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At home with Airbnb: the fragility of a homeliness shared with guest and platform

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At Home with Airbnb: The Fragility of a Homeliness Shared with Guest and Platform

Wesley James Cooke

PhD

2024

At Home with Airbnb: The Fragility of a Homeliness Shared with Guest and Platform

Wesley James Cooke

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 Abstract

For a number of years, the concept of short-term letting via online platforms has been emerging very visibly. Amongst the platforms that make up this success, none has seen such large growth and emergence into public consciousness as much as Airbnb. With this has come the commercialisation of the home. As private room hosts, individuals prepare spaces in their home for hosting, redecorating and purchasing items for guests, and dividing their home between the spaces for themselves and the spaces for guests. Following this, they market their home and themselves online to attract guests, before welcoming guests through the door. This project focusses on this process of private room Airbnb hosting, considering the material, social, spatial, emotional, sensorial, and performative aspects of hosting. This is used to examine the impact that Airbnb hosting has on the home.

To investigate this, face to face interviews with private room Airbnb hosts were conducted in both Newcastle and Devon, visiting both the urban and the rural, with some photos taken during the interviews, while data was also gathered from internet sources including the hosts' listings, host forums, web pages offering advice to hosts, and Airbnb advertisements. This research sought to draw out how the home has changed materially, how hosts socialise with guests and their attitude towards this, and how this affects the spaces of home, amongst other elements that consider control and autonomy.

This PhD explores home using the notion of assemblage. This consideration understands the home to be formed through the interconnectedness of elements that come to continually inform and shape each other. With this, it finds the home to exist as a very fragile assemblage that can be interrupted and unmade through its socialities, materialities, spatialities, emotions, and senses. It finds commercialised hospitality and the influence of Airbnb to sit in tension with the performance of home, while the commercial home itself becomes conflicted with boundaries, hostilities, and anxieties. Hosting, through the performance of hospitality and acts of impression management, changes and curtails how home is performed as well as changing the reality of home as a negotiated assemblage.

The contribution of this PhD is the examining of the various ways in which home becomes unmade for private room Airbnb hosts. It explores how the assemblage of home becomes unmade through the influence of Airbnb and the presence of the guest, leaving home to become hidden away with tentative attempts to perform home limited to the peripheries of the space. This contribution also looks to sit more widely part of a discussion on how the sharing economy, as part of the capitalist system, commodifies almost every area of life.

Airbnb can be considered just one example of the entanglement between sharing economy and people's lives, changes how people *are* in the world around them and how they engage with the world around them. This seeks to make contributions to the fields of tourism, hospitality, the sharing economy, and spatial geographies, tying them together with sociological and cultural studies insights in a transdisciplinary study. These findings hold an importance as Airbnb private room hosting has become a very large industry, touching many homes and many lives. As there are numerous avenues that this unmaking can be experienced, there exists the potential for many hosts to be affected in a variety of ways that revolves around their own subjective assemblage of home. This paper seeks to provide insight into something that could be a common situation amongst the hosting community before offering some comments on the wider role of the sharing economy in society and suggesting some future avenues of research.

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Declaration

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work. I also confirm that this work fully acknowledges opinions, ideas and contributions from the work of others.

Any ethical clearance for the research presented in this commentary has been approved. Approval has been sought and granted through the Researcher's submission to Northumbria University's Ethics Online System on 21/05/2021.

I declare that the word count of this thesis is 86,774

Name: Wesley James Cooke

Date: 9/4/2023

1. Introduction and Statement of the Problem

1.1. Framing of the Project

'Sharing' home via short-term lettings on online platforms has been emerging very noticeably in recent years. Amongst the platforms that make up this success, none has seen such large growth and emergence into public consciousness as much as Airbnb. Starting with an air mattress placed of the floor on the founder's apartment (Airbnb, 2019a), Airbnb has since grown into a platform that has a presence in most corners of the globe, being found in more than 220 countries with more than 7 million active listings (Airbnb, 2023a). The rapid growth of Airbnb is such that it has challenged the dominance of hotels in the hospitality industry (New York Times, 2020), changing the way many experience being away from home. Whilst for some guests, Airbnb is simply a cheaper option (Tussyadiah, 2015), for others it is something bigger. For them, an Airbnb is more than just a place to sleep, it is part of the adventure of being away, with relationships and connections between hosts and guests being one of the platform's unique selling points (Stors & Kagermeier, 2015a). As this platform blurs the lines between the home and the away by placing the away in a home, so comes the emergence of the 'cosmopolitan fantasy' of 'being at home in the world' (Germann Molz, 2007, 79) and in turn being 'at home' in the home of another. Increasingly, these more mundane, relational, and 'authentic' homestay experiences are being sought out. This fantasy is born from the desire to be able to build relationships with hosts and locals, living the way they do, and sharing their reality and world. With this, the away desires to be at home in a home that is not their own, which the host does their best to accommodate. This is a critical dynamic in the reality of the *at home* coexisting with the *away*. It is this large emphasis on the relational and 'authenticity' based aspects of hosting within this still growing platform of Airbnb that positions it as a crucial point of study.

