

Tess van den Brink

**EXPLORING THE SOCIAL IMPACTS OF THE TOURISM SHARING
ECONOMY FROM A HOSPITALITY PERSPECTIVE**

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Author: Tess van den Brink

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Summary:

The present study focusses on the hospitality in, and social impacts of, the tourism sharing economy from the perspective of Airbnb hosts and their neighbours. The study addresses the need to understand the role of hospitality in the sharing economy following growing expressed disapproval of it as reported by the media. The study aimed to fill the academic gap on the impacts of the sharing economy in smaller destinations.

This study adopts an interpretive/constructive approach in the abstraction of categories, ideas and concepts – with the purpose of implying generalisability while answering the different research questions. These research questions focussed on the following (1) the conceptualisation of 'hosts' and 'guests' in the tourism sharing economy, (2) the conceptualisation of hospitality in the tourism sharing economy, (3) the role of neighbours in relation to hospitality in the tourism sharing economy, and (4) the perceived social impacts of the tourism sharing economy and the categorisation thereof. The data was collected through interviews with Airbnb hosts and their neighbours, from two relatively small European destinations: arctic tourism destination Rovaniemi in Lapland, Finland and university suburb Castletroy in Limerick, Ireland.

The analysis revealed that a big influence on the hospitality in the tourism sharing economy is Airbnb's 'Superhost' reward system, which puts more pressure on hosts, but also encourages them to go the extra mile for their guests. The tourism sharing economy has not caused major grievances among residents in Limerick or Rovaniemi. It was expressed by both Airbnb hosts and neighbours that the negative impacts of Airbnb are outweighed by the positive impacts. These perceived social impacts can be labelled under the categories: (1) Standard, (2) Social interaction, (3) Ego-economic, (4) Way of life, (5) Personal and public property, (6) Social comfort, and (7) Fear.

Keywords: Tourism, Sharing Economy, Hospitality, Social Impact

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1. INTRODUCTION

The collaborative economy, the sharing economy, the access economy, the peer-to-peer economy, the mesh economy, the on-demand economy, the trust economy, the hybrid economy, and the just-in-time economy – a vast variety of terms to describe the economic movement that is currently disrupting traditional business models. This new phenomenon can be defined as “a wave of new businesses that use the Internet to match customers with service providers for real-world exchanges” (Slee, 2015, p. 9). However, as there is no agreement on a universal definition or formal conceptualisation, none of these terms can correctly and fully condense the relatively new economic phenomenon (Dredge & Gyimóthy, 2015). Many of the above-mentioned terms do not specifically mean the same thing, whereas they share some common ground. A formal conceptualisation of the phenomenon is also non-existent (Benoit, Baker, Bolton, Gruber, & Kandampully, 2017, p. 219), yet there are a number of conceptualisations present in academia. Scholars in the fields of anthropology, sociology, economics, and environmental studies all offer a range of definitions which all lead to describe the phenomenon as a disruptive and new economic logic, or a techno-social trend among consumers (Dredge & Gyimóthy, 2015, p. 5).

There is one term that stands out with regard to this research: ‘sharing economy’. This term will hereafter be used to describe the economic phenomenon that is discussed and analysed within this research. Zervas, Proserpio and Byers (2016, p. 1) argue that the sharing economy is the collectively known term for the peer-to-peer markets that “have emerged as alternative suppliers of goods and services traditionally provided by long-established industries”. One of the sharing economy’s biggest playing fields is the tourism industry. Within which, it exerts mainly in its most well-established sector; the accommodation sector (ITB, 2015; OECD, 2016). In 2015 alone, at the start of the phenomenon, 65% of the supply of tourists renting homes online in Spain was concentrated on the three sharing economy markets Airbnb, HomeAway and Niumba (Exceltur, 2015). It is therefore that this research focusses on the big driving force within the tourism accommodation industry that is Airbnb.

In previous research on the sharing economy, the focus has mostly been on larger cities such as Amsterdam, Berlin and New York City (Dredge, Gyimóthy, Birckbak, Jensen, & Madsen, 2006). These cities already have a well-developed tourism industry with millions of visitors each year. For instance, in 2018, the Dutch national statistics office CBS announced that tourist

numbers to the country had reached 42 million, an increase of 9% in a decade, excluding Airbnb travellers (CBS, 2018). This thesis, however, focusses on smaller, suburban areas instead in order to accommodate the lack of research on the sharing economy in these destinations.

This research takes the interpretivist/constructivist paradigm approach. This approach is a collection of related approaches that stem from the German interpretivist *verstehen* (understanding) in sociology (Burger, 1977), which focusses on understanding the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who experience it (Schwandt, 1994, p. 221).

1.1 Background

The sharing economy is a fast-growing occurrence due to both societal and technological advances (OECD, 2016; Oskam & Boswijk, 2016). According to PWC (2015), the peer-to-peer accommodation sector is the biggest section of the European sharing economy market. It is such a fast-growing industry that many traditional markets find it significantly difficult to keep up with the trends, and often suffer under the entry of new peer-to-peer platform companies. For example, a study showed that in Austin – which has the highest Airbnb infiltration in Texas – Airbnb has had a quantifiable negative impact on local hotel room revenue (Zervas & Byers, 2016, p. 30).

However, the economy is not the only aspect impacted by the phenomenon. The sharing economy has also led to the emergence of societal questions and issues: “Housing hit by lack of control on Airbnb” (Ryan, 2017), “Airbnb is crippling New York’s apartment supply” (Feis, 2018), and “Airbnb most likely to reject guests with disabilities, study finds” (Levin, 2017) are only a few headlines found in newspapers. A couple of the other problems reported to be arising from Airbnb are: issues of trust (Botsman, 2012), reputation, privacy, and deception (Germann Molz, 2013). Through profile photos on the Airbnb platform, both hosts and potential guests rely on visual cues in order to assess whether or not the guest or accommodation can be trusted (Ert, Fleischer, & Magen, 2016). Racism is another potential issue, which may in fact have its roots in the issue of trust (Clarke, 2016; Nesterak & Penman, 2016).

The sharing economy had an estimated worth of approximately 25 billion USD in 2013 (Economist, 2013). The PWC (2015, p. 14) expects this number to grow to approximately 335 billion USD in revenue by 2025. Much of this predicted growth is due to the sharing economy's share in the tourism industry. According to the OECD, the exponential rise of revenue of the sharing economy in the tourism industry can be attributed to the very nature of the industry (2016, p. 90): "travel consumers are increasingly experimental and willing to try the type of new and unique tourism experiences which the sharing economy can offer" (2016, p. 92). Airbnb alone was valued at 31 billion USD in 2017 and estimated at 38 billion USD in May 2018 by Forbes (Trefis Team, 2018). Currently, it has over 60 million guests and an exceeding amount of two million accommodations in over 34,000 cities in more than 191 countries (Airbnb, n.d.).

Claims about the sharing economy's situation – in particular Airbnb – being 'out of control' (Ryan, 2017; Wurst, 2017) are backed up by the arguments of several scholars. MacCannell (2011) argued that tourists publicly confess to being ethically conflicted [about their travel behaviour and impacts]. Lovelock and Lovelock (2013, p. 17) proclaimed that "many sectors have expressed a need for the tourism industry to address the ethical and moral challenges provoked by travel and touristic practices in relation to the perpetuation of social inequality, the commodification of daily life on a global scale and the relationship between global and local environmental sustainability". In the case of the sharing economy, however, the tourism industry is not by definition required to address the issue, instead are local authorities and governments.

Throughout Europe, countries are looking into laws and regulation surrounding the sharing economy. The European Union is not opposed to the growth of the economic phenomenon but does realise that action needs to be undertaken in order to protect the people (consumers and employers), existing markets and businesses, and the economy (e.g. in terms of taxation). A couple of developments took place over the last couple of years. In October 2015, the Single Market Strategy was brought to life by the European Commission to "develop a European agenda for the collaborative economy, including guidance on how existing EU law applies to collaborative business models" (European Commission, 2016). After that, in June 2016, the European Commission (n.d.) advised its members that business authorisations or licenses should only be necessary where public interest objectives need to be met. In that case,

regulations should not favour one business model over another, and bans of a sharing economy activity should only take place as a last resort (European Commission, n.d.). The European Commission is also trying to encourage EU countries to distinguish service provision activities from individual citizens from professional service providers, to review and, where necessary, revise the countries' current legislation of the sharing economy. In order to keep up with the phenomenon, the European Commission will continue monitoring it through periodic surveys, by mapping of regulatory development in its member states, holding a stakeholder dialogue, and keeping a scoreboard (European Commission, n.d.).

Additionally, in order to gain a better insight into the current sharing economy's situation, the European Commission consulted citizens who are providing their accommodation through collaborative platforms in the European Union between January and March 2017. In this consultation, the citizens were asked to partake in a questionnaire on the matter. Questions were aimed to get information on the type of properties offered, the income or other benefits generated, the typically encountered problems or difficulties, the domestic framework applicable, and possible reasons for the citizens to terminate their service-providing activities on collaborative platforms (European Commission, 2017).

The majority of responses (73% [N= 385]) from the survey originated from Italy, Portugal, the UK and Germany. Outcomes of the questionnaire showed that – from all the respondents – 51.4% [N=391] stated that they had never experienced any problems in relation to their rental activities. Those who did encounter problems complained about damages to the accommodation, theft, complaints from neighbours, unclear and complex permits and taxation rules, among other (European Commission, 2017).

1.2 Previous research

Cheng (2016) argues that, currently, tourism scholarship is unable (or at least not fully able) to expose the role of the sharing economy in the tourism industry. However, this does not mean that research on the relationship of the sharing economy in tourism is not at all present. As the word 'social' and the sharing economy go hand-in-hand, it is almost unimaginable that there would be no research on the sharing economy in the field of social sciences whatsoever. For example, Oskam and Boswijk (2016) published an article on the nature of the sharing economy as a phenomenon, its potential future development and impact on tourism, hotels and city

destinations. Although not in great abundance, there is literature and research on the sharing economy, both from a social and tourism perspective. Germann Molz and Gibson (2007), for instance, analyse the changes and concept of hospitality towards the (newly) emerging mobilising markets in the tourism industry. They discuss, among other things, the concepts of hosts and guests in situations where the host invites the stranger as a guest in their own home, community or location.

In the accommodation sub-market of the sharing economy, Ert, Fleischer and Magen (2016) analyse the issue of trust and reputation. This research comes closer to the social aspect of the sharing economy as it addresses the hosts' trustworthiness of personal photos and their choices' effects on the guests' decision making. Karlsson and Dolnicar (2016) question the reason behind the offering of 'private' accommodation to strangers – which is in the hosts' absence for most of the time, and Forno and Garibaldi (2015) look into the case of home-swapping in Italy as an alternative form of tourism where trust, open-mindedness, inventiveness, enthusiasm and flexibility are required.

According to Germann Molz (2013, p. 217), there are many scholars who have explored the moral and ethical implications of technologies, but left aside those in social networking technologies, which (especially in tourism studies) is crucial in the studies on the sharing economy in tourism. Each year, more scholars align to write about the sharing economy and its effects on the tourism industry and its systems. This interest on the sharing economy's impacts most likely derives from the speed at which it is growing, and the revenue it is generating (Dredge & Gyimóthy, 2015). Nevertheless, research still fails to completely grasp the impacts of the sharing economy on tourism (Heo, 2016), especially on complex social-cultural and social-economic factors such as the host-guest relationship (Cheng, 2016). According to the OECD (2016, p. 93), currently, "limited data is available to quantify the scale and impact of the fast-evolving and relatively new phenomenon known as the sharing economy". Hence, the importance of this research report, which attempts to fill in a little of that research gap and provide insights into the sharing economy's accommodation phenomenon Airbnb.

1.3 Aim and purpose

The scientific objective of this research is to understand the concept of hospitality and the social impacts of the tourism sharing economy on residents. As the sharing economy has been a continuously growing market, and a source of many news items and political agendas for at least half a decade anno 2019, this research aimed to gain insight into this phenomenon. In particular, on the social impacts of the accommodation sector within the sharing economy – with Airbnb as the main contributor and therefore subject of this research. It appears that, over the years, Airbnb has turned into a social problem – or in other words: “an alleged situation that is incompatible with the values of a significant number of people who agree that action is needed to alter the situation” (Rubington & Weinberg, 1981, as cited in Becker, 2001, p. 313). Growing disapproval of local communities and governments, and the lack of research on the social impact of the sharing economy on residents, has inspired this research’s main aim which is: to explore the notion of hospitality, and social impacts thereof, within the sharing economy from the perspective of Airbnb hosts and their neighbours.

In order to better understand the hospitality of the tourism sharing economy, and its social impacts, the following research questions have been created.

1. What are ‘hosts’ and ‘guests’ in the tourism sharing economy?
2. How does hospitality come into play in the tourism sharing economy?
3. What is the role of neighbours in relation to hospitality in the tourism sharing economy?
4. How are social impacts of the tourism sharing economy perceived and categorised?

The sharing economy phenomenon is quite complex because of its relative novelty and the fact that it affects different factors, peoples and systems, through various forms. The section below explains the terms used in the research aim and shows how the research is delineated.

In this research, the term ‘sharing economy’ is mainly used in the context of accommodation, more particularly: Airbnb. Social impacts are defined in more precise detail in Chapter 2 and are those perceived and experienced by the residents, who are the Airbnb hosts and neighbours of Airbnb-lodgings. The term ‘perceived’, as used in one of the research questions, has been chosen to explain the residents’ experiences. Although the terms ‘perception’ and ‘attitudes’ are often interchangeably used in social analyses (Ap, 1992), there is an important difference

between the them. The term 'attitude' is more closely related to behaviour and actions, whereas the term 'perception' refers to the meaning that is attributed to [something] (Kurtz & Boone, 1984, p. 206, as cited in Ap, 1992). Hence why the term 'perception' is preferred in this research.

1.4 Methods of the study

This research focusses on the social impacts and hospitality in the sharing economy through the eyes of residents. Within this study, the residents are the Airbnb hosts, and direct and indirect neighbours of Airbnb hosts, in Rovaniemi, Lapland, Finland and Castletroy, County Limerick, Ireland.

The first destination is Rovaniemi, the capital city of Finnish Lapland. According to Visit Rovaniemi (n.d.), Rovaniemi is the largest town in Europe with a number of 61,838 citizens on the 31st of December 2015. Located on the Arctic Circle, the relatively remote Rovaniemi is visited by approximately half a million tourists every year (Visit Rovaniemi, n.d.). The second destination is Castletroy, a fast-growing suburb of Limerick City with approximately 11,000 residents (Limerick.ie, 2016). According to Limerick.ie (2016), Castletroy has experienced a 35% increase in population from 1981 to 2006 and has engulfed the nearby villages Annacotty and Monaleen. This growth is caused by the expansion of the University of Limerick. It is for the same reason that Castletroy enjoys a large student population. Castletroy, being a suburb of Limerick City, is likely to expect an increase in revenue and number of visitors resulting from the Limerick Tourism Strategy, which aims to generate more than 1.17 million visitors to Limerick country and city, and €360 million in revenue by 2023 (Limerick.ie, n.d.).

Seven hosts and five neighbours were interviewed in total. In addition to that is one expert interview and five 'conversations' with hosts. These conversations are practically interviews, but do not go as in-depth as the actual interviews. The interview contained open-ended questions and was thematic semi-structured, which allowed the interviewer to switch between the different themes in accordance with the natural course of the interview.

