a channel of collaboration (e.g. between users and platforms, or producers and consumers, etc.), in which interactions occur. For Kramvig (2019, p. xix) "a place can be described as a bounded geographic space, a multiple figure of materialities, politics and investments". For authors such as Collins (2004), Forlano (2016), Franqueira (2010) and Le Dantec (2017), the space for sharing exists and is modelled and transformed by individuals, and has a social base. Others like Boyko et al. (2018), Miralles et al. (2017), Zhang and Chen (2018) highlight its inscrutable relationship with the sharing economy, and this has helped to build their imaginary. Sharing "... needs to be thought of as a practice woven through, rather than separate from, the socio-material relations of the city" (Dowling et al., 2019, p. 16).

Secondly, the sharing city and sharing economy present similarities in terms of where sharing takes place and much of the sharing city literature is focused on the sharing economy. These two areas are theoretically linked (Harmaala, 2015). In the sharing economy, the urban space is an enabling environment for economic, social and environmental change (McLaren and Agyeman, 2017; Santala and McGuirk, 2019). In this sense, "cities are only getting started in understanding the sharing economy, what it means for their city, and what kind of policy can be used to support those services that lead to positive benefits while limiting negative externalities" (Cohen and Muñoz, 2016, p. 9). However, the sharing city notion focuses much more on the citizen and on the idea of community empowerment and co-governance. Furthermore, much of the critique about sharing economy platforms (e.g. Martin 2016) raises doubts regarding their positive social, environmental and economic impact on the city and their fit with the objectives of the sharing city, e.g. social justice and the gentrification phenomenon linked to sharing accommodation platforms.

6. Conclusions and implications

Studies on the sharing city show that it is in an experimental phase and in the process of being defined. It is a notion *adapted* to particular visions of what *should be*. Based on the results of this SLR, the sharing city is a term under construction that encompasses different interpretations and different implementations. How the sharing city is put into action depends on the urban context and its particularities but also by its promoters and their governance of the city project (Bernardi and Diamantini, 2018). For instance, the example of Seoul (Fedorenko, 2017; Moon, 2017) is narrated on different terms than the one of Malmö (Hult and Bradley, 2017) or Sydney (Santala and McGuirk, 2019).

A broader consensus is necessary for it to become a sustainable

and viable concept over time. The literature has documented a part of these processes, and alerts to the need for a theoretical framework for greater clarity and recognition (Chan and Zhang, 2021). Other cities have on their future agendas the resolution of economic, environmental and welfare challenges (Khan and Zaman, 2018), and these are also goals of the sharing city and its administration. In this order, urban identity and differentiation are aspects that this notion of city must explore with clear implications for policy makers. For example, viewing the sharing city as a desirable city brand has direct repercussions on future local government policies. For Khan and Zaman (2018, p. 223), "city branding notions and labels help to train the spot light on particular priority urban planning issues, offering ways to deal with them effectively". For example, the referent most quoted in the literature is Seoul (Bernardi, 2018; Bernardi and Diamantini, 2018; Fedorenko, 2017; Moon, 2017), seen as a viable model and organization of a sharing city, which not only benefits the positive reputation of the city, but also those who propose and promote it (e.g. government, private enterprises, social enterprises, etc.).

Our results can be of interest both to academics and practitioners. For academics, a more in-depth understanding of the sharing city is provided, gaps are identified and future research lines are suggested.

Moreover, in this SLR, we have evidenced that sharing in the city takes different forms and shapes. We agree with McLaren and Agyeman (2015, p. 322), in that sharing "... offers a new strategy and direction for cities". So, for local governments/policy makers the carried out study of the social practices related to the sharing city or the establishment of different objectives in relation to the sharing city can serve as a broader inspiration or as a guide for the implementation of sharing city projects in terms of urban development and transformation that serves the particular interests and necessities of each context.

Understanding the concept of the sharing city is crucial for policy makers who wish to define urban regeneration policies. We have found that the sharing city has rightfully attracted the interest of different disciplines and demands a multidisciplinary approach. In practical terms this means that cities that wish to embark upon sharing city projects need to assemble multidisciplinary teams. For instance, city design and infrastructures are important not only because they facilitate sharing practices but also because they enable the emergence of new ones (Chan and Zhang, 2020; 2021; Katrini, 2018). Furthermore, in this SLR we have established specific objectives in relation to the sharing city which allows seeing how it could fit with other city projects that local governments may wish to implement or have already implemented such as the smart city, the eco city, the resilient city, etc., especially since certain cities are interested in more than one city labels at the same time (de Jong et al., 2015). The goals of the sharing city, their monitoring and accomplishment carried out by local governments could be also used to evaluate their performance against broader Sustainable Development Goals (Winans et al., 2021). In addition, setting clear objectives in relation to the sharing city can be useful in the aforementioned branding of the city.

Finally, there are also managerial implications for firms who need to understand what sharing cities stand for, what purposes and goals they serve and what social practices they involve. Firms are another agent of the city who can attempt to achieve the sharing city's goals in collaboration with citizens, local governments and other institutions. Our findings suggest that sharing practices could take place along very diverse contexts, e.g. food, waste management and mobility, so firms can define what their impact and contribution (social and environmental) are to the sharing city project either through their main economic activity or through their CSR practices.

In practice, the “sharing city label” is aspirational, but it materializes in specific actions and transformations in the city. For example, recovering public spaces for co-production among city residents and urban leisure such as *Garaget* and *STPNL*, in Malmö (Hult and Bradley, 2017), or *Cycle Atlanta* (Le Dantec, 2017), a project of collaboration among cyclists and urban planners to improve mobility using existing routes, to revitalize city infrastructures and to optimize transport connections. In all these initiatives, there are different dimensions from urban development, city sustainable growth to the social aspects and the human dynamics of sharing.

Moreover, the effectiveness of a concept such as the sharing city should look critically towards the long term. Its scope and implications are in an experimental phase, so evaluating its urban and social impacts would be premature at this point. We believe that this work makes the following contributions: to understand how and who has studied the sharing city, to define it in terms of the social practices involved, to categorize the type of interventions carried out and to delineate its objectives and how it can positively impact on the city. Overall, exploring in depth the sharing city concept and what it may involve offers a fuller understanding and a basis for discussion for practitioners and academics of a previously fuzzy concept. Moreover, the sharing city project overlaps with other city projects such as the smart city (Cortés-Cediel et al., 2019; Khan and Zaman, 2018), for instance in sustainability related goals, so certain initiatives and social practices could serve for both projects. The greatest challenge is to verify that the sharing city is not a buzzword and that its actions effectively constitute an improvement in the quality of urban life and sustainability.

7. Research gaps and future research

Considering the current sharing city studies and based on the findings of the review, in this section we identify the main gaps in the literature on the sharing city and propose future lines of research. First, more empirical studies are needed on how sharing activity is carried out in the physical space. For Davies and Evans (2019, p. 157) “the concept of place emerges as a key factor in the performance of sharing”. Within this experience, space conditions certain practices that may or may not favour collaboration. Cases such as *Hoffice* (Rossito and Lampinen, 2018), in which the privacy and organization of the domestic space is adapted for work use, or that of the chain of coworking spaces *WeWork*, which modifies industrial buildings to convert them into work spaces (Lehavi, 2018), demonstrate that space reconfigures the sharing practice. According to Zhang and Chan (2020, p. 5) “the spatial dimension of sharing has yet to be recognized as an essential variable in elucidating the phenomenon of sharing”. This idea has already been emphasized by Le Dantec (2017) who suggested studying the relationships established between the physical place and the sharing activity; similarly, to Lupton (2018), who not only reaffirms this, but also points out that social approaches are necessary to create design methods. In relation to this, there is also little literature on urban planning and the sharing city. As a result, sometimes the city that aims to be a sharing city is not properly conditioned to undertake this project. Furthermore, in sharing cities the physical space is often transformed into a shareable resource (Zhang and Chan, 2020, p.5) which has received little attention in previous literature. Future research can answer questions such as how space is shared, by whom and how space transformations in the city evolve over time. In turn, such space transformations in the city could be examined in multidisciplinary studies in relation to place identity and cultural identity. Then, further studies, rather than focus on isolated initiatives, should research how to implement the sharing city from a strategic perspective that takes into account the

implications for designing the space and also urban planning.

Second, considering the little attention that top down approaches have received in the literature, and knowing the experiences in various cities around the world, the sharing city is an important topic for research in political marketing and its relationships with political goals (e.g. government campaigns, public policy planning, political brands etc.). Although there has been research about the community and the citizen in the context of the sharing city, there are limited insights into the strategic environment of the sharing city and what communication and marketing tools governments and administrations use to gain public opinion. In particular, we suggest exploring how sharing city projects allows to construct a shared identity and certain city brand positioning. So, the sharing city can be alternatively studied through other theoretical lenses such as place branding and place management and how value is created in the sharing city and for whom (Cohen et al., 2016).

Other potential avenues for future research could be to examine city governance from different theoretical lenses such as an institutional theory perspective (Sharp, 2018), or a network theory perspective (Pflieger and Rozenblat, 2010). The latter seems an interesting path for research especially since new networks and alliances are currently formed between city governments on how to deal with the governance of sharing city projects. For example, Sharing Cities Alliance claims to have started “a global movement of collaboration, co-creation and knowledge sharing between cities”. Furthermore, researchers have paid relatively little attention to sharing city governance effects. Certainly some examples can be found (see for instance Bernardi and Diamantini, 2018; Vith et al., 2019; Zvolaska et al., 2019a, 2019b), but more research could take place especially when we compare it to governance effects and other popularized city labels such as the smart city, which has been studied in depth.

Third, it is assumed that the foundation of the sharing city is the citizen, who is at the center of everything, and the search for fairer structures and well-being for the user; however, there are no studies that address the behaviour of the sharing city user as a consumer. It is necessary to analyse their interactions, perceptions and attitudes towards collaborative urban structures, their willingness to participate in the community and practice local activism. In other words, beyond the bottom-up initiatives that can be observed in different cities of the world, it would be interesting to understand how residents themselves understand the sharing city, and get to know their attitudes towards participating in new structures and spaces that promote sharing and collaboration. It would be interesting to assess whether these opinions change according to the typology of the initiative (e.g. whether it is bottom-up or top-down) or according to the ideological political affinity between the resident and the government that promotes the sharing city in the cases of top-down approaches. At least in principle, interpretive tools used in anthropology, marketing or semiotics could contribute to this approach.

The sharing city is a broad phenomenon with multiple nuances, which makes it very complex. Human beings are used to sharing in the city, often without being aware of it. Therefore, it is necessary to resize concepts and consider the overlaps that may arise with other city labels. Aspects such as citizen participation or collaborative policy making are not exclusive to the sharing city, and although technological platforms are channels that facilitate communication, cooperation and convening, a city in which sharing is the basis of relationships can also take shape without them. Also, past experiences of the sharing city are narrated in positive terms in previous literature, but there are also critiques and disagreement regarding the management of these initiatives (Morrow, 2019; Ryu et al., 2019). Future research can adopt a more critical perspective regarding the expectations versus reality of sharing city projects.

Declaration of competing interest

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Appendix

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Table 8
 Articles included in the study (Appendix).