It is from the entanglement of the home and the away that the consideration of this project arose. Home has quite often been considered the opposite of away. Whereas home has been characterised as a place where individuals can relax and be themselves (Goffman, 1959), being away from home is characterised as something exotic. Whilst home exists as a comfort zone (Germann Molz, 2008), tourism gives people an escape from the pressures of home (Cohen, 2010). With this, the home is where people go to escape the world, while travelling the world can be a way of escaping home. According to Franklin (2003, 4) 'In the popular imagination tourism is *by definition* [original emphasise] what takes place away from the everyday' but it can also be seen to be 'absorbed into the daily life'. When these two desires and motivations come together, there lies the possibility of tensions. Tensions arising from the differences in how hosts would normally act in the spaces and how they must now act for the sake of guests. Tensions between maintaining home and maintaining the space as a commercialised get away for others. Tensions that emphasise hostility's place within hospitality. Within these tensions sits the unmaking of home. As hosts attempt to create their home as an attractive proposition for guests, their own subjective and fragile assemblage of home can become unmade. It is from this difficult meeting of juxtaposed concepts that hold tensions and hostilities that bring the possibility of the unmaking of home that the idea for the project emanates.

To be away, apart from the literal meaning of being in a place other than at home, can also be considered something cognitive and performative. Being away can mean differences in the ways an individual thinks, acts, and is perceived by others. For some, to be away is to search for self-reflection in an intimacy with themselves that comes from the suspension of the habitualities of home (Harrison, 2003). For others, to be away is to travel for business and so carries less introspective ideas. This idea of away as a mindset, however, brings another layer to the presence of the individual who is away, and another layer to how the individual, as a guest, relates to home-based hospitality. These guests do not relate to the host's home as a home, but rather through their lens of the away. For them, this is can be a space for spiritual reflection, or a functional means to an end. With this, it is not just the literal presence of the away in the home that brings challenges, but also this mindset of the away that engages with the space as something other than a home.

This PhD considers the questions surrounding how people go about being *at home* when they are with, and are providing for, the *away.* This project concentrates on private room hosts, so hosts who share the spaces of their own home with guests as opposed to whole home hosts who rent out an entire abode while they reside in a separate space. As such, this research raises concerns with regards to home's place as a sanctuary away from others and

from commodification, which then is compromised through hosting with Airbnb. The project seeks answers as to how home, and the *at home,* navigate these new realities and mobilities that temporarily settle in the home before moving out, and the lingering presences that this can leave. It considers how the process of hosting sees share the space with guests and Airbnb. It explores how the home becomes physically reshaped to cater for the *away*, while boundaries develop to separate the *at home* from the *away.* It examines how tensions between performing home and performing hospitality emerge. From this, it seeks to build an understanding of the impacts on the home when it is 'shared' with the *away* via Airbnb hosting. How it is disrupted through this meeting of opposites, of home and away, and of commodification and sanctuary. In this, the project centres around how home can become unmade as a result of these elements.

The setting for this meeting between the *at home* and the *away* is the home itself in its fragile assemblage. For the impacts of this relationship to be fully explored it is important to understand that 'home' here is considered an assemblage. Drawing from the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1987, 22), 'An assemblage, in its multiplicity, necessarily acts on semiotic flows, material flows, and social flows simultaneously'. Viewing home in this way allows for a greater understanding of the multifaceted phenomenon that is home. It allows the capturing of 'the dispersed and variant logics of value and valuation that actively constitute not only the field of meaning, experience and practice that is called 'home' but also the house that is the locus of its performance' (Jacobs & Smith, 2008, 518). Understanding home as an assemblage brings the ability to consider relations between humans, between human and non-human, between the things we see and do, and how this comes together to create home. Assemblages are, however, very fragile. Assemblages as an arrangement and unit of different, disparate elements, rely on the relative consistency of these elements to maintain the stability of the assemblage. By understanding that assemblages are 'mutually constituted' (Kitchin & Lauriault, 2014, 6), their fragile nature can easily be seen. Everything that goes into the home, exists within the home, and is performed within the home is either part of the assemblage or impacts upon the assemblage. On these understandings of home, the project aims to build a partial base from which further investigations into home and outcomes of disruptions of home for Airbnb hosts may stem.

The home, as a fragile assemblage, always holds the possibility of unmaking. Existing research has considered how home can become unmade through government policies (Nowicki, 2018) how it can come about through the aging process (Webber, May & Lewis, 2023), and even how it is represented in modern art (Lauzon, 2017). This chapter examines

the unmaking of home as an outcome of hosting through the disruptive capitalistic platform of Airbnb. As home is something that is never fixed or finished (Dovey, 2005), the possibility of unmaking is always present. The unmaking of home can occur when the material or imaginary elements of the home are disrupted, divested, damaged or even destroyed, this can be deliberately or accidentally, temporarily or permanently (Baxter & Brickell, 2014). This can be forced by outside elements of noise (Burrell, 2014), deterioration of communal spaces (Arrigoitia, 2014), or conflicts with neighbours (Cheshire, Easthope & ten Have, 2021). Home, as a continual process of assemblage, can be *unmade* in as many different ways as it can be *made*. Disruptions of people, things, and feelings all hold the possibility of bringing about the unmaking of home. Something that can introduce disruption into all of these areas of home is offering hospitality.

Introducing the offer of hospitality into this fragile assemblage brings substantial possibilities for home's unmaking. The offering of a private room Airbnb sees the transformation of the home into a hospitality space. Hospitality sits for many as an escape from the pressures of home (Cohen, 2010), something separate from the everyday, where home is considered the comfort zone (Germann Molz, 2008) and hospitality is the quest for escape and adventure (Hamilton-Smith, 1987). This highlights some of the tensions that invariably exist between the *at home* and the *away.* In the commercial home, the offer of hospitality on a very base level is a bed for the night and sometimes breakfast, however on top of this, a little more is generally expected. In the commercial home, there exists a relationship between host and guest that holds a high degree of intensity (Stringer, 1981), where hosts are expected to offer 'care' and a performance of emotional labour (Spangler, 2020). This presents difficulties around the unmaking of home that, with specific regard to emotional labour, has been referred to as 'un-homing' (Spangler, 2020, 577). Considering this notion of the intense transactional relationships and 'inauthentic' performance of hospitality within this fragile assemblage of home positions the unmaking of home as a prominent concern. As an intensely social, spatial, and behavioural endeavour, the provision of commercial hospitality has the potential to touch many elements of the assemblage of home and, indeed, unmake home.

The commercial hospitality considered by this project comes from Airbnb hosts. In academic literature, Airbnb has been a topic of much discussion. Large amounts of what has been written about Airbnb is covered in the literature review by Guttentag (2019), with a number of the pieces highlighting the platform as something disruptive in one way or another. Firstly, Airbnb has been considered with regards to its place within the sharing economy and how it can be categorised alongside other platforms (Constantiou, Marton

and Tuunainen, 2017) as well as within the wider market as its impact on hotels has also been examined (Zervas, Proserpio & Byers, 2017). A very prominently discussed critique considers the impact of Airbnb on neighbourhoods, with such short-term rentals driving displacement of locals (Cocola-Gant, 2021) and facilitating gentrification (Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018). The platform has been further discussed with regards to discrimination by hosts and guests (Edelman & Luca, 2014; Edelman, Luca & Svirsky, 2017) as well as its use of algorithms and their impacts on hosts (Cheng & Foley, 2019; O'Regan & Choe, 2017a). Discussions of Airbnb with relation to home are less prevalent in the literature. This disruption of home that comes with Airbnb hosting is the area that this PhD Considers.

Roelofsen is one of the key authors that has considered Airbnb from the perspective of home. In this work, Airbnb has been discussed concerning its socio-spatial impacts (Roelofsen, 2022b) and its transformation of spatialities, everyday practices, and social relations (Roelofsen, 2022a). The impacts of Airbnb's algorithms on the home have also been explored (Roelofsen & Minca, 2018). In this, Roelofsen and Minca (2018) highlight the incorporation of 'life and home' into commercial interest and technological intervention. Alongside this, other authors have offered contributions. Spangler (2020) examined how Airbnb hosting can result in 'un-homing' while Germann Molz (2018) has discussed the construction of spatial scales both within and beyond the home. Between these papers still exist some gaps to be filled. This PhD seeks to fill some of these gaps by building on these ideas to create a deep understanding of how home as a fragile assemblage becomes unmade through 'sharing' it on Airbnb.

A key concept that this project utilises and builds upon is Roelofsen's (2018b) notion of 'performing "home"'. Roelofsen (2018, 25) outlined the idea of performing home as encompassing 'everyday homemaking and hosting practices of both hosts and guests', with both parties co-performing home. This notion of performance with relation to home and hospitality in Airbnb is one of the key framings that this PhD has drawn upon and has sought to build its own understanding of. This PhD holds the performance of home to be homemaking activities performed by the hosts and any others who are *at home*, akin to Blunt et al.'s (2007) consideration of the performance of home, while guests have the potential to interfere with this performance of home. With this, the performance of home consists of the behaviours that are facilitated by, and shape, the assemblage of home *as a home.* Viewed separately here are the hosting duties which make up what is termed here as the performance of hospitality. The performance of hospitality includes things such as the rehearsed welcoming of guests, making guest breakfasts, and cleaning guest bedrooms.

With this, rather than being one and the same, the performance of home and the performance of hospitality are considered to sit in tension with each other, performing very distinct functions in the realm of home. This is used to highlight the contradictions of the Airbnb home through the different roles and performances that hosts are seen to undertake. Here, this project seeks to utilise this concept to understand how home becomes unmade through the performances of home and hospitality undertaken by hosts. This very much places performance as a central idea within this project.

This notion of performance places the project within a wider philosophical context, with a key representative of this being Erving Goffman. Goffman played a major role in the introduction of dramaturgical thought and analysis, suggesting that each social interaction could be considered as the performance of a role, while the world can be divided into front stages and back stages (Goffman, 1959). Goffman (1959, 13) notes that the term 'performance' refers to 'all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers'. In his work, Goffman (1959) discusses performance in the setting of a hotel, emphasising the precedent of hospitality being explored as a performance. Whilst the rest of the world is a setting for performance, for Goffman (1959, 70), home is a backstage space where individuals can 'relax; he can drop his front, forgo speaking his lines and step out of character'. This project considers the shift in stages and performances that comes with hosting, and how this is an important element in the unmaking of home.

With so much written on Airbnb and home, much of the groundwork for the analysis of this project is already in place, providing the opportunity to investigate a niche that has not been particularly prevalent in the literature. Whilst considerations of the unmaking of home and feelings of unhomeliness as impacts of Airbnb has been considered by authors such as Roelofsen and Spangler, this project seeks to go deeper into how these processes of unmaking occur. The contribution to knowledge that this project seeks to make is to examine how the fragile assemblage of home can become unmade through the processes of 'sharing' the home on Airbnb as a private room host. It looks to examine the Airbnb home from the broad elements to the minutia in attempting to understand how the assemblage of home is impacted upon by hosting, by converging and contradicting performances, by the presence of guests, and by the presence and influence of Airbnb themselves. This aims to fill a gap in the literature that examines the changes to the materialities, spatialities, socialities, and senses of home to achieve an understanding of the many facets of disruption that the assemblage of home faces in the course of Airbnb hosting. With this, it

seeks to lay out that *home* itself in the Airbnb home is something that is pushed out from occupying the entire space of the house as it becomes fragmented with many of the elements of hosting challenging its place, leaving it to tentatively lie in the spaces hosts reserve for themselves alone. In building this understanding, a number of fields of researched must be explored.

This is a transdisciplinary study that seeks to bring together significant, but disparate fields. This paper strongly draws from tourism literature, particularly with regards to hospitality and the sharing economy, while it also utilises elements of spatial geographies, with these ideas frequently applied to the notion of home. Alongside this, the PhD aims to overlay these disciplines with sociological and cultural studies insights that aids in the drawing together of these disparate fields. This kind of post-disciplinary approach rejects 'the discursive and organisational construction (and worse, the fetishisation) of disciplinary boundaries' (Jessop & Sum, 2001, 89), with this championed in the field of tourism with the approach is able to 'recognise the complexities, ambiguities and overlaps associated with contemporary forms (temporary/semi -permanent) mobility at different scales' (Coles, Hall & Duval, 2006, 295). With this, the mobility of people and performances can be captured in a way that would not be possible with a more structured approach. In this way, we are able to comprehend a topic that centres around the coming together of different fields and investigate how these fields messily intertwine. This allows a richness of understanding to be achieved that highlights how these fields interact and how they touch and change hosts' realities, with these realities holding the possibility for extensive implications.

In understanding the relationship between home and Airbnb hosting, the implications could be quite extensive. The unmaking of home has the possibility of becoming reality for each private room Airbnb host, marking this as an important phenomenon to understand. As Airbnb host numbers continue to grow around the world (Airbnb, 2022), these potential impacts on home could become very widespread, touching many people. It is only by understanding what these impacts on home are and how they occur that research can be taken further into looking at what the outcomes of these impacts on home may be. These implications do not solely lie with the host themselves, but also affect those who live with the host and even the local community in some instances, bringing numerous disruptions to many homes. The case of Airbnb in this project exemplifies just one aspect of how the sharing economy brings the influence of platforms into the everyday life of many people. As such, on a wider level, the implications of this PhD speak to the rise in influence of sharing economy platforms in the world and their entanglement within modern lives and

modern understandings of the world. With this, this project implicates Airbnb and the sharing economy as a whole in the reshaping of elements of our realities and the negative consequences that can emerge from this.

1.2. Aims and Objectives

The introduction into the home of strangers as guests, Airbnb as an influence, and hosting duties as a performance is something that has required greater levels of investigation. With this comes the overall aim of understanding the effects private room Airbnb hosting has on the materialities, socialities, spatialities, imaginaries, and senses of home, and how this leaves the fragile home unmade and disrupted. In order to build the contribution to knowledge of how home becomes unmade through its 'sharing' with guests and Airbnb, a series of aims and objectives are required. The aims set out for this PhD are to understand:

- How is the assemblage of home changed through hosting on Airbnb?
- How does the performance of home change? And what impact does this have?
- What impact does the commercialisation and commodification of home have on the experience of homeliness?

For these aims to be effectively approached, this project utilises an ethnographically informed approach with elements of netnography that bring mobility to the investigation that bridges the online and offline of Airbnb hosting. In this, it uses semi-structured interviews, online forum content analysis, Airbnb listing content analysis, a content analysis of Airbnb's TV advertisements, and an analysis of the advice available online for hosts. Underlying these methods is an interpretivist paradigm, encompassing ontological relativism and epistemic subjectivism (Levers, 2013). The home, as an assemblage of complexity, messiness, emotion, and constant change, is challenging to investigate. To draw out the personal nature of what *makes home* for individuals, and their behaviour within their home, and how this has changed necessitates a wide and flexible scope of investigation. For these aims to be effectively researched, the methodology needed to be attuned to human experience and emotion, creating a space for the investigation of people, a network of human and non-human connections, and the influence of platform capitalism. These messy and heavily subjective and negotiated realities of human experience lie at the heart of what this PhD aims to discover, as such these methods of data collection are considered the best way of addressing them and building the understanding of the topics that they cover.

The home can undergo a large amount of change both in preparation for hosting and as a result of hosting. As such, the first aim of this thesis is to examine how the home, as an assemblage of the physical and imaginary, can become reshaped through Airbnb hosting. This aim seeks to build an understanding of how the assemblage of home can become unmade through these changes to the physical and imaginary elements of home, painting part of the overall picture. To attempt this, it is necessary to view the home from many angles to try to build an understanding of the influencing factors on the assemblage of home and their impacts on hosts. In order to meet this aim, several objectives have been determined. The first is to establish what the key elements of home are considered to be for this project, before attempting to understand how they may fit together in subjective assemblages. Chapter 2 engages with the literature on home and considers its arrangement in an assemblage that holds an inherent fragility. This theoretical understanding is then used to build on the empirical evidence presented across chapters 6, 7, and 8. With this, the PhD brings an analysis of how the materialities of the home changed to meet the demands of hosting, as well as exploring how the boundaries of home shift to divide between home spaces and 'shared' spaces. Alongside this, this project's data presents evidence of changes to the home as a result of anxieties. With this, this PhD seeks to answer this aim of how home becomes reshaped through Airbnb hosting.

It can be considered that it is not only the elements of home that are impacted upon, rather the behaviour of individuals and their social performances must also adjust. The second aim of this project is to understand how the performance of home changes for Airbnb hosts and the impacts that this can have. With this, the unmaking of home is considered from the perspective of how hosts behave and socialise in their own home when 'sharing' with guests. This aim comes having already built an understanding of dramaturgical theory, with Roelofsen (2018b) having already applied it to home with reference to the work of Judith Butler and Erving Goffman. Following this, performance theory is introduced in chapter 2 to develop an understanding of the performance of home and is expanded upon in chapter 3 in relation to the performance of hospitality, within the context of the offering of commercial hospitality in the home. In collecting primary data on this, it becomes necessary to identify hosts' typical performances of home without guests, what performances they enact when guests are present, and how these differ. This theoretical understanding and empirical data is then used across chapters 6,7, and 8 to address this aim. The primary data collected here explores performances of home, performances of hospitality, and acts of impression management where the scene of the ideal home and

ideal place for guests becomes paramount to the behaviours of hosts. This looks to answer this second aim.

Commercialisation and commodification are also important factors when considering Airbnb hosting. The final aim of the thesis is to consider how the commercialisation and commodification of the home through Airbnb hosting can disrupt home. Here, this aim considers how home can become unmade by inviting in Airbnb and a transactional relationship with strangers. The first objective necessary to address this aim is to gain theoretical knowledge regarding the commercialising effects of Airbnb. To address this, chapter 4 reviews the literature on the sharing economy and Airbnb, and considers how both of these elements bring commercialisation into the everyday of many people, both within the home and beyond. The primary data collected placed importance on understanding both the host performance of hospitality and the relationship between the host and their commercial home. The analysis of these elements is brought together in chapters 6, 7, and 8 to put forwards an understanding of the commercialisation and commodification that this aim attends to. The empirical data here builds a picture of how the performance of hospitality is shaped by the influence of Airbnb, while Airbnb also become a present element in the commercial home through the changes to materialities that they advise. Building this understanding of the influence held by Airbnb seeks to answer this aim of how home can become disrupted by commercialisation and commodification.

1.3. Overview of the Project

This project looks to create vital knowledge surrounding the impact that private room hosting on Airbnb can have on home. In order to address this as thoroughly as I am able here, the investigation is divided between theoretical literature reviews and primary findings analysis. Chapter 2 comes as a literature review of the concept of home. As this project considers the relationship between the home and the away, it is vital to understand what home is and can be. It argues the fragility of home as something that is not just formed of individual elements, but rather is formed in assemblage and through interlinked performances. This part of the project focusses specifically on what is termed here the social assemblage, comprising of the complex social webs and relationships of home, and the textural assemblage, made up of the material, sensory, and spatial. It tries to bring the point that the home can only remain in a state of being 'made' whilst these assemblages maintain relative consistency. Many of these assemblages and performances, however, must be negotiated with others, other members of the household, and the self, leaving them as unstable elements. From this, the conclusion of the home as a fragile assemblage that is constantly on the edge of unmaking was drawn.

The second part of this project's literature review in chapter 3 examines the concept of hospitality. The key relationship that frames the meeting between the *at home* and the *away* is that of host and guest. More specifically, it is framed by a *commercialised* relationship of host and guest. This chapter considers how hospitality, particularly in its commercialised forms, can bring disruptions to the home. The practice of offering hospitality is here considered to bring potential impacts to the sense of place of home, the emotional spatialities of home, power relations, and social performances. It looks to position the concept of hospitality as something that has become problematised by its commercialisation. Through the introduction of financial transactions, hospitality and commercial homes have been instilled with inauthenticity and messy power relations, with the behaviours of hosts being bought by guests. This chapter brings forward the conclusion that how we are away brings changes in how we are at home. The functional practice of performing hospitality has the potential to bring disruptions into the assemblage of home, destabilising and unmaking the home.

The fourth chapter, and final part of the literature review puts the focus onto the sharing economy and Airbnb. It is within the context and sphere of influence of Airbnb and the sharing economy that the *at home* comes to be with the *away*. This chapter looks to argue that Airbnb, and the sharing economy as a whole, disrupts the lives of those engaged with it, as well as those adjacent to it, platformising elements of everyday life. It considers the transformation of belongings into being viewed as assets to be monetised and how this has facilitated the capitalist disruption and intrusive presence in the home. Following this, it looks to examine how Airbnb disrupts local neighbourhoods, as well as the self of the host and their world. This chapter looks into the social and behavioural disruptions of hosting, how the materialities and spatialities of home become changed by hosting, and how Airbnb seek to control hosts by way of the controlling algorithms built into their systems. In doing this, this chapter seeks to add another layer of understanding to how home can be unmade by private room hosting through Airbnb.

While chapter five reviews the methodology of the data collection for this project, chapter six moves onto the empirical findings surrounding the formation of the Airbnb home. As the home becomes reshaped for this meeting of home and away, the first elements of the unmaking of home become clear. This chapter seeks to locate *home* within the remade commercial home. It seeks to argue that through the transition to becoming a commercial home, the 'other' becomes a feature of a de-territorialised space that has been reshaped to suit commodification in both the virtual and the material. It looks to consider how a greater fluidity comes to the boundaries of home as they allow what home is to be touched,

changed and shaped by outside forces, such as Airbnb themselves. This section examines how advice and expectations set by Airbnb and other outlets come to influence hosts, and in turn, their home. It also seeks to set out how the home is changed and marketed on listings in ways that bring a confused face to the image of home that the host presents. This chapter brings out the conclusion that *home* becomes pushed to the very peripheries of the space as a tentative entity that cedes to the commercial home.

Chapter seven, the second of the empirical chapters, brings the discussion to the performance of Airbnb. When 'sharing' their space with the *away*, the *at home* become almost obligated to behave less *at home* and prioritise guests. This chapter divides the home into two sections, the frontstage and the backstage. The frontstage considers the outward performances of hospitality, relating to performing hospitable duties, the language used, and even the clothes that hosts wear to build up a picture of the performances that are offered by hosts. The backstage examines how the performance of home becomes curtailed as hosts try to avoid creating noises, avoid cooking foods that create pervasive smells, altering their routines to avoid disturbing guests, etc. This chapter examines how home hinges on ways of *doing* things, and how the entire home of hosts becomes a stage for unhomely performance from the arrival of the guest until their departure. A place where hosts must temporally restrain themselves, always show a smile, and manage the impression of their guest.

The final chapter that introduces the findings of this project is chapter eight and looks to discuss the boundaries that develop in the Airbnb home and the anxieties that come with hosting. When the *away* comes to stay, new boundaries and anxieties can develop in the home with each new guest. This chapter argues that Airbnb is hosting leads the home to develop and hold hostile elements. It considers how the permeable boundaries that surround the home (Ahmed, 1999) become more open than ever, while new boundaries develop within the home to designate difference between the frontstage and backstage areas. It considers how temporal boundaries of self pass through the space and how these boundaries are negotiated, with these boundaries clearly marking hostilities or 'thresholds of tolerance' (Germann Molz & McIntosh, 2013, 88). It also considers the anxieties that hosts experience when welcoming someone who they are not entirely comfortable with, and how hostilities manifest in these instances. It concludes that the Airbnb home is a space marked by hostilities, transforming somewhere that should hold belonging and safety into somewhere fragmented by conditions and fears.

2. The Fragile Assemblages of Home

Home is a complex phenomenon, one that it is impossible to claim beyond doubt how it comes to be. For different people, it emerges from different elements, manifesting in different ways. For people living alone home is made in a different way from those who share a home. This positions home as a very tricky concept. There is no one thing that makes home. It is instead the coalescing of the people and things that exist in a space that brings home into existence. Assemblage thinking has been noted as useful for understanding the spatialities of a place as 'processual, relational, mobile, and unequal' (McFarlane, 2011, 649). This helps to build the picture of a space that is never stagnant or immobile but is in constant negotiation with its constituent parts. The consideration of assemblage also 'draws attention to the constitutive human-nonhuman multiplicity of relations' (McFarlane, 2011, 651), highlighting the active role that individuals play in the continual forming of a place. This is the kind of thinking that this project looks to utilise in its considerations of home. Considering home as an assemblage seeks to emphasise that each element of home has its own identity and presence, but on their own they are not home, home is something that only comes into being when these elements come together. By employing this concept of home, the ways in which home can come to be made, or unmade, become more evident as the messy and complex nature of home is held in the very features of its formation. It is this assemblage (Harris, Brickell & Nowicki, 2020) of relations, materialities, performances, the tangible and non-tangible, that lead to the creation of home as a space that is understood and recognised as home. In this complexity of creation, however, always lies a fragility that leaves home on the edge of unmaking as these numerous elements sit in precarious negotiation with each other. The variable ways in which we as people relate to each other, as well as to objects and settings, with this informed by emotions and circumstances, means that home is no more fixed than any other element of the future. It is fragile, and it is this fragility of the assemblage of home that this chapter investigates.

Within this PhD on 'sharing' the home with Airbnb, it is critical to understand what home is and how it comes to be. As such, this chapter will look to explore how home is a site of messy negotiations that exist in a very fragile assemblage that is formed by further assemblages, namely the social assemblage and the textural assemblage. The social assemblage considers the social relationship that builds the home, while the textural assemblage considers everything see, touch, smell, etc. everything that grounds us in the world together. This is not to suggest that these are two completely separate formations that do not interact but rather to highlight how the negotiations of home emerge in both how we relate to the people around us and how we relate to the world around us, with these elements also coming to shape each other. This chapter explores how these assemblages are constructed around fragile social webs, boundaries, the spaces of home and the material and immaterial elements that fill these spaces. It considers how each individual's making of home can touch others, grounding us in the same reality and necessitating a conflict from which this negotiation emerges. Concluding this, it will lay out how this negotiation leaves home to be a fragile thing that can easily be unmade. To do this, however, it is important to know how home is to be understood in this chapter.

2.1. Theorising Home

Many attempts have been made to define home, but with the level of subjectivity and messiness attached to the home, this is an not easy task. Home is widely considered throughout the literature as more than a building, rather it is a site of feelings and cultural meanings that is shaped by the everyday and the individual's personality (Pink et al., 2017; Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Blunt, 2005; Massey, 1992). Indeed, home has been noted as 'perhaps the most emotive of geographical concepts, inextricable from that of self, family, nation, sense of place, and sense of responsibility towards those who share one's place in the world' (Duncan & Lambert, 2004). This feeling of being in 'one's place in the world' or sense of home that people are said to experience is that of an ongoing feeling of home, stemming from the sensory, material, and social relations in the space around us (Duque et al., 2019). In this way, home is in a constant state of becoming that arises from the variable nature and situation of the individual. Home as a stable, safe, impermeable, coherent whole does not exist (Sabra, 2008), but it can be viewed in different ways.

One strand of the literature on home sees it viewed from the Marxist perspective. In these considerations, home is a site for the social reproductions that maintain capitalism and the material bases on which social life relies (Gregson & Lowe, 1995; Blunt & Dowling,

2006). Marxism considers home as the space where labour power is produced, where workers are fed, rested, clothed, and housed, ensuring that they are physically and emotionally ready to continue working (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). In this, home is described as 'a site where workers recover in order to continue their work; a place that serves to *maintain* individual productivity under capitalism' (Roelofsen, 2018b, 26). While offering an insight into the place of home within the wider context of capitalism, this perspective does not allow us to understand the intricacies and negotiations that bring home into being. It positions home as solely something that relates to the outside world rather than considering how it becomes the place that rest and recover their productivity. To understand this, a more human centred approach is necessary.

Other views on home approach from a Humanist perspective, placing the focus on human agency and creativity, and considers places to be meaningful and hold significance for individuals (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Cloke, Philo & Sadler, 1991). This view considers how individuals relate to and experience their home, as well as how they create a sense of home through comfort and belonging (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). It positions home as an 'irreplaceable centre of significance' (Relph, 1976, 39). Such a perspective brings human emotion into the thinking of home. This emphasises the place of people in the process of making home. It is on this understanding of relationality and individual significances that this chapter builds a particular view of home, with this structured by the idea of assemblage.

Emanating from human relationships, material objects, and the strength of the relationships that bind these things together, home can be considered as an assemblage (Harris, Brickell & Nowicki, 2020). This is the basis for our considerations of home here. Thinking in assemblage can help pull thought beyond theory and towards examining relationships between things (Dovey, Rao & Pafka, 2018). Viewing home like this allows for the understanding of 'the dispersed and variant logics of value and valuation that actively constitute not only the field of meaning, experience and practice that is called 'home' but also the house that is the locus of its performance' (Jacobs & Smith, 2008, 518). With this, 'assemblage-thinking helps decentre home from meanings towards practices, from human affect towards the small agency of things, from a relatively stable construct/norm towards the more contingent, provisional and unsettling processes of dwelling' (Soaita & McKee, 2019, 149). These relationships in assemblage can exist between the humans, and human and non-human, coming to either support or subvert social and political processes of home (Maalsen, 2020). Rather than being established from one particular element, home requires a balance of the social, material, spatial, and sensory in order to take shape. While home is

characterised by material and expressive roles that either stabilise or disrupt the assemblage, it is also dependent on processes of territorialisation and re-territorialisation (DeLanda, 2006).

Territorialisation can be considered an important aspect of homemaking. Deleuze and Guattari (1987, 22) considered that an assemblage 'necessarily acts on semiotic flows, material flows, and social flows simultaneously', but also noted that processes of territorialisation and deterritorialisation stabilise or destabilise the identity of the assemblage. A territorialised space is that in which the components of the assemblage have been homogenised and the boundaries delineated (DeLanda, 2016). While territorialisation stabilises assemblages, deterritorialisation can destabilise assemblages, leaving them in a continuous state of precariousness (DeLanda, 2006). Such processes of deterritorialisation exist on a scale, however they always come together with the reterritorialisation into a new assemblage (Normark, 2009). The territorialisation of an assemblage can be realised and maintained through repetitive actions of the everyday (Wise, 2000), giving importance to homemaking activities.

The repetition of everyday homemaking practices has long been tied to many areas of the assemblage of home. repetition can aid the territorialisation (Wise, 2000) and creation of home (Cieraad, 1999), while these practices also reproduce both the individual and collective identities of the members of the household (Lloyd & Vasta, 2017). Explored by Blunt et al. (2007) and Roelofsen (2018), with considerations to the work of Erving Goffman and Judith Butler, these practices of home can be viewed as a performance. Viewing home as a performance highlights this ongoing nature of homemaking, while also bringing in the vital relational elements between an individual and other people, and between individuals and the tangible and non-tangible parts of home. By performing home, the individual, other people in the household, and the space of home become mutually shaped by each other to reflect identities and create feelings of belongingness. These are elements which are central to the experiencing of homeliness. In this, the experience of a sense of homeliness can be seen as the product of the ongoing performances of home.

It is in this need for the ongoing performance of home that the fragility of home can arise. In this performance, home becomes constructed through *continual makings* and territorial *markings* of home, and it is when these *makings* and *markings* are disrupted that home becomes deterritorialised unmade. With this performance of home existing as part of an assemblage, which are understood to always hold various degrees of precariousness (DeLanda, 2002), the fragility of home is very much an issue that exists at the forefront of

the concept. This chapter will argue that the assemblage of home is fragile. Built from interconnected and mutually constructed elements set in negotiation with each other, the assemblage of home is necessarily precarious in nature. It is both upon and within this interdependent assemblage that territorialisation and performances of home are set, with these elements reliant on other parts of the assemblage to come into being. The readiness of the assemblage of home to be disrupted, bringing further disruptions to the territorialisation and continual makings of home through performances of home positions the home as a fragile construct. In arguing this, the rest of this chapter will view the assemblage of home from two perspectives: the assemblage between people, and the assemblage between people and things. It will examine home as a place of socialisation and boundaries which set the course for home in the social assemblage, before examining the things that ground us in the same space in discussing the materialities, spatialities, and senses of home in the textural assemblage.

2.2. People in the Home

Home is a space of relations and negotiations. It brings feelings of 'belonging and alienation, intimacy and violence, desire and fear' (Blunt & Varley, 2004, 3). It is a place where we can come together in an intimate setting with some and shut the rest of the world away. Where the gaze of the 'other' does not fall upon our performance of home. Even within households, however, we can seek refuge from those closest to us. These relations between people are where the messiest negotiations and assemblages are found. Where behaviours, communications, and feelings are shared in creating this environment of home. Where household behavioural norms are understood (Feldman, 1984) and we understand our place in the space. In this way, home is a space of socialities and boundaries that come together to create the place of *home.* It is this arrangement of complex, versatile, social beings that makes the social assemblage of home inherently fragile.

This section will consider the social assemblage of home, understanding who is understood is at home, who is not at home, and how we belong at home. It will explore how the interdependence and mutuality of the social assemblage of home construct and shape home as something very fragile. It will consider how the home, as a performed and territorialised space, relies on how socialities are negotiated and how borders are constructed for it to maintain stability as an assemblage. It will then consider how the sense of belonging that we come to feel and associate with home exists in a mutually constructed relationship with these socialities and boundaries. The first area of discussion, that comes to be one of the

most influential parts of the social assemblage of home, is the human relationships of home.

2.2.1. The Relational Home

When it comes to performing home, it may not necessarily be a performance we give alone, for many people it is given in the context of family. Indeed it is performed with anyone who we share the home with, and when we do share home, home is always a relational negotiation. Home is an institution, where norms are held as 'informal rules that households adopt to regulate and regularize household member behaviour' (Feldman, 1984, 47). It is from this that the social assemblage of home is formed. Our performances become mutually shaped by the other actors on the stage of home, either reacting to performances, negotiating contrasting performances, or sharing performances. It is in these socially negotiated and constituted performances of home that fragility emerges.

Home does not exist in a fixed social structure, but rather is created by dynamic processes which can sustain multiple worlds of meaning (O'Connor, 2017). This positions the socialities of home as a fragile web that can easily be damaged but can also help us understand how we relate to others and the home as a whole. Within this web, the way these socialities of home are performed in homemaking activities makes such activities significant social practices (Dowling & Mee, 2007). The performance of each individual in the household brings a different element to these homemaking practices, creating the complex social web that is home. How we relate to each other in shared or conflicting homemaking activities can lay out dynamic relationships between individuals that allow us to understand each other and the social web. This social web cannot be considered a consistent element, however.

The social relations of home are inherently dynamic. It is a necessity for home to have the flexibility to adapt to changing social circumstances (Dovey, 1985). These changes, however, can bring significant social changes can bring the need for the social structure to be rebuilt rather than just adjusted. As familiarity is important to the social structure of home (Somerville, 1997), anything that upsets this familiarity, such as changes of performances, changes in the roles that are performed, or the introduction of new performances or performers can destabilise the fragile social web. This leaves this social web to bring a precariousness to the centre of the social assemblage and instability to the formation of home. Within this ever-evolving social landscape, feeling able to belong exists as a vital element to the social assemblage of home.

Notions of home are closely associated with ideas of belonging (Hurdley, 2013). It can be considered that 'home is not simply about fantasies of belonging – where do I originate from – but rather is *sentimentalized* as a space of belonging' (Ahmed, 1999, 341). A place that is a complex field of subjectivity, a site and anchor for senses of belonging (Jacobs & Smith, 2008), where no one questions your right to be (Silva, 2009). Whether it be in homes with collective identities (O'Connor, 2017), or amongst a wider local community (Fincher & Gooder, 2007), we seek out 'localised worlds of meaning, intimate spaces of belonging – to find the centre that is home' (O'Connor, 2017, 2). In these such worlds, familiarity (Duyvendak, 2011) and social 'sameness' (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011) are integral components of belonging. It is when individuals feel they are valued and they 'fit' into the environment, they experience belonging (Hagerty et al., 1992). These are necessary elements to give individuals license to offer 'authentic' performances of home. This social setting of belonging can help maintain the space as the 'backstage', away from the frontstage where individuals provide an illusion of authenticity (Goffman, 1967). Without this belonging, the performance of home can change from something that reflects the identity of the individual, to something that presents a show of home to an 'other'. Such feelings of belonging can help create stability and a shared identity in the household (Haslam et al., 2019), which can be compounded through shared performances of home. One such shared performance is found in how we consume together.

The social structure of a household can be seen to emerge through chosen patterns of consumption (Clark, 1998). Many typical household activities of consumption, such as cooking and watching tv, have been suggested to create homely feelings (Dowling & Mee, 2007), making this consumption a critical aspect of home. While individual performances of consumption can be beneficial in maintaining a sense of self (Morrison, 2013), communal performances of consumption can be very beneficial to home, identity, and belonging, for example eating a meal together. Food consumption can be used to build social identities between members of a household, creating a sense of belonging (Valentine, 1999). In this, it has been suