

The case for regulating ridehailing and dockless bicycles

Roundtable on Regulating App-based Mobility Services

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Introduction

- The title of this roundtable points to the commonality between these shared mobility options
 - i.e. Ride-hailing, dockless bikes, e-scooters, vanshare etc are all app-based & GPS enabled
- They are also converging toward a MaaS model
 - as the increasing common ownership suggests
- Suggests the need for consistency of regulatory approach
 - Yet this has been largely absent



Government regulatory responses

- An obvious contrast:
 - slow, uncertain responses in taxi/ride-hailing industry vs
 - a “pro-active” response to dockless bikes
- Reflects very different industry/regulatory starting points
 - Important in understanding responses & seeking to improve regulatory policy



Taxis & ride-hailing

- Ride-hailing caused major disruption to taxi markets
 - The most disrupted sector (cf AirBnB?)
 - A result of the size of the monopoly rents, due to high level of regulatory capture & consequently static (moribund?) industry
- Governments have struggled to “catch up”, leading to
 - Widely differing (sometimes rapidly changing) approaches within jurisdictions
 - Significant unresolved regulatory questions in many jurisdictions



Bike-share

- By contrast, bike-share, e-scooters etc have entered a largely unregulated space
 - The issue of impacts on incumbents is largely absent
 - But there may also be a reaction to the experience with ride-hailing
- Is the risk of acting too soon a substantial one?
 - What is the cost of regulating something that is rapidly changing and at an early stage of development, with uncertain economics?
 - Does the case for regulation meet a reasonable “threshold test”?



Context – taxis & ride-hailing

- Sustained regulatory failure, due to capture
 - Clear need for major regulatory change even before disruption occurred
- Key characteristics of the ride-hailing model called other elements of the regulatory structure into question
 - Different approaches to safety largely accepted by consumers
 - ride-hailing favoured on safety grounds in some countries, safety has rarely/never been a negative for it in the market
 - Diminished importance of rank/hail, hence market failure



Economic imperative to respond positively

- Taxis have steadily lost market share: the distorting effects of regulation have led to negative substitution
 - Significant welfare losses have resulted
 - Entry of ride-hailing has seen the market expand greatly;
 - Because these distortions are being swept away
 - Because of efficiency benefits of the ride-hailing model
 - Seeking to exclude/limit ride-hailing via regulation thus has substantial economic costs
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The political economy

- Historically, the taxi industry has been politically highly influential (as well as capturing regulators)
- Strongly positive consumer responses to ride-hailing
 - Key benefits of speed, reliability, vehicle/driver quality and safety
 - Rapid growth means experience of these benefits are widely experienced
- Conflict between these factors drives differing regulatory responses



Political economy

- Recognition of the inevitable (Geradin)?
 - Consumer enthusiasm means sustaining bans will have high cost
- But signs suggest many governments do not yet accept this
 - Symptoms include supposedly enabling legislation that hamstring the ridesharing model – e.g. France's *loi Thevenoud* (Geradin), Ireland.

Rearguard actions?

- Even where ride-hailing is well established, regulatory “backsliding” can be observed.
 - Eg - NYC:
 - Open entry for ride-hailing (regulated as FHV’s) until August 2018
 - Trip numbers exceed traditional cabs
 - But a 1 year freeze on license issue was instituted
 - Given 25% turnover in ride-hailing, this will lead to declining supply
 - A review to assess congestion impact, utilisation rate & driver income commenced. Will potentially extend the “cap” or make it permanent
 - Simultaneous development of minimum driver income law
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A credible response to policy issues?

- Notional policy plausibility undercut by lack of equal treatment:
 - No minimum income for taxi drivers (despite low incomes)
 - No suggestion of broader congestion charging/regulation
 - An offer from ride-hail businesses of a \$100m welfare fund for taxi medallion owners was rejected
 - Suggests the perceived dynamic underlying the regulatory changes
 - Consistent with previous episodes where regulatory capture has been reasserted after initial reform success
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Re-regulation? The example of Ireland

- Ireland's example suggests the likely trajectory in NYC
 - Deregulation in 2000 followed strong industry opposition to more modest reform proposals
 - led to (very) large increases in taxi numbers
 - Continued industry lobbying led government to impose a “temporary” 1 year freeze on Dublin taxi numbers, during 2009 recession
 - Almost a decade later, it is still in place