Author	Research question/aim	Approach	Sample
Pastor Jr. et al. (2003)	To examine the collaborative effort that takes place between different actors at the political and economic terrain	Empirical	30 Community partners.
Collins (2004)	How have the embodied and linguistic collaborative practices changed Auckland?	Empirical	International students.
Dodge (2009)	How civil society organizations transmit ideas to decision makers in order to participate in social debates?	Empirical	18 members of society organizations.
Franqueira (2010)	To present a collaborative urban regeneration project of an old milk factory in Milan and to identify the necessary infrastructures and policy tools to bring such projects to fruition.	Empirical	Multidisciplinary teams.
Vestbro and Horelli (2012)	To describe the driving forces behind cohousing design and the role of gender.	Conceptual	Experiences of cohousing.
Birdsall (2014)	Is the implementation of bike sharing programs in cities an eco-friendly solution to the "first mile/last mile" problem?	Conceptual	Bike sharing programs.
Harmaala (2015)	How can a city promote collaborative lifestyles and adopt sharing initiatives?	Conceptual	Sharing initiatives and collaborative lifestyles.
Banana et al. (2015)	How have communities in Chinhoyi (Zimbabwe) used community-led mapping?	Empirical	11 local settlements.
Richardson (2015)	How does the sharing economy construct and deconstruct economic activities?	Empirical	Festival "OuiShare Fest" (Paris).
Anttiroiko (2016)	(i) To examine the strategic orientation of cities towards platformization. (ii) To explore the role of participatory innovation platforms in connecting democratic participation with business development and identify the forms of citizen participation in these platforms. (iii) To further delve into the social implications of the utilization of platforms in business–citizen interaction.	Empirical	Policy documents from Finnish cities and project managers involved in local economic development.
Barnes and Mattsson (2016)	What are the key factors that facilitate and/or limit the future development of collaborative consumption?	Empirical	25 experts involved in sharing communities.
Barrett et al. (2016)	What ethical frameworks can be used to guide city shaping and how can these be utilized to enhance urban life for all citizens?	Conceptual	Examples of ethical city initiatives.
Cheng (2016)	Which are the theoretical foundations and main themes in the sharing economy and what is their relevance to the tourism and hospitality field?	Conceptual	66 papers of sharing economy in tourism.
Cohen et al. (2016)	To describe the increasing role of cities as a driver for innovation and entrepreneurship.	Conceptual	6 papers of innovation and entrepreneurship.
Cohen and Muñoz (2016)	How does the sharing economy interact with sustainable consumption and production systems (SCP)?	Empirical	18 sharing activities.
Forlano (2016)	What is the role of designers in collaborative city-making?	Conceptual	Examples from design, social science, and information.
Mateo-Babiano et al. (2016)	To examine the dynamics of Public bicycle-sharing programs (PBSP) and explore its relationship with cycling infrastructure, land-use and topography.	Empirical	Two datasets of mobility in Brisbane.
Morandi et al. (2016)	To explore the integration of physical spaces and ICTs, through the phenomenon of co-working spaces and fab-labs.	Empirical	Co-working spaces and fab-labs in Milan and Turin.
Rahman (2016)	To explore the relationship between the on-demand economy and the broader challenges of 21st century capitalism	Conceptual	Regulations and sharing platforms experiences.
Rooij and Frank (2016)	To explain the challenges of spatial planning education for co-creation contexts.	Conceptual	Curriculum developments and pedagogical research of planning educators.
Brown and Vergragt (2016)	To present a future scenario of a cultural transition beyond mass consumerism and materialism in the US taking into account the role of the city, urban living and the sharing economy.	Conceptual	Individual lifestyle choices in USA cases.
Longhurst et al. (2016)	To analyse four counter-narratives of urban economic development, while identifying key aspects of the dominant neoliberal discourse.	Conceptual	Four counter-narratives of urban economic development.
Agyeman et al. (2016)	To examine some of the key theories and debates on Environmental Justice and how they are being illustrated through different movements and informed by urban planning, food and climate concerns.	Conceptual	Key theories, scholars, case examples, debates, methods, and (multiple) interpretations.

(continued on next page)

Table 8 (continued)

Author	Research question/aim	Approach	Sample
Boyko et al. (2017)	How sharing could be utilized in different domains to enhance the sustainability of a city?	Empirical	Local residents of the city of Lancaster and Moseley (Birmingham, UK).
Caramaschi (2017)	To explore the potential of mobile food vending in order to facilitate access to nutritious food for vulnerable groups.	Conceptual	Mobile food vending initiatives at NYC, Philadelphia, Seattle and Toronto.
Celluci and Di Sivo (2017)	To identify paradigms to guide regeneration processes based in creative human skills	Conceptual	Examples of urban regeneration that used collaborative approaches
Davies et al. (2017a)	To analyse food sharing initiatives in 100 cities in six continents.	Empirical	4000 ICT-mediated urban food sharing activities operating across 100 cities in six continents.
Davies et al. (2017b)	To understand urban food sharing landscape in emergent ICT-mediated practices.	Conceptual	Food sharing initiatives.
Fedorenko (2017)	What is the role of Sharing City Seoul into the global imaginary of sharing economy?	Empirical	OuiShare Fest 2016 (Paris) and Seoul Sharing Fest (2016).
Le Dantec (2017)	To analyse the theoretical and practical implications of social design.	Conceptual	Examples of sharing initiatives and community leaderships.
Miralles et al. (2017)	Understand which resources are shared in a heterogeneous set of sharing economy initiatives in the context of food and agriculture and how they are being shared.	Empirical	39 initiatives of Alternative Food Networks.
Hult and Bradley (2017)	How can local authorities develop infrastructures for collaborative consumption?	Empirical	Key officials of City of Malmö, Sweden/Physical spaces; STPLN -multi-purpose maker space- and Garaget -an urban living room-.
Joo (2017)	To analyse motives for participating in the sharing economy, using samples from a car sharing service.	Empirical	292 Socar users in South Korea.
Lan et al. (2017)	To understand why people engage in co-creation that could benefit social and environmental sustainability in the sharing economy.	Empirical	Mobike -free-floating bike sharing system- users.
Moon (2017)	To assess the government's role in the Seoul Sharing City Initiative (SCI).	Empirical	Nanum Car-sharing Program, Public Parking Lot-sharing Program, Public Facility and Good-sharing Programs, Public Data-sharing.Program
Muñoz and Cohen (2017)	To understand the inner complexity of the sharing economy and the diversity of business model types.	Empirical	36 business models of sharing economy firms.
Böcker and Meelen (2017)	To provide a more comprehensive understanding of the motivations for participation in the sharing economy.	Empirical	1330 respondents in Amsterdam.
Celata et al. (2017)	What is the role of sociality and belonging within the particular exchange model that the sharing economy embodies?	Conceptual	Accommodation sharing platforms.
Huber (2017)	To develop and illustrate a theoretical framework, which can explain why CC practices differ strongly in their dynamics.	Empirical	Cases of P2P accommodation and cohousing.
Jehlička and Daněk (2017)	Is sharing of home-grown food an economic and environmental significant practice?	Empirical	2058 respondents from a large-scale survey, four focus groups.
Schor and Attwood-Charles (2017)	To examine the entity known as the sharing economy and evaluate whether this is an accurate term for the kind of exchanges taking place and whether it constitutes a coherent analytic category?	Conceptual	Examples of platform economy, particularly the Airbnb case.
Stabrowski (2017)	Is Airbnb producing new social relations of domestic property?	Empirical	Discursive practices in a home-sharing platform.
Dowling et al. (2018)	To explicate the material entanglements that constitute car sharing practices.	Empirical	35 Sydney residents that use car sharing services.
Kwami and Cosgrave (2018)	To analyse the lessons learned from the TEC program (The transforming engineering of cities programme) and how they can inform and equip in better approaching challenges and crafting urban futures.	Conceptual	White papers.
Rossitto and Lampinen (2018)	To analyse the self-organizing network Hoffice where users co-create temporary workplaces.	Empirical	Hoffice network -workplace- participants, spaces in Stockholm, Sweden. Hoffice Facebook group
Zhang and Chen (2018)	To what extent is the sharing economy truly inclusive? What are exactly the drawbacks and potential risks?	Conceptual	Neighbourhood prototypes.
Bernardi and Diamantini (2018)	How should city authorities govern the sharing economy to build a real sharing city?	Empirical	Public sources, sharing initiatives at Milan, key stakeholders, and local and international experts.
Ferreri and Sanyal (2018)	To focus on the under-examined impact of the sharing economy on urban governance, and particularly on planning.	Empirical	Airbnb case in London.
Gurran et al. (2018)	To compare the geography of Airbnb listings and implications for specific types of externalities that arose in Sydney and in Northern NSW.	Empirical	Home-sharing practices.
Khan and Zaman (2018)	To analyse the desired characteristics of cities classified under different labels to identify fundamental commonalities and differences among them through a systematic literature review.	Conceptual	Popular city labels used to refer desirables futures.
Lupton (2018)	To explain key terms in design and the various approaches to social design research.	Conceptual	Design methods.
Ma et al. (2018)	What are the key challenges for effective collaborative governance towards social and environmental sustainability emerging during the sharing economy scale-up process? How can collaborative governance be improved in specific sharing economy context in cities?	Empirical	30 actors of sharing mobility sector.
Mugion et al. (2018)	To focus on the concept of service quality and its dimensions and understand how it could encourage sustainable mobility in cities while reducing the private car usage.	Empirical	Users of public transport in Rome (interviews and questionnaires.), Webpages: Municipality, public transport company and car-sharing companies (consultation for territorial analysis).
Nikitas (2018)	To examine users' attitudes towards bike-sharing and to evaluate the implications of the introduction of bike-sharing schemes in Drama, Greece.	Empirical	640 bike-sharing users.

Appendix 1. Published paper in Journal of Cleaner Production (Chapter 2)

J.I. Sánchez-Vergara, M. Ginieis and E. Papaiakonomou

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Table 8 (continued)

Author	Research question/aim	Approach	Sample
Sharp (2018)	By focusing on the Shareable's Sharing Cities Network, to examine the narratives used to mobilize an international sample of sharing cities organisers.	Empirical	Shareable's Sharing Cities Network and Airbnb's Home Sharing Clubs.
Thorpe (2018)	To examine the role of legal frameworks in projects of transforming cities in more collaborative ways.	Empirical	Founders of <i>Lande</i> and citizens involved in participatory planning in Montreal.
Bernardi (2018)	By focusing on the Sharing City Seoul project, to explore how millennials use the tools provided by the sharing economy to transform the tourist sector.	Empirical	Sharing organizations involved in Sharing City Seoul project.
del Moral-Espín and Fernández-García (2018)	To analyse collaborative economy (CE) initiatives in the case of Andalusia and the role played by public actors in endorsing (or not) these initiatives.	Empirical	Different actors involved in 140 Collaborative Economy experiences in the region of Andalusia.
Edwards and Davies (2018)	Explore the ways in which food sharing initiatives function and critically consider the efficacy of applying assemblage thinking to better understand food sharing practices and policy.	Empirical	Representatives from governments in the sector of food, community organizations, academics, participants in sharing case studies.
Jeong (2018)	Develop concepts and analysis frameworks to deal with the social movements and politics of commons.	Conceptual	Social movements that organize commoning as a social practice.
Lehavi (2018)	Identify the re-emergence of a public discourse about commons and communities across the Israeli landscape.	Empirical	A renewing kibbutz, an urban shared office-space -WeWork-, co-living spaces.
Ganapati and Reddick (2018)	To explore the opportunities and challenges of the sharing economy for public sector in general and digital government in particular.	Conceptual	Sectors of mobility services, accommodation sharing, and gig labor.
Zvolska et al. (2019a)	To explore how institutions can be created and disrupted by urban sharing organizations	Empirical	Urban sharing organizations.
Cortés-Cediel et al. (2019)	How urban governance is taking place in citizen participation debate?	Conceptual	Smart cities initiatives from 76 European cities
Jarvis (2019)	To examine intentional sharing from a degrowth perspective.	Conceptual	Co-housing schemes.
Davies and Evans (2019)	To provide a review of main conceptual approaches and common themes in urban food sharing studies.	Conceptual	Papers of urban food sharing.
Morrow (2019)	To examine the governance strategies developed in the project of <i>Foodsharing.de</i> .	Empirical	Members of <i>Foodsharing.de</i> .
Ryu et al. (2019)	To provide a systematic review on what and how we share.	Conceptual	Peer-reviewed scientific papers.
Zvolska et al. (2019b)	What are the roles of the cities governing the urban sharing?	Empirical	Sharing organizations and city governments in Berlin and London.
Loh and Agyeman (2019)	To offer a critical examination of the transformational potential of Boston's growing food solidarity economy and its food sharing practices.	Conceptual	Practices in the food sector in Boston.
Scharf et al. (2019)	To explore the reality of food commons in Berlin and in specific to understand its relationship to sustainable urban development and the role of city administration and politics.	Empirical	9 food sharing actors in Berlin.
Yuana et al. (2019)	To identify frames in news about ridesharing and their impact in policy responses in Indonesia and the Philippines.	Empirical	Bike-sharing online news.
Curtis and Lehner (2019)	To synthesize the existing academic definitions of the sharing economy in order to propose a definition from the sustainability perspective.	Conceptual	Peer-reviewed scientific papers.
Camboim et al. (2019)	To explore the drivers behind smart city projects in order to make them spaces that offer quality of life and that foster creativity and innovation.	Empirical	Experts and insights from smart cities projects (Amsterdam, Barcelona, Lisbon, Vienna).
Labaye (2019)	To examine the emergence of communal (non-commercial) sharing and the role of technology in sharing practices.	Conceptual	137 secondary cases and policies compiled in Shareable.
Wittmayer et al. (2019)	To describe the narratives of change through social innovation initiatives.	Empirical	TRANSformative Social Innovation Theory (TRANSIT) project.
Vith et al. (2019)	How has the sharing economy been interpreted in urban policies? Analyse the different frames used in governance to examine opportunities and challenges of sharing economy in cities.	Conceptual	Government-issued strategy documents
Winslow and Mont (2019)	To describe the values created by bicycle sharing systems and the strategies used to institutionalize them.	Empirical	Three cases of bicycle sharing system (Bicing, Donkey Republic, Scoot Network)
Santala and McGuirk (2019)	To identify the potential of the <i>Share Sydney</i> project in create new economic agency and capacities among other things in the city of Sydney.	Empirical	Sharing Map project, Share Sydney members, volunteers, and City of Sydney councillor.
Chan and Zhang (2021) ^a	In what ways can space and sharing be theorized? How does the inclusion of the spatial dimension improve the present understanding of sharing behaviours and practices?	Conceptual	Different approaches of shared spaces.

^a As aforementioned, we set the parameters of our search until year 2019 and this paper came up as one of the results. At the time it appeared as an article in press. Only recently it was assigned in a volume and so now it has been modified as Chan and Zhang (2021). Given its relevance and importance for this SLR we decided to leave it as part of our dataset.

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Appendix 1. Published paper in Journal of Cleaner Production (Chapter 2)

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Journal of Cleaner Production 295 (2021) 126448

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Appendix 2. Published paper in Journal Cities (Chapter 3)

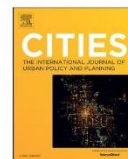
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Exploring the strategic communication of the sharing city project through frame analysis: The case of Barcelona sharing city

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ABSTRACT

The term 'sharing' has become popularized in academic and practitioner circles. Recently, the concept of the sharing city has emerged. However, there is no homogenous global discourse about the sharing city. This could lead to very diverse interpretations of what the sharing city is and how it should be implemented. This study explores how the sharing city project is understood and strategically communicated by the municipality of Barcelona. A frame analysis of 67 documents published in the Barcelona City Council website during 2015–2018 has been used. Additionally, documents about strategies, plans and public policies related with Barcelona Sharing City were taken into account. Municipality's initiatives in relation to the sharing city spread across eleven areas including education, housing, entrepreneurship among others. Using the prognostic, diagnostic and motivational framings, it is found that the municipality aims i) to promote the sharing city as the combination of a top-down approach and citizen participation, ii) to constitute the notion of sharing as an opportunity for the city's future iii) to generate trust towards the local administration presenting it as an agent for the city's change. Also, the notion of sharing and sharing economy are explored in the case of Barcelona sharing city.

1. Introduction

Modern cities face various problems of social inequality, affordable housing, traffic difficulties, environmental pollution, among others (Khan & Zaman, 2018; Marchetti et al., 2019). These pathologies invite for changes in city planning and policies (Khan & Zaman, 2018). For instance, the increasingly popular concept of smart cities largely focused on introducing cutting-edge technology in city infrastructures to achieve more efficient and sustainable territories. However, smart cities' over-arching focus on a techno-centric understanding of the city, led different authors to argue that the city should be thought not only in terms of efficient management, but also in social and human terms (Muñoz & Cohen, 2016). For many city theorists, the city should be understood as a shared space for all citizens emphasizing the human interaction that takes place and the social capital generated (Agyeman et al., 2013; Calzada & Cobo, 2015; Humet, 2017; Khan & Zaman, 2018). In fact, in a previous critique of the smart city, Calzada and Cobo (2015) argue that the aspects of human interaction, citizenship and community have been ignored in the smart city notion, but are at the forefront of the sharing city concept.

In any case, both city labels, the widely popularized 'smart city' and

the relatively more recent 'sharing city', have quickly become a *leitmotif* in discourse on urban planning and management (Crivello, 2015). These labels aim to represent best practices, but there is no homogeneous global discourse about what these labels mean and into what city practices they should be converted (Joss et al., 2019). In the case of smart cities, the absence of a broadly common framing template led to cities proclaiming themselves as 'smart' evidencing a process of 'smartwashing' (Desdemoustier, Crutzen, & Giffinger, 2019; Hollands, 2008). Also, the smart city project has been appropriated by different actors, companies for instance (Desdemoustier, Crutzen, Cools, & Teller, 2019; Söderström et al., 2014). The same problem could emerge for the far less theorized notion of the sharing city.

The need to further study the sharing city concept is timely especially since public administrations have taken an interest in this concept (see, for instance, www.sharingcities.eu) and international sharing city networks have started to appear (e.g. www.sharingcitiesalliance.com). Also, local governments are important actors in current debates regarding the sharing economy given that the locus of action of sharing economy is largely urban (Vidal & Fuster, 2018; Vith et al., 2019). Municipalities can adopt different roles either by monitoring and regulating the activity of sharing economy platforms or by actively

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participating, promoting and launching sharing initiatives. However, besides some notable exceptions (see Vith et al., 2019 for example), we still lack an in-depth understanding of how sharing and the sharing economy is interpreted by local governments, how such interpretations affect their governance strategy and finally how the government communicates their 'sharing-related' governance strategy to the general public.

Cities around the world like Seoul, Milan, Malmö or Amsterdam have already taken on the sharing city project and have designed policies in that respect (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018). Other cities are in a process of doing exactly that. An example is Barcelona which is the case of study in this paper. Barcelona constitutes an interesting case study for various reasons. First, in Barcelona there is a strong presence of sharing economy platforms (Berrone et al., 2016; Fuster, 2018) and some rapidly growing platforms were founded and have their headquarters in the city (see examples of Glovo, Social Car and Wallapop). Second, the Municipality of Barcelona (MoB from now on) has acted in certain cases as a promoter of the sharing economy (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015), as various sharing economy projects have received their funding from the MoB (Fuster & Espelt, 2019; La Vanguardia, 2018). Third, the latest local government has shown interest in the sharing city project through the participation in international networks such as Sharing Cities Action, the co-signing of the Declaration of principles and commitments of collaborative cities during the 2018 Sharing Cities Summit that took place in Barcelona and the organization of sharing economy events such as the Oui Share Fest for three consecutive years (2015, 2016, 2017). Fourth, the case of Barcelona confirms previous research regarding the potential negative backlash of sharing economy platforms: evading regulations and breaking the law, unfair competition to existing players, labour exploitation, rising housing prices, gentrification inter alia (Martin, 2016; Scholz, 2017; Schor, 2016). The activity of sharing economy platforms has a real impact on cities, so local governments, such as the MoB, often have to take a stand on possible conflicts. For example, as Barcelona is one of the cities that receive most tourists annually [9,09 million in 2019 (Master Card Report, 2019; Observatori del Turisme a Barcelona, 2019)], any debate about the sharing economy is "tied to debates about the negative consequences of tourism" in the city (EU Sharing and Caring COST Action, 2018, p. 57). Recent conflicts in Barcelona involved residents' protests against Airbnb and the clash of taxi drivers with ride-sharing platforms. All these indicate that the MoB has already acted as monitor, regulator and promoter of the sharing economy in line with its own interpretation and positioning towards sharing and the sharing economy.

Thus, the main research aim of this paper is to explore how the sharing city project is understood, framed and strategically communicated by the municipal administration. Naturally, this involves a prior interpretation and positioning of the municipality with regards the notions of sharing and the sharing economy, which are also explored here. In order to achieve this research aim, we analyzed the 67 news items, press releases and reports, published in the Barcelona City Council website over a four-year period (2015–2018). The timeframe was defined by data availability as the first document found was published in 2015. The analysis was carried out using a frame analysis perspective, previously widely used in the study of social movements (Harlow, 2011; Vicari, 2010) but also in studies of places and communities (Martin, 2003). Frame analysis is based on three frames; the diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing (Snow & Benford, 1988). We chose to use frame analysis because it permits to see what is "hidden and highlighted" in discourse with the intention to evoke certain interpretations (Vogel, 2012). On one hand, our findings show how the municipal administration of Barcelona understands the sharing city project, e.g. the span of activities and policies, which areas are emphasized or the nexus of the sharing city project with the notion of sharing and the sharing economy. On the other hand, our findings reveal that the sharing city is strategically presented by the municipality as an opportunity, good practice and citizen empowerment. We conclude that the strategic

communication of the sharing city project aims to legitimize both the actions of the MoB and the MoB itself, while responsabilizing citizens for the project's success.

The article is organized as follows: first, a contrast is made between the smart city and the sharing city in order to be able to position and conceptually define the notion of the sharing city. This distinction is important so as not to generate further confusion between these two labels, due to their conceptual proximity (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015). Also, the role of municipalities in the implementation of these urban projects is discussed. Methodological aspects are then clarified concerning the data collection and analysis. Next, findings are presented along the three framing tasks. Finally, the main conclusions are drawn and a discussion is provided.

2. Literature review

Both the notions of smart city and sharing city have been used to represent best practices and city regeneration projects. Nonetheless, we lack a homogeneous global discourse about what these labels mean and into what city practices they should be converted (Joss et al., 2019). Also, in light of the absence of a broadly common framing template or a specific list of procedures/criteria to award the smart or sharing city status, many cities proclaim themselves as 'smart' or 'sharing' (Desdemoustier, Crutzen, Cools, & Teller, 2019; Hollands, 2008). This may create a bifurcation between the ideal notion of an efficient, high-tech smart city or of a humanised, empowering sharing city and the reality (Hollands, 2008).

Furthermore, the conceptual distinction among the smart city and the sharing city remains unclear. This largely happens because both concepts overlap in some areas (see Table 1). In fact, Bernardi and Diamantini (2018) claim that the sharing city is a derivative of the smart city.

