

Airbnb Performativity: Touristic Experience Reverberation on Social System

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Resumo

Previous studies on sharing economy reported mainly an enthusiastic view about the role of peer-to-peer platforms (e.g., Airbnb) in providing new access-based consumption possibilities. However, not only the platforms but also consumption creates meanings and carries into effects transformations in the market. Thus, this research analyzes how Airbnb consumption shapes touristic experience and the outcomes of such efforts. For this, we performed an interpretative study involving 40 video-recorded interviews with users of Airbnb and local residents and conduct a 3 year-long observation in Lisbon, Portugal. We observed that by changing the lodging place from conventional hotels to a peer-to-peer housing system, the touristic experience is produced close to the residents under the utterance of 'living as locals.' Nevertheless, the experience of 'living as locals' reverberates in the social relationship between locals and urban living configurations. Discussions include a critical reflection about the critical effects of Airbnb performativity in touristic experience.

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Abstract:

Previous studies on sharing economy reported mainly an enthusiastic view about the role of peer-to-peer platforms (e.g., Airbnb) in providing new access-based consumption possibilities. However, not only the platforms but also consumption creates meanings and carries into effects transformations in the market. Thus, this research analyzes how Airbnb consumption shapes touristic experience and the outcomes of such efforts. For this, we performed an interpretative study involving 40 video-recorded interviews with users of Airbnb and local residents and conduct a 3 year-long observation in Lisbon, Portugal. We observed that by changing the lodging place from conventional hotels to a peer-to-peer housing system, the touristic experience is produced close to the residents under the utterance of 'living as locals.' Nevertheless, the experience of 'living as locals' reverberates in the social relationship between locals and urban living configurations. Discussions include a critical reflection about the critical effects of Airbnb performativity in touristic experience.

Keywords: experiential transformations, performativity, hybrid economy, Airbnb, Lisbon.

1. Introduction

The sharing economic system has replaced the traditional permanent ownership with temporary access modes (Belk, 2010; Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012). The reconfiguration in the way consumers access products and services is connected with a digital revolution and has proliferated across a wide range of new offers, including housing and transportation (Eckhardt et al., 2019; Bardhi & Eckhardt 2012; Ravenelle 2020). The effects of sharing economy transformations and their impacts were previously described at the object level, highlighting the role of devices (Hoffman & Novak, 2018) and digital peer-to-peer platforms (Kozinets, Patterson, Ashman, 2017) in configuring new exchange market formats (Perren & Kozinets, 2018). In parallel, a few studies describe sharing economy platforms at the consumer subject level, including the conflicts between a transformational consumption experience involving competing performativity of market and non-market modes of exchange (Ravenelle, 2020; Scaraboto, 2015).

Performativity of markets studies focus on practices that bring markets into being (Callon, 2016), involving practical outcomes that allow 'markets become' (Calskan & Callon, 2010). However, while performativity analysis in the marketing literature generally focuses on how markets are shaped in both socio-technical and subject level (Martin & Schouten, 2014; Scaraboto, 2015), the performative effect beyond the market spheres remains unnoticed. Previously, performativity was label as application of an idea by multiple actors in a way that reshapes the market in which they occur (Kjellberg & Helgesson 2010; MacKenzie et al., 2007). Nevertheless, an emergent gap in the literature involves looking beyond the traditional view of performativity on market practices to identify the effect of market practices such as Airbnb touristic experience on non-market spheres (e.g., social systems).

The hybridism between market-mediated consumption performances and social relations is especially glaring within the Airbnb platform (Ravenelle, 2020). Airbnb creates temporary access to a social network in the place where consumers are lodged, revealing a complex network of guests, hosts, and local inhabitants in both economic market and social life relations. Thus, Airbnb is a powerful case to understand the social and economic hybridism in peer-to-peer consumption, the transformations in consumers' practices and experiences, and its effects on social systems.