All the data was qualitative and has been analysed with a constructivist/interpretivist approach which is inductive in nature. In the analysis, the researcher tried to detect certain patterns or

regularities in the data that has been collected, rather than testing a specific hypothesis or theory. Because of this approach, the interviews have been transcribed literally and in full detail, to then have been coded and grouped in accordance with the different themes laid out in research (hospitality, social impacts, host-guest relationships and definitions). The data that was derived from the interviews, then, has been analysed through a mixed method. Next to the data from the interviews, the research questions were answered with the help of theories and studies by other scholars.

1.5 Positioning of the researcher

I lived in Rovaniemi, Finland for 1.5 years and never really got to know my neighbours. In fact, the only neighbours that I had met were not Finnish. I have often wondered whether or not I have had the same people living next to me all this time. During the summer of 2016, I was guilty of subletting my room to a girl from the south of the country. Most likely, my neighbours never noticed. All those complaints online, in newspaper articles and TV news items – compared to my own experiences – got me wondering about the actual situation of Airbnb in suburban places.

As an individual travelling in a group, I have made use of Airbnb a couple of times. The best examples are probably the two times I made use of an Airbnb accommodation in Morocco. For college, I travelled to Essaouira with a project group consisting of six people. We decided to stay in the same place and booked a traditional and spacious Moroccan house, in the middle of the medina. After the project, I decided to travel to Casablanca with three friends – this time we booked a modern apartment through Airbnb.

The first accommodation was not booked by me, but by a project member. He was quite the ‘party-animal’ and would regularly behave, or do things, that were presumably not immediately accepted by the local culture. Even though we, as temporary guests, were often warmly welcomed by locals, I often had my doubts as to whether or not it was accepted that we lived ‘among the locals’ while not everyone was (trying to) adopt cultural values and traditions.

The second accommodation was an entirely different experience. The owner of the apartment was a Dutch man. The people ‘in charge’ of the apartment, however, were a Moroccan father and son from a higher social status. In this situation, we were provided with many contracts

that we had to sign, and there were a few occasions where we were being checked on by the father. Whereas the apartment was ideal in many forms, we did not feel very welcome. We did not meet any locals besides these two men, nonetheless, we were impacted by this Airbnb experience as lodgers.

As a researcher, I have an interest in social and cultural impacts within tourism. My own experiences with one of the networks within the sharing economy made me think of the possible impacts of this phenomenon on people. In particular, on those indirectly involved in the sharing economy: the local residents.

1.6 Structure of the study

This research paper started with the Chapter Introduction which includes the research background, aim and research questions, a brief introduction to the methods, and the researcher's positioning. Followed by the theories and existing literature laid out in Chapter Two, which focusses on the sharing economy in tourism context, hospitality in the sharing economy, and social impacts.

The tourism sharing economy described in Sub-Chapter 2.1 provides an insight into the many meanings, descriptions of, and views on, the sharing economy by various scholars and other authors. Sub-Chapter 2.2 on hospitality, then, focusses on the notion of the term 'hospitality', its social lens, and in particular in the conceptualisation of hosts and guests, and the host-guest relationship. Finally, Sub-Chapter 2.3 digs deeper into social impacts, lays out several social impact theories and classifications, and portrays the social impacts analysed in this research.

Chapter Three is the methodology chapter. The first half of this chapter describes the research's empirical context and perspective. The data collection and data analysis are followed hereafter. The chapter is ultimately concluded with a section on the applied research ethics.

The findings and discussion of the research data can be found in Chapter Four. This chapter is divided into four sections respective to the research questions. Following the results is the Chapter Conclusions. This chapter aimed to answer the research questions stated in the Chapter Introduction. Subsequently, follow the references and appendices, showing the consent form, and the standard questions list of the interviews conducted, among other things.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Tourism sharing economy

“What is mine is yours, for a fee” (Economist, 2013). The European Commission (2015, p. 3) describes the sharing economy as “a complex ecosystem of on-demand services of assets based on exchanges via online platforms”. The term sharing economy is rather modern, the phenomenon itself is not. Belk (2010, 2014) and Karlsson and Dolnicar (2016) argue that the sharing economy has been developed as a consequence of the arrival of Web 2.0, also known as the Participative Web. Before the addition of sophisticated software, the sharing economy was no more than a ‘tool’ to give unwanted items a new chance says Schor (2014).

The sharing economy can be described as a digital movement that allows services to be provided on a peer-to-peer or shared usage basis (OECD, 2016, p. 90), where it is separated from ‘regular’ electronic or digital markets as the aim is to share and/or borrow, instead of to purchase (Gansky, 2010, as cited in Karlsson & Dolnicar, 2016, p. 159). Schor (2014) categorises the sharing economy into four main categories: (1) the recirculation of goods, (2) increased utilisation of durable assets, (3) exchange of services, and (4) the sharing of productive assets. Sharing economy platforms are diverse and can therefore be accessed through a number of forms. The ‘sharing’ can take place through the renting, lending, subscribing, reselling, swapping and donating of services and/or products.

The OECD (2016, p. 96) defines the sharing economy as something with a nature of providing peer-to-peer exchanges: “the nature of these exchanges is continuing to evolve as entrepreneurs recognise opportunities to leverage the sharing economy’s principles to drive profits and better service delivery. In fewer words, the sharing economy is only bound to grow due to its dynamic and adaptive characteristics. However, there is still no clear definition of the sharing economy up to this day, partially because of the emergence of other terms: collaborative economy, peer-to-peer economy, etc. The verb ‘to share’ defines as (1) “have or give a share of”, and (2) “have or use jointly with other people” (“Share”, 2012). However, according to PWC, some industry specialists argued that the use of the word ‘sharing’ in this movement is inaccurate, and rather supports monetary opportunism (2015, p. 14). In Dublin, for example, Airbnb is often being used as a platform for users to rent out properties for the full year, and properties are even bought for this sole purpose – adding onto Dublin’s already existing housing shortage crisis

(Fitzgerald, 2018). Consequently, as opposed to ‘sharing’ an apartment and providing a service that would otherwise be unutilised (which would indicate that the actual owner also lives in the apartment, albeit temporarily) Airbnb is being used as a source of income primarily. Perhaps related, the European Union officially adopted the term ‘collaborative economy’ in their agenda, as opposed to the widely used ‘sharing economy’ in June 2016.

On the other side of the spectrum, Bauwens, Mendoza and Iacomella (2012) go beyond the term ‘sharing’ and argue that the sharing economy – in its most successful system – involves more than peer exchange and goes into value-creation produced by a community. This notion envisions that, for instance, interactions – and possibly meetings – between host and guest in the Airbnb concept could add value to both the guest and the host. Belk (2007, p. 127) comes into play for both supporters and opponents of the term sharing economy, as he describes ‘sharing’ as “the act and process of distributing what is ours to others for their use as well as the act and proves of receiving something from others for our use”.

The sharing economy is known as a disruptor of existing markets (see: the housing market in Dublin). The OECD (2016, p. 92) correctly states that the economic phenomenon is responsible for a change of usage and thought of traditional services by consumer. PWC (2015) argues that this is caused by people being more comfortable with transactions that involve deeper social interactions than traditional methods of exchange and prefer sharing-renting over owning. On the other side, there is a big group of people that are more interested in convenience and affordability rather than building social relationships with providers or other consumers. “More and more often it is pure experience, which does not leave any material traces that is produced and sold” (MacCannell, 2013, p. 33).

It appears that the sharing economy can be divided into two separate groups: the for-profit group (with businesses alike Airbnb and Uber) and the non-profit group (e.g.: FoodCloud, Coder Dojo). In the tourism industry, the OECD (2016, p. 99) notes that tourists, traditional tourism businesses, platforms, service providers, and destination communities are the key players in the tourism sharing economy. It is therefore highly likely that most sharing economy service providers connected to the tourism industry are part of the for-profit section of this economic phenomenon.

The sharing economy has been a largely debated topic within the tourism industry for most of the past decade – both socially and academically, as well as positively and critically. The sharing economy influences the way consumers plan, book, set out, record, share, and look back on their travels, which is mainly attributed to newly developed technologies alike online booking and social media tools (Belk, 2010, 2014, Dredge & Gyimóthy, 2015, Germann Molz, 2012, 2014). As a result, many scholars and researchers dedicate their work to the influence of these new technologies in tourism, and the impacts and prospects of the sharing economy within tourism. Dianne Dredge and Szilvia Gyimóthy are two scholars to critically assess the sharing economy in tourism and its implications for the industry's systems. They recognise tourism as a complex industry which is often openly welcomed by governments through marketing, promotion, neo-liberal policies, and investments as a way to boost economies. They also state that tourism is known for its environmental and social negative impacts (e.g.: climate change and poverty) which created a societal demand in sustainable development that allowed new (sharing) economies to grow and thrive exponentially (Dredge & Gyimóthy, 2015, p. 11).

According to Dredge and Gyimóthy (2015, p. 13), one of the sharing economy's slogans reverberates the power of consumers in both bargaining power (through reviews and supposedly enhanced transparency) and opportunities for consumers to become business owners (through producing (online) content and sharing experiences (on social media)). However, the two scholars critically analyse that elements like illusion, crowd power, untrustworthiness of reviews, and so-called transparency are elements that consumers need to be cautious of. Airbnb plays into these issues. Since 2016, the website requires names and photos from its users to 'help personalise the transaction' and make them less anonymous and scary, which then lead to discussions on other rising social issues, like racial discrimination (Nesterak & Penman, 2016).

Other statements by Dredge and Gyimóthy (2015) critically look into claims of the sharing economy being communitarian and anti-capitalistic, and it being an 'underground economy' as well as a neoliberal free market ideology. This ideology allowed Airbnb to thrive and grow independently from state regulations. Their 2017 book "Collaborative Economy and Tourism" lays out the beginnings of the sharing economy, its growing roots in the tourism industry, and provides an insight into its current situation and inner workings (Richard, 2018). In-depth discussions of the sharing economy and its stakeholders are laid out on the one hand, while

theories and policies, innovations and disruptions, encounters and communities, and futures are framed on the other (Richard, 2018).

2.2 Hospitality: hosts and guests

The term ‘hospitality’ is not an unfamiliar one. Among most people, it is known as a tourism service industry in which hotels, restaurants, theme parks et cetera operate. However, hospitality is more than that. It has been studied throughout different disciplines, for instance in the fields of anthropology, philosophy, gender studies, sociology, and tourism studies (Morrison & O’Gorman, 2008). Hospitality is not a new term. It has, however, changed in meaning over time (Höckert, 2015; Telfer, 2000). According to Höckert (2015, p. 95), hospitality stood for accommodating foreigners and travellers for free – as well as for the provision of compassion for the other, e.g. in hospitals and guesthouses, in medieval times – whereas it later acquired new meanings. Derrida defined hospitality as the welcoming and inviting of the ‘stranger’, which can take place on different levels: the personal level and the level of individual countries (as cited in O’Gorman, 2006). This definition corresponds with the Paperback Oxford English Dictionary’s definition of ‘hospitality’ – “the friendly and generous treatment of guests or strangers” (“Hospitality”, 2012).

The definition of the word ‘host’ in this context is “a person who receives or entertains guests”. Interestingly enough, the word derives from the Latin word ‘*hostis*’ meaning ‘stranger’ or ‘enemy’ (Höckert, 2015; “Host¹”, 2012; “Host²”, 2012). Nowadays, as Helmut Berking argues, hospitality is more of a ritualistic welcome, where the arrival of the ‘stranger’ was not a threat to the host, but rather an opportunity to present the best sides of their homes and/or communities (as cited in Höckert, 2015, p. 95). Hospitality is a virtue that people choose due to an attraction of the ideal of hospitality according to O’Gorman (2006, p. 51). This ‘modern’ concept of hospitality as a virtue, combined with the exponential growth of business travel and global tourism, explains today’s “unprecedented levels of international mobility” (Germann Molz & Gibson, 2007, p. 2), creating different perceptions and levels of host-guest relationships.

Hospitality in the sharing economy

The rise of the sharing economy in tourism has caused a rise in individuals bringing the hospitality industry into their own homes through online platforms like Airbnb and

Couchsurfing.org. Private homes where commercial hospitality is provided, also known as ‘commercial homes’, blur the traditional boundaries between home and work, and hospitality and hospitableness according to Di Domenico and Lynch (2007, p. 321). According to Lashley and Morrison (2000, as cited in Causevic & Lynch, 2009), hospitality knows three different modes: commercial, private and social. As mentioned earlier, commercial hospitality evolves all-around economic transactions, private hospitality occurs at home, and social hospitality includes not just the exchanges and communications between the ‘traditional’ and ‘direct’ hosts and guests, but also between people in public spaces in general (Causevic & Lynch, 2009, p. 124). In the commercial home these three domains overlap. In theory, the combination of the three domains ought to provide the best form of hospitality. As Ritzer (2007, p. 129) argues: hospitality becomes inhospitable if conceptualised only through its commercial sense.

The sharing economy is an international phenomenon. Hosts open up their personal homes for a global online platform, which allows people from all over the world to book these personal homes. Even though tourism has been a global phenomenon for centuries, and in the early stages of tourism travellers have been known to find lodgings in strangers’ homes (Aramberri, 2002), opening up one’s home for a ‘stranger’ with different cultural values and perspectives might be an issue. In this context, cultural differences in hospitality are narrowed down to two main factors: (1) national culture in service quality perception, and (2) cultural traditions and service provision in private hospitality. In Aramberri’s study (2002, p. 741-742), the scholar explains that host-guest relations in the 14th and 15th century consisted of three main features. In this period, guests travelled through lands and had to entrust their safety to hosts offering temporary lodgings in inns and hostels. The three features were: (1) protection, which was provided on the grounds of common humanity; (2) reciprocity, with the expectation of the return of the favour were the host and guest roles ever reversed; and (3) duties for both sides – with the host guarding both the guest and his belongings, and the guest abiding to the host’s house rules.

According to Reisinger (2009, p. 233), “national culture is an important factor influencing expectations and perceptions of service quality and satisfaction with service”. Service provision in hospitality – or simply put: the receiving of guests – is different cross-cultural and cross-country. For instance, people with a South-Asian or Muslim ethnic background view guests as “a ‘God’s blessing’ and are said to create a happier and healthier environment is one’s home” (Mahmood, 2013) and where food and friendliness will have to be in abundance,

whereas in Europe hospitality etiquette is not uniform and having guests over could be seen as a burden (personal conversation, 2018). According to Lashley (2008, p. 71) there are societies where the obligations of hospitality on guests and hosts are taken very seriously. Differences in the cultural expectations of one and the cultural provisions of hospitality from the other are likely to occur, regardless of globalisation.

According to Ikkala and Lampinen (2015), the proper term to be used to describe the social interaction and exchange of accommodation through hospitality-exchange services is ‘network hospitality’. However, most literature on ‘network hospitality’ refers to non-monetary sharing economy platforms (like Couchsurfing), and opposed to a monetary platform like Airbnb. The main focus of this research is on Airbnb: a specific for-profit accommodation rental platform in the sharing economy. Ikkala and Lampinen (2015, p. 1034) critically argue that the commercial aspect of Airbnb changes the social roles of guests and hosts to customers and service providers, and makes social interaction less of an obligation. However, the two scholars also defend that that does not necessarily mean that social interaction between the Airbnb host and the guest does not take place at all (Ikkala & Lampinen, 2015).

