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Trust and Reciprocity: The Foundations of the Sharing Economy[1]

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Trust is like energy. Like energy
it can not be destroyed (Rachel Botsman)

Abstract

The economic crisis that has hit hard on traditional markets and businesses, as well as the spread of digital platforms, have encouraged the emergence of new cultural practices and new forms of meeting between supply and demand for goods and services.

[1] This paper is the result of the common reflection of the authors. In the editing phase, 'A new model for the recovery of social bonds benefits', 'Main assets of the sharing economy' and 'Conclusions: expansion of the sharing economy but not without doubts' sections were written by Elvira Martini; the 'The role of trust' section was written by Francesco Vespasiano.

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Public attention has been directed towards new practices, such as the sharing economy, which expresses the emergence of a real revolution based on the culture of reuse and direct access. Practices, in other words, 'connoted by the hybridization between formal and informal actions and oriented towards the re-embeddedness of economic exchange' (Arcidiacono, 2013).

Jeremy Rifkin (2014) prefigures a new 'participatory economy', made possible by digital technology and within 'freedom of access exceeds the ownership, sustainability supplants consumerism, cooperation ousts competition. An economy where the logic of the delegation is overcome and all the actors interact and release new resources in order to identify and implement responses to their needs'.

The aim of this work is to advance a reflection on how the sharing economy can help shape new forms of welfare, where social ties are increasingly the foundation of economic exchange and cooperation (Pais, Mainieri, 2015), looking at the potential of the community economy and the recovery of the reciprocity and sociality values.

Keywords: participated economy, trust, sociability.

1. A new model for the recovery of social bonds benefits

Sharing economy, collaborative consumption, internet of things, collaborative economy, common-based economy (Botsman, Rogers, 2011, 2017); Belk, 2007, 2010, 2014; Benkler, 2004): these are different expressions that show the ability of technology to change society and people's lives, in a context in which resources are increasingly scarce. Arcidiacono and Pais (2017: 1) define them as 'new models of production, distribution and consumption able to break out of the scheme of individuality, looking at the potential of the community economy and the recovery of the value of reciprocity, in a Polanyian sense'.

The sharing economy has been considered an emerging phenomenon in the early 2000s but it is a consolidated trend today, which allows people to save and earn money through sharing (the object of sharing can be goods, tools, spaces, services, skills, ideas, work: co-working, car-sharing, co-housing, crowdfunding).

It was born from the challenges imposed by an increasingly competitive economic scenario; this collaborative model responds effectively to the economic crisis by promoting conscious and sustainable forms of consumption based on the reuse, on the trust, on the flexibility and on the socialization of innovation (Martini, 2011). Society seems to respond with great interest to this challenge, because it allows us to rediscover the advantages of social ties, the need to save money, the desire to experiment interesting and innovative forms of consumption[1].

These considerations include the sociological interest in this phenomenon inspired, on the one hand, by the fact that social ties constitute a reserve of value in the processes of adoption of innovations and, on the other hand, by the dynamics of transformation with which these phenomena impact the welfare mix (Ascoli, Pasquinelli, 1993).

The scenario of reference to which these reflections are inspired is that of the decline of the capitalist paradigm and the transition from capitalist markets to the collaborative commons of the new cognitive capitalism[2] (Rifkin, 2014).

Inspired by Rifikin's reflections we can affirm that the birth of the digital platforms of the sharing economy is due to the fact that they can develop at very low marginal costs, relying on 'an already existing and consolidated infrastructure, which construction did not have to bear costs, which takes the name of the Internet' (Gansky, 2012: 14-15). Therefore, the sharing economy is favored, in addition to the almost free development that it can enjoy, also by special attention. The attention was focused on the creation of social communication systems at the beginning of the 2000s, today this attention is also widening in the direction of social exchange systems based on the logic of social networks (Mainieri, 2013, 2014).

The words of Marta Mainieri provide a precise synthesis of this change: 'the [economic-financial] crisis acts as an enabling factor [...]. The mass adoption of the Internet and digital media allows us to open new markets and, simultaneously, act on people, transforming them from simple users into knowledgeable and active people, capable of organizing themselves and making themselves heard and, subsequently, also leaving the network and concretely affecting everyday life' (Mainieri, 2013: 11).