In this section, both concepts are presented and their similarities and differences are highlighted (see Table 1). It is important to clearly delineate them conceptually since each of them represents a distinct field of action for institutions and citizens. In other words, both concepts have performative functions. Söderström et al. (2014, p. 308) explain nicely these implications when they argue that "smart cities, like creative cities, sustainable cities or livable cities are part of contemporary language games around urban management and development. These games involve experts, marketing specialists, consultants, corporations, city officials etc. and frame how cities are understood, conceptualized and planned. [...] shape the imaginaries and practices of a myriad of actors concretely building the city through particular case studies or pilot projects, decisions and everyday action, like creating a new electricity system for a neighborhood."

For Snow, Døjbak, & Obel (2016, p. 92), a smart city "can be understood as a community in which citizens, business firms, knowledge institutions, and municipal agencies collaborate with one another to achieve systems integration and efficiency, citizen engagement, and a continually improving quality of life". Ahvenniemi et al. (2017) stress that, in addition to sustainability and quality of life, technology is the greatest differential aspect to guide the structure of a smart city. For example, several authors explain that smart cities use specialized technologies and big data analysis to achieve effective management of the city, but also to tackle problems related to mobility, energy efficiency or housing in an urban environment (Ahvenniemi et al., 2017; Allam & Dhunny, 2019; Fernández-Añez et al., 2018; Maalsen, 2019). These are in line with the sustainable development goals, thus allowing a reduction in costs and the management of resources while promoting environmental awareness (Sikora-Fernández, 2018; Zvolška et al., 2019).

Govers (2018) claims that another characteristic of smart cities is precisely how they rethink the role of the citizen as an active promoter of change, becoming a permanent player in the place-making process thanks to a "collaborative spirit". In a similar line, Snow et al. (2016, p. 102) have argued that "... organizing a smart city initiative requires

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Table 1
Main characteristics of smart and sharing cities.

Characteristics	Smart cities	Sharing cities	Commonalities
Social change	Boosting links through information technology.	Boosting environments that promote social links and collaboration.	Active participation of citizens
Citizen empowerment	This model visualizes the user as an intelligent citizen who adapts to the strategies.	The value of the community is redefined as co-creative power. Commons guide the individual and collective efforts.	Citizen is central in the change process.
Technological innovation	Technology is operationally the basis of interaction and transformation processes.	Technology complements the processes of interaction and transformation	Technological platforms mediate change and boost the new paradigm. They facilitate results measurement.
Urban intervention	Renewal of existing infrastructure and proactive attitude for the future.	Regeneration and reactivation through placemaking and participatory urbanism. Open innovation.	Space and all its dimensions are used for communication and social innovation.
Environmental impact	Sustainability is the path towards the improvement of the city and its preparation for future challenges.	Holistic understanding of the city in ecological terms. Importance of environmental education.	The new urban models guarantee the quality of natural landscapes and new constructions.

Source: authors' own elaboration.

consensus about its overall philosophy as well as the broad organizing principles that support the philosophy". Govers (2018) and Snow et al. (2016) talk about citizen engagement suggesting that the establishment of communities and local networks is one of the major challenges for the attainment of the smart city project. In most cases, collaboration and cooperation becomes possible through the use of technological platforms (Almirall et al., 2017). Nevertheless, other authors criticize the smart city notion for being too technocratic, for evangelizing digitalisation while ignoring human interaction, social capital and the role of citizenship in the implementation of the smart city (Calzada & Cobo, 2015; Vanolo, 2016; Yigitcanlar et al., 2018). Vanolo (2016, p. 35) for instance concludes that "what seems to lack in utopian imaginaries of the smart city is the idea of citizens' empowerment, and precisely the idea that smart cities will be also sort of huge agora in which every citizen will have the possibility of having a voice".

The sharing city is another, more recent city label that has emerged to conceptualize an ideal city (Khan & Zaman, 2018). As Table 1 shows, the smart and sharing city share commonalities (Ahvenniemi et al., 2017; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015; Snow et al., 2016). To name a few, they share fundamentals such as improving quality of life and promoting an efficient use of resources whereas sustainability is a concern in both (Dril et al., 2016; Khan & Zaman, 2018). Technology is present in the sharing city project, but its use aims to facilitate social purposes, while it is not as prominent and central as in the smart city notion. So, while the sharing city is also described as efficient and innovative enjoying technological infrastructures, it clearly places much more focus on the human dimension of the city, on co-creation, participation and social justice, or else a human-centric focus that the smart city project lacked (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015).

For Agyeman et al. (2013) the sharing city is ideally an urban project where shared interests become prioritized, novel forms of sharing are enabled and promoted, and the city is seen as a shared space for all citizens. Furthermore, the sharing city is presented as an alternative to the increasing privatization and commercialization of public space (Gabriel, 2013). So, another aspect of sharing cities projects is how the space is shaped to serve shared interests. They seek to take advantage of what already exists and recover unused areas, in order to achieve urban regeneration (Franqueira, 2010). Moreover, in sharing cities, according to the World Economic Forum (2017), collaboration among people facilitates trust and increases social inclusion. Sharing, in its different expressions, aims to consolidate the sense of community. Building from the definition of Belk (2010, p. 717) the idea of sharing in sharing cities is of a "communal act that links us to other people" creating feelings of bonding and solidarity. Different initiatives that take place in cities, e.g. sharing food and/or kitchen appliances, sharing a transport vehicle, participating in timebanks or sharing the workspace may generate social capital particularly when there is human interaction involved (Chan & Zhang, 2018). Another interesting aspect of sharing cities, as proposed by Agyeman et al. (2013), is its focus on citizen empowerment and

participation. As a revival of the ancient greek polis, the sharing city could ideally foster citizens' collaboration and active engagement for the issues of concern for the city encouraging values such as equality, democracy, solidarity and ethics.

Some authors (e.g. Agyeman et al., 2013; Longhurst et al., 2016) present empirical cases where the implementation of the sharing city embraces new modes of economic exchange dynamics organized around peer-to-peer principles. Sustainability is sought through the promotion of technological platforms and other networks that enable access versus ownership and the reuse, recycling and redistribution of products (Longhurst et al., 2016).

But while in some empirical cases of sharing city projects partnerships with sharing economy platforms are involved, like Portland and Airbnb in 2014, others cities approach with caution or even oppose to certain corporate sharing economy platforms (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; Chan & Zhang, 2018). Thus, one of the main differences among sharing city projects around the world is how the urban project is positioned regarding the notion of sharing and the sharing economy. Previously, Martin (2016) identified both positive and negative framings of the sharing economy: as an economic opportunity, as a path towards sustainability, as a field for incoherent innovation and as part of the neoliberal model that creates unregulated marketplaces. Other authors have openly criticized that the concepts of sharing and the sharing economy have been conflated and misleading (Eckhardt & Bardhi, 2016; John, 2013; Skågeby, 2015). For example, Skågeby (2015) argues that the notion of sharing has been co-opted by the sharing economy and that sharing in the sharing economy is often no more than a business model disguised "under the guise of collective resource sharing" when it is basically a "short-term individualist money-exchange". Similarly, for Belk (2014) much of the contemporary sharing economy is pseudosharing. He explains that sharing platforms differ in terms of the reciprocity expected from users, their ethos, logic and orientation. So, whereas the open learning platform studied by Carfagna (2018) and the timebanks in Papaoikonomou and Valor (2016) are governed by an ethos of communalism, cooperativism or even activism, Zipcar offers mainly economic benefits, rather than social (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012). As a result, Eckhardt and Bardhi (2016) propose that many of the so-called 'sharing economy' platforms should be instead called access-based platforms. Certainly, the overuse of the word sharing has not been coincidental, as it holds "positive connotations of equality, selflessness and giving" in the sense of "sharing and caring" (John, 2013, p. 176). To all that, we should add the potential negative backlash of sharing economy platforms on cities and its residents, e.g. unfair competition to existing players, labour exploitation, rising housing prices, gentrification inter alia (Martin, 2016; Scholz, 2017; Schor, 2016). For instance, the phenomenon of Airbnb-induced gentrification and the loss of rental housing have already been raised as concerns for cities (Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018).

Although, the sharing that takes place in the city goes far beyond the

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corporate sharing economy, e.g. shared use of infrastructures, services and environmental resources with the emergence of cooperatives, transport schemes based on sharing, community gardens, etc. (Agyeman et al., 2013; Chan & Zhang, 2018; Cohen & Muñoz, 2016), the implementation of the sharing city project requires municipalities to adopt certain positioning with regards sharing economy platforms. First, because as aforementioned, the activity of sharing platforms has real effects on cities and may create conflicts. Second, because if ideally the sharing city aims for human interaction and citizen empowerment and participation, then some sharing economy platforms may fulfill, or not, these purposes as previous empirical evidence shows. For instance, for Arvidsson (2019, p. 13) sharing platforms may even “de-socialize practices of sharing”.

Finally, the way the sharing city project is implemented varies. Previous empirical evidence shows both bottom-up and top-down approaches of sharing city projects. Examples of the bottom-up approach can be found in Belgrade and Berlin with initiatives such as the Urban Hub (Belgrade) and Urban Hacking (Berlin) aiming to improve the common public space and to allow citizens to “share sociability...to share relaxation... to share information” (Krasny, 2019, p. 132). In the specific case of Berlin, local administrations have placed little interest in pursuing a sharing city project (Zvolska et al., 2019). In other bottom-up initiatives, the local government enables and supports them, but they are still initiated and carried out by the local community. For example, Share Sydney is a collective for sharing in Sydney that created *The Sharing Map*, an interactive tool to connect with others, participate and use technologies for urban commons (www.thesharingmap.com; Santala & McGuirk, 2019). Through this tool, communities can locate resources e.g. bikes, co-working spaces, community kitchens, community gardens, transport, etc. In other cases the role of the government is much stronger, e.g. in Copenhagen and Seoul, as local governments embrace sharing in their city planning. For instance, the Resident’s Participatory Budgeting System in Seoul allows citizens to decide democratically which projects should be funded (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015). Also, Seoul’s local government promotes collaborative economy and social entrepreneurship projects, and finances sharing networks. Local governments can create a productive and participatory environment for its inhabitants, its governing authorities, investors etc. (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015) holding a leading role or a supportive role by enabling a bottom-up initiatives.

In any case, even if citizens can create sharing projects without any government intervention, often citizens’ active engagement in the decision making regarding the city’s problems implies that the local government would allow this to happen. For example, local governments are the ones in charge of drafting and executing public budgets. Even if citizens want to participate in this process, they are not able to, unless allowed. In the end, the sharing city project could be a combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches (Camboim et al., 2019). This means that the role of municipalities is critical in the implementation of these urban projects (Desdemoustier, Crutzen, & Giffinger, 2019). Municipalities can act as enablers, active supporters, monitors and regulators (Vidal & Fuster, 2018; Vith et al., 2019). Their role and their posture depends on their interpretation of sharing, the sharing economy and the sharing city. Furthermore, it is worth remembering that the smart city or the sharing city are also types of city branding (Hollands, 2008). The management of the city brand and the administration of official messages tend to be centralized in local governments or institutions linked to them with the aim of positioning the city as an attractive destination (Andersson & James, 2018). In other words, municipalities may decide on communication strategies to achieve differentiation and claim superiority imbuing the city with positive meanings (Johansson, 2012). Also, municipalities execute and facilitate conceptual, strategic and operational aspects of city branding. The type of city branding chosen by municipalities allows to “train the spot light on particular priority urban planning issues, offering ways to deal with them effectively” (Khan & Zaman, 2018, p. 223). After all, the city brand

perception has an indirect impact on the municipalities’ image. In other words, city brands may become reputational assets for municipalities (Noguera, 2012).