How hospitality comes into play in the sharing economy, can be explained through the data from the participants and theories of different scholars. One of these scholars is Elizabeth Telfer. Telfer’s (2000) work focusses on the philosophy of hospitality. This scholar is particularly critical to the relationship between hospitality and the role of reciprocity (Lashley, 2008). According to Telfer (2000), hospitality can only be true if the host does not have an ulterior motive, or hopes to receive a personal gain out of the acts or services provided. However, in the case of Airbnb, there will always be an ulterior motive. In fact, it can be argued that all forms of hospitality operating in the tourism industry are either commercial or with an ulterior motive. Even in the case of Couchsurfing, a not-for-profit accommodation platform within tourism and the sharing economy, services are provided ‘for free’ but under the idea of reciprocity.

Host-guest relationship

Most host-guest relationship studies are either in the field of tourism or biology – albeit that the latter is not at all the type of social relationship that will be discussed hereafter. Bimonte (2008, p. 457) states that every form of tourism in a destination consists of the meeting of two

groups: a better-known stable community (residents) and a lesser-known variable group of people (tourists). In the field of tourism, 'guests' are likely to be the tourists and the 'hosts' the locals or local community. However, this is a rather odd statement for a couple of reasons. As for one, neither tourists nor locals are necessarily a homogenous group (McNaughton, 2006). This led to the development of many tourist typologies over the years (Butler, 1980 as cited in Cooper, Fletcher, Fyall, Gilbert, & Wanhill, 2008; Cohen, 1972; McKercher & du Cros, 2012). Because of the differences in people and groups of people there cannot be just one definition of the word 'guest'. The two definitions by the Paperback Oxford English dictionary for 'guests' in relationship to hospitality are the following: (1) "a person invited to visit someone's home or to a social occasion", and (2) "a person staying at a hotel or guest house" ("Guest", 2012), therefore might need a revision in the context of the sharing economy.

Next to that, there can be confusion about the terms 'hosts' and 'guests'. For instance, in many tourism destinations tourism mercenaries (or tourism professionals) like handicraft traders are perceived by tourists as 'hosts', whereas in reality they are envisaged as 'intruders' – or guests – by the local community (McNaughton, 2006). This raises the question of 'hostship': what is it, and who can be perceived to be a host, or a guest for that matter? For instance, is direct contact needed in host-guest relationships, and can communities be considered hosts? Zhang, Inbakaran, and Jackson (2006, p. 183) and Bimonte and Punzo (2016) argue that there is a lack of theoretical frameworks in host-guest relationship, and that ones that do exist are simplistic.

Cheng (2016, p. 113) argues that for now, it is unclear how the "sharing economy redefines the roles of tourists and locals compared to those of the conventional market economy". In fact, as Aramberri (2001) critiques previous host-guest interaction theories, in the modern-day tourism industry most host-guest relations involve a monetary exchange, making the terms 'service provider' and 'customer' more suitable. Sharply (2014) states that there are significant variations of relations between locals and tourists. These relations could vary from no contact at all, to spontaneous, unforeseen meetings, to structured commercial exchange-based encounters. Sharply herein recognises Krippendorf's 1987 four types of residents in a primary business context. These are: (1) residents in direct business with continuous contact with tourists, (2), residents in irregular contact in unrelated businesses, (3), residents in regular contact but only partially deriving their income from tourism, and (4) residents with no contact with tourists (Krippendorf, 1987 as cited in Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Sharpley, 2014). The overwhelming amount of theories, typologies and classifications highlight the need for a

framework. In this research, the terms ‘host’ and ‘guest’ have mainly been conceptualised through the interviews with the residents, while looking at the presence of types of residents, tourists and hosts through the existing typologies defined by Aramberri (2001) and Krippendorff (1987) where applicable.

In 1990, Urry developed the concept of the tourist gaze: an extensive theory and construction of tourist experiences, a particular way of viewing, and the social organisation of tourism (Urry, 1990, 2002) which should explain the social discourses and practices between tourists and other people (Germann Molz, 2012, p. 61). Maoz (2006), discusses that certain gazes – the tourist, local and mutual gaze – influence the way hosts and guests look at each other, which on their own affect their behaviour. Both the hosts and guests’ behaviour and attitudes eventually influence the host-guest relationship. However, that is not all that influences the mutual gaze. Certain researchers (Crompton & Kamp, 1979, as cited in Ap, 1992; Pizam, 1978; Pizam, Uriely, & Reichel, 2000) indicated that “residents employed in the tourist industry have more favourable attitudes toward tourism impacts than those who are not” (Crompton & Kamp, 1979, as cited in Ap, 1992, p. 674). Economic dependence on tourism, for example, clearly influences perceptions so that residents engaged in tourism are generally more favourably disposed towards tourism than those who are not (Deery, Jago, & Fredline, 2012, p. 66). Wall and Mathieson (2006, as cited in Sharpley, 2014, p. 37) state that local people acting as hosts to tourists are impacted on different levels by (the development of) tourism. The tourist gaze, in particular, reflects a deeper structure in which people relate to other people and places, and how places are organised, controlled and performed (Germann Molz, 2012, p. 62).

This is where MacCannell’s theory of front and back regions comes into place. MacCannell built a theory on Erwin Goffman’s dramaturgical research – which argues that human interactions are dependent upon time, place and audience (Goffman, 1959). The research described a structural division of social establishment: the “front” and the “back” regions of everyday life (Goffmann, 1959), which MacCannell later applied to the field of tourism and his research on staged authenticity. In theory, a front region is explained to be a meeting place for the guest and the host, or customer and service person, whereas the back region would be the place for the host, or service person, to rest or retire from performances which is closed from outsiders (MacCannell, 1973, p. 590). In practice, with the tourists’ search for authentic experiences – a booming tourism trend since 2012 (ITB, 2012; ITB, 2016) – back regions were often penetrated by tourism. ‘Authentic tourism’, and the ‘living-like-a-local’ idea, are very

much in demand and generate a lot of revenue, and therefore have resulted into back regions being transformed into new ‘undercover’ front regions, often to the annoyance of local residents. Canziani and Francioni (2013), acknowledge MacCannell in that tourism development can lead to an emotional outcome among ‘hosts’. They state that: “tourism role-taking and role behaviour compliance as a form of internationalisation of the tourist gaze can lead to [...] host defensive tactics and shifts in host self-concept” (Canziani & Francioni, 2013, p. 19). Maoz, Urry and MacCannell are pivotal scholars in research on perspectives, or gazes, of different stakeholders in the tourism industry. However, their theories do not form the main framework for host-guest relationships in this research. Instead, these theories have helped shape the majority of the interview questions. An example of this is the inclusion of the factor ‘economic dependency’ in the analysis of attitudes towards the tourism sharing economy.

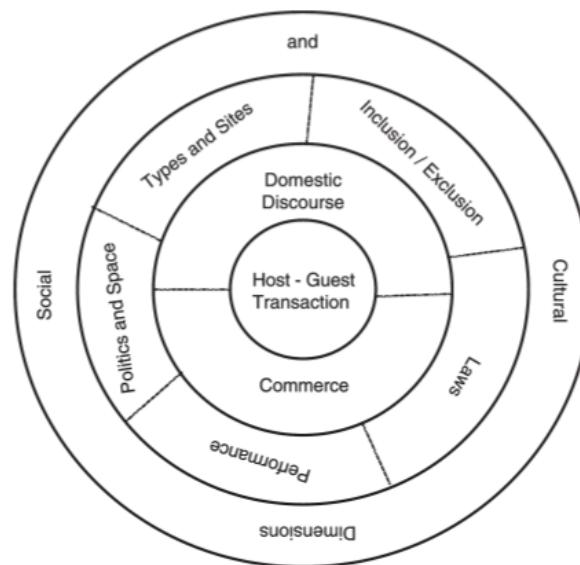


Figure 1. Hospitality's social lens. Source: Lashley et al., 2007, p. 175.

Causevic and Lynch (2009, p. 122) argue that views on the host-guest relationship can be divided into two groups: one group views it as a social phenomenon, whereas the other only sees the relationship based on the commercial transaction – like many of the scholars above. The following three scholars came up with a model that includes both schools of thought. Lashley, Domenico and Sweeney (2007) created the hospitality social lens, where the host-guest relationship is centralised and influenced by a number of themes. In the lens depicted in Figure 1, the host-guest transaction is surrounded by three different layers. The primary layer includes commercial and domestic discourses; the second includes the themes of inclusion and exclusion, politics of space, performance, laws, and types and sites; and the third shows the

social and cultural dimensions (Causevic & Lynch, 2009, p. 125). Each of these individual themes can be used to examine hospitality in different situations and cases. For instance, the theme ‘inclusion and exclusion’ shows that certain strangers may be welcome, whereas others may not be. The performance theme shows that the symbolism of meaning, authenticity and staged authenticity can influence (the perception of) hospitality (Causevic & Lynch, 2009; Lashley, Domenico, & Sweeney, 2007; MacCannell, 1973). In short, the model displays that there are many factors – macro and micro – that influence host-guest interaction, and that the host-guest relationship should be analysed from more than just the commercial perspective. Lashley, Domenico, and Sweeney’s (2007) hospitality social lens has had a minor role in the facilitation of the interview questions. The model is a great depiction of all the different factors that influence host-guest relationships but has not been used to that extent as that would facilitate an entire study on its own.

2.3 Social impacts

It can be assumed that Airbnb – arguably the sharing economy’s biggest flagship ‘product’ – knows its success due to its nature in the tourism and hospitality industry. Social impacts thereof should not come as a surprising by-product. Tourism is a social phenomenon, it is about people “interacting with other places and people, undergoing experiences that may influence their own or the host community’s attitudes, expectations, opinions and, ultimately, lifestyles” (Sharpley, 2008, as cited in Sharpley, 2014, p. 38). Several researchers (Ap, 1992; Sharpley, 2014) state that the development of tourism is in fact encouraged by local communities to improve social, psychological and economic conditions to the area – signifying that certain social impacts, both knowingly and unknowingly, are self-inflicted or welcomed even. Nevertheless, there are also others – individuals or groups within a community – where tourism is forced upon to by others of the same community. These individuals will also have to deal with the impacts that tourism or, in this case, the sharing economy might thrust upon them.

Properly explaining what ‘social impacts’ are, is a rather difficult undertaking. A study by Vanclay (2002) shows that there is large ambiguity around the term ‘social impacts’. According to Styliadis, Biran, Sit and Szivas (2014, p. 261) there is “a lack of agreement in the literature regarding the classification and measurement of residents’ perception of impacts”. The need to determine, or forecast, social impacts however is of great necessity for a great number of governments, industries and projects. Therefore, many studies have focused on the analysis of

these impacts as an instrument of feasibility of (new) projects or businesses. However, the vagueness around ‘social impacts’ has led to a focus on investigation of measurable impacts (Burdge & Vanclay, 1996; Deery, Jago, & Fredline, 2012; Vanclay, 2002), rather than on a deeper understanding of ‘actual’ social impacts.

In many studies (Almeida García, Balbuena Vázquez, & Cortés Macías, 2015; Armour, 1990; Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; Pizam, Uriely, & Reichel, 2000; Sánchez-Cañizares, Núñez-Tabales, & Fuentes-García, 2014; Stylidis et al., 2014) social impacts are rarely ‘social’, but a combination of macro-economic factors, e.g.: socio-environmental, socio-cultural or socio-economic. For instance, studies in sustainable tourism development often make use of the triple bottom line approach of perceived impacts, which are: economic, socio-cultural and environmental (Stylidis et al., 2014). In general tourism research, social impacts are often defined as socio-cultural impacts (McCombes, Vanclay, & Evers, 2015). These socio-cultural impacts of tourism are the impacts on host communities caused by direct and indirect relations with tourists, as well as of interaction with the tourism industry as described by the United Nations Environmental Programme, or UNEP (n.d.).

In this research, social impacts are those perceived and expressed by residents, and are not predetermined prior to the data analysis. Nevertheless, for a deeper understanding of the context of social impacts it is important to look at two key writers on this subject, namely John Ap (e.g. 1992) and Frank Vanclay (e.g. 2002; as co-author 1996; 2013; 2015). John Ap (1992) is the only one in the list to write about tourism impacts. He looks at them with a curiosity to the residents’ perceptions. His work focusses on the Social Exchange Theory – which argues that human relationships are formed through a cost-benefit analysis – as a framework to understand residents’ perceptions on tourism. On the other side of the spectrum, Vanclay devote most of their work to discussing and analysing the Social Impact Assessment framework. In addition, Vanclay focusses on conceptualising social impacts and introduces the presence of social change processes alongside social impacts under the Social Impact Assessment framework.

In 1994, the Interorganizational Committee on Guidelines and Principles for Social Impact Assessment created a list of social impact variables. The list (see Figure 3 in Addendum I) consists of 30 variables split up into the following themes: population characteristics, community and institutional structures, political and social resources, individual and family

changes, and community resources. Examples of variables are seasonal residents, employment/income characteristics, change in community infrastructure, and perceptions of risk, health and safety. That same year, Interorganizational Committee member Rabel Burdge adjusted the list, and turned it into 26 social impact variables (see Figure 4 in Addendum I). In addition, he changed some of the variables and reordered them under the themes which are now: population characteristics (demographic effects), community and institutional structures (public involvement), conflicts between local residents and newcomers, individual and family changes (cultural effects), and community resources (infrastructure needs) – entirely removing the ‘political and social resources’ theme.

The risk with lists, however, is that it may lead to ‘box thinking’ and ‘tunnel vision’. Lists as a research instrument tend to limit the outcomes possible and a researcher is more likely to look for the listed impacts, rather than to discover new impacts. The Interorganizational Committee produced the aforementioned list with the means of creating an overview of “the things that count and not the things that can be counted” (Vanclay, 2002, p. 188). However, they appeared to have failed to do that as – as Vanclay argues – most of the ‘impacts’ (e.g.: ‘present population and expected change’) are not actual experiences, but measurable factors (2002, p. 188).

Throughout the whole of his 2002 research, Vanclay states that existing lists of social impacts are incomplete and insufficient – often from a Western point of view and focussing solely on negative impacts – and that there is a need for a more complete list. In addition to that, there is the issue that the theories might be slightly outdated. Moreover, Lundberg (2017, p. 46) notes that measurement scales are often limited as they only include the level of agreement and not the evaluative component (Ap & Crompton, 1998). In other words, impacts would be listed as ‘present’ or ‘not-present’ and there would be no analysis given on the level of presence, or the weight and importance of the impacts to local residents.

Social impacts are classified in various ways because many studies and scholars have been shown to interpret the term ‘impact’ differently. Also, as mentioned earlier, every project, policy, and phenomenon is different, therefore there cannot be a universal list that would suit every case (Juslén, 1995, p. 166). Particularly towards the end of the 20th century, a handful of researchers have tried to classify the social impacts. Most of whom derived these from the Social Impact Assessment models used for the analysis of newly implemented projects and policies. Vanclay expresses the complexity of defining social impacts and explains that while

social scientists have developed classifications of social impacts, they have often come in short for an explanation of the operational definitions of their variables (2002, p. 185).

Table 1. Classifications of social impacts by others. Sources: Juslén, 1995; Vanclay, 2002.