As L. Gansky says (2012: 17), the collaborative phenomenon 'is made possible by the way we are all increasingly connected with everything else'.

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[1] 'In fact, the drive to share - as Laura Bovone writes in the essay *Prosperity and conviviality: the creativity between crisis and utopia* - is not a novelty: it is rather a long-term trend that has its roots in the protests of the 1970s, when the prosumerism and *DoItYourself* philosophy were affirmed, the first signs of the redefinition of the boundaries between work, consumption and participation' (Lunghi, Mazzucotelli Salice, Pais, 2018: 97).

[2] 'The collaborative commons is the place where billions of people engage in the most profoundly social aspects of life. A dimension made up of millions of self-managed organizations (e.g. charitable organizations, religious institutions, artistic and cultural groups, educational foundations, amateur sports clubs, producer and consumer cooperatives, cooperative credit institutions, health organizations, advocacy groups, condominium associations) and an endless list of other formal and informal institutions that generate the social capital of civil society' (Rifkin, 2014: 26).

In addition, even the social parabola has expressed all its potential and it shows its limits today. Freedom, autonomy, release from any previous anthropological, social, religious or political connection; virtualization and remotization of relationships; time of work *vs.* personal time, these are the factors that now show the limits of our contemporary culture and open up new perspectives (Perotti, 2015).

Gansky summarizes six global trends that would have favored the development of the sharing economy (2012):

1) the mistrust that the economic-financial crisis has generated regarding the old brands, generating a change of attitude in the consumers;
2) consumer's rethinking of what they consider valuable in their lives. It is the concept of value that is changing, disconnecting from the notion of value linked to price;
3) the social pressure deriving from the problems of overpopulation and resource scarcity;
4) the increasing urban density;
5) climate change and the consequent increase in production costs, especially of throwaway goods;
6) the spread of multiple information networks, such as to allow companies to provide customized services 'just in time'

It is very difficult to understand which of these factors plays a more important role but what is noted here is that each of them has an impact to some extent.

Similarly, it is not easy to understand whether new technologies are the enabling factor of sharing or rather the result of a greater propensity to share which has led to the need for the creation of virtual places for sharing. It would be technology that would enable the distributed trust mentioned by Botsman (2011, 2017) and which is the key to the sharing economy and the most famous companies that have made it a successful business (Airbnb, Uber, Lending Club, Blablacar); an orientation that allowed new players to enter *the trust market*[3].

Technology and spirit of sharing seem to progress together, influencing each other: technologies predispose individuals towards a more collaborative

[3] The technological risks are there. In fact, there are forces that make it possible to establish, maintain but also destroy consumer trust, decreeing the success or failure of a business model depending on the capacity of an organization to ride (or not) the current trust shift, or the shift of public trust towards actors that are not part of the traditional economic and social system. Botsman also defines this epochal transition as a trust leap, highlighting the 'leap' we make when we trust people, brands or systems that propose us to act differently from the usual, rewriting the rules of every relationship, economic and personal (Cambosu, 2017).

mentality; they allow access to a flow of information never seen before and a much more efficient allocation of resources, bringing together demand and supply at a speed previously unthinkable.

2. Main assets of the Sharing economy

The Oxford Dictionary introduced the *Sharing Economy* term only in 2015, confirming how recent the phenomenon is. The definition is: 'It is an economic system in which goods or services are shared between private individuals, free or payment, through the internet. Thanks to the sharing economy, you can easily rent your car, your apartment, your bicycle or even your own Wi-Fi network when you don't use them'[4].

> Despite the clarity of the definition, trying to unambiguously define the phenomenon is however very difficult, since it is not completely exhaustive. The collaborative economy, in fact, is world wide which includes the digital platforms that put people in direct contact but also cohousing, coworking, open source, social streets, phenomena that show very different facets, while promoting all forms of peer collaboration. However, not being able to advance hypotheses of completeness, we will limit ourselves to establishing some boundary lines that allow us to understand what is inside and what is outside this rampant phenomenon (Martini, Vespasiano, 2016: 32).

Rachel Botsman (2015) identifies five fundamental factors for truly collaborative companies:

- the idea of a core business that frees up the unused or underused value of assets ('idling capacity'), in exchange for monetary or extra-monetary benefits;
- a mission built on significant principles and values, including transparency, humanity and authenticity;
- a platform that connects suppliers and users and provides rights for both parties;
- a clear advantage in accessing goods and services with respect to property costs;
- an activity built on distributed markets or decentralized networks that creates a sense of belonging, collective responsibility and mutual benefit through the community.