While peer-to-peer lodging platforms' disruptive – positive and negative – impacts on consumer experience and lodging industry have been well acknowledged, the reason why such

platforms reconfigure both social and economic systems still lacking a systematic examination (Guttentag, 2019). Although Airbnb impacts have been a focus of recent heated academic debate (Kuhzady et al., 2020), by looking at the experiential feature of Airbnb consumption, we contribute with this debate in moving the analysis of impacts from the platform itself to the performances that the touristic experience consumption carries on.

In particular, we aim to describe how the growing temporary house consumption, through Airbnb, shapes touristic experience and the outcomes of such efforts. Our interpretative approach on the context of Airbnb consumption in Lisbon – Portugal reveals a particular utterance to describe the touristic experience, namely as ‘living as locals.’ Involving a hybrid market and non-market relations, the performative effect of ‘living as locals’ reverberates on social relationships between tourists and locals and urban dynamics.

In the following parts, we describe our theoretical background and our research method. Finally, our findings and discussion explore a three-level system, involving the reshaping of the users’ experience, the social system where this experience takes form, and the overall city dynamics.

2. Theoretical Background

Experiential value generation in sharing economy. Perren and Kozinets (2018) describe the market reconfiguration on sharing economy as a process driven by an intermediating technology platform that facilitates exchange activities among a network of equivalently positioned economic actors. Bardhi and Eckhardt (2012) also investigate particular kinds of peer-to-peer market configuration, concluding that the platforms are mainly matchmaking systems allowing social and economic interaction. Market exchanging platforms allow distinct actors to occupy equivalent positions in a network for use-value generation (Arcidiacono, Gandini, Pais, 2018; Ravenelle, 2020).

In sharing economy, the value generation assumes particular features, connected with the notion of experience economy (Pine, Pine, Gilmore, 1999). Despite companies producing valuable goods, consumers directly produce value for other consumers by using their resources (e.g., homes in the Airbnb case) allowing temporary access to these resources (Dellaert, 2019). Monetary transactions keep operating between sellers and buyers, but the value is produced during the experience. The possibility to ‘sell’ the temporary experience allows the emergence of new possibilities of value generation and economic exploration by the involvement of multiple actors and resources in an exponentially growing network (Dellaert, 2019)

Thus, in the sharing economy, the notions of value, ownership, consumption, production are redefined and involves social and economic relationships (Eckhardt et al., 2019). In lodging experience per example, the house and physical assets possession are substituted by the peer-to-peer community (hosts and guests) mediated by platforms like Airbnb that allows temporary access to the physical lodgment (Frenken & Schor, 2017). The Airbnb case becomes a useful context to understand the new configurations on value generation through experiential temporal access to the lodgment. While in the traditional real-estate market the value generation involves the house and its features – e.g., localization, decoration – the Airbnb rentals also create value on the city touristic attractions. Thus, is common to observe hosts highlighting the local touristic attractions when promoting their lodgment in the Airbnb platform. This is only possible because the liquid relationship (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2017) that configures the access to the lodgment brings together a temporal immersion in multiples living spaces (Guttentag, 2019), not directly induced by the platform, but by the user’s interactions with the social system where the experience is produced - e.g., the interaction with touristic places, with the neighborhoods. The way users experience the place can be reinterpreted distinctly by the users and helping them to maximize their experiential goals (Saatcioglu & Ozanne, 2013).

From a marketing perspective, consumers' experiences become a source and site for value extraction (Foster, 2011). This process is amplified if products and services are qualified and requalified by other social agents – that Foster (2007), inspired by Michael Callon, calls voicy consumers, people whose agency is the potential source of new qualification for products. In peer-to-peer platforms, users produce value as part of the ordinary consumption performance, an ongoing process of consumption that produces new frames of references by a single action of sharing. Experiences, stories, ratings shared in peer-to-peer platforms work as a frame of reference for consumer valuation, creating a loop where the experience produced by previous consumers orients the current consumer valuation of the experience-that, as a consequence, will orient further consumers (Shuqair et al., 2019).