Re-regulation in Ireland

- Licence sales were also banned in 2013
 - most drivers are now in their 60s and 70s
 - License must be handed back (unless willed to family members!)
- Fleet size down by 25% since 2009 & continues to decline
- Ride-hailing is effectively prevented from operating by regulation
- Supply restrictions & monopoly rents re-established by stealth



Other examples

- Withdrawal of Uber's licence in London in 2017 (now restored)
- Two cases at ECJ (from Spain & France) seeking to restrict Uber operations (see Geradin)
 - Based on technical legal argument, rather than policy/regulatory principle
- Increasing focus on ride-hailing as a contributor to congestion
 - Echoes a common argument against de-restricting taxi supply



Conclusions on ride-hailing regulation

- While many governments recognise the need to bring ride-hailing into the regulatory system, others have not
 - Choice of second-best means of mitigating incumbents' losses has also led to poor choices in many cases (e.g. hypothecated levies)
- Evolution of some “reformed” regulatory regimes shows the lobbying power of the taxi industry is not a thing of the past
 - Proposals to further regulate the reformed industry should be considered sceptically



Bike-sharing – and its evolution

- This is an industry experiencing rapid growth & transition
- This growth has quickly made it prominent – and led to a rapid regulatory response.
 - A clear contrast to ride-hailing
 - And perhaps a reaction?
- But the rapidly changing nature of the industry implies significant risk for a “proactive” regulatory approach



Key questions

- Is the current model durable?
- Is it rapidly becoming something else:
 - Purchase of major providers by ride-hailing companies
 - Rapid growth of mini-scooters (electric)
 - Introduction of electric scooters (i.e. Vespa type) – Paris, Rome, Berlin
 - Other possibilities (Segways, UniWheels, Hoverboards)
- Implications for regulation?

Some regulatory implications

- Externalities
 - Likely a much smaller issue where unit cost is much higher – with lesser proliferation of vehicles
 - Removal from streets for recharging, thus frequent relocations
 - Consumer protection
 - This issue has been much discussed to date – but the deposit requirement underpinning it seems to be disappearing
 - Safety
 - Uncertain place in urban infrastructure (mini-scooters, uni-wheels) suggests “modal conflict”, with safety implications
 - More demanding re: technique
 - Higher speeds (electric scooters)
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Regulatory issues

- So, two of the more prominent regulatory issues for dockless bikes may be of relatively little concern in the future
 - Or at least fall below the threshold for regulation
- Conversely, the safety issue – secondary with bikes – may be more significant

Implications

- Risk of regulation choking an industry which may be marginally economic
 - e.g. recent bankruptcies
 - But buy-outs by ride-hailing companies
- Risk of distorting its development
 - (i.e. affecting modal choice via regulatory decisions)
- Broader implications for the development of MaaS?



Synthesis – implications for regulatory policy

- The common technological base and rationale of shared mobility, suggests the need for a broadly consistent regulatory approach
 - Increasing convergence – through common ownership and steps toward MaaS underlines this point
- An approach of adopting common principles is a useful starting point



Regulatory principles

- A common, regulatory framework
 - differentiated (only as much) as needed
- Presumption of open markets
 - Implies right of entry & neutrality b/w incumbents & entrants
- A clear focus on addressing market failure
 - This implies identification of underlying dynamics, not observation of undesirable (but potentially transient) outcomes

Regulatory principles

- Technologically neutral
 - Rapid evolution & convergence make this essential
 - “Future-proofing” (Geradin) unrealistic – but a principles & market failure based focus should approximate this as well as possible
 - Realistic (or proportionate)
 - Range of objectives should be limited to avoid “over-reach” & compromise of core objectives
 - E.g. What is the wider “cost” of pursuing integration with PT, specifically addressing inclusion, congestion?
 - In ride-hailing, avoid addressing hardship for incumbents
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Regulatory principles

- Sound institutional arrangements
 - A safeguard against capture
 - History of taxi regulation points to the danger
 - Very strong financial backing of many players in this sector highlights the risk
 - Sector-specific regulation has historically been a key weakness – notably in the taxi case
 - A role for competition authorities?
 - Importance of good governance, broader oversight
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Closing the policy loop

- The “policy cycle” should include sound review provisions:
 - Reviews should be scheduled, required to follow good process, public, consultative & accountable (i.e. feed into reform/redesign of regulation)
- This is particularly critical for emerging industries
 - As the risks of initial regulatory failure are significantly higher