Classifications of social impacts by others	
Juslén (1995)	Armour (first three, 1990) and Vanclay (1999)
Standard: noise, pollution	Way of life: how they live, work, play, interact with one another on a daily basis
Psychosocial: community cohesion, disruption of social networks	Culture: shared beliefs, customs, values, (language or dialect, added by Vanclay)
Anticipatory fear	Community: cohesion, stability, character, services and facilities
Impacts of carrying out the assessment	Political system: level of participation in life-affecting decisions, level of democratisation
Impacts on state and private services	Environment: quality of water and air, availability and quality of food, level of hazard or risk, noise, physical safety
Impacts on mobility: transportation, safety, obstacles	Health and well-being: physical, mental and social well-being
	Personal and property rights: civil liberties
	Fears and aspirations: perceptions of safety, fear of community's future, aspirations for future of self or (future) children

Audrey Armour was one of the social scientists to classify social impacts (Juslén, 1995; Vanclay, 2002). According to Juslén, her work created the first four classifications he identified in Table 1, which are: 'standard', 'psychosocial', 'anticipatory' and 'impacts of carrying out the (social impact) assessment'. As mentioned earlier, these classifications are derived from evaluations on Social Impact Assessment studies, and therefore a classification like the latter mentioned was deemed not applicable to this research. Also seen in Table 1 are Vanclay's classifications from 1999, which include three classifications adopted from Armour's 1990 work, which are: 'way of life', 'culture', and 'community' (Armour, 1990; Vanclay, 2002, p. 185).

Examples of impacts that can be positioned under Juslén's (1995) 'Standard' classification are noise levels, or pollution, whereas in Vanclay's classification, these examples would fall under 'Environment'. It could be argued that the classifications displayed in Table 1 do not only contain social impacts (e.g. 'way of life', 'community', and 'psychosocial'), but also environmental, cultural and economic impacts. Juslén (1995, p. 166) argues that nearly any type of impact can be considered a social impact, and that the researcher is the one to assess the categorisation. In addition to that, every project or case study is different and may hold different contributing factors. It should therefore not be a strange phenomenon for the term

‘social impacts’ not to have a general classification. Based on the previously identified classifications, and nature of the case study, the researcher has defined the below ‘social impacts in of the tourism sharing economy classification’ in Table 2, which has room left for expansion after the data analysis.

Table 2. Social Impacts of the tourism sharing economy classification. Sources: Juslén, 1995; Vanclay, 2002.

Classification of the social impacts of the tourism sharing economy
Standard (Juslén, 1995)
Social interaction
Ego-economic
Way of life (Armour, 1990): distribution of time, daily tasks and obligations
Personal and public property: changes to property surroundings, property maintenance
Fear (prospective worries) (adapted from Juslén, 1995; Vanclay, 1999)

Studies have also been conducted on specific tourism impacts. These earlier studies generally focussed on macro-economic factors, e.g.: ecological, economic, social, or a combination of the factors, for instance: socio-economic. Also, tourism impact studies generally focus on residents’ attitudes towards tourism development; “and models have been developed to theorise the relationship between tourists, residents’ perceptions of impacts and residents’ responses” (Bimonte & Punzo, 2016, p. 129).

In tourism impact studies from over two decades ago, older models like Doxey’s 1975 Irritation Index (or ‘Irridex’), and Butler’s 1980 Tourist Area Life Cycle (TALC) can often be found to explain residents’ attitudes towards tourism (and its impacts). An example of one of these studies is Faulkner and Tideswell’s 1997 study on the monitoring of community impacts of tourism. In their study, Faulkner and Tideswell introduced their ‘framework for analysing the social impacts of tourism’ based on previous theories and researches.

The model in Figure 2 is divided into an extrinsic dimension which includes Butler’s TALC model and Doxey’s Irridex model, and an intrinsic dimension including Social Exchange Theory, which (in generalised terms) reads that social behaviour and relationships are the result of an exchange process which has undergone a certain cost-benefit analysis. The extrinsic dimension refers to the characteristics of the location, e.g.: the level of tourism development and tourist activity, whereas the intrinsic dimension refers to the characteristics of the actual

host community, for instance: residential proximity and period of residence (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997, p. 6).

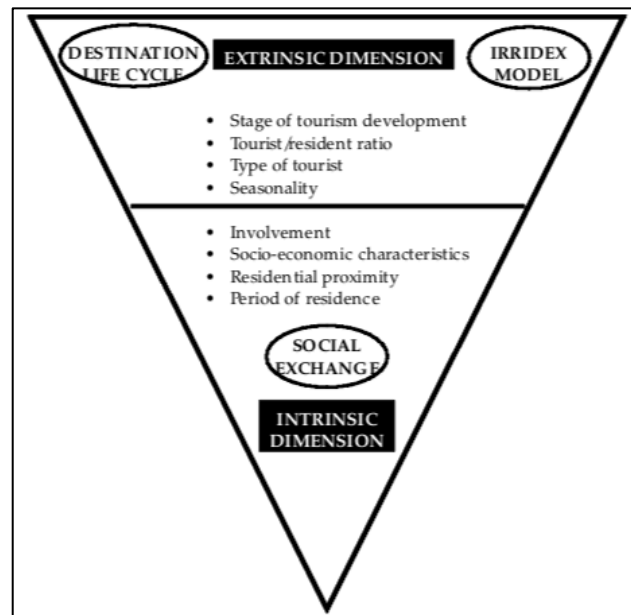


Figure 2. Framework for analysing the social impacts of tourism. Source: Faulker & Tideswell, 1997.

Both Doxey's 1975 Irridex and Butler's 1980 TALC model show the effects and/or phases of tourism development. Butler's 1980 TALC model states that growing tourist populations influence the different stages of destination tourism development, with every destination growing through the following stages in accordance to growing numbers of tourists: (1) exploration, (2) involvement, (3) development, (4) consolidation, (5) stagnation, and eventually to go in either (6a) rejuvenation or (6b) decline (Butler, 2006). Then, Doxey's 1975 index shows the feelings/attitudes towards tourism development on one axe (positive and negative), and an increase in numbers of tourists on the other, with residents' attitudes stages (1) euphoria, (2) apathy, (3) irritation, and (4) antagonism (Akis, Peristianis, & Warner, 1996).

However, the framework is not entirely comprehensive for a research in tourism from a social science perspective. Even though the focus on the intrinsic dimension is critical in the theoretical analysis of attitudes of residents toward tourism, models like Doxey's and Butler's are widely criticised for several reasons. The models were claimed to be outdated, too simplistically interpreted (Bryon, 2009 as cited in Gerritsma & Vork, 2017; Zhang, Inbakaran & Jackson, 2006), assume homogeneity of local communities (Abdool, 2002, p. 66; Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997), and are generally focussed on the negative impacts of tourism

development (Sharpley, 2014). Nevertheless, the described dimensions of the model have helped define the empirical context (as the extrinsic dimension) and data description (as the intrinsic dimension) of this research.

According to Ap and Crompton (1998), early work on perceived tourism impacts that dates back to the 1960s generally focussed on tourism's economic and positive effects. During the 1970s, tourism impacts were more critically studied, states Keogh (1989, as cited in Ap & Crompton, 1998, p. 120; Zhang, Inbakaran, & Jackson, 2006), and negative tourism impacts seemed to be overemphasised. Nowadays, many researchers look into the residents' quality of life and their support for tourism development in tourism impact studies (Lundberg, 2017).

Table 3. Classifications of tourism impacts. Sources: Ap & Crompton, 1998, p. 112; Kim, Uysal, & Sirgy, 2013.

Classification of tourism impacts by others

Kim, Uysal and Sirgy (2013)	Ap and Crompton (1998)
Material life: tourism economic impact	Social and cultural
Community life: tourism social impact	Economic
Emotional life: tourism cultural impact	Crowding and congestion
Health and safety: tourism environmental impact	Environmental
Life satisfaction in general/overall sense of wellbeing	Services
	Taxes (economic)
	Community attitude (social/cultural)

In 2013, Kim Uysal and Sirgy made a classification of tourism impacts (see Table 3) involving macro-economic factors: economic, social, cultural, and wellbeing. Ap and Crompton also used macro-economic factors as their main domains in their 1998 tourism impact classification. The two scholars included the three domains – economic, social/cultural, and physical/environmental – that were continuously used in previous research and added four of their own domains: crowding and congestion, services, taxes, and community attitude. The latter two of which could be considered part of an older domain, as can be seen in Table 2 (Ap & Crompton, 1998, p. 128). With the creation of the classifications of tourism impact shown in Table 3, Kim, Uysal and Sirgy, and Ap and Crompton are in agreement with the following statement by Vanclay (2002, p. 185) that “most social impact specialists stress that it is impossible to detail all dimensions of social impact [as] social change has a way of creating

other changes”. Social change, on its own, is mostly situation specific and therefore cannot be explained or analysed without the certain social, cultural, economic, political, and historic situation of the community (Vanclay, 2002, p. 185).

Previous studies – and scholars critiquing those studies – have shown that it is a rather difficult, if not impossible, to create a framework that analyses social impacts within tourism mainly because a large variety of elements needs to be considered. However, there are elements that keep recurring in research on social impacts, which are: (1) the level of development of a (tourism) destination/level of presence of a phenomenon, (2) the economic interest of those affected, (3), the level of contact between the parties involved (social exchange), (4) demographic and cultural differences within communities, and (5) overall life satisfaction before, during, and (when applicable) after the phenomenon. Therefore, the respondents in this research have been asked questions which were aimed to describe these elements from their experience and help define social change processes, which were then compiled under previously mentioned and established social impacts. The different social impact classification lists defined by the Interorganisational Committee and Burdge, Kim, Uysal and Sirgy, Ap and Crompton, and Armour, Vanclay and Juslén in particular, have therefore formed the basis of already identified social impacts, to which newly defined social impact categories have been added in this study’s categorisation of the perceived social impacts of the tourism sharing economy. The final classification of the social impacts is shown in Table 4, these social impacts have been discussed in Chapter 4 in accordance with the data.

Table 4. Classification of the perceived tourism sharing economy social impacts.

Classification of the social impacts of the tourism sharing economy on local residents	
<u>Social impact</u>	<u>Specifics</u>
Standard (Juslén, 1995)	noise, air pollution (smell)
Social interaction	voluntary and involuntary interaction, social life, social fulfilment, intercultural exposure
Ego-economic	personal income and expenses
Way of life (Armour, 1990)	distribution of time, daily tasks and obligations
Personal and public property	property maintenance, boundary personal and public property, changes to property surroundings
Social comfort	privacy, personal space, emotional expression, pressure reviews
Fear (adapted from Juslén, 1995; Vanclay, 1999)	prospective fears

3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter in the study describes how, and from which perspectives, the researcher conducted her research. It also shows the study's timeframe, and how the primary data has been collected and analysed. Finally, the research ethics are explained.

3.1 Empirical context

The data has been gathered in different European geographical locations. The locations differ from each other in various ways. They vary in terms of traditional tourism presence, country laws, local population (in quantity and residence types), housing types (block buildings and estates) and local attitude towards strangers/foreigners, among other things. Besides that, there is a difference in Airbnb guests in the different locations due to the two different touristic characters and infrastructural accessibility (e.g.: inbound flights). For instance, Rovaniemi, Finland, is mainly known as a winter tourism destination (and partly university city) which enjoys a big presence of tourists in the winter high season. On the other side, Castletroy, Ireland is mostly known as a university suburb, where the majority of the houses in the estates are owned by landlords and inhabited by university students during the academic year. "Everything around me is rented property, it gave me the idea to rent out myself" (Host II). In both locations, the majority of the Airbnb rental activities (and thus the frequency and number of guests) is seasonal and comprises mainly of one high season with a bigger number of Airbnb guests, and a relatively low number of guests for the remainder of the year. For Castletroy, May through September would be the high season, and Rovaniemi enjoys its high season from late October through the end of January. During high season, hosts could have Airbnb guests over practically full-time – with an average of two- to three-night stays. During the low season, some Airbnb hosts stop hosting completely, whereas others tend to have guests staying over for an extended period of time. Around half of the interviewed hosts, has Airbnb guests over frequently all year round.

The neighbours, on the other hand, are clearly divided. In Castletroy, the neighbours recognise that there are more people walking about the estate in its 'Airbnb high season' and would have chats with passers-by, but state that they would have no way of distinguishing the difference between Airbnb guests and temporary tenants due to the housing nature of the neighbourhood. In Rovaniemi, Airbnb guests are easily and occasionally spotted – as they move around in

neighbourhoods where there are no touristic attractions, and where they are further away from the designated hotel and hostel areas. Even though most neighbours state that encounters with Airbnb guests are rare or not occurring at all, they do tend to happen occasionally in the neighbour's own 'personal living area'.

The characteristics of the locations are reflected in the different types of tourists that come to the neighbourhoods. The characteristics of Airbnb guests cannot be narrowed down to certain ages or nationalities, or travel size groups. Most hosts claim that they get a very big range of different people from all over the world, with ages ranging from 20 to 70 years old – but with a majority of 'younger people'. Varying from people travelling on their own, to couples, to groups of friends, to families of all sizes. The purpose of travel, however, is very different each time.

Whereas both locations receive tourists from all over the world, Rovaniemi predominantly receives people visiting for leisure purposes. These people, in particular, are cultural tourists who have the intention to enjoy the natural attractions of the destination, and "visit a cultural tourism attraction, art gallery, museum or historic site, [...] or participate in a wide range of other activities at any time during their trip" as to one of McKercher's definitions (2002, p. 30). These tourists are also described to "get in late at night and [are] gone in the morning" (Host I; Host IV; Host VII). Other predominantly named types of visitors are people visiting local conferences or sports events, parents visiting their children participating in the Erasmus exchange programme, students waiting to move into on-campus accommodation, PhD students and visiting lecturers, and people with nearby temporary work. Hosts in Rovaniemi, tend to describe their guests' nationalities and ages more than hosts in locations where the travel purposes vary more – with the exception of hosts who receive students more than any other type of guest. Most of these leisure tourists come from West- and South-Europe, and 'richer' Asian countries.

Another interesting classification is the description of who Airbnb guests are – as opposed to 'regular tourists' – as explained by hosts. They are people who explicitly prefer Airbnb over a hotel, be it because it is cheaper (Host VII), or because they like the human interaction (Host II), they're people who actually go through your profile to see if they would match with you (Host I).

3.2 Research perspective

As was briefly mentioned in the Chapter Introduction, this research has been conducted under the interpretivist/constructivist paradigm approach. According to Creswell (2003, p. 8), this approach welcomes a researcher who is looking for the meaning behind the respondents' experiences to look for the complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas. Crotty (1998, as cited in Creswell, 2003, p. 8) identified several assumptions related to constructivism. If interpreted correctly, one of these assumptions is that every individual has grown to create its own cultural framework – which was determined by a set of social and historic factors. According to Crotty, researchers seek to understand the content and setting of the participants (as cited in Creswell, 2003, p. 9).

Most interpretivist/constructivist researchers generally take their theories and frameworks from the qualitative data that they gather. Hence, rather than beginning their research with a theory, they take an inductive approach. This research follows the same approach, whereas the theoretical framework has mostly been developed prior to the data collection. Classifications of social impacts and its examples have been stated, but they were never used as a framework for the interviews or data analysis in order to avoid tunnel vision and box-thinking limitations on the actual social impact assessment. Instead, the theoretical framework was merely used to familiarise the researcher with previous work on the subjects. This was done in accordance with the interpretivist/constructivist paradigm theory which is considered a 'sensitising device' to help see the world in a particular way. In this paradigm certain observations can be related to abstract categories, ideas and concepts that apply to multiple situations, implying some generalisability (Hart & Gregor, 2005, p. 9).

3.3 Data collection

This research is entirely qualitative as the data was collected through thematic semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews were chosen as they allow the researcher to openly explore subjective viewpoints (Flick, 2009), and "foster an environment where the ideas and meanings conveyed by informants could be developed and further discussed in order to achieve a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under investigation" (Mojtahed, Baptista Nunes, Tiago Martins, & Peng, 2014, p. 87). Both the conversations and interviews mainly contain open-ended questions which allows the researcher to have open interactions with the

participants. As a result, the answers were formulated through social constructivism. Social constructivism can be explained as a construction that allows someone to construct new knowledge through social interaction rather than an individual experience or prior knowledge derived from theories and literature (Detel, 2001; Vygotsky, 1978). The constructivist approach is the most suitable for this research due to the emphasis it lays on the understanding of meanings from multiple participants, when compared to postpositivist, pragmatist, and transformative approaches (Creswell, 2003). As Creswell (2003, p. 8) states, constructivist researchers usually are dependent on the participants' views on the research situations, and, therefore, the majority of the research should and will be interview-based and interpretivist in nature.

Even though a list of social impacts has been analysed in the theoretical framework chapter, no questions include an *a priori* set of social impacts. Instead, the questions were formed in such a way that it asked for the respondents' feelings towards a certain element or topic. The choice for this thematic organisation allowed the research to take on a more non-forced approach wherein the respondents are allowed to express their own perceptions on (relatively) neutrally phrased questions (Stylidis et al., 2014, p. 262). The structure of the interviews is similar to that of Andereck and Nyaupane (2011, as cited in Kim, Uysal, & Sirgy, 2013, p. 529) in the sense that the residents were asked a set of questions that should display their perceived social impacts, and whether or not these have changed/risen with the growth of the sharing economy.

The study focusses on social impacts and hospitality within the sharing economy among residents. The term 'residents' was narrowed down to the following two groups: Airbnb hosts, and direct and indirect neighbours of Airbnb hosts. These two groups form the two respondent groups that were interviewed. The data was collected in suburban neighbourhoods in Rovaniemi, Lapland, Finland and in Castletroy, Limerick, Ireland, between December 2016 and July 2018. Host interviews mainly took place in December 2016 and January 2018, whereas neighbours were interviewed in March 2017 and June/July 2018. An overview of the participants' descriptions and their reference in the text can be found in Table 5.

Table 5. Participant characteristics.

Hosts (interviews)				
Coding	Gender	Age	Nationality	
I	Female	40	Irish	
II	Female	60	French (Ireland)	
III	Female	63	French (Ireland)	
IV + V	Male + Female	Late 50s	Irish + Irish	
VI	Female	25	American (Ireland)	
VII	Female	64	Finnish	
Hosts (conversations)				
	Gender	Age	Nationality	
A	Male	35	Finnish	
B	Female	20	Russian (Finland)	
C	Female	68	Finnish	
D	Male	20	Russian (Finland)	
E	Male	52	Finnish	
Neighbours (interviews)				
	Gender	Age	Nationality	
I	Female	45+	Irish	
II	Male	45+	Irish	
III	Male	35+	Finnish	
IV	Female	65+	Finnish	
V	Male	50+	Finnish	
Other				
	Gender	Age	Nationality	Description
1	Female	40+	Finnish	Real Estate Management professional

In total, seven hosts and five neighbours were interviewed. The Airbnb host participant group was contacted through Airbnb's website's platform. From here on, the second group of participants (the 'neighbours') were gathered through personal and professional connections, or in one case; through the 'host' respondent. In addition to the interviews with hosts and neighbours (referred to in text with roman numerals), one expert interview was held with a real estate management professional and an additional number of five conversations (referred to in-text with Latin letters) were held with Airbnb hosts. The conversations and interviews were held in English. All of the conversations were conducted in person, whereas the majority of the

interviews were conducted through Skype. Most of the interviews were conducted in public coffee bars, with the exception of one host and two neighbour interviews which took place at the respondents' own homes. The length of the host interviews was around the 30 to 45 minutes, whereas the conversations – which did not go as in-depth as the interviews – took around 20 minutes on average. Interviews with the neighbours averaged around the 25 minutes.

All the neighbours interviewed have lived in the neighbourhood for at least five years. Most of them have passed the 40-year mark and have been in the area for two to three decades at least, and state that they live in the house full-time. Not one single neighbour expressed dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood, with some enjoying the communal aspects of the areas they live in. Through neighbourhood board meetings, casual chats on the street, and joined activities, the neighbours claim to enjoy good contact with their fellow neighbours. Most of the neighbours interviewed described the relationship with their neighbours (which include the hosts) to be good, whereas the majority of the hosts expresses that they do not always know the neighbours or have very minimal contact with them. There is an even distribution of interviewed hosts and neighbours over the two different locations. Hosts in both locations represented both the country's nationals, and long- and short-term immigrants. The majority of the neighbours and the hosts were aged over 50 years old, with only one neighbour and four hosts aged 35 or under. The gender representation among the participants was relatively equal among the neighbours, with three male and two female participants. Whereas the hosts were predominantly represented by women with seven participants, as opposed to men – four participants.

3.4 Data analysis

Qualitative data can be analysed in numerous ways. As the research decided to take an interpretivist approach to the research, a content analysis would have been the best analysis method for the research. The interpretivist/constructivist paradigm is inductive in nature as the researcher tries to detect certain patterns or regularities in the data that has been collected, rather than testing a specific hypothesis or theory. Because of this approach, the interviews have been transcribed literally and in full detail, to then have been coded and grouped. The data that was derived from the interviews, then, has been analysed through a mixed method.

In this study, the researcher took elements from a content analysis approach, which – according to Ritchie, Burns, & Palmer (2008) – is the best fit for data that express personal experiences as the approach focusses on the reading, annotating and coding of textual materials. Through content analysis the research was able to distil words into fewer content-related categories (Elo & Kyngäs, 2007). After the transcribing of the interviews, the researcher labelled all the data under four different themes corresponding with the four research questions: ‘social impacts’ (split into ‘neighbours’ and ‘hosts’), ‘hosts and guests’, ‘neighbours in hospitality’, and ‘hospitality’. Understandably, the choice for semi-structured interviews – and taking the more social constructivist approach – proved to have made data analysis considerably more difficult. Although challenging – and vastly depended on the listening and communicating skills of the interviewer – the researcher was then able to take the data analysis to the next step. In this study, content analysis was mainly used for the research question focussed on the social impacts, as these needed to be categorised and clustered. As Elo and Kyngäs (2007, p. 108) state: “Usually, the purpose of those concepts or categories is to build up a model, conceptual system, conceptual map or categories”. In this study, the categories were put together in a table and were established partially with the help of previously stated theories and defined social impacts.

Content analysis is a method that can be used in both deductive and inductive studies. This research took an inductive approach, which indicates that the content analysis in this study took place in the following order: transcribing, open coding (meaning that notes are written during the research process), grouping (dividing under the previously mentioned themes), categorisation and then abstraction (the general description of the research topic) (Elo & Kyngäs, 2007, p. 109-110).

3.5 Research ethics

In the avoidance of ethical misbehaviour, this research does not contain any data that is involuntarily provided by participants. All the participants were asked whether they wanted to participate in the research. All the participants were over the age of 18. Hence, all the participants should have been legally able to give consent to participation to the research without asking any other authority for permission.

Prior to the interview the participants were fully informed of the intentions and scope of the research, as well as the researcher's contact information. They were informed that the (raw) data and its analysis could possibly be reviewed by other students and teachers of the University of Lapland, and that the research eventually will be published by the University of Lapland – and with that will turn into a publicly accessible research report. The participant itself was able to decide the level of anonymity he/she feels most comfortable with – and may change this at any time before publication of the research.

The scope of this research should not put the participants at any risk of harm and does not intend to – not mentally, physically, socially or financially. Even though the research may touch the latter two, the participant itself may decide for him-/herself how anonymous he/she is in order not to harm any of these factors. In the cases where participants decided to go through the research completely anonymous – or even partially – the researcher has nowhere, not even in the raw data, identified the participant. The participants were allowed to stop the interview if he/she felt to do so at any moment – regardless of any previously given consent.

It is not the immediate intention of the researcher to release the data gathered during this research to secondary partners. When requested, a secondary party can be given consent for the use of the data only in case the respective participant allows this. The research data collected was stored appropriately and was destroyed when the research ended.

All of these ethical considerations have been created through the use of the researcher's personal thoughts on research ethics and have been inspired by the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity (Tutkimuseettinen Neuvottelukunta [TENK], 2012).

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

These findings are the end product of the analysis of the primary and secondary data collected for this research. This examined material was gathered for the purpose of gaining insight into the social impacts of, and hospitality within, the sharing economy (Airbnb) in tourism among residents. This aim is twofold: focussing on both the social impacts, and the hospitality within the sharing economy. To provide an insight into these two elements, the answers have been analysed through (1) defining the two terms ‘host’ and ‘guest’ in relation to the sharing economy, (2) an examination of hospitality in Airbnb, (3) an examination of the role of Airbnb hosts’ neighbours in hospitality, and (4) the categorisation of the perceived social impacts among residents.

4.1 A comfortable guest knows not to expect a hotel

In this research Airbnb guests are defined as those who have booked, and are staying in, a house or room offered by the owner through Airbnb – referred to as the Airbnb host. This chapter focusses on the portrayals of the words host and guest in relation to the tourism sharing economy. As mentioned earlier, in the field of tourism tourists are often seen as the ‘guests’ and locals, or the local community, as ‘hosts’. Defining what ‘hosts’ and ‘guests’ are in the tourism sharing economy, however, cannot necessarily be done in a one-line definition as tourists and locals are rarely a homogenous group. In this research, the descriptions of the two terms have originated from the interviews with both the hosts and the neighbours. In addition to that, this chapter lays bare the host-guest relationship between the Airbnb host and the Airbnb guest, from the hosts’ perspective.

Generally, within Airbnb there are two types of commercial homes: (1) where the guest shares the house with the host, and (2) where the host only rents out the property when it is vacant (not used by the host). The retrieved data shows an even distribution of hosts that live in the same house as where they receive Airbnb guests, and hosts that rent out rooms or full houses or apartments in vacant lodgings. One host, who shares the accommodation with Airbnb guests, states that she would never let anyone stay over if they are not there: “I work, [...] I am not letting [anyone] in my house unless I have met them” (Host I). Other hosts often simply host guests in accommodations which do not function as their (primary) home address and are left vacant for most of the time otherwise. These findings show that there are significant variations

of relations between the locals and tourists between the Airbnb host and guest, like Sharpley (2014) stated. Among the Airbnb hosts, one type of Krippendorf's (1987) typology of residents in primary business context can be found (Brunt & Courtney, 1999), which is the 'resident in regular contact, only partially deriving their income from tourism'. Understandably, the other types of hosts that are present are not recognised in Krippendorf's (1987) typology, which was based on traditional tourism models. New types of typologies that can be added to Krippendorf's typology are the 'resident in irregular contact, only partially deriving their income from tourism', and the 'resident in constant contact, only partially deriving their income from tourism'. The common denominator among the hosts is the source of income. None of the hosts have stated to fully live off of the income that Airbnb guests provide, even when retired or studying. In fact, the only significant variance between the Airbnb hosts is that of the level of contact with the Airbnb booker.

'Host'

In this research, the Airbnb hosts and neighbours were asked how they define the terms 'host' and 'guest'. Subsequently, both respondent groups were asked if they consider themselves hosts within the Airbnb sphere. The majority of the Airbnb hosts describes a host to be the provider of accommodation, among other. The Causevich and Lynch (2009) statement that the three different domains of hospitality (commercial, private and social) overlap in the sharing economy, is somewhat confirmed through the following statements by three different hosts. According to Host II, a 'host' would be someone who "offers accommodation to rent to people" – which shows a more commercial outlook on hospitality. Host I describes a host as someone who "invites someone into their home", and Host VI as someone who "provides a friendly and relaxing place for somebody to stay" – which show hospitality from a private and social perspective.

Direct descriptions of what a 'host' is according to the Airbnb hosts are very similar. The most frequently used 'buzz words' in the descriptions of a host are the following: 'comfort', 'taking care', 'welcoming', and 'help'. Each Airbnb host, with the exception of two, mention the concept of 'comfort'. Being hospitable as a host would involve making people feel comfortable. Comfortable with the place they are staying in, and also feeling comfortable with their hosts. "Hosts are there to take care of, and welcome, the guest – to make them feel good" (Host VII). Hosts are allegedly those who 'take care' of guests and are the main providers of

help. According to the hosts, providing help is done through giving guests directions to the local amenities (shops, transportation stops, local facilities, etc.), showing the workings of the lodging (opening doors, use of heaters and alarms), or just basically providing them with any other information that they might request.

One host describes the term as someone who – besides the providing of accommodation and taking care of guests – is available for the guest 24 hours of the day. “Like a receptionist, but more personal” (Host B). She describes a host as someone who knows what the guest wants, why they came to the host, and what they need. Someone who is a problem-solver and not all too sensitive as a host cannot always say ‘no’ to the guest, according to Host B. The latter statement appears to come from a commercial perspective on hospitality. Alternatively, ‘not being able to say ‘no’ to the guest’ could derive from the host’s cultural values. As Reisinger (2009, p. 91) argues: cultural values are standards of socially desirable behaviour – saying ‘no’ to a guest might be considered rude in some cultures.

Another host argues that ‘hostship’ is something that comes naturally. When asked if he considers himself to be a host, he had no doubt in his mind: “The answer is there if you read my reviews. I am just doing my job. It’s pretty natural, [it’s] who I am” (Host C). Also, when Host III was asked if she considers herself a host to her Airbnb guests, she said: “I don’t know. We’ve got good reviews generally, [so] I suppose it’s working”, and with her two other hosts. These remarks show the influence of Airbnb its review-system on hosts within the sharing economy (Dredge & Gyimóthy, 2015), as Host V states: “I could ask my husband to do certain chores and I could wait weeks, whereas if it is in the reviews, he goes out to do them straight away!”.

When asked if the Airbnb hosts think of themselves as hosts, all respondents fully agree. As mentioned previously, most hosts do their utmost best to make their guests feel as comfortable as they can be. One host describes herself as a ‘hen mother’, as she sees guests as people who come to visit herself as opposed to the city. Someone who really cares about her guests, with genuine smiles – as opposed to hospitality in hotels where smiles can be faked (Host VII). Besides reviews, hosts measure their success with the return of previous guests, and invitations to guests’ own homes. Levels of communication with the guests also appear to be a determining factor of the hosts’ own perception of being a successful host. One host in particular questions

the qualities of her ‘hostship’ as she states not to interact with her guests all too much and thinks that she might be more comfortable as a host if she does (Host D).