Experiences in peer-to-peer platforms hybridism. The digitalization of the sharing economy has opened industries to additional consumer workers, moving from a pure economic producer-consumer relation to multiple user roles, risks, formal and informal relations that cross the boundaries between the market relation and the social universe where it occurs (Ravenelle, 2020). For example, while tourism accommodations are usually either commercial (e.g., hotels and hostels) or non-commercial (e.g., staying in friends and family homes), the Airbnb platform portrays itself as commercial and noncommercial at the same time (Zervas *et al.*, 2017).

It configures Airbnb as a hybrid sharing platform, connecting the separated social and market paths during the consumption experience. According to Scaraboto (2015), this hybridism generates a latent tension between competing performativities, involving social relations of lodging experience – e.g., relationships with neighbors – and economic relation between hosts and guests. Airbnb platform portrays itself as simultaneously commercial (market-oriented) and noncommercial (socially-oriented) (Guttentag, 2019). It is the social domain in complement to the market domain that produces the experiential effect of Airbnb. Experiences tend to be culturally and socially structured and can influence multiple markets at social levels and those that compose them (Kervenoael *et al.*, 2018).

Thus, to explain this experiential feature involved in Airbnb consumption and its effects, we evoke the notion of performativity on consumer experience in which the sharing economic practices – as well as the various actors involved – shape not only the market domain but also the social system where the experiences take forms (Scaraboto, 2015). Following Scaraboto (2015, 156) “performativity is an utterance (i.e., statement) that is consequential and creates meaning - that is, it performs or carries into effect what it describes”.

In line with other marketing scholars (Callon, 1998; Scaraboto, 2015) performativity is not just language, but its articulation in the action in itself (Scaraboto, 2015). Thus, social actions also can create meanings and carries into effect to change the social system in which the practice occurs. Callon's (1998) notion of performativity also inspires us to recognize the notion of performativity at the level of experience: Airbnb allows not only to produce narratives about the experience, but the experience resulted of a temporal touristic immersion brings into being the Airbnb consumption. Airbnb users' experiences can have effective capacity to shape the platform consumption and become incorporated in the way market participants talk and think about their one experience with the platform.

The consumer experience performativity emerges as a powerful analytic perspective to understand the peer-to-peer digital platforms consumption and its effects. The changes in consumption experience are not free from impacts in the social system, especially in a localized social-economic context where the transaction occurs. The impacts of this change on the access mode can cause small ruptures in the way tourists consume touristic destinations that reverberate in cultural experiential changes for users, hosts (Sundararajan, 2014), and the tourism industry (Zervas *et al.*, 2017).

3. Method

We explored the Airbnb touristic experience and the outcomes of such efforts in the specific context of Lisbon, Portugal. Airbnb encompasses a large proportion of room rentals in Lisbon (22,000 temporary housing units available), thus being the major local peer-to-peer platform. This platform has consolidated as the main technological tool enabling a new socioeconomic system among host house owners and renters, serving more than 50 million guests worldwide (Zervas *et al.*, 2017). Experiential transformation is a fundamental aspect of Airbnb. For example, a recent Airbnb advertising campaign featured the tagline “Don’t go there. Live there” while exploring the travelers’ desire for unique local experiences.

To examine the Airbnb experience and its impacts, we used an interpretative perspective, focusing on how macro social, cultural, and economic materialities and agentic entities reflected in micro-observational and interview data (Saldaña, 2021). Data collection involved 40 video-recorded interviews with Airbnb users (tourists) (22 informants), Airbnb hosts (6 informants), local residents with Airbnb experience as users (7 informants), and tourism providers of Lisbon (1 hotel manager, 1 Airbnb services provider, and 3 tourism providers) in the first semester of 2019. Interviews were conducted with the support of a guide involving questions about the Airbnb platform, consumption experience, and perception about Airbnb’s impact on the city. All interviews were conducted in loco, using Portuguese or English language – following the preference of the informant - and registered in video format with around 20 minutes each one. The participant selection made use of a list of contacts from MBA students at a Lisbon university. The criterium of selection was centered in the involvement with the platform – previous experience as Airbnb host or guest – or expertise in the local lodgment industry. We established the number of interviews following the saturation criterion when new interviews do not contribute to additional information (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Informants’ age ranged from 22 to 59, and the average age was 34 years. Complementary, we also included in the data set register from three years of participant and non-participant observations in Lisbon. During this period, two of the authors (Lisbon full-time residents) and one of the authors (a Lisbon tourist on several occasions), experience multiple Airbnb rentals, and discussed with locals and users about Airbnb impacts.