[4] Available at http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/sharing-economy?q=sharing+economy

> In these terms, then, in order to really talk about the sharing economy, it is necessary to verify four aspects of the collaboration[5]: *sharing*, when accessing a temporary resource and the platform does not provide for cash transactions (Timerepublik), the *rent*, when accessing a temporary resource and the transaction is mediated by money (Airbnb), the *exchange*, when it is bartered a resource in exchange for another without intermediation of money (Baratto Facile), even if the exchange is mediated by alternative currencies (Reoose), the *sale*, if what is definitively sold is a used object (Subito.it) (Martini, Vespasiano, 2016: 34).

The platforms used vary according to their orientation (and can be for-profit or non-profit organizations) and their market structure (and be peer-to-peer or business-to-peer) and therefore, the forms of the exchange are defined by the configurations assumed by the platforms (Schor, 2014) (Fig. 1).

FIGURE 1. The sharing economy platforms.

		TYPE OF PROVIDER	
		Peer to peer	**Business to peer**
PLATFORM ORIENTATION	**Non profit**	*1* *Food swaps, Time banks*	*2* *Makerspaces*
	For profit	*3* *Relay rides, Airbnb*	*4* *Zipcar*

Sources: our calculations by Schor, 2014.

> In the for-profit orientation platforms are owned by private corporations while, on the contrary, those used for non-profit purposes can be adapted according to the best ability to use, according to the needs of the subjects. In some cases, in fact, it happens that the users who use the platform are the same ones that guarantee their functioning, and in this case, they are called recursive publics (Arvidsson, Delfanti, 2013). Furthermore, non-profit platforms can be conceptualized as suppliers of services aimed at a public benefit and co-designed and implemented by the community as public goods. (Luise, Chiappini, 2017: 86).

[5] For an interesting study on these topics, you can see Sennett R. (2012), *Insieme. Rituali, piaceri, politiche di collaborazione*, Feltrinelli Editore, Milano.

In summary, in quadrants 1 and 3, the user is a private citizen who can buy, use, sell or decide to offer a service, while in quadrants 2 and 4 the user is only a consumer who buys a good or service through a platform. Therefore, only quadrants 1, 2, 3 can actually be considered part of the sharing economy; the fourth is composed of conventional economy platforms, which use the typical technology of the shared economy, not being so different from booking platforms for flights or accommodation such as Expedia or Booking.com (Schor, 2014)[6].

2.1 Socialize innovation

The reference to the concept of collaboration opens the space to an important reflection on the fundamental role that socialization has in setting the foundations of the sharing economy.

In the Diffusion of Innovation Rogers supported the importance of the c.d. critical mass, defined as that sufficient number of adopters of an innovation in a social system so that the adoption rate becomes self-sufficient and creates further growth (2003).

Once introduced, in fact, innovation contains novel features, against which individuals can react differently based on their degree of knowledge, persuasion and adoption decision, contributing or not to making that innovation socially shared (Martini, 2011).

Taking up the theses of Lazarsfeld and Menzel (1963), Rogers points out that personal influence is often much more relevant than that of the mass media. The latter, in effect, have the power to inform, but the power to persuade is

[6] Luise and Chiappinni report an interesting reflection on two other areas in which there is debate on the theme of the sharing economy: 'one that could be defined as political / institutional and the other pop / mainstream. The first one is framed within the guidelines of the European Commission (2016), which issued, last June, the guidelines for the European Collaborative Economy Agenda (CE) [...]. The institutional definition used seems to follow the overall vision proposed by Schor and at the same time emphasizes its for-profit dimension. This tendency could be explained by the need of national and international bodies to regulate this phenomenon, focusing on the areas that generate profit and on the distinction of the subjects that participate in the economic activity. The second scene features the movements that promote and spread the sharing culture at the mainstream level [...]. Here the emphasis is on creating communities that operate outside hierarchical systems through trust networks and distributed power. This system tends to eliminate the classic dichotomy between producer and consumer, enabling a new social and economic model. Within the proposed taxonomy, we are in a non-profit orientation of the sharing economy where the sharing of knowledge and skills can generate value for the community, both online and offline' (2017: 87-88).

very weak compared to that which characterizes personal communication (d'Andrea, 2006). Therefore, when determining the degree of diffusion, the following are involved:

- the dominant social norms;
- the presence of opinion leaders, who influence decisions;
- the existence of change aides, that is subjects who take charge of advancing innovation within the social system.

The concept of critical mass therefore plays a fundamental role for the sharing economy because most types of model can be represented as an innovation, and as such they need a level of diffusion such that the system becomes self-sufficient, which is precisely given by the critical mass.

The success of the sharing economy model can only be generated and self-sustained when a critical mass of consumers will provide products and skills that can constitute an offer in line with the different types of consumer needs.

Moreover, the critical mass has the ability to overcome the psychological barriers that inhibit the adoption of something new or different. Clearly, the critical mass level is not a predefined standard but varies according to the context, needs and type of users who use the service. Social proof is a crucial factor for collaborative consumption practices, as some of them often require a change in habits by those who decide to adopt them (Botsman, Rogers, 2011)[7].

The sharing economy spreads rapidly in the local community due to its unique ability to intercept widespread needs, producing unpublished responses that modify the behavior of people and groups and, with this, the same social fabric from which they generate. The model of response to the need and the discomfort proposed by the sharing economy tends to recompose fragmentation, to create a permanent network of support for people by leveraging reactivation and strengthening social ties within a community. It is a strongly inclusive model, both in terms of the socialization of needs (demand) and the integration of the resources of the community context (offer), aimed at designing a 'community welfare' that sees people, families, informal groups, organized groups and institutions as protagonists.

It is the community that intercepts and socializes emerging needs and that produces shared solutions in a perspective of maximum openness and pluralism, involving different subjects and activating existing resources.

The sharing economy model has triggered those aggregation and socialization mechanisms that have laid the foundations for a new enhancement

[7] For example, in this case, users of sharing economy mainly belong to the category of innovators, so-called early adopters, in the web culture. These users know the sharing platforms through the network and social media, but have started using them mainly out of necessity.

of social and trust bonds; in this way a community network is created in which citizens no longer see themselves as passive users of services, but as actors in the entire process of interception of needs and creation of responses, from ideation-planning to the production of services. The design thus becomes co-planning and co-production, within a public-private and private-social partnership framework (Bolognini, Bosetto, 2015).

3. The role of trust

Akerlof (1970), precursor of the imperfect information economy and in particular of economic analysis in situations of information asymmetry, pointed out that informal unwritten guarantees, including trust, are the 'preconditions of exchange and production'. 'Without trust, economic exchange is as if tethered, if not completely prevented. [...] This negative theory of the costs of non-trust in recent years has given way to a positive approach focused on the advantages of trust and, more precisely, on the role it plays in the economic performance of different nations' (Laurent, 2013: 70)[8].

If the market of this new economy is the web and digital technologies are the tools that have allowed its development, then the currency that makes it work is, in this case more than ever, just the trust. Without the intangible capital of interpersonal trust, there is little movement in the collaborative economy.

The role of technology is precisely to enable the construction of fiduciary bonds between strangers through feedback. To foster trust, a collaborative service offers tools such as identity verification, document scanning, and a rating and review system, with a vote on the performance received. In the words of Rachel Botsman the real magic element of the collaborative consumption markets is to use the potential of technology to create trust between strangers (Botsman, 2012). In fact, it is likely that within a few years all digital operators will have an aggregate reputation, which can also be defined as 'reputational capital'. This capital could potentially replace or complement a person's risk profile as a decisive factor in assessing their reliability.

Thus, reputation becomes the new currency: a negative comment becomes fatal if you wish to continue sharing, while more positive comments improve your reputation and increase the possibility of exchanging. Paradoxically, trust in sharing with strangers arises from distrust in the systems of traditional capitalism, says Laurent (2013); in an era dominated by a severe crisis of trust

[8] 'One of the most important lessons we can learn from the examination of economic life is that the well-being of a nation, as well as its ability to sustain competition, is conditioned by a single and pervasive cultural characteristic: the level of trust that exists in the society' (Fukuyama, 1996: 20).

in the markets, the social foundations of our world have become more uncertain - including the social norms that are embodied in our institutions - and interpersonal trust once again becomes indispensable. The financial crisis somehow destroys institutional trust, sending citizens back to trusted private relationships.

The explosion of the sharing economy can be seen, therefore, as a regression towards more primitive forms of trust and the actors of these new forms of collaborative economy will have to be able to build new ways to ensure the reliability of the system. It is not just a question of overcoming the cultural barrier of distrust towards others, but of a fundamental rule of the model which, to be legitimized, must be sanctioned in the event of a violation.

The web infrastructures and the social platforms on which the collaborative consumption is based, thanks to their reputational and transparency mechanisms, allow to exile free riding behaviors, encouraging and rewarding honesty, trust and reciprocity.

3.1 Rediscover the community

The concept of trust recalls that of belonging to a community. Botsman and Rogers argue that people have two basic needs: 'individual freedom and collective security' (2011: 130); these are the reasons why they will naturally tend to congregate in communities.

The function of these communities is to organize social life through a division of tasks that has the aim of keeping the community alive. Each community micro-cosmos will work if all people will make collaborative efforts. History tells us that throughout its course, it is possible to trace collaborative efforts within societies and, according to some, the explanation of this is to be found directly in the human psyche. The American psychologist Tomasello (2009) argues that empathic and collaborative behaviors are innate and that their possible latency is due to adherence to social norms that can potentially push in the opposite direction, as it has happened in contemporary western culture. In fact, society has converted to a more individualistic and self-centered lifestyle (where exclusive possession has become the standard) only in recent times.

However, people are learning again to create value by sharing assets and resources, balancing between the pursuit of personal interest and the well-being of the enlarged community. People today can collaborate without losing their autonomy and their personal identity (Botsman, Rogers, 2011), benefiting from *collaborative individualism* (Gorenflo, 2012). In the sharing economy, in fact, practices that satisfy the individual and – often implicitly and indirectly - promote the well-being of the community are triggered. Without getting too involved in the contrasts between individualism and socialism, or individualism and communitarianism or collectivism, it is interesting to show how the characteristics of the models are present and coexist peacefully in the sharing economy.

The first thing to consider is the idea of community. The collaborative universe community is understood in a very different way from how a supporter of collectivism could understand it. The sharing economy communities are flexible, they do not have heavy access or exit constraints and are held together by the fact that those who are part of it have joined on the basis of a shared interest. There are multiple communities and individuals are free to adhere to as many as they wish (Mainieri, 2013); which, presumably, they will do, since it is not about all-inclusive realities that regulate every aspect of life, but rather about groups of people freely associated with the aim of improving the management of some areas of their life.

In this new collaborative paradigm, we are witnessing the birth of new social aggregations, the so-called *online social change community* – OSCC (Arvidsson, Giordano, 2013). The concept of community, which has always been at the center of sociological thought, takes on greater relevance with the development of communication platforms (Paccagnella, 2000, 2004),

> leading to the emergence of communities that gather around new identitary and hedonic symbols (for example the brand), or to specific functional needs (as in the case of many sharing economy platforms, including those of shared mobility). These new communities develop distinctive features that unite them with traditional community systems (Muñiz and O'Guinn, 2001): from species consciousness (distinctive identity linked to belonging to the group), to sharing traditions and rituals, even to the sense of moral responsibility felt towards other members (Arcidiacono, Pais 2017: 3).

The element of novelty that these communities present, therefore, is that they allow people to eliminate the social stigma associated with sharing, to create new bonds and to collaborate. In a world still based on the values of individualism, these behaviors would certainly not be discounted outside of collaborative circuits (Botsman, Rogers, 2011).

The success of the sharing economy communities therefore lies in being *bottom-up ecosystems* (Botsman, Rogers, 2011), which manage their existence autonomously and self-regulate through feedback mechanisms. Furthermore, part of their success is also due to the fact that they allow relationships built on social networks to transpose themselves in the offline world; in other words, through digital experiences, people are learning that by transmitting value to the community, they allow our own social value to grow (Botsman, Rogers, 2011).

These communities are the expression of a 'connective tissue of relationships' (Mainieri, 2013: 20), full of charm for individuals who no longer fear adherence to communities, because communities no longer carry the stigma linked to collectivism.