Previous literature lacks a clear understanding first, about how municipalities define sharing and the sharing economy and second, about how the sharing city project is strategically communicated by them. This precisely calls for further research in order to delve deeper into the ‘sharing’ vision of city management and to understand the initiatives (the hows and whats) that articulate the sharing city project.

3. Methodology

3.1. Data gathering and analysis

This study focused on documents found in the Barcelona City Council website (www.barcelona.cat). All data was publicly available. To limit the search only to documents related to the sharing city project, the following keywords were used: “sharing city”, “sharing cities”, “collaborative city”, “collaborative cities” in Catalan, Spanish and English (the languages used on the council website). The first article posted dated in 2015, so a timeframe of four years was established (2015–2018). The final sample was made up of 67 thematic units (Krippendorff, 2019) which consists of news items, press releases and reports (see Appendix).

First, all documents were downloaded. All of them were read at least once prior to their analysis. Also, other documents, not included in the final data set of analysis, were looked up in order to gain a more holistic understanding of the city governance approach. These were:

- Barcelona Municipal Action Plan (PAM)
- Programme to promote urban green infrastructure
- Barcelona green and biodiversity plan 2012–2020 (Cat)
- +Sustainable Barcelona map (video)
- Plan to promote the social and solidarity-based economy 2016–2019
- Plan to promote high-quality youth employment
- Citizen Participation Regulation
- Social Contract of *Decidim*
- The participative democracy platform in Barcelona (promotional material)
- Adolescence and youth plan 2017–2021

Although, some useful insights were gained, some of these documents offer technical information for a more specialized audience.

Once the documents read, different Nvivo codes were created to represent all the areas which the MoB linked to the sharing city project. The classifications provided by Shareable (2018) and Arnold (2017) served as an inspiration for the final themes generated. For instance, Shareable (2018) (<https://www.shareable.net/>) talks about eleven categories including food, work, energy, water, technology, finance, governance etc. Arnold (2017) also mentions money, communities, item sharing and bottom-up movements. Table 2 presents a full list of the 11 thematic categories identified through an inductive process (Colyar & Holley, 2010). This means that the themes were not preestablished even though other classifications were used as inspiration. Given that coding here was inductive, if new codes were identified in the data then they were added.

It is also worth mentioning that once all documents were read multiple times and a number of codes were created (e.g. food, employment etc.) then we proceeded to quantify them, e.g. how many times the sharing city project was linked to food or transport. This permitted to see where the MoB placed more emphasis and which areas emerged as central for the sharing city project according to the MoB. Most documents were found in the category *Institutional participatory processes* ($n=17$) followed by Strategic Innovation and New Technologies ($n=13$). Table 2 provides further information regarding each of the thematic categories, e.g., what each category means in our coding process, examples and number of documents found per category. Afterwards, the

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Table 2
Thematic categories and frames.

Thematic category	Contents	Examples	Total news found	Framing
Education	Trends, educational innovation, education for collaborative culture	1- Subsidies for socially oriented educational projects by the City Council; 2- Pedagogical program for digital and 3D production in the classrooms.	9	Prognostic, motivational
Strategic innovation and new technologies	Platform economics, smart application development, device development	1- Smart City App Hack Contest; 2- Technologies for a networked democracy, with an intermunicipal approach.	13	Diagnostic, prognostic, motivational
Entrepreneurship	Business initiatives, social entrepreneurship, business models in collaborative economy	1- Contests and provision of services in the Office of Attention to Companies (OAE); 2- Training programs and workshops for Social Economy and Solidarity initiatives.	4	Prognostic
Institutional participatory processes	Regulatory and administrative frameworks, design of public policies and strategic implementation, new models of governance	1- New participatory processes by platform decidim.barcelon; 2- Participation of Barcelona in the C.I.T.I.E.S (International Center of Innovation and Knowledge Transfer of the Social and Solidarity Economy); 3- Forum Procommons.	17	Diagnostic, prognostic, motivational
Housing	Management and development of housing, co-housing, alternative housing models	1- Construction of 110 apartments in 5 municipal plots according to the cohousing formula; 2- "Homes that make our city" day. Presentation of housing policies of the City Council, dignification of neighborhoods.	9	Diagnostic, prognostic, motivational
Employment	Job creation, collaborative work models	1- Events to promote youth entrepreneurship e.g. Saló de l'Ocupació Juvenil.	3	Diagnostic, prognostic
Community development	Community empowerment and neighborhoods, formation of social groups	1- Barcelona, refuge city. Convert young people into political actors in the city; 2- Presentation of the Neighbourhood Plan in neighborhoods; 3- Diagnosis and proposals on uses and shared areas of the Plaza de Ferrán Reyes, by the neighbors.	7	Prognostic, motivational
Food	Food management, urban agriculture, distribution and food programs	1- Participation of local food markets in the Barcelona International Community Day; 2- Contest of green roofs (orchards of self-supply).	1	Motivational
Urban planning and the environment	Regeneration of public spaces, habitat and sustainable urban development	1- Redevelopment projects of the District of Sarrià - Sant Gervasi; 2- Program to Promote the Urban Green Infrastructure; 3- Revitalization of the delta del Llobregat.	11	Diagnostic, prognostic, motivational
Transport	Shared transport, management and urban mobility	1- "Thinking Cities" Award for the use of mobile applications to obtain cycling data; 2- Mobility Week at the Fàbrica del Sol.	2	Prognostic
Art and creativity	Intervention of space, practices and activism through art.	1- Tribute to Albert Musons; 2- Installation of a giant margarita in the Castillo de Montjic, by Phillip Stanton.	3	Motivational

Source: authors' own elaboration.

frame analysis method was used to further analyze the documents. Goffman (1974, p. 21) introduced the term frames and defined them as "schemata of interpretation". There are multiple definitions of frames, but the following are particularly useful. For Entman (1993, p. 52) frames are those aspects that become salient in communication in order to place the attention on specific problems and their "causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment and recommendation". Jones (2018) claims that frames allow to obtain details, to understand the social sense which can be given to certain information, and to construct perceptions and arguments. Moreover, Lakoff (2010) further emphasizes the intentionality of framing arguing that frames constitute linguistic constructions that present issues in a certain way and that manage to influence attitudes and opinions towards these issues. In other words, frame analysis places the attention on how language is used by social actors that aim to mobilize, convince, raise visibility, etc. about specific issues. In epistemological terms, frame analysis emerges from discourse theory and is based upon social constructivism (Fletcher, 2009). Social constructionism rejects universal truths and begins with the premise that there is no pre-existing reality, instead individuals invent structures (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Also, meanings are created through the use of language (Easterby-Smith et al., 2012). In framing analysis and discourse theory, discourse is neither apolitical nor neutral (Fletcher, 2009).

For that reason, framing has been widely used in social movements (Benford & Snow, 2000) and policy making (Fletcher, 2009; van Hulst & Yanow, 2016). Framing aims to motivate, to persuade, to discourage, to attract and to mobilize other actors (Laamanen et al., 2015). Snow and Benford (1988) have provided a categorization of three frames that was later used in different fields (Baldy, 2019; Jones, 2018; Martin, 2003):

- Diagnostic frame: in which problems are detected, identified and defined.
- Prognostic frame: here solutions are offered to these problems.
- Motivational frame: which provides the rationale for taking action to address the problem.

We are employing the same categorization in order to understand how the sharing city project is framed by the municipality of Barcelona in terms of problems and solutions. The three frames, diagnostic, prognostic and motivational, were not imposed on the data, but instead they were used as lenses to explore the data. We presented our findings/codes along these three core framing tasks. In most cases, documents fitted with more than one frames. In fact, in ten out of eleven categories more than one frame is identified, and in four all three frames (see Table 3).

Certainly, frame analysis is not the only framework that could have been used in the present study. Previously, Vith et al. (2019) used comparative qualitative analysis to compare public documents of different sharing cities. Also, Wittmayer et al. (2019) used narrative analysis to study past, present and futures 'narratives of change' for social transformation (including sharing) and their performative function.

We chose to use frame analysis because it permits to see what is "hidden and highlighted" in discourse with the intention to evoke certain interpretations (Vogel, 2012). Benford & Snow have explained "prognostic framing activity typically includes refutation of the logic or efficacy of solutions advocated by opponents as well as a rationale for its own remedies." (2000, p. 617). This, on one hand, emphasizes the potential of action and agency to solve the problem (Benford & Snow, 2000), but also it legitimizes the suggested path of action and the actor that suggest it. While frame analysis has been widely used in social

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Table 3
Framing strategies and examples from dataset.

Frames	Examples	Category
Diagnostic: current situation	The first green map of the city of Barcelona (...) was already made in a participatory way, throughout the years 1997 and 1998 and was published in paper format in 1999 by the council. The Barcelona + Sustainable map has taken its essence and adapted it to the new technologies that exist today. <i>A map to rediscover the city (20.01.2017):</i> https://www.barcelona.cat/infobarcelona/es/un-mapa-para-redescubiertir-la-ciudad.455390.html	Strategic innovation and new technologies
Prognostic: responding to a need	Where can we find stores in Barcelona with a section of organic or local products? Where can we find electric vehicle charging points? These and many other questions related to socio-environmental issues are answered in the new Interactive Barcelona + Sustainable Map (B + S). <i>A map of the sustainable initiatives of the city is born (18.04.2014):</i> https://www.barcelona.cat/infobarcelona/es/my-new-post-5203_60268.html	Institutional participatory processes; Strategic innovation and new technologies
Motivational: invitation to collaborate and participate	It is an interactive map, made in a collaborative way among citizens, companies, entities and administration, which aims to promote the sustainability of the city and strengthen and energize the citizen network of Barcelona. We invite you to participate in it! "The more companies and entities join and want to collaborate with the map, the more we will advance in the culture of sustainability in Barcelona" (...) The initiatives included in the map are selected through citizen participation processes and have to meet the following basic principles: sustainability, co-responsibility, equity, inclusion, innovation, transparency and proximity. <i>A map of the sustainable initiatives of the city is born (18.04.2014)</i> https://www.barcelona.cat/infobarcelona/es/my-new-post-5203_60268.html	

Source: authors' own elaboration.

movements literature, we argue that its use should be further considered to study public discourse because it shows how public discourse aims to convince people of certain solutions to diagnosed problems while prompting them to act in favour of certain policies instead of others (Vogel, 2012). Also, "framing the problem is a fundamental aspect of policymaking" (Baldy, 2019, p. 6). Recent research on the sharing

economy has employed framing to understand how the sharing economy has been conceptualized in news media discourse (see Leung et al., 2019; Yuana et al., 2019) and in academic research (Martin, 2016). However, we lack research with regards how the sharing city project is framed, and thus understood, by municipalities. First, the diversity of frames could reveal the municipality's particular vision on what constitutes a sharing city. Second, the triple framing allows exploring what this actor (municipality) seeks to achieve at the strategic communication level.

3.2. The context: Barcelona in crisis

In recent years, Barcelona has been facing problems of different nature, from the reduction of public budget, rising insecurity, pollution, high vehicle density and inefficient lack of resources and spaces (Russo & Scarnato, 2018; Winslow & Mont, 2019). Barcelona, as the rest of Spain, was hardly hit by the 2007 financial crisis registering until the present among the highest unemployment rates in the EU. Some of the main alleged principles of the sharing economy such as the efficient use of underutilized assets, the transition towards sustainability or the financial benefits for users (Vaughan & Daverio, 2016) could potentially present an interesting alternative for the city and its residents. In the EU report Sharing and Caring COST Action (2018, p. 78) it is pointed out that in the case of Spain, "the sharing economy emergence happened during the last financial crisis, which has reduced people's buying power worldwide". But against this background, the MoB and the Catalan government have taken measures to deal in particular with the "tourismification of the city" (Russo & Scarnato, 2018, p. 456; Judd & Fainstein, 1999) and the impressive increase of house rentals through sharing platforms which have been linked to phenomena of gentrification and rising housing prices. Also, the MoB has taken action to limit the activity of platforms such as Uber, BlablaCar and Cabify (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2014). However, this should be contextualized in a broader effort in Spain to develop a legal framework to regulate sharing economy initiatives, to protect the rights of 'self-employed' workers (see examples of recent Spanish court decisions against the Deliveroo and Glovo online food delivery platforms) and to enforce incoming taxation rules (EU Sharing and Caring COST Action, 2018). Other policies of the MoB aimed to address the problems of traffic congestion and pollution in the city by presenting the use of public transport and bicycle sharing schemes as an alternative option (Winslow & Mont, 2019).