The authors collectively gathered and analyzed the data to identify themes and concepts, to trace the relationships between the transformed consumption experience at the micro-level and its dynamic relationships with macro-level factors (effects), following the data categorization method proposed by Lofland and Lofland’s (1995). The protocol for the category generation was developed in line with Saldaña (2021) typology, involving firstly a holistic analysis to obtain a global and systemic view of data set relationships. After, we organize the data set with terms (descriptive codes) with the support of Nvivo software, and later the codes were grouped in emergent categories created by the researchers. We identified initially that experiential discourses and practices operate at the subject level, giving form to the first category. However, data demonstrated a strong concern about Airbnb’s effects on the social and economic system. Thus, later, we created other two categories to accommodate codes involving social experiences in Airbnb use and broader social and economic impacts provoked by it. These three categories supported the findings section organization. Lately, we also conducted a second-order interpretation (Lofland & Lofland, 1995) to identify a connection between the experience transformations and how they influence the tourists’ experience regarding the place, locals’ social lives, and the economic and macro urban dynamics.

4. Findings

4.1 *The statement of the Airbnb experience at the subject level.*

Our findings reveal a surprising capacity of peer-to-peer platforms like Airbnb to reshape the consumer's experiential position. While in traditional hotel lodgment the experience is mainly an outcome of the service, in Airbnb the lodgment experience is mostly performed by the user. Consequently, it creates meanings for the examination of competing logics between Airbnb, compared to a hotel experience, for touristic consumption. It involves changes in the tourist's temporality perception in terms of the time spent in the city and the way time is spent, as explains one of our informants:

“Our accommodation in Lisbon was very good. We stayed in a place a little farther away; my husband and I like to do this, to experience the inhabitants' experiences a little more” (Patricia, Airbnb user).

Moreover, informants describe Airbnb as an experiential system where they can live ‘like local people’, it allows them to spend their time in the city closer to a regular life than a traditional – hotel-based – touristic journey. Airbnb allows tourists to talk with locals (e.g., hosts and neighbors), transit through the same places – most of them non-touristic sites - that locals go (e.g., going to the supermarket), achieving what our informants classify as ‘more native authentic experience’:

“I think that the emergence of these platforms, above all Airbnb, is also contributing to the increase of tourists in Portugal. I notice that a tourist who comes to Lisbon, is a tourist who seeks to live the city at the most; not from a tourist perspective, but the perspective of a local” (Rita, local resident).

While in a hotel, the relation with the physical space can be resumed as a ‘room I can access via an economic transaction’, Airbnb consumption involves the hybrid intertwining of the market experience around the commercial transaction inside the platform and the social universe where the experience takes forms – a house in which users are residents, not clients. Changes in the experience are part of Airbnb's strategy, considering that the company assumes an opposite position to the commoditized lodging claiming that they are a community of individuals (Ravenelle, 2020). Some expressions used by our informants to report these consumption transformations are: ‘feel like home’, ‘feel like part of the city’, ‘to have a native experience that is impossible in hotels’. These experiential feelings are boosted by reviewers and host assistance, that work as ‘voicy consumers’ responsible to create use-value (Foster, 2011). It orients in some way the production of the individual experience with peer-to-peer platform consumption as something extremely positive, centered more on the social relation resulted from the connection between people who want a different kind of traveling experience and the locals than in the economic relation between consumers and service providers/producers.

Consumers subjectively evaluated the Airbnb consumption through experientially oriented opportunities in terms of meaningful interactions with locals. It resulted in an intermediary experiential position involving a temporary feeling of being a local while enjoying life as a tourist but free of the locals' commitments (e.g., wake up early to work). Following these findings, while allowing a touristic experience closer to the local way of life, Airbnb incorporates partially and temporarily the consumers into the city's social life. Important to note that the consumer inclusion is partial, involving only experiential elements that consumers subjectively want to produce: “In my building, all neighbors are Airbnb's. They are people who come to enjoy Lisbon, go to parties, make noise, and are unable to rest” (Sofia, local resident).

Thus, the experience of consuming Airbnb lodgment produces a narrative about 'experiencing the local life', but the meanings of what is this experience is oriented by consumers' goals about what kind of 'local experience' they pursue. It allows understanding that the narrative about the touristic experience also involves a consumer articulation in the action of experiencing the local that does not include them in the system overall, resulting in a mismatch between locals' and tourists' real experiences. Here emerges a key externality

outcome of Airbnb's subjective experience involving the refraction of the consumption experience beyond the platform and the peer-to-peer user and host connection. Thus, while creating meaning about 'living as locals', the externality outcome of this experience carries into effect on the social system in which the experience is performed.

4.2 *Experiential effects at the social level.*

Our second theme identified the effects of the Airbnb experience performativity in shaping the social system in which it takes form. Firstly, we observed that informants describe a positive network effect provoked by the interaction between tourists and locals provided by Airbnb. The social relation that extrapolates the market order due to the hybrid feature of Airbnb and access to the communitarian local environment required to 'live like local' reinforce the friendship relations while experiencing the touristic consumption:

“What I really like most is the interaction with the guests, it is an opportunity to meet new people, new cultures... It is an opportunity to share, which I personally love, to share and create new friendships... I can say that in these 10 years, I made four friends for the rest of my life” (Nuno, host).

However, the same informant who see positive social interactions in Airbnb consumption, also report a set of negative effects. He explains that users do not perceive that they are also impacting locals because their view about the experience is partial:

“People stay four or five days or more than a week and do not adapt to the regular city rules. It turns out, for example, that there is always garbage in the buildings, which is an inconvenient situation for tourists but is normal for those who live here. The visitor cannot perceive that he/she is causing a negative impact.” (Nuno, host).

The interaction between tourists and locals – neighbors, hosts, local services providers – is higher in Airbnb compared to those hosted in a hotel and pursued by users as part of the experience. However, while hotels tend to be located in touristic zones while Airbnb is spread around the city and, consequently, locals need to deal with new temporary neighbors that do not necessarily know the condominium's rules or are not willing to adopt 'good neighborhood policies'. For example, during the field observations, we could identify that users usually do not follow the condominium rules – even when informed by the building. Simple everyday issues, such as the day of recycled waste collection often go unnoticed by tourists. Another example is the noise caused by the users, like having parties on weekdays until dawn. This kind of trouble for the neighbors arises the phrase that well describes the effects of carrying on the experience of 'living as locals': the host gets the money, and the neighbors get the noise. From the tourist's point of view, they usually do not perceive that they are impacting locals because their view about the experience is partial and oriented by their personal view of the experience of 'being local' while enjoying a touristic destination.

While Airbnb consumption brings the social interaction as an experiential element, it carries an effect on social instances of the local life, exceeding the borders of the market and the economic centric relationship between guests, hosts, and platform. The consumption experience of 'living as locals' that perform a social order parallel to the market order. Consequently, this eliminates the market's own ability to regulate economic conflicts that occur outside its borders. As Malhotra and Alstune (2014) previously observed, Airbnb hosts create un-internalized utterances that the 'market mediated practices' are not able to prevent.

4.3 *Experiential effects in the cityscapes*

Following Kjellberg and Helgesson (2010), when the market engagement blurred the boundaries of economic exchange, it becomes political relation. Taking the 'politic' as the

action of governing the ‘polis’, our last theme involves exactly the effects of the experiential consumption of 'living as local' city governing action and its overflows. As we observed during the fieldwork, in Lisbon hosts and other tourism industry actors identify the ‘lisboeta’ way of life as a key touristic attraction. Airbnb allows exploring the life in each Lisbon neighborhood, each one of a particular architecture and geography, more or less nightlife, more or less social interaction. Tourists find a range of options to experience.

Yet, more interesting is Airbnb's capacity to generate economic gains by exploring the use-value of existing houses. As a hotel manager interviewed explain, before Airbnb, the increase in tourism depended on companies’ investments in new hotel rooms and attractions. Airbnb allows particular house owners to economically explore their houses under the value proposition of ‘local experience’. As a consequence, the city has experienced economic growth thanks to tourism expansion. Our informants also report positive impacts on new jobs, new restaurants, revitalization of urban areas that now are full of tourists.

However, the economic value generation does not involve the production of new houses, but the redirection of the use of existing houses from long-term rentals to Airbnb short-term rents. For instance, a tourist may be able to pay much more for a short stay in a house in Lisbon than a local worker looking for a place to live. For the tourist, the higher price is evaluated by the temporary experience of ‘living as locals’ that the temporary house provides. Workers who do not own property to explore the use-value in the sharing economic system are unable to explore the Lisbon experience and end up being excluded from the exchange circuit.

In consequence, there is a limitation in the number of houses available for those who are at the margin of the sharing economic system. The logic is simple, in a scenario where the house rentals grow without new house production, the available offers tend to become scarce and, consequently, encourage owners to direct their offers to formats that provide greater income. In this sense, Airbnb impacts can be devastating for those who do not share the gains generated by tourism, as explained by our informants:

“The growth of in local accommodation and Airbnb in Lisbon certainly had an impact in my life because rental prices have increased even houses on sale. What prevents me from having financial freedom, as I would like to have” (Beatriz, local resident).

“With Airbnb, you end up placing the central places for tourists. This consequently throws residents to the suburbs because the price in the central regions turns out getting much higher” (Mateus, tourism provider).

Additionally, Airbnb tends to expand beyond touristic areas, resulting in significant growth in property prices (both rental and sale values) even at peripheric places – housing prices in Lisbon leaped around 20% yearly in the last two years (2017-2019) – and increasing the number of locals unable to have access to housing. Thousands have been evicted from their rented houses as a consequence of a dual economy split between those who deal with properties and tourism and those who do not, in a process of real estate market gentrification and exclusion (Castilhos, 2019). We could observe that prices in general (food, restaurants, taxis) also increase in non-traditional touristic neighborhoods. It makes locals' lives difficult in terms of access to real estate and leisure products. As a contradiction of the access-based logic, while providing access to tourists exploring the utterance of ‘local experience’, its effects carry on transformations in the urban economic dynamics for locals, imposing economic barriers to rent houses or even to consume basic services.

5. Discussion

Previous research on sharing economy and Airbnb consumption suggests the desire for transformative travel experiences closer to the locals' social life as a key reason for the growing

number of travelers using peer-to-peer platforms to book lodging for their trips (Eckhardt *et al.*, 2019; Guttentag, 2019; among others). Our findings reinforce these previous studies demonstrating that Airbnb's consumer experiences of 'living as locals' works as an utterance to orient the way tourists enjoy the touristic place. Considering the transformative feature of the experience, touristic experience in Airbnb can be characterized as performative, encompassing not only a particular consumption experience but also carrying into effect the social and economic reality where the consumption occurs.

In marketing literature, performativity occurs when actors engage in different market practices that contribute to shaping the market (Kjellberg & Helgesson, 2010). Our study sheds light on a particular kind of performativity produced by consumption experience, involving its capacity to develop meaningful experiences and to cause spill-over effects across different layers in the social and economic systems. Considering the hybridism of social and market spheres (Scaraboto, 2015) of peer-to-peer lodgment platforms, the utterance 'living as locals' orient a performance that temporally insert Airbnb user in the local social system. The experience produced in the interplay between market and non-market relationship is not free of effects on the site in which it is performed.

While previous studies focus on techno-social arrangements as responsible for changing and compelling new constraints at consumption levels (Hoffman & Novak, 2018), consumption experience can be able to provoke transformations of equal dimensions. Thus, we contribute with previous literature on peer-to-peer digital consumption in moving the focus from the techno-social devices to focus on social action that these devices mediate. By looking only at the platform or the matchmaking potential to connect consumers and hosts, it is not possible to observe how it reverberates on the social system in which Airbnb consumption takes form. This occurs because the positive and negative effects reverb in other instances beyond the platform sphere. In allowing consumers to 'live as locals', these consumers provoke ruptures on the normal flow of the social system, affecting non-tourism actors (people who live in the city but do not have any contact with tourism) as well as the regular cityscape.

'Living as locals' experience impacts. A key finding resides in the fact that Airbnb is not the vector of social and urban impacts. The vector can be observed in the touristic experience transformation that it provides. Airbnb operates a market relation where benefits are privately explored, and social impacts are commonly shared. Users and hosts do not compensate or consider their impacts on neighbor's lives, but ironically, Airbnb's generation of value resides exactly in the particular touristic experience closer to the neighborhood's social life. The tourist's experiences through Airbnb create ruptures in the social interaction between 'wanna-be locals' tourists and real local residents. Consequently, while looking for new forms to live in the city, consumers impact the local system without realizing that they are doing so because their vision of the 'real local experience' is temporal, individual, and fantastic but can be cruel to the locals. Airbnb, while a fantastic mechanism to provide touristic access to distinct places, transformations the local residents' real universe. Thus, adding to the literature on markets and their outcomes (Caliskan & Callon, 2010), we identify in the performance of 'living as local' a practical outcome shaping not only the market value generation but also transforming the social system in which the experience takes form.

Although previous research suggests positive effects of Airbnb consumption (Guttentag, 2019), our findings reveal that Airbnb reverberations can generate a dangerous cycle where locals produce the experience for the tourists, increase the touristic market and stimulate house owners to redirect the house offer to short-stay local lodgment, eliminating the house offer for locals. Part of the population whose houses are for rent profit from the tourism, getting benefits from the urban dynamics' reconfiguration. However, the majority of local residents that is not directly involved in sharing accommodation are expelled to the suburbs, hindering their access to that urban space and touristic experience they helped to produce.

6. Final comments

In this study, we describe how the growing temporary house consumption, through Airbnb, shapes touristic experience and the outcomes of such efforts. Focusing on the context of Airbnb consumption in Lisbon – Portugal, we observed how the particular utterance of ‘living as locals’ create an intertwining between the local social universe and market value generation. The experience produced in this hybrid market and non-market relations demonstrated a performative effect beyond the guests' and hosts' economic relations, reverberating on social relationships between tourists and locals and urban dynamics.

In looking for these findings, it is important to note some limitations in our study design that could orient further research on this topic. Our data collection gives limited voice to public policymakers. Further studies could explore the local government actions to mitigate the Airbnb impacts. For that, it is possible to consider the neoliberal discourse about avoiding regulatory arbitrage (Malhotra & Alstynne, 2014) in a dialogue with emerging public policy actions trying to regulate the Airbnb market. Indeed, there is some indirect effect of Airbnb and tourism growth on local residents. Further studies can explore these indirect benefits, for example describing how tourism investments can also reverberate on better life quality for locals. Further studies also can consider the COVID-19 transformed the Airbnb experience and its side-effects on the community.

Additionally, further studies could explore the consumer's experience in the sharing economic system as a multidimensional social relation involving users, hosts, devices, and other social actors. Airbnb users are commonly thought of as falling into one of two groups of actors: hosts or guests. However, these groups are not mutually exclusive, as well as the experience produced among these actors is associated with a web of actors and roles and takes form in a local social system. The positive and negative consequences of these new market configurations could be targeted by further studies. The sharing economy notion and the emerging market system like Airbnb, have changed the traditional market system and consequently the knowledge about the market. While marketing scholars have been exploring these emerging systems with a positive enchantment, we need also to be able to recognize the negative impacts in the reconfiguration of the exchange system the unfair real estate market.

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