4. Conclusions: expansion of the sharing economy but not without doubts

The phenomenon has had a great growth in particular in the last 5 years (although it has begun to develop its roots in the 1990s) and seems to be destined for continuous growth over the next few years. According to some statistics (Pricewaterhouse Coopers, 2014) the value of the generated sharing economy market will be around 335 billion dollars in 2025, continuing its geographical expansion[9] (Fig. 2).

Therefore, it is not surprisingly that the sharing economy can promote a new paradigm for welfare services, capable of intercepting social needs (which in the consolidated paradigm do not find an adequate response), enhancing unused or underused resources within the current system of planning, creation and delivery of goods and services.

In fact, the organizational model is based on the 'common-based peer production' (Benkler, 2004; Benkler, Nissembaum 2006) which exploits collective intelligence (Lévy, 1994; Dujarier, 2009; Brabham, 2013) distributed in open collaboration networks, in absence of rigid forms of intermediation and managerial hierarchies.

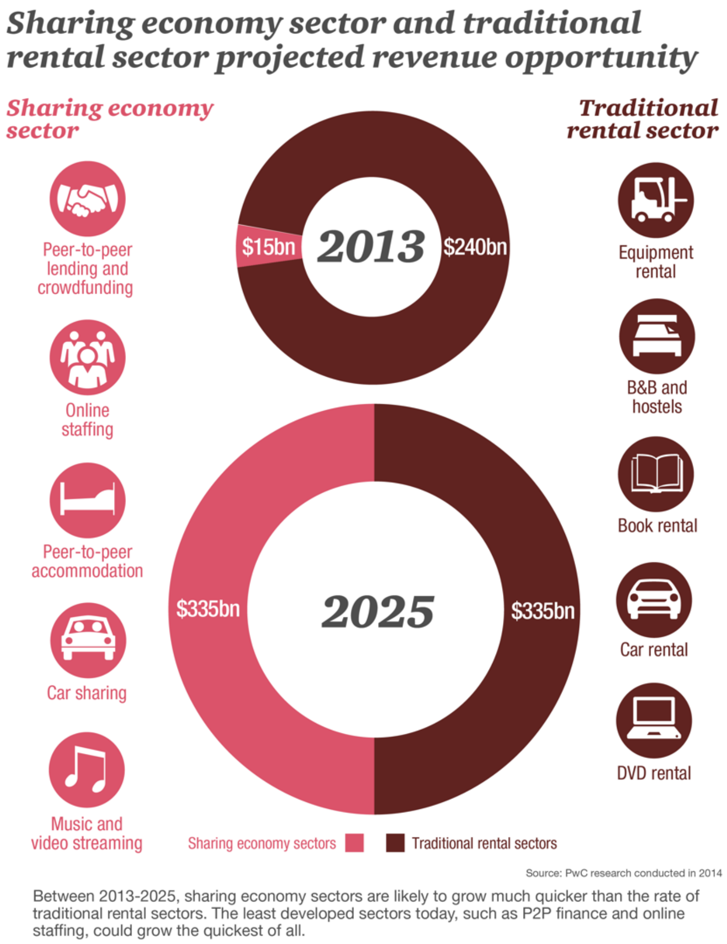
However, to the optimism with which one looks at these initiatives (*whose beauty is variety*, as commented by Laurent, so much so that it is possible to range from contactless credit cards to barter – Comelli, 2014), some doubts can be associated.

It is precisely this broad freedom, in fact, that at the same time leads us to not underestimate some of the limits, which are difficult to overcome. On the one hand, if the regulatory and political-programmatic conditions direct the passage of the social services structure from a (unfinished) welfare state to a local welfare; on the other hand, the implementation modalities highlight a series of critical issues linked for example to the low participation of the third sector, the construction of social policies only by local authorities, the relationships between the latter and non-profit entities are often 'outsourcing' and non-profit subjects tend not to experiment with new methods of service

[9] www.mckinsey.com/ business-functions/strategy-and-corporate-finance/our-insights/how-the-sharing-economycan-make-its-case

delivery (Bolognini, Bosetto, 2015). This means, then, that the social, political and economic institutions built up to now cannot be canceled, because in the long run the prevalence of forms of interpersonal trust on trust in institutions can have very high costs. Laurent (2013) hopes that the construction of new stratifications does not lead to the disappearance of the system, but simply to the invention of new ways to revive confidence. There is no immobility in the forms of trust, which on the contrary have cyclical trends throughout history. The only sure thing is that without trust one cannot make a society, prosper and remain free (Comelli, 2014).