4. Findings

This section presents how the municipality of Barcelona framed the sharing city project. More specifically the three frames suggested by Benford and Snow (2000) reveal how the municipality, through different public documents, strategically builds associations between specific pathologies of the city (diagnostic frame) and the solutions provided (prognostic frame) in relation to the sharing city project. Fig. 1 summarizes the framing strategies adopted by the municipality of Barcelona and the focus of each. Hence, in the examined documents, the municipality uses discourse to 'detect the problem' and to 'generate alternatives and offer solutions'.

Moreover, the suggested solutions often require collective effort and citizen engagement so the motivational frame shows how the municipality intends to mobilize citizens to take action. One such example is the +Sustainable Barcelona map (see Table 4). The language used in each of the frames is also worth of attention with regards the strategic message transmitted. For instance, in the example of the map a positive and optimistic tone is used, which seeks to transmit an image of trust and to mobilize participation.

4.1. Frame 1. Diagnostic: confronting the crisis

As mentioned above, the framing approach places emphasis on the

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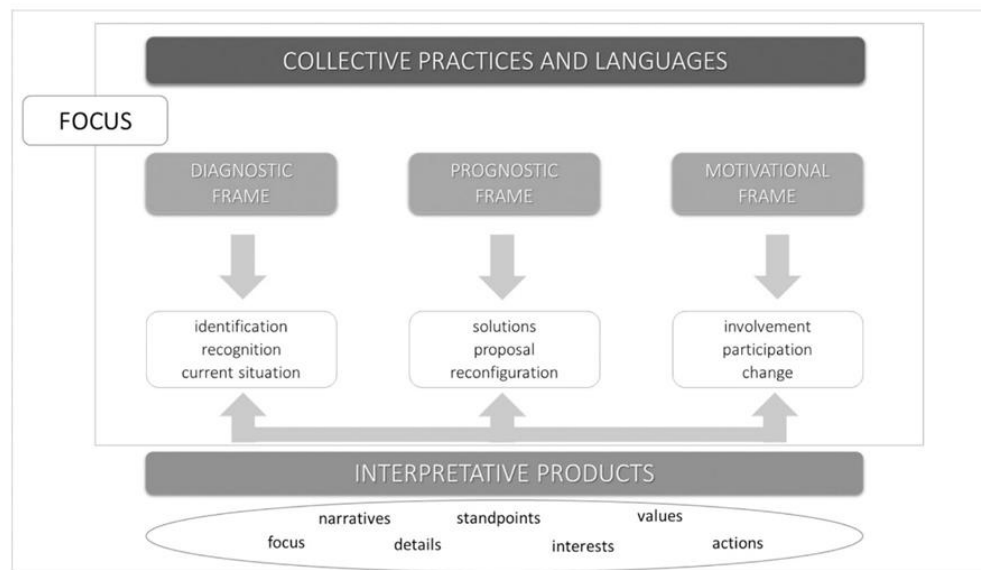


Fig. 1. Framing tasks.

Table 4
 Examples of projects, events and spaces organized by the MoB that aim to mobilize different city actors.

Barcola	A group whose initials stand for Barcelona Colaborativa which has integrated members from public administration, OuiShare, universities, private companies etc. that propose policies in relation to the implementation of the sharing city.
Procomuns	A policy brainstorming forum with monthly meetings. These are organized by Barcola and Barcelona Activa, among others. The objective is to co-design public policies to promote the procommons model and to build open collaborative platforms. They seek to actively involve citizens.
Decidim.barcelona platform	A platform where any citizen can propose ideas of projects and initiatives in relation to the sharing city. These ideas are also voted and commented in the platform, whereas suggestions are invited regarding the use of the city's budget.
LAB Metadecidim sessions	These are related to the decidim.barcelona platform. They are monthly in-person assemblies, where anyone willing to participate is able to, that serve to further discuss models of city governance.
Hackathons	Hackathons inviting people to create apps to design solutions regarding mobility, culture, tourism, urbanism, energy, commerce etc. For instance, the Apps4transparency hackathon aimed to develop an application that would enhance citizens' access to information on procedures related to the MoB.
+Sustainable Barcelona map	An interactive map co-created by citizens, companies and public administration. The map permits to get to know new spaces and touristic itineraries of largely unknown shops, spots and new experiences for citizens and tourists. This initiative fosters urban sustainability and strengthens citizen networks in Barcelona.
La comunicadora	A program that promotes sharing economy platforms offering consulting, training, technical support to procommons business models. It is operating within the Barcelona Activa agency, which is in charge of fostering entrepreneurial initiatives in the city.

definition of the problems in order to establish causal attributions and naturally connect with the recommendations proposed in the public discourse. In other words, the definition of problems allows the legitimization of certain paths of action (Elders & Lüter, 2000; Snow et al., 2007) especially for policy makers and governments (Baldy, 2019). The literature warns us on this subject that the limits between diagnosis and prognosis can sometimes be difficult to articulate (Benford, 1993; Snow et al., 2007).

In general, the documents analyzed present the problem in different degrees of magnitude and urgency. In some cases, the problem is constructed in explicit negative terms, emphasizing the impact it has on residents. For example, housing appears as of utmost importance and is presented in relation to 'price speculation', 'instability', 'inequality', 'gentrification', 'problem', 'lack of access to housing', etc. Access to housing is presented as a resident's right that requires control and measures. The situation of housing is narrated as an "emergency" for the city, which in turn is strategically used to promote the cohousing model as an alternative in the face of difficult access to dignified housing, speculation and instability. Also, other actions, such as a revision of the law which regulates rent, are presented in the examined public documents as alternative paths of institutional solutions.

In other cases, the analysis of the documents shows that the problem may be also expressed in a milder manner by arguing for instance that the city is not fulfilling its potential. Such examples are, for instance, to argue for the improvement of existing green spaces or for the warm embracement of new technologies in order to make city management more efficient. While in the example of housing, different documents present the problem in a clear negative light, for other issues the current state set out is not problematic but may be improved. Previously, diagnostic frames had been used to provide a notion of what "it should be like if it had no problems" (Martin, 2003, p. 739). We add that diagnostic framing permits the municipality to articulate the 'ideal city' not only by imagining it without problems, but by imagining its best version.

In any case, whether the diagnosis carried out aims to show an emergency for the city or to indicate its margin for improvement, the municipality is highlighted in the documents as the main actor that

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places effort in remediating the situation in areas related to public services, revitalization of neighborhoods, employment generation etc.

4.2. Frame 2. Prognostic: communicating the change

The documents are framed in a strategic manner to communicate that Barcelona City Council actively seeks to offer alternatives in the face of problems which affect the city and its communities. Prognosis framing includes a plan of attack and frame-consistent tactics for carrying it out (Snow et al., 2007). It is indicative that out of 67 documents, 54 include prognostic frames, thus representing 80% of the total. In other words, the documents analyzed may first discursively construct the problems or issues of concern, but most of the emphasis is actually placed on communicating the solutions to problems by constantly pointing out the change brought on by the municipality. This in turn, contributes to the projection of a positive image of the MoB and its actions (Fig. 2).

As already mentioned, the housing category is one of the thematic categories to which much attention is paid. Documents emphasize the right to housing and the dignity associated with this right. So, what is implicitly pointed out is that the city hall is willing to protect this right and in that regard, they explain the actions taken. The aim is very clear "... to progress with the idea of housing as a social right" (https://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/ciutatvella/es/noticia/ciutat-vella-inicia-su-primer-proyecto-de-vivienda-cooperativa-en-cesion-de-uso_497526).

In order to deal with the issue of housing, the local government has actively promoted the cohousing model, has announced an increase in public housing and has established the *Neighbourhood Plan*.

[About the *Neighbourhood Plan*]: "This is a plan for the neighborhood and against gentrification. The neighborhood plan intends to reduce inequality among the different neighborhoods of the city. In the case of South Raval and South Gothic, the plan fights against gentrification and in favour of neighbors' rights to live in the neighborhood in accessible and dignified conditions" (https://www.barcelona.cat/infobarcelona/es/el-plan-de-barrio-se-presenta-al-vecindario-del-raval_638149.html).

Furthermore, the municipality frames this plan of action as their fight against gentrification. The language used aims to establish that other actors are also involved so solutions do not solely depend on the city council in spite of their efforts. Other measures, such as the provision of cultural facilities, the refurbishment of buildings and interventions in specific problematic neighborhoods, form part of the solutions proposed. Also, the documents often refer to other positive European experiences, such as Berlin, Copenhagen and Vienna, to offer some kind of guarantee of the suggestions' potential.

The issue of gentrification and lack of housing in the city has been raised by Barcelona City Council as a direct implication of the increasing activity of accommodation sharing platforms such as Airbnb. In fact, the documents published in the Barcelona City Hall website tend to represent Airbnb under a clear negative light: "Either Airbnb abides by the law or they cannot operate in Barcelona", "Airbnb undertakes to remove

illegal flats from its platforms", etc. Also, in most documents the municipality's actions are foregrounded: "Barcelona fines Airbnb and Homeaway...", "proceedings to fine...", "municipal inspections...". Unlike other sharing cities, in the case of Barcelona the economic activity of platforms of the so-called sharing economy is under scrutiny (Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018). In this case, the city council endeavours to reverse the negative impact generated by the so-called sharing economy through different practices and projects which often invite citizen collaboration and participation. The clear participatory focus of these solutions treats the citizens as an essential actor to bring about change and solve problems, so we tend to find a combination of prognostic and motivational frames in these cases. In previous literature, prognostic frames aimed to incite collective action (Martin, 2016), and at the same time to enhance a true sense of community and empowerment (Manzini, 2019).

For example, in the analyzed documents the municipality announces the organization of competitions, such as *hackathons* for the construction of cooperative housing, the *Procomuns Forum* –an annual event for the cocreation of public policies–, the announcement of the green roofs competition where the municipality offers subsidies so that citizens come together and design green rooftops. Another example would be the participatory budgets and plans for the encouragement of culture, feminism, sexual diversity and the social and solidarity-based economy in the districts of Gràcia and the Eixample. What these all share in common is that the citizen is framed as part of the solution. The municipality aims to show that in a true sharing city the answers to the problems entail a process of dialogue, negotiation and consensus where different stakeholders, and certainly citizens, participate.

Furthermore, our findings show that in these documents the municipality openly opposes and criticizes the uncontrolled activity of certain sharing platforms. This framing is also interesting because it reveals what the municipality considers to be sharing and what is not. It also questions previous literature that places the sharing economy at the heart of the sharing city project (Agyeman et al., 2013; Longhurst et al., 2016). Instead, in the documents the MoB mainly supports organizations that promote the collaborative economy with a social benefit orientation. In fact, in one of the documents the City Hall provides a clear distinction of what is considered as sharing or collaborative economy. The document initially compares Uber and Fairmondo saying that they are both examples of the platform economy representing, though, different models: "Uber is a private company that maximises profit, whereas Fairmondo is a cooperative that belongs to its members, is based on open source and environment-friendly products, and maximises community building, what is known as the platform cooperativism model." (<https://www.barcelona.cat/metropolis/en/contents/challenges-and-opportunities-platform-economy-cities>). Moreover, an analytical tool is proposed in the same document to distinguish the real sharing platforms using criteria such as the platform's sustainability, performance, organizational democracy, participation policies and social responsibility.



Fig. 2. The institutional communication of solutions in the city.

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4.3. Frame 3. Motivational: inviting to join

According to Martin (2003, p. 736), a motivational frame “describes the group of actors and potential actors exhorting people to act”. As aforementioned, for the municipality, “citizen participation improves democracy and, thanks to the contributions of neighbours, the social demands and needs of the territory can be met... The efficiency of public policies increases with a broader consensus. The objective is therefore for citizens to participate in the decisions of the city” (https://www.barcelona.cat/infobarcelona/es/nuevos-procesos-participativos-nuevo-portal-decidim-barcelona_423675.html). Citizen participation is constantly explained as a central principle in the sharing city notion, both in previous literature (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015) and in our findings. In that regard, the MoB initiated a number of projects and spaces where the citizen is rhetorically placed at the heart of the sharing city project. Table 4 presents examples of events and initiatives that invite citizens and other actors to co-create and participate in the sharing city project.

A good example is the *decidim.barcelona* platform which is described in the documents as a “...space for the participation of all Barcelona residents, [which] will be the framework for the participatory processes of the city and of the neighbourhoods to collectively construct the municipal policies with the citizens” (https://www.barcelona.cat/info-barcelona/es/nuevos-procesos-participativos-nuevo-portal-decidim-barcelona_423675.html).

Fig. 3 displays how Barcelona sharing city is presented through the three frames used for the analysis as an opportunity, good practice and citizen empowerment.

The presentation of the South Raval *Neighbourhood Plan* was carried out by means of a neighbourhood festival, in which photographs of the residents were displayed, using the motto “We are from the Raval”. Also, the music playlist was compiled by all participating neighbors. The promotion of encounters of this type not only guarantees access to information on new policies and initiatives of the city hall, but also brings together citizens and helps to measure their degree of participation.

These urban dynamics moreover provide a sense of identity and integration and, above all, fosters a sense of community which can motivate the citizens even more (Govers, 2018).

It seems that the municipality aims for citizen empowerment and participation in the long term. In a document it is indicated that “the objective is for young people to become political players of the city and to formulate commitments and feasible recommendations for improvement which can be channelled and applied through the municipal plan” (https://www.barcelona.cat/infobarcelona/es/empieza-el-audiencia-publica-a-los-chicos-y-las-chicas-que-se-centra-este-curso-en-el-refugio_423501.html). To achieve this, the municipality often informs in the analyzed documents that they will provide the required structures (e.g. platforms, spaces).

Other areas, such as art, also allow for citizens involvement. In 2016, the artist Philip Stanton produced a giant installation in the courtyard of Montjuïc Castle, where Barcelona residents participated in the creative process. The redesign of *GuiaBCN*, on the council portal, also asked from citizens and associations to design contents.

5. Discussion

The ideal sharing city has emerged as another best practice city project in recent years. However, similar to the smart city, there is no coherent global discourse about the practical implementation of the sharing city project, which may lead in very distinct interpretations of the same notion (Joss et al., 2019). This paper has explored how the sharing city project is envisaged by the MoB and it is strategically communicated as part of the city’s governance.

In our analysis, it is rather evident that consensus, dialogue and active citizen participation are central elements in the sharing city notion that the MoB projects. Table 4 presents different events and initiatives where citizens and other actors are invited to co-create with the MoB. Also, seventeen documents were found in the Institutional Participatory Processes category, which represents the most saturated thematic category, where new modes of governance, structures and

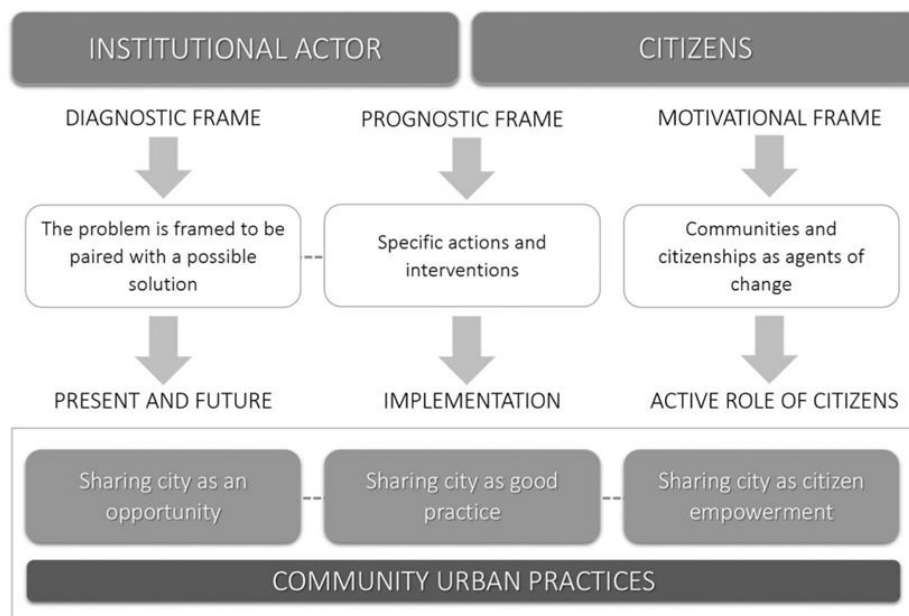


Fig. 3. Main findings of frame analysis.

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spaces to facilitate dialogue in the city are communicated. Also, seven documents were found in the Community development category describing initiatives that increase human interaction in the city. The *decidim.barcelona* platform would be an example of the former category whereas the establishment of neighbourhood communities an example of the latter. All these reveal that the rhetoric of the sharing city project foregrounds the importance of the citizen and lies on the principles of empowerment, participation, democracy and human interaction. Similarly to what has been argued before, the sharing city is presented with a clear human centric focus emphasizing citizen benefit and participation above all (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018; McLaren & Agyeman, 2015).

Certainly, this does not mean that the sharing city should not rely on new technologies or should not be oriented towards sustainability and innovation. In the case of Barcelona, a good number of documents are placed in the Strategic Innovation and new technologies category ($n=13$) that is focused on the development of technology applications and platform economy. The importance of technology is found in many categories from education (see the example of promoting the use of 3D printers in schools) to transport and the facilitation of sustainable modes of transport in the city using mobile applications. Furthermore, the analyzed documents suggest a clear support of certain private entities like Fab Lab Barcelona or public entities like the BarCola which offer tools, services and resources to the community in order to generate social and economic innovation.

According to the results obtained, the sharing city project is narrated as an opportunity and a work in progress. The idea that “there is more to be done”, but that the government “is working on it” is constantly transmitted. Also, another idea that is emphasized is that solutions arise collectively. This has a dual purpose. It both seeks to convince the audiences to identify with the ideas promoted and to demonstrate the achievements of the municipal administration in leadership of the collaborative city. It moreover makes it clear that the impetus of the model is top-down, but it has conceived a civic collective structure to bring it to fruition (McLaren & Agyeman, 2015).

Moreover, the incentives offered to citizens to participate in the sharing city project are diverse (Böcker & Meelen, 2017, p. 37). Citizens’ participation is rendered meaningful and they are enticed to collaborate with the government to produce social change in their city, or else as an expression of care towards their city (Laamanen et al., 2015). With some options there may be economic (OAE – *Barcelona Activa*, *Smart City Expo World Congress*, etc.), environmental (+*Sustainable Barcelona map*, *Programme to promote urban green infrastructure*, *furniture collection*, *Fàbrica del Sol*, etc.), artistic (*tribute to Albert Musons*, *flowers in Montjuïc Castle*), technological (*Smart City App Hack*, *Mobile Week BCN*, etc.), or social incentives (*agreement with Elisava*, *Plaza Ferrán Reyes*, *festive presentation South Raval Neighbourhood Plan*, etc.). Previous research suggests that the permanent collaboration between governmental power and citizens may also reinforce the sense of local identity and allows communities to endorse their rights through participation (Compte-Pujol et al., 2017; Kavatzis, 2012; Kavatzis & Kalandides, 2015).

The use of frame analysis permitted to explore the indivisible problem-solution nexus. According to Vicari (2010, p. 509) frame analysis “investigates processes of signification: it looks at the way meaning becomes functional to mobilize collective action”. The underlying idea is that discourse can perform different tasks: it may intend to identify a problem and attribute blame and causality (diagnostic), to provide solutions (prognostic) and to mobilize certain group/s to act (motivational) (Vicari, 2010). Furthermore, it can prove a particularly useful lens to examine public discourses because it shows how institutions try to convince people of their suggested or adopted policies by establishing such policies as the sensible path of action (Vogel, 2012). Eilders and Lüter (2000), for instance, show through frame analysis how the German government tried to legitimize its participation in the Kosovo war.

In this particular case, the documents analyzed placed greater emphasis on the prognosis which shows a strategic intention to reflect

numerous achievements, initiatives and efforts on the part of the municipality. Achievements can be successfully communicated if they are framed as solutions to specific problems. However, this means that problems need to be clearly articulated first. In this sense, the frame analysis has been a useful lens in identifying diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames to justify not only why the sharing city is a loadable goal of city management, but also what context-specific practices are useful and timely in line with the municipality’s agenda. Furthermore, the sharing city is proposed as the result of the joint collaboration of citizens, the government and other actors; hence, motivational frames aim to mobilize and empower citizens. However, at the same time this shows how the MoB ‘responsibilizes’ the citizens in the implementation of the sharing city project. The documents analyzed implicitly suggest that the successful implementation of the sharing city project largely depends on whether citizens will take on their responsibilities. However, as Clarke (2005, p. 451) puts it, citizens are “subjects of practices of governmental constitution...they are not just ‘responsible’, they are the product of processes of responsibilization”.

Our findings also show how the sharing city is understood and framed in relation to the notion of sharing and the sharing economy. First of all, unlike other empirical cases (Agyeman et al., 2013; Longhurst et al., 2016), here the endorsement of the sharing economy by the sharing city project is questioned. We have previously explained that the notions of sharing and the sharing economy have been criticized in previous literature and different authors have explicitly argued that many sharing economy platforms have nothing to do with sharing (Belk, 2014; Schor, 2014; Skågeby, 2015; Eckhardt & Bardhi, 2016). Although it is not our intention to enter in this debate, our findings show a similar positioning on the part of MoB. The MoB explains what is included/excluded from their definition of sharing. For instance, the presentation of Uber as a profit-maximizing company versus the cooperative Fairmondo that maximises community building by the MoB, which we presented in our findings section, are good examples of what the MoB understands as sharing and part of the sharing economy. In the documents, it can be seen that the local government is particularly critical of certain sharing platforms echoing already raised concerns about the lack of regulation and various negative externalities (Martin, 2016). The MoB embraces a very concrete notion of sharing and the sharing economy, that of collective benefit, cooperativism, peer-to-peer production and consumption with a social orientation. These interrelated aspects, namely first how the sharing city project is articulated in relation to the sharing economy and second the definition of sharing that local governments embrace, could be used by future research in order to develop taxonomies of the implementation of sharing city projects. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that the analyzed documents correspond to the first term of office of a leftist party. However, a future party change could bring on a different approach for the sharing city project. Therefore, a potential boundary condition of this study is the political orientation of the local government, which seems to play its part on how the sharing city project is being implemented.

6. Conclusions

In this paper, we have tried to explore how the sharing city project is understood and strategically communicated in the case of Barcelona by the municipality. In relation to methodology adopted, frame analysis allowed us to delve into how the government favours its political brand through the communication of the sharing city project seeking to strengthen the trust in this institutional actor and its proposals. The content, as well as the narrative tone and style of the examined documents aim to show public opinion the evidence of the municipality’s achievements and to announce future plans. Also, the communication of the government’s actions and policies “accompanies the ‘architectural’ phase of the exercising of power and the implementation of an agenda” (Noguera, 2012, p. 79).

The MoB is presented as the main institutional player that manages

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the implementation of the sharing city project in Barcelona. The municipality is the actor that enables, controls and promotes the sharing city (Bernardi & Diamantini, 2018). However, the analytical method and dataset chosen put the spotlight on one actor whereas more actors are, without a doubt, involved in sharing city projects. Future research could provide insights about how different actors participate in these processes, especially for sharing cities where many bottom-up initiatives take place. Also, the interaction between actors and the conflicts that take place could be of interest.

Sharing cities have been defined in a very citizen-centric manner, which is further confirmed in our data (Agyeman et al., 2013; Chan & Zhang, 2018). In turn, this means that the sharing city project promulgates new understandings of citizenship or what Joss et al. (2017) call a new citizenship regime. This new citizenship regime is intentionally articulated by the MoB as more democratic and participatory with obvious benefits for the empowered citizens in order to further legitimize the sharing city project. However, while there are numerous examples of the projects and spaces that would allow for co-creation of the local government with citizens and other stakeholders (e.g. see Table 4), the main focus of the MoB communication efforts is on informing about these initiatives leaving in the background how citizens would exactly exercise their agency. For example, the decidim.barcelona platform is an open space for citizens to make suggestions for how to spend the public budget, but the MoB would make any final decisions. Moreover, there is lack of information on how these initiatives are received by residents and how much they feel that their voices are being heard. An example is the presentation of the Neighborhood Plan for the Gothic and Raval neighborhoods (see Findings) but without any evidence of the residents' feedback on it. This is an oxymoron given the centrality of citizens as actors in the sharing city project.

Then, other aspects that draw the attention is whether all citizens can equally participate in the spaces that the MoB opens for them or certain groups will be excluded (Calzada & Cobo, 2015). For example, digital tools such as online platforms or mobile applications are commonplace which excludes the digitally and technology illiterate citizens and the ones without access to internet and technologies, e.g. homeless and other marginalized groups. The consideration of the digital divide is only an example of whether the suggested policies and projects are inclusive enough for all citizens.

Furthermore, in our empirical case the sharing city project is

ultimately a project of the MoB which invites for citizens' participation. In spite of the value that the initiatives taking place may have, local governments decide and define what is sharing and ask for specific types of participation from their citizens. Also, these projects may aim to mainly favour the political brand endorsed by local governments. For instance, Asplund (2011, p. 125) points out that initiatives to foster social entrepreneurship or green infrastructures "bring social prestige and an immediate feeling of activity" which positively reinforces the city place brand and the municipality's political brand (Jernsand & Kraff, 2017). Alternatively, these projects could be unreflexively adopted as "an obligatory passage point...to modernization" (Krivý, 2018, p. 13). It remains to further examine the real social impact that the sharing city project has on the city, on the residents and other actors. For instance, is bridging and bonding social capital created? Moreover, examining citizens' and other stakeholders' views regarding whether sharing city projects live up to their hype could be an interesting line of future research.

CRedit authorship contribution statement

The first author downloaded the dataset and carried out a preliminary analysis. Then the dataset was jointly analyzed by all three reviewers. The first and second authors carried out the literature review. All three authors carried out the methodological design of the study and equally participated in the discussion and conclusions sections.

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Declaration of competing interest

None.

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Appendix A

Appendix

List of news items contained on Barcelona City Council website.

News Title	Año	Frame	Category
1 Cómo ha de ser el futuro de la economía colaborativa	2016	Prognostic	Institutional Participatory processes
2 Nace un concurso internacional para hallar soluciones digitales para las ciudades inteligentes	2015	Prognostic	Strategic innovation and new technologies
3 Un mapa para redescubrir la ciudad	2017	Prognostic	Strategic innovation and new technologies
4 Todo a punto para la Smart City App Hack	2017	Motivational	Strategic innovation and new technologies
5 Ciutat Vella inicia su primer proyecto de Housing cooperativa en cesión de uso	2017	Prognostic	Housing
6 Debate sobre economía digital en el Smart City Expo World Congress	2016	Prognostic	Institutional Participatory processes
7 Cómo aplicar el diseño para mejorar la ciudad	2017	Prognostic	Education
8 Nuevos procesos participativos, nuevo portal decidim.barcelona	2016	Prognostic	Institutional Participatory processes
9 Inicio del periodo de información pública de los proyectos de reurbanización del Distrito de Sarrià - Sant Gervasi	2017	Prognostic	Institutional Participatory processes
10 Más verde para hacer una ciudad más saludable	2017	Prognostic	Urban planning and the environment
11 Abierta la convocatoria del concurso de cubiertas verdes	2017	Prognostic	Urban planning and the environment
12 Nace un mapa de las iniciativas sostenibles de la ciudad	2014	Prognostic	Institutional Participatory processes
13 La Oficina de Atención a las Empresas se abrirá al mundo de la economía social y colaborativa	2015	Prognostic	Strategic innovation and new technologies
14 La economía social y solidaria en el mundo local se debate en Montreal	2016	Prognostic	Entrepreneurship

(continued on next page)

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Appendix (continued)

News Title	Año	Frame	Category
15 Barcelona celebra el Día Mundial de las Ciudades	2017	Prognostic	Urban planning and the environment
16 Decidamos el futuro de la economía social y solidaria	2016	Motivational	Institutional Participatory processes
17 El Fórum Procomuns 2017 se celebrará el 27 y el 28 de junio en Barcelona	2017	Prognostic	Entrepreneurship
18 Construcción de 110 pisos en 5 solares municipales según la fórmula de la coHousing	2017	Motivational	Housing
19 Las Sharing Cities Summit elige Barcelona	2017	Prognostic	Education Entrepreneurship Institutional Participatory processes
20 Mobile Week BCN, ¿hacia dónde va la transformación digital?	2017	Prognostic	Strategic innovation and new technologies
21 Barcelona estrena un nuevo modelo de web	2015	Diagnostic Prognostic	Institutional Participatory processes
22 Fin de semana: Rutas por la Barcelona femenina, museos y la épica del maratón	2018	Prognostic	Community development
23 Barcelona recibe el premio "Thinking Cities" por el uso de las aplicaciones móviles para obtener datos ciclistas	2015	Motivational Prognostic	Art and creativity Transport
24 Los muebles, ¡el día que toca!	2017	Prognostic	Urban planning and the environment
25 Oferta de programas i talleres formativos para iniciativas de Economía Social y Solidaria	2017	Motivational	Education
26 La Housing y la economía solidaria, ejes de la visita municipal a Montreal y Nueva York	2018	Prognostic	Housing
27 Barcelona Activa da un paso adelante para impulsar la economía solidaria	2016	Prognostic	Entrepreneurship
28 ¡Ven y descubre la nueva Fábrica del Sol!	2018	Motivational	Urban planning and the environment
29 Taller participativo para aportar nuevas ideas sobre las tecnologías aplicadas al deporte	2015	Prognostic	Institutional Participatory processes
30 Plan de Barrios se presenta al vecindario del Raval	2017	Motivational	Community development
31 Mobile Week BCN, ¿hacia dónde va la transformación digital?	2017	Prognostic	Strategic innovation and new technologies
32 Presentación del uBMS, el observatorio de mariposas urbanas	2018	Prognostic	Urban planning and the environment
33 El Plan de Barrio se presenta al vecindario del Gòtic	2017	Prognostic	Community development
34 Un salón para combatir el paro juvenil	2018	Prognostic	Employment Education
35 Empieza la Audiencia Pública a los chicos y las chicas, que se centra este curso en el refugio	2016	Motivational	Community development Education
36 Tecnología al servicio de la democracia	2017	Motivational	Strategic innovation and new technologies Institutional Participatory processes
37 Fin de semana: El carnaval enloquece a los distritos [Debate abierto sobre la transformación digital]	2017	Motivational	Community development
38 De los 'fab labs' a las 'fab cities'	2014	Prognostic	Strategic innovation and new technologies
39 Colau apuesta por una economía que reduce las desigualdades	2015	Prognostic	Institutional Participatory processes
40 La Semana de la Movilidad en La Fábrica del Sol	2016	Prognostic	Transport
41 Siete solares municipales se destinarán a Housing cooperativa	2016	Prognostic	Housing
42 Comienza una nueva etapa de desarrollo en la plataforma Decidim	2018	Prognostic	Institutional Participatory processes
43 #JAM17 sobre 'Tecnologías para una democracia en red'	2017	Prognostic	Institutional Participatory processes
44 Aumentan en un 50% las subvenciones para proyectos educativos con utilidad social	2016	Prognostic	Institutional Participatory processes Education
45 Nuevas tecnologías al servicio de la democracia	2018	Prognostic	Institutional Participatory processes
46 Los Mercados participan por primera vez de la Barcelona International Community Day	2017	Motivational	Community development Food
47 Fira de Barcelona ha celebrado 68 salones durante el 2015	2015	Diagnostic	Employment
48 Gracia se vuelca en una obra en homenaje a Albert Musons	2015	Motivational	Art and creativity
49 Si eres inquilino/a, tienes derechos y recursos para acceder a la Housing. ¿Los conoces?	2017	Prognostic	Housing
50 #HabitatgeJove: "Joven, ¿buscas piso?"	2017	Prognostic	Housing
51 Estrategia metropolitana y 1.800 millones para revitalizar el delta del Llobregat	2018	Prognostic	Urban planning and the environment
52 Unas flores gigantes subvierten la historia del Castillo de Montjuïc	2016	Prognostic	Art and creativity
53 La fabricación digital y en 3D se acerca a las aulas	2014	Prognostic	Education
54 Encuentro de intercambio entre los equipamientos de Education ambiental en Sagunt	2017	Prognostic	Urban planning and the environment
55 La Housing en Barcelona: un cambio de paradigma a todos los niveles	2017	Diagnostic	Housing
56 Més verd per fer una ciutat més saludable	2017	Prognostic	Urban planning and the environment
57 Reflexionemos sobre la Economía Circular en Código Abierto	2016	Prognostic	Strategic innovation and new technologies
58 El Ayuntamiento apuesta por la coHousing en Ciutat Vella e impulsa la Housing social	2017	Prognostic	Housing
59 Economía circular contra la brecha digital	2018	Prognostic	Strategic innovation and new technologies
60 Impulso municipal para el 22@	2017	Diagnostic	Urban planning and the environment
61 Las sesiones LAB Metadecidim, disponibles en vídeo	2017	Prognostic	Institutional Participatory processes
62 Publicadas las subvenciones de Innovación Democrática	2017	Prognostic	Institutional Participatory processes
63 El viaje educativo	2017	Motivational	Education Community development
64 ¿Es posible terminar la Sagrada Familia con impresión 3D?	2016	Diagnostic	Strategic innovation and new technologies
65 La Wikipedia la construimos entre todos i todas	2014	Prognostic	Strategic innovation and new technologies
66 Los jóvenes construyen el futuro de la plaza de Ferran Reyes	2016	Motivational	Community development
67 Ciclo L'Era Digital: La intel·ligència màquina	2018	Prognostic	Education

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