Neighbours appear to have a similar description of the term ‘host’ to the Airbnb hosts. Only one of the neighbours views himself to be a host to their neighbour’s Airbnb guests by just greeting them and talking to them on the streets. None of the other neighbours view themselves as hosts to the Airbnb guests – even in the cases where they would frequently meet and help the Airbnb guests. Instead, neighbours tend to define hosts by their level of communication and interaction with the guest. A host is someone who is present and at their guests’ disposal, with the provision of extra services like breakfast or coffee (Neighbour IV). A ‘host’, through the eyes of the neighbours, is someone who takes care of a guest; someone who treats a guest like one of the family. In the light of ‘hostship’ within the sharing economy, one neighbour states that a host should not be doing Airbnb if it were solely for the money (Neighbour III). With this statement, Neighbour III agrees with Lashley’s (2008, p. 72-73) description of typical hospitality and hospitableness as “expressions of altruistic generosity driven by pure motives and a desire to serve others without immediate promise of reward”.

‘Guest’

By descriptions of the hosts (and one neighbour), two definitions could be made of what a ‘guest’ is in the sharing economy. The first definition, described by two hosts, is a relatively basic statement: a person/customer who needs a place to stay for one or a number of nights and deserves respect from the host, as they have to treat the host and the property with respect. The second description relates to the sharing economy more in the sense that a guest is described by four hosts and one neighbour as someone who understands that they go into someone’s house, and therefore “prefer that over a hotel or a bed and breakfast” (Host III). Where one guest explains that a guest must be invited into the house by a host (Host I), most of the hosts agree to some extent that a guest in the sharing economy is someone who is flexible and “prepared to fit into whatever surroundings they have found themselves in” (Host III). “And if my grandson shows up and makes a lot of noise... Well, it’s not a hotel, it’s the way it is. But I think that is what [the guests] want as well” (Host III).

A couple of the hosts have expressed a certain closeness with particular guests: “They become friends” (Host VII). This statement is described by Bialski (2012a; 2012b) as a meaningful

social encounter between hosts and guests and is shown to unexpectedly socially fulfil the personal lives of the hosts.

The neighbours were asked about their definition of the word ‘guest’ in a different manner. First, they were asked about visitors that they receive in their own home, and if they consider these visitors their guest. After that, they were asked to describe the word ‘guest’ followed by their thoughts on the possibility to portray Airbnb visitors as guests. The majority of the neighbours state to have visitors over on a regular basis. Half of these neighbours considers these visitors to be guests, whereas the other half would rather put them in a different category, like friends or acquaintances. A guest, in two of the neighbours’ opinions, is someone who comes from far away, someone who does not visit on a regular basis. Only one neighbour states that everyone visiting his home is a guest, regardless of “whether they are social or business [guests]” (Neighbour II). Whereas a few of the neighbours had no opinion on the classification of Airbnb visitors as guests, the majority found an Airbnb visitor to be a customer, or a tourist, more than a guest because of Airbnb’s commercial element. One neighbour argues that Airbnb visitors ‘just choose the place’ to visit local attractions or facilities rather than experiencing local life (Neighbour III), where another neighbour states that: “A visitor is someone who would come to your home, who you provide for, who you take care of, and give everyday comfort. You do not expect them to pay” (Neighbour I).

Host-guest relationship

In Chapter 2, Aramberri’s (2002) description of host-guest relations is tainted by economic transactions in the modern-day tourism industry. As established previously, most neighbours would agree to this. One of the hosts already described a host solely from an economic perspective, namely as ‘someone who has accommodation to rent to people’ (Host II). In the sharing economy, host-guest relationships are determined by the levels of interactions and contact between hosts and guests.

The Airbnb guests get most of the information about the host from the website, which is usually merely a photo, a description provided by the host and reviews. Information that the hosts provide about themselves is generally limited, as two hosts consider themselves to be private people. Guests would gather most of their information from the actual meeting with the host: “They don’t get to know many details about me, but if you look at a person you immediately

learn something by seeing a nice smile” (Host A). From most of the stories the Airbnb hosts tell it seems that the type and the amount of contact they have with their guests completely depends on the individual guest. When a guest does not show interest in the host, most hosts would just show the room along with basic information about the accommodation. “We’ve had people we haven’t talked to, [people who have] been over only for a long weekend or something like that” (Host III). Most of the guests, however, do look for a conversation with the host. In that case, often with a cup of tea, the hosts and guests ‘chat away’ and can get to know the guests ‘quite well’. “Generally, it’s close – as close as you can be” (Host II). Often, the guests that tend not to look for a talk, are merely using the accommodation as a short-term stop-over on their journey: ‘in for the night, gone in the morning’. Generally, the basic information that the hosts receive in this case are the travel purposes, and names and nationalities of the guests. Hosts that do not share their accommodation with the guests often only have superficial contact with the guests, with the exception of one. That one host in particular is in frequent contact with his guests and often helps them find information on their heritage or family history for instance. It must be noted that there is a clear divide in the locations when it comes to contact with the Airbnb guests. In the locations where tourism is already quite present, Rovaniemi, the majority of the hosts tend to have less contact with the guests. Nevertheless, it is unclear if there is a correlation between the levels of contact and the presence of tourism, as it could for instance be explained as a cultural variable.

4.2 Make yourself at home

Tourism sharing economy facilitates the mixing of the front and back regions as defined by MacCannell (1973) by allowing tourists in places where they otherwise would not regularly be found. As described earlier, hospitality in the sharing economy is mostly present through the ‘commercial home’, which are private homes where commercial hospitality is provided. In this research, there are two types of commercial homes: (1) where the guest shares house with the host, and (2) where host only rents out the house when host is using the house. As established in the previous chapter, the respondents represent the two types of commercial homes evenly. It can be said that hospitality is culture-specific, both through its commercial and non-commercial sense. Lashley (2008) argues that hospitality in the private sphere suggests a selfless commitment to the needs of the guests, which is confirmed by the Airbnb hosts: “We try to do as much as we can for the people [...], but you cannot please everyone a 100%” (Host IV).

However, with the emergence of the sharing economy, some form of commercialised hospitality is now brought into people's personal homes. Reverting back to Lashley and Morrison's defined modes in hospitality – commercial, private and social – the following findings show that hospitality has seen a shift from purely commercial and is now combined with the private and social modes (2000, as cited in Causevic & Lynch, 2007; Ritzer, 2007).

Stating that there is no true hospitality possible within the sharing economy seems a little extreme. However, that does not stop other scholars to agree to the statement, albeit partially. In the theoretical framework it was found that Ikkala and Lampinen (2015, p. 1034) critically argue the commercial aspect of Airbnb has a tremendous impact on the social roles of guests and hosts. One of their findings was that sometimes social interaction does not take place at all. The interviewed Airbnb hosts state that they could actually get to know quite a lot about their guests – depending on whether a guest is open to social interaction: “When they arrive, I offer them a cup of tea. If they accept it, I'll sit down, and we'll chat. Some I get to know very well. Some are not interested, and I let them do their own thing” (Host II).

Within Airbnb, 'hosts' are promoted for their labour of care of the guest. The status 'Superhost' is given to hosts that score a certain overall rating, respond within 24 hours at least 90% of the time, have zero cancellations and host at least 10 guests per year (Airbnb, 2018). “A myriad of practices and performances that hosts undertake before, during and after a stay, are measured, rated and ranked, both by the guests as well as the platform's algorithms” (Roelofsen & Minca, 2018, p. 176). A minority of the hosts has received the title 'Superhost'. Nevertheless, as was already stated in the previous sub-chapter, many more hosts are influenced by this reward system. For instance, chores around the house are shown to be done straight away (Host V), and hosts have shown to measure their 'hostship' through what they read back in the reviews (Host C). On the other hand, the reviews are shown to have a negative impact on the hosts as well. One host in particular has indirectly expressed to feel pressured under the system. “You cannot tell guest to leave you alone, whereas with a housemate you can. Some boundaries cannot be crossed. You do not want them to complain” is one of those statements (Host B).

Airbnb itself developed certain “hosting standards” which they divided into seven elements, which are: overall experience, accuracy (of the description), cleanliness, communication, check in process, location, and value. The 'overall experience', according to Airbnb, is based on how the host makes the guest 'feel welcome' and 'at home', while also 'avoiding confusion',

‘making small gestures’, and ‘personalising each guest’s experience to suit their travel needs and personality’ (Roelofsen & Minca, 2018, p. 176). Nevertheless, there are still hosts who happily provide their guests with an ‘extra service’ – adding value-creation on top of the peer exchange (Bauwens, Mendoza, & Iacomella, 2012). Most of the hosts let know that it is a standard service to provide the guest with tea and coffee, breakfast (often), homemade bread (Host I), information about the area, and flexible check-in and check-out times. “If people arrive late, they are tired and hungry, they would like a bowl of soup. Fair enough, I think that’s part of being hospitable” says Host III. Five hosts have given hosts lifts to places before, or pick them up from the airport, without charging the guest. One of the hosts, as mentioned previously, goes as far as to help find guests the roots of their ancestry. Another host shows to work with two forms of hospitality: (1) merely as someone who rents out apartment, and (2) as the provider of additional activities. By asking an additional fee, the host provides his guests with a cottage trip, which makes for “a more intimate connection and trust, as they would not survive in the wilderness on their own” (Host A). However, as this experience only takes place in exchange for an (additional) monetary exchange and not a fixed part of the stay, the scholars Telfer and Lashley would probably agree that this tour cannot be included in the analysis of hospitality in the sharing economy. It can, however, be perceived as a hospitable element by the Airbnb guests. Unfortunately, there is no space or data within this research to back up that statement.

4.3 *Céad míle fáilte, Tervetuloa!*

In this study, neighbours are those indirectly involved in Airbnb. However, occasionally neighbours get exposed to Airbnb guests directly. This chapter looks into the role of neighbours in Airbnb from a hospitality perspective. Additionally, whereas Chapter 4.1 showed the host-guest relationship between the Airbnb host and the Airbnb guest from the hosts’ perspective, this chapter aimed to give an insight into the host-guest relationship between neighbours and Airbnb guests from both the hosts’ and the neighbours’ perspective.

Within the research there are two different types of neighbours: the temporary residents (short-term tenants) or landlords, and long-term permanent residents. The majority of the respondents fall under the latter. The interviewed landlords are frequent visitors of the neighbourhood and property and have held said property for at least two decades while maintaining good contact with fellow landlords and local neighbours.

Céad míle fáilte – one of the two European locations, Ireland, is known as the country of a hundred thousand welcomes. In recent years, increased urbanisation within the country has led to a shift in society. Where before everyone knew everyone else's neighbour, it is quite common for neighbours not to have great interaction with one another in the urban parts these days. In Castletroy (Co. Limerick), Ireland, quite frequently Airbnb hosts were not personally acquainted with their neighbours and would not always have direct contact with neighbours to encourage them to be friendly to incoming guests. However, it was quite common for Airbnb guests to have frequent and friendly interactions with the neighbours. In examples from two different hosts, neighbours have shown to have taken over the role of hosts. In one situation, a host had an overbooking and had no space to host the Airbnb guest, when a neighbour stepped in and offered to host the guest instead. In another situation, Airbnb guests had arrived earlier than they had let their host know and ended up in front of a closed door. That host's neighbour stepped in, informed the host of the early arrival, made the guests tea and kept their bags in the house to allow the Airbnb guests to explore the city for the day. In fact, neighbours in all of the locations have shown to chat with the visitors while out walking or on the streets and trying to make them feel welcome – without necessarily being aware that the person might be an Airbnb guest.

Even though neighbours from all of the studied locations have expressed to have very close contact with their neighbours in general, the hosts state that they barely have any contact with theirs. One neighbour in particular seems to be in regular contact with his neighbour's Airbnb guests, as they have frequently rung his doorbell for help, or he had had to walk down to the main door of the building to open it for guests. The neighbour himself had not expressed any dissatisfaction with this but does recognise that his older neighbours do not appreciate having Airbnb visitors in the building.

Besides this, neighbours have shown to help Airbnb guests with directions, or when lost, much to the contrary of the expectations that Airbnb hosts had of their neighbours. When asked, hosts stated not to expect any of these actions from their neighbours, as they believe their neighbours are either unaware of the Airbnb guests, or would not really have contact with others in general. “[I would expect them to] maybe say ‘hi’ and then just go into their house. Same as they do with me. Smile and go ‘Hi!’, and that’s about it” (Host VI). Whereas one host claims her neighbours take a precautionous approach to the Airbnb guests, others would only expect their neighbours to greet the guests or have a chat with them.

Only two individuals have stated never to have consciously met an Airbnb guest. In general, neighbours' interactions with Airbnb guests were either non-verbal, a simple greeting in the streets, or an experience like the few mentioned previously. The neighbours that did have one of the latter experiences usually had to help guests with directions or the unlocking of doors. These neighbours also claimed not to mind helping the guests out. One neighbour in particular said she in fact enjoys helping them out as it helps her with her English. None of the guests have complained to their neighbour about having to help out their guests, but two have mentioned that they might in case these situations keep occurring on a more frequent basis.

When asked if the neighbours consider themselves to be hosts to these Airbnb guests, one neighbour said he might be: "I would greet them, [I would be] friendly anyhow. I suppose I am a host" (Neighbour II). All of the other neighbours did not consider themselves to be hosts, although they would always help out if need be. One neighbour stated that he would not be able to be a host as he is never (formally) introduced to the guest (Neighbour III). Regardless, none of the neighbours showed to view the incoming Airbnb guests as the 'intruders' McNaughton (2006) described.

The majority of the neighbours has never tried Airbnb for themselves. Even though in general the neighbours do not consider themselves to be a host to their neighbour's Airbnb guests, all of the neighbours said they would not mind using it themselves. Most of them would even consider hosting guests through Airbnb for themselves in the future.

4.4 The media as exposé of social impacts

In this qualitative research residents have been asked questions about their experiences with Airbnb. These residents were hosts on the Airbnb platform, as well as direct and indirect neighbours of Airbnb hosts. The residents' experiences have been analysed and categorised into different social impacts. The social impacts have been labelled following the theories laid out in the theoretical framework. The actual perceived social impacts during this study were analysed through a combination of the social impact classifications in the theoretical framework, and a loose adaptation of Faulkner and Tideswell's 1997 framework for tourism social impact analysis. The pre-defined social impact classification are displayed in Table 4 under Chapter 2. These impacts are numbered (1) standard, (2), social interaction, (3), ego-economic, (4) way of life, (5) personal and public property, (6) social comfort, and (7) fear.

The social impacts expressed in the interviews have been analysed below and show the respective social impact category (numbered 1 to 7) where applicable.

Most, but not every, neighbour is aware of the presence of Airbnb in the neighbourhood, one neighbour had never heard of Airbnb before the research. Others would know it from their own use of the platform. However, most of the other neighbours have gotten to know about Airbnb through the media and the issues it associates with Airbnb. Nevertheless, the majority of neighbours states to have never had any problems with Airbnb, or does not mind it, when asked about their opinion of the platform. It is interesting to see that the people who are closer to Airbnb, by ways of knowing the actual hosts, tend to be more accepting of the presence of Airbnb. Generally, neighbours either stated to “not mind” the presence of Airbnb, or not have no strong opinion about it as “it is not a permanent thing, because tourism is very seasonal here” (Neighbour IV).

Interestingly, one half of the respondents viewed the seasonal arrival of Airbnb guests as a positive contribution to the state of the neighbourhood: “you keep the house in a very good state [...] because you are improving it to higher standards and you’re touching it up the whole time” (Host IV), whereas the other half agrees to the statement that: “if you’re not living in the house permanently, you don’t care too much about the living conditions and the state of the house” (Neighbour III) – (5) ‘public and private property’ social impact.