FIGURE 2. Expansion of the Sharing economy.



Source: PwC, The Sharing economy: global analysis 2014.

From the state-market dichotomy, it is not possible to go out through individualisation but through the construction of ties, which involves first of all the re-socialization of risks, the sharing of responses, the mutual recognition of needs and of the same human condition of finitude and precariousness (Manghi, 2012).

A way opens up precisely through the processes of aggregation of demand and supply (a detail that we do not have the space to consider here), capable of leading to the economic and social (relational) sustainability of the answers. The goal is the creation of a collective sphere of action in which sociability, shared responsibility and solidarity become protagonists. In other words, the junction of this vision does not lie in the 'less state, more private' trade-off, but in the intimate transformation of the different spheres, which shifts the reasoning from the quantitative to the qualitative level, highlighting the quality of the 'type' of state, of public welfare, of private welfare, of civil welfare and of the relations between them. This, however, forces us to 'redefine public space' (Donati, 2011), and its regulation and governance. The 'radical' pluralization of the system pushes to declare the principle of subsidiarity in an unprecedented way, to confront with the perspective of polyarchy, to rewrite the relationships between the subjects involved, the places and deliberative and participatory arenas, to recognize that the production of conditions of well-being of citizens is not an exclusive prerogative of the state but a widespread social function[10]. The theme is very broad, in scope and criticality and represents a significant test to innovate welfare in the indicated direction (Lodigiani, Magatti, 2013).

One way to make this work is to start from the bottom, from the local experiences that innovation can realistically take shape, where organized volunteering is an expression of the local community, profit companies with a territorial vision, municipalities close to citizens, cooperatives with a logic of social enterprise, trade unions, associations and new forms of mutualism are the subjects that are candidates to invent – on the only possible basis that is territorial – universalism, to be combined with forms of re-socialization capable of to give more strength to the communities. It is not a matter of falling back into an anti-universalistic particularistic logic, but, on the contrary, of rediscovering in the 'particular' a universalizing force, a tension towards the

[10] 'The social structures of the future will have to be based on voluntary planning. This does not mean that it must necessarily be centralized; it is indeed possible to design decentralized processes with intelligence. In any case, however, a structure that coordinates the actions and that prevents the development of the exploitation of the interior is necessary. If the structure is to function on a global scale, the criterion for selection must be well-being on a global scale' (Wilson, 2015: 105-106).

concrete universal that emerges in the surplus of meaning and value that the particular experience it produces.

It seems clear, then, that, if for someone the spread of the sharing economy is the mirror of evolution and modernization, and its impact can only be positive for the thrust it can offer to innovation, for others, instead, it can be as a threat or an illusion[11].

For example, the reflection of Fabio Sdogati (released for MorningFuture), is on understanding what really favored the spread of this phenomenon: a change in the needs and habits of consumers, particularly young people, or the fall in present and future income.

The term 'sharing', with its strong emotional connotation, evokes a relationship of equality between the subjects that, in reality, almost never exists, because the alleged sharing is mediated by the market. In talking about sharing economy, the component of equality is indispensable, otherwise we risk talking about something else, that is, a type of business that does not produce, but that connects demand and supply through platforms (economy of the platforms, for example).

And this is also thanks to an excess of properties, of productive capacity, of workers. This is counterbalanced by the lack of good jobs. Consequently, those who own the property 'rent' it by replacing the gains of a missing job with an income that produces nothing and does not create growth: an economy of poverty. The real solution, faced with this state of affairs, would be to stimulate demand; but as long as this does not happen, private individuals will always be able to find their own personal solutions, resorting increasingly to a gig, precarious and without protection economy.

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[11] […] The sharing economy has lost some of its original allure. In the early days, it was rare not to have a conversation about how the sharing economy could responsibly mitigate hyper-consumption and truly build community connections. These benefits have not disappeared, but it is increasingly difficult to find sharing economy platforms that practise these principles in reality. The focus has shifted towards convenience, price and transactional efficiency: 'community' as commodity (World Economic Forum, 2019).

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