Neighbours that were landlords tend to look at Airbnb in more of a professional way than a local, social way. They were more likely to see Airbnb’s benefits than its downsides. When looking at downsides, they were analysing them from the point of a view of an Airbnb host (a landlord) as opposed to a neighbour. Generally, neighbours that are involved in community or neighbourhood meeting groups were more critical towards Airbnb and its hosts and guests. In addition to this, neighbours who lived in a place where (leisure) tourism was already a bigger contributor to the local economy (Rovaniemi) were more critical than those living in places where tourism is not ‘booming’ and is mostly business and education related (Castletroy).

Nevertheless, Airbnb is being brought up in annual meetings in the places with high tourism activity. The main topics in these meetings are the handling of extra communal costs (e.g.: electricity and water usage, and depreciation costs) that are brought on by Airbnb guests (3 – ego-economic impact; 5 – personal and public property). In these meetings, the neighbours

also discuss the need for possible new rules and regulations for Airbnb activities in residential buildings. For other neighbours, the rise of Airbnb presence has led to considerations of joining the accommodation network as hosts.

Most of the hosts state not to recognise a change in the relationship with their neighbours. This, however, does not mean that neighbours have not complained. Neighbours have not been reported to have complained to the host directly – “I think they are too afraid of me to complain” (Host C) – but do so in the building’s board meetings or neighbourhood associations’ meetings (6 – social comfort; 7 – fear).

When the hosts were asked what they thought the neighbours think of their Airbnb rental activities, around half of them were under the impression that their neighbours are unaware of their participation. Whereas some are hoping for their neighbours to not know as they are unsure it is legal to host Airbnb in the building, others state that the neighbours must have noticed something with the continuous arrival of people with suitcases. Nevertheless, as stated previously, none of the hosts have received direct complaints from their neighbours. Neighbours from three different hosts have expressed tremendous interest in the workings of Airbnb, and one has even offered to help out the hosts. One host in particular owns several Airbnb lodgings and let know that several neighbours are very positive about the host’s rental activities as it keeps the neighbourhood lively and helps with the upkeep of the houses: “Most of the neighbours would probably agree. They often said to me that if a house is up for sale, I should buy it. So, I don’t think they would mind” (Host IV) (5 – personal and public property).

Within the research, the hosts and neighbours were asked to convey their opinion of the benefits and downsides of Airbnb. These two questions were aimed to rake up a small amount of directly expressed positive and negative social impacts, which only make up a small amount of the total amount of perceived social impacts. Most of the established social impacts were indirectly mentioned by both participant groups through their experiences with Airbnb and its guests. Because of this, ‘direct’ expressions of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with Airbnb by the neighbours and hosts are not necessarily reflected in the outcome of the amount of ‘positive versus negative’ social impacts. As stated previously, nearly all neighbours state not to have strong negative or positive opinions towards Airbnb and claim to ‘not mind’ the presence of Airbnb in the neighbourhood. Whereas in the actual outcome of positive and negative impacts,

neighbours were more likely to mention negative experiences, as opposed to positive experiences.

Hosts

The additional income that the hosts receive from renting out (a part of) their property through Airbnb, is one of the expected positive social impacts on the hosts as for the most part that was their main reason to start with Airbnb. The economic benefit has helped hosts live a ‘richer’ life and helped two hosts in particular with maintaining their house – either as Airbnb helped fill up the space of a missing economic contributor to the house, or simply as additional income. The combination of the economic benefit and the feedback review system that Airbnb uses, helps hosts maintain and upgrade their property. This on its own helps one host in particular with the relationship with his neighbours: “Airbnb has really upgraded the neighbourhood. You [bring] in a different category of people. It delights the neighbours, they’re thrilled, because they would rather see the house occupied and taken care of than empty” says Host V (3 – ego-economic).

Almost every host mentioned the economic benefit as a direct positive social impact. A bigger outcome, however, was the benefits that they (indirectly) saw coming from the social interaction with the guests. “Airbnb is a big part of my life now” states Host VII. From making friends, to learning from people, to feeling less lonely, Airbnb guests have “enriched the life” of all the hosts (with the exception of two individuals). Nice chats and being able to help guests from all over the world, has helped with the host’s social life and has raised intercultural awareness (2 – social interaction).

Around half of all the hosts interviewed has reached the age of retirement. Although the economic benefit was the primary reason to start with Airbnb, hosts state to have found the action that it brings one of the platform’s biggest perks. “It takes me out of the house” (Host VII) and “Airbnb has really provided me with a full schedule” (Host II), are but a few of the positive remarks. In fact, hosts from all ages and occupations stated that Airbnb has helped them give structure to their time as they have to deal with different arrival and departure times, and schedule in cleaning and turn-over activities (4 – way of life).

However, not everything that comes with Airbnb is a good thing according to the hosts. Even though the hosts all express their happiness with the platform, there are a couple of reoccurring ‘complaints’. Although all of the hosts appear to be relatively fine with the following matter, it has been the most brought-up issue. Airbnb allows hosts to block off periods where the host would be unavailable to receive guests, for example: when the host is out of the country for a few days. Nevertheless, most of the hosts ‘complain’ that their busy schedule ties them down and leaves them no time to get away – while being fully aware of the fact that they can change this at any given moment. As Host IV exclaims: “We don’t have time to go away. You’re here with the people all year. It has tied us down. It is all about commitment. The main thing is that we are caught” (4 – way of life).

Also, the same hosts who expressed to be happy about Airbnb giving them structure to their time, and helps keep the house tidy, expressed minor dissatisfaction about the same thing: “Sometimes I don’t want to do my dishes because I’ve had a very long day, but then I have to. Because [the guests are] there and I don’t [want to get] three stars on the cleanliness” (Host VI). Another expressed negative social impact is forced interaction with the guests at all time. Interestingly, where the ‘older’ hosts enjoy the social interaction, the ‘younger’ hosts were the only ones to complain about ‘having to always have to chat’ with the guests and not being able to spontaneously invite friends over – as they share their own living space with the Airbnb guest (2 – social interaction; 4 – way of life; 6 – social comfort).

Some of the biggest issues that some hosts seem to have with Airbnb are in their own ‘comfort zone’. Having to share one’s own personal living space, or having restrictions within that space, can cause a feeling of restriction and loss of privacy. As Host D states: “A roommate is different from a guest. You can’t tell a guest that you are tired and just want to be left alone. You cannot ruin this barrier with the guest”, and Host B: “You don’t want other people to have a bad opinion of you. You don’t want them to complain. It is a bit hard emotionally, because you can’t always express your emotions”. The latter statement proves yet again how the review-system within Airbnb influences a host’s behaviour. In one situation, a host stopped wanting to go back home after work, as two of her long-term Airbnb guests could not get along with each other which created tension in the house, which eventually let the host to temporary stop using Airbnb (6 – social comfort).

Then there's the action of bringing in strangers into the host's personal space and having to trust that that is okay as hosts cannot fully screen the guests that are coming to their house. "I think if you decide to do something like this, you have to basically trust. I don't lock doors, I behave as normal. I don't think people are going to steal something. If I thought like that, I wouldn't do it. I base it on trust, and we've never had any bad experience" states Host III. Nevertheless, most hosts state that they feel very free in trusting their (prospective) guests (6 – social comfort).

Nesterak and Penman (2016) pin rising social issues, like racial or gender discrimination, on Airbnb's requirement of a photo and a name on users' profile. The hosts, however, have expressed that this prerequisite makes them feel more at ease. Feeling comfortable for many of the hosts, means having guests who are comfortable. Sometimes this is not the case, and even prior to the guest's arrival, hosts have had to deny guests. In the beginning of their Airbnb activities, the majority of the female hosts stated that they were not comfortable with having sole male travellers staying with them or taking on guests who had someone else book their stay for them. One of the hosts stated that they have declined stay requests before on the basis of the language in the message which were either 'patronising', 'unbelievable' or 'simply strange'. Especially the women who claimed to have had 'creepy' guests state to now double-check a potential future guest's details: "I don't go for guys with no reviews as I live on my own" (Host I). As Dredge and Gyimóthy (2017, p. 26) argue: peer-to-peer feedback where both suppliers and consumers are rated, can build trust and facilitate authentic host-visitor relations" (2 – social interaction; 6 – social comfort).

Hosts are able to deny stay request, or terminate a guests' stay when they are uncomfortable, neighbours are not. One host seems to be significantly impacted by the thought of how her Airbnb rental activities possibly negatively influence her neighbours. She realises that some of her neighbours are apprehensive of the presence of Airbnb in the neighbourhood. One neighbour in particular fears that the building will turn into a hotel because of Airbnb. "If you have a home, you would like to know your neighbour is the same all the time, even if you don't know them. So [Airbnb] kind of disturbs the home owners, although being it only a feeling of unsafety. It might cause some disturbance, especially in this time with terror attacks all around" (6 – social comfort, 7 – fear) thus Host VII. Although Host VII has never received complaints from her neighbours – as they would rather complain in board meetings – and has even been told that she and her husband take good care of their guests, she still seemed worried. In order

to take away the fear that some older neighbours have, she goes as far as to contemplate whether she can send information about the incoming guests on the communal notice board but realises that might cross a privacy border. Other relatively minor negative social impacts expressed by hosts are noise, unpleasant smells after the use of the kitchen and the excessive use of utilities (e.g.: water) (1 – standard).

Neighbours

Even though neighbours conveyed a neutral opinion of Airbnb, they only expressed two positive impacts of the platform. One of the two expressed perceived positive impacts on the neighbours are intercultural exposure due to the presence of visitors from all over the world (2 – social interaction). Another impact is the exposure to Airbnb from second-hand experiences, and accumulated information about the platform, which lead to a personal entrepreneurial interest in Airbnb: “We will definitely look into [Airbnb] to try for ourselves now!” says Neighbour II (3 – ego-economic).

Interestingly, most of the negative social impacts that are being expressed by the neighbours are impacts that are not necessarily currently happening but are expressions of fear of what they could become (7 – fear). One of the few currently expressed negative impact is the noise of loud (foreign) voices and suitcases in the buildings and around the neighbourhoods (1 – standard).

As mentioned previously, the biggest reoccurring impacts are so-called ‘prospective fears’, which are worries about the impacts that Airbnb could potentially have on the residents or the neighbourhood – were it to expand: “If it starts growing it is not that good, maybe it’s not a nice place to live if there is a lot of Airbnb” (Neighbour III), and “What then if everybody here starts renting out their apartments for tourism?” (Neighbour IV). Nearly every neighbour has led out a ‘prospective fear’, though most come from neighbours from the location where tourism is already a big presence (7 – fear).

The prospective fears come in different forms and could be subcategorised under individual social impacts. The biggest expressed fears are those of safety and of the ‘stranger’. According to the neighbours, Airbnb allows ‘strangers’ to get access to the ‘personal living area’. For example: some buildings require the input of a digit code to allow someone access. Not

knowing who has access to the building, and seeing unfamiliar faces entering the building, appears to dissatisfy a certain group of (older) residents according to one of the neighbours and one host. “You’ll never know who lives next to you” (Neighbour IV).

Another expressed fear is ergo-economic in nature, or in other words: the effect on the personal income and/or expenses. With a growing Airbnb, and with that a growing number of arriving Airbnb guests, neighbours fear an increase of deterioration of the building. As claimed, temporary guests would not show the same form of care for a property as permanent residents do. The fear then is that the expenses for the maintenance of the neighbourhood or communal building would fall on the neighbours and would create an unfair distribution of expenses and income between those who host through Airbnb and those who do not. Therefore, conversations and meetings between neighbours and landlords or building management generally discuss the need for future regulations and expense arrangements.

What can be seen is that the neighbours are facing a kind of “development dilemma” (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008), where they try to weigh the perceived benefits (positive social impacts) against the costs (negative social impacts). The majority of the neighbours think to foresee that the costs will outweigh the benefits with the expansion of Airbnb.

It is argued that the neighbour’s fear of Airbnb is fuelled by the media. Airbnb has been in the news constantly for the past decade, mostly negatively rather than positively. Hosts recognise this. In fact, some of the neighbours were unaware of the local presence of Airbnb but knew all about the issues that some of the bigger European cities face. Besides reports about Airbnb abusing the housing crisis in Dublin and it taking customers away from hotels in Lapland, headlines like: “‘The standards are questionable’: B&Bs say cheaper Airbnb rivals may damage the sector” (McMahon, 2018) and “Couple who rented out home as Airbnb found it covered in mystery stains after it was ‘used as brothel’” (Berghuis, 2018) are not comforting to apprehensive neighbours. According to two different neighbours, neighbourhood meetings started to take place because of newspaper articles and texts about how Airbnb visitors have affected neighbourhoods.

On top of this, the perceived lack of regulations and government actions appears to dissatisfy one of the neighbours. In one of the locations, a fire broke out in an apartment that was rented out as Airbnb. In this situation, it is very hard to determine which stakeholder pays what for

the fire damage. According to an Accommodation Expert: “[Now there is] the question of who pays what. It was quite a big fire. There are two lawyers looking at the situation as this has never happened before” (December 2016). As a neighbour argues: “If you do [accommodation rental] professionally or semi-professionally then different insurance laws apply. You might end up in a situation where a flat is completely burned down and nobody pays” (Neighbour IV). Other desired legislation changes apply to taxation and rules and restrictions for expansion. “Architects make up city plans. Airbnb is a problem with cities that are already very touristic as people buy houses just to make money off it, and it ruins city plans” (loosely interpreted from Neighbour III) (3 – ego-economic; 5 – personal and public property; 7 – fear).

Finally, the previously stated social impacts have been analysed and categorised into different social impacts. Most of the expressed impacts align with the previously classified social impacts created by Juslén (1995), Armour (1990) and Vanclay (1999), to be seen in Table 1, and the Interorganizational Committee (1994) in Figure 3 under Addendum I. The categorisation of the expressed social impacts of Airbnb on local communities that came out of this study were displayed in Table 5. A few concrete examples expressed by the locals that have been incorporated into the classification in Table 5 are the following: foreign smells after cooking in the hallway (1 – standard); meeting new people and making friends all over the world (2 – social interaction); excessive use of utilities by guests, and having extra money to spend (3 – ego-economic); being bound to location, and newfound structure to time (4 – way of life); lack of personal space, and property maintenance (5 – personal and public property); being unable to freely express emotions (6 – social comfort), and; lack of knowing about future regulations and government actions (7 – fear).

5. CONCLUSION

This study on the tourism sharing economy its hospitality and social impacts has shown that hospitable service provision is not necessarily negatively impacted due to its commercial nature as suggested by many scholars. Also, it has shown that any perceived negative social impacts are outweighed by the perceived positive social impacts of the tourism sharing economy in Castletroy (Co. Limerick), Ireland and Rovaniemi, Finland. In fact, this study has shown that negative reports in the media have led to the rise of worries expressed in committees and among neighbours, which overtake the actual complaints that are reported and expressed directly and indirectly among both Airbnb hosts and their neighbours.

Hospitality within the sharing economy is different from the ‘regular’ sense of hospitality as it includes a commercial transaction, and therefore cannot be ‘true’ hospitality (Telfer, 2000). On the other hand, it is not to be confused with the commercial hospitality that can be found in hotels, among other, as it takes place in private homes. As Lashley (2008) argues, hospitality in the sharing economy is present through the ‘commercial home’. An important outcome is that the presence of a review-system, and with that the ‘Superhost’ reward system – put into place by Airbnb – exerts a big influence on the hosts. Both in the sense that it pressures the host, as well as that it could stimulate the host to improve his or her actions, but property mainly. The review-system is also known to help potential guests gather information on their hosts, and the other way around – as one host in particular uses it to screen her guests prior to the acceptance of a stay request.

Hospitality within the sharing economy can be defined through a host’s actions, through the provision of an ‘extra service’ as well – which again could help the host score a better ‘overall experience’ score within the reward-system. As Lashley (2008, p. 69-70) states: “Hospitality refers back to traditions, both cultural and domestic, of concern by hosts for the well-being of guests”. Differentiating one’s ‘hostship’ from ‘regular hostship’ is often done through the provision of personalised help, e.g. through trying to help find guests’ ancestry, or offering a cottage trip.

The definition of a ‘host’ in the sharing economy is ‘the provider of accommodation’ by some hosts who have an economic perspective on Airbnb, and a ‘someone who invites someone into their home’ to other hosts who have a more social outlook on Airbnb. The study brought

forward the most important elements of a ‘host’, which are: providing comfort, taking care of guests in the general sense, welcoming guests, and helping guests. Neighbours generally agree with this definition of the term ‘host’. Both groups don’t seem to look at a ‘host’ differently in relation to the sharing economy.

All of the hosts see their Airbnb bookers as their guests, even those who do not share their accommodation with the Airbnb guest. They would consider themselves their host as well and justify that by received positive reviews. Nevertheless, the majority of the neighbours do not consider Airbnb visitors to be guests, but customers instead due to the economic nature of their stay. From the traditional definition of a ‘guest’: someone who comes over to one’s home after usually have travelled from afar, the majority of hosts helped comprise a definition of the word ‘guest’ that fits better within the sharing economy. According to many of the hosts, an Airbnb guest is someone who is flexible and is aware of entering a home situation. It is someone who consciously books to stay in someone’s private home as opposed to booking into a hotel or hostel.

Neighbours of Airbnb hosts, however, do not consider themselves to be hosts at all – with the exception of one – even though most of the neighbours have said to have had to help Airbnb guests at times. Airbnb hosts have expressed not to expect anything from their neighbours, besides perhaps greeting or having some small talk with the guests. In fact, most hosts are unaware of the fact that their neighbours do know about their Airbnb rental activities, as opposed to what the neighbours think. The role that neighbours have is generally to help Airbnb guests with directions, the opening of doors or other smaller requests that require information about the area or accommodation. Even though not every neighbour is very happy with the presence of Airbnb in the neighbourhood, the majority has stated not to mind the sporadic interactions with the Airbnb guests. They have also said never to have complained about the situation to the host. However, as some as stated, they would complain should the frequency of these meetings increase.

The perceived social impacts of the sharing economy open up a bigger part of the study. In any case, the perception or opinion of certain developments goes through a cost-benefit analysis. If the negative impacts outweigh the positive impacts, the local population will most likely have an unenthusiastic attitude towards the development. In this study, however, neighbours in general state to not really have outspoken opinions about Airbnb – they mind it as much as

they don't mind it. However, the presence of directly and indirectly mentioned negative impacts was bigger than that of positive impacts. Important to note on this statement is that most of the negative impacts that were stated, were not at all current impacts, but rather fears of what could happen (were Airbnb to expand in the neighbourhood). The fears were established to have been fuelled by the media. As mentioned earlier, neighbours do not complain to the Airbnb hosts directly. Instead, neighbourhood groups were set up, and topic in building board meetings have initiated to look into the Airbnb situation.

In the case of the hosts, an obvious outcome was that the social benefit outweighs the economic benefit of Airbnb. Whereas, the expected personal economic growth was what attracted the Airbnb to the platform, it is the boost to the hosts' social and daily life that kept them to continue.

Classification of social impacts has been generated through existing classifications of impacts and the use of content analysis on the data. In short, the mentioned social impacts were classified under the following 'clustered' social impacts: (1) Standard (after Juslén 1995), which includes impacts like 'noise' and 'smells', (2) Social interaction, (3) Ego-economic, which refers to personal income and expenses, (4) Way of life, (5) Personal and public property, (6), Social comfort, which refers to privacy and personal space, among other, and (7) Fear, which includes all prospective qualms. An important limitation that is comes with this classification is the interpretation of the different social impacts and under which categories these would fall.

Another limitation coming from this research is the use of data from two different locations – and the long timespan of the data collection period. Whereas this data has brought on interesting results, like a common interpretation of hospitality within the sharing economy between Rovaniemi and Castletroy, it may pose threats to the soundness of the social impacts classification. The perceived social impacts are still relevant but may have needed a research dedicated to them along. Therefore, a recommendation for future research to look into is in the establishment of an 'impact framework' for the sharing economy alone. Current theories on social impacts (in tourism) show a lot of common ground with the established perceived social impacts. Although many of the typologies and hospitality theories incorporate economic transactions as a separate influence on hospitality and people's perspectives on tourism, there is not theory that combines the two. With the exemption of hospitality theories, as it stands,

current theories and models have shown to lack the ability to form an overall framework. Such an establishment of a framework in research in the tourism sharing economy, however, is needed. Inductive future research into hospitality within the tourism sharing economy might be able to formulate a framework on the combined commercial and social hospitality based on a single case study, which would allow following research to test that framework on a greater scale. Additionally, an interesting area of future research could be a comparative analysis on the expressed social impacts on Airbnb between smaller and bigger urban, tourism destinations.

Finally, to take away some of the perceived negative social impacts (connect to 'prospective fear' and 'social comfort') is this study's call for action on clarification of the regulations surrounding Airbnb within the European Union and its individual member states. Whereas, there are increasingly more regulations formed in bigger urban cities, many hosts and neighbours are unaware and find themselves confused in regard to limitations of use and taxation.

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ADDENDA

- Addendum I** **Tables, graphs, figures**
- Addendum II** **Example interview questions ‘hosts’**
- Addendum III** **Example interview questions ‘neighbours’**

Addendum I Tables, graphs, figures

Interorganizational Committee	Burdge's List of 26
<p>Population characteristics</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Present population and expected change 2. Ethnic and racial diversity/distribution 3. Relocated populations 4. Influx or outflow of temporary workers 5. Seasonal residents 	<p>Population characteristics (demographic effects)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Population change 2. Dissimilarity in age, gender, racial or ethnic composition (ethnic and racial distribution) 3. Relocated populations 4. Influx or outflow of temporary workers 5. seasonal (leisure) residents
<p>Community and institutional structures</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Voluntary associations 7. Interest group activity 8. Size and structure of local government 9. Historical experience with change 10. Employment/income characteristics 11. Employment equity of minority groups 12. Local/regional/national linkages 13. Industrial/commercial diversity 14. Presence of planning and zoning activity 	<p>Community and institutional structures (public involvement)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Formation of attitudes towards the project (voluntary associations) 7. Interest group activity 8. Alteration in size and structure of local Government 9. Presence of planning and zoning activity 10. Industrial/commercial diversity 11. Enhanced economic inequities 12. Employment equity of minority groups 13. Changing occupational opportunities
<p>Political and social resources</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 15. Distribution of power and authority 16. Identification of stakeholders 17. Interested and affected parties 18. Leadership capability and characteristics 	<p>Conflicts between local residents and newcomers</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 14. Presence of an outside agency 15. Introduction of new social classes 16. Change in the commercial/industrial focus of the community 17. Presence of weekend residents (recreational)
<p>Individual and family changes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 19. Perceptions of risk, health, and safety 20. Displacement/relocation concerns (perceptions) 21. Trust in political and social institutions 22. Residential stability 23. Density of acquaintanceship 24. Attitude toward policy/project 25. Family and friendship networks 26. Concerns about social well-being 	<p>Individual and family changes (cultural effects)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 18. Disruption in daily living and movement patterns 19. Dissimilarities in religious practices 20. Alteration in family structure 21. Disruption of social networks 22. Perceptions about public health and safety 23. Change in leisure opportunities
<p>Community resources</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 27. Change in community infrastructure 28. Native American tribes 29. Land use patterns 30. Effects on cultural, historical, and archaeological resources 	<p>Community resources (infrastructure needs)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 24. Change in community infrastructure 25. land acquisition and disposal 26. Effects on known cultural, historical and archaeological resources

Figure 3. Interorganizational Committee (1994) and Burdge (1994) social impact lists. Source: Vanclay, 2002, p. 187.

TABLE 6
SUMMARY OF THE FACTOR LOADINGS FOLLOWING VARIMAX ROTATION
OF THREE INDEPENDENT SAMPLES AND THEIR AGGREGATED DATA

Domain	Item	Galveston Sample (n = 317)	Fredericksburg Sample (n = 421)	Mission Sample (n = 220)	Aggregated Sample (n = 958)
Social and cultural	Demand for historical activities and programs	.78	.72	.73	.76
	Demand for cultural activities and programs	.73	.71	.66	.73
	Variety of cultural facilities and activities in the community	.72	.69	.56	.71
	Opportunities to learn about other people and cultures	.65	.63	.72	.70
	Awareness/recognition of the local culture and heritage	—	a	.66	.66
	Variety of entertainment in the area	.65	.55	a	.65
	Opportunities to restore and protect historical structures	.74	a	.63	.65
	Opportunities to meet interesting people	.55	.51	.51	.59
	Understanding of different people and cultures by residents	.49	.71	—	.56
	Life and vitality of the community	b	.50	.50	.47
Economic	Revenue generated in the local economy	.70	.81	d	.77
	Number of jobs in the community	.72	.75	.66	.76
	Personal income of local residents	.72	.69	.63	.74
	Amount of income going to local businesses	.71	.78	d	.72
	Variety of shopping facilities in the area	.57	—	.74	.63
Crowding and congestion	Investment and development spending in the area	c	.54	.53	.50
	Variety of restaurants in the area	c	.52	.63	.49
	Level of traffic congestion in the area	.78	.76	.53	.75
	Size of crowds that restrict what activities you do in public areas	.74	.61	.34	.71
	Size of crowds that affect your enjoyment of activities in public areas	.77	.54	.68	.67
Environmental	Noise level in the community	.75	.61	.60	.64
	Number of driving hazards created by tourists	.63	.63	.65	.63
	Natural environment	—	.71	.77	.80
	Wildlife (plants, birds, and animals) in the local area	.37	.71	.68	.77
	Quality of natural environment	.47	.74	.67	.73
Services	Level of urbanization (city-type development) in the area	.44	.61	.50	.52
	Physical ability of local services (e.g., police, fire, medical, and utilities) to meet user demand	.67	.77	.78	.80
	Quality of local services (e.g., police, fire, medical, and utilities)	.75	.76	.65	.79
Taxes	Financial resources of local services (e.g., police, fire, medical, and utilities)	.69	.71	.65	.68
	Amount of local taxes collected	.74	.75	.74	.78
	Amount of local property taxes collected	.69	.76	.76	.76
Community attitude	Amount of local sales taxes collected	.84	.63	.81	.71
	Positive attitudes of local residents toward tourists	.68	c	c	.66
	Community spirit among local residents	.75	c	c	.65
	Pride of local residents	.70	c	—	.57

- a. Items loaded on the economic domain.
b. Item loaded on the community attitude domain.
c. Items loaded on the social and cultural domain.
d. Items loaded on the taxes domain.

Figure 4. Tourism impact scale research – domains and items. Source: Ap & Crompton, 1998, p. 127.

Addendum II Example interview questions ‘hosts’

Interviewer: Tess van den Brink

Interviewee:

Location:

Date:

- Age:
- Gender:
- Nationality:

Background questions:

- How long have you been renting out through Airbnb and why?
- Could you describe your Airbnb accommodation/location to me?
 - Do you share it with your guests?
- How often do you get guests?
- How would you describe your current neighbourhood? How is your relationship with your neighbours?

Hospitality:

- How would you describe yourself as a host?
 - Do you do anything specific/extra?
- What is a ‘host’ according to you? And what is a ‘guest’ according to you?
- How much do you get to know about your guest(s)?
- How much do you think they get to know about you?
- How would you describe your guests?
- What do you expect of your neighbours to do when they meet one of your guests?
- Are there any stay requests that you deny?
 - If so, why?
- Did you try Airbnb as a guest yourself?
 - How was your relationship with the host?
 - How was your relationship with the neighbours?

Social impacts:

- How has Airbnb affected your (personal) life?
- How has a guest/have guest affected your (personal) life?
- How much do you think your guests get to know about your neighbours/neighbourhood?
- What do your neighbours think about your rental activities?
- How did your Airbnb rental activities impact your relationship with your neighbours?
- Do you think your Airbnb rental activities influence your neighbours and neighbourhood?
 - Explain.
- Have you noticed differences (cultural, personal, economic) in your community (neighbours/residents) since you started with Airbnb?
- Is there anything in particular that you tell your guests about your neighbours/neighbourhood(/accommodation)?
- Is there anything in particular that your guests tell you about your neighbours/neighbourhood(/accommodation)?
- What are the benefits of offering your accommodation through Airbnb?
- What are the downsides?

Other:

- Is there anything in particular that you would like to share in terms of this research?
 - Anything that came to mind when you first read/heard about my research?

Addendum III Example interview questions ‘neighbours’

Interviewer: Tess van den Brink

Interviewee:

Location:

Date:

- Age:
- Gender:
- Nationality:

Background

- How long have you been living here?
- Do you live with other people? If so, who?
- What do you think of the neighbourhood you live in? How is your relationship with your neighbours?
- Prior to this interview, what did you know of Airbnb?
- Are you familiar with Airbnb offers in your neighbourhood?

Hospitality

- Do you often have people visiting you? Would you say these people are guests?
- What is a ‘host’ according to you? Do you feel that you are a ‘host’?
- Do you think you are a host towards these Airbnb guests? Why?
- Do you interact with/talk to these ‘guests’?
 - How?/Describe please.
 - type of contact
- How much do you think those guests get to know about you?
- How would you define the word ‘guest’/what is a ‘guest’ according to you?
- Do you feel that Airbnb visitors are guests? Why/can you give me an example?
- Would you try Airbnb yourself as a host/guest? Explain.
 - As a guest, how was your relationship with the host?
 - How was your relationship with the neighbours? Did you meet them? How?

Social impacts

- What do you think of the presence of Airbnb in your neighbourhood?
- What do you think of the fact that your neighbour rents out his home?
 - How does this affect you?
 - Are there things you stopped doing/started doing?
- Do you discuss the Airbnb-situation with anyone (neighbour/family/friends/landlord)?
- How often do you meet (one of) these Airbnb ‘guests’?
- How do you meet these Airbnb ‘guests’, what happens when you meet these guests? Explain.
- How did your neighbour’s Airbnb rental activities impact your neighbour-relationship?/Has your relationship with your hosting neighbour changed?
- Do you see any benefit coming from Airbnb to the neighbourhood?
- Do you see any problems/disadvantages coming from Airbnb to the neighbourhood?
- Have you noticed differences (cultural, personal, economic) in your community (neighbours/residents) since Airbnb?

Other:

- What is your overall opinion of Airbnb?
- Is there anything in particular that you would like to share in terms of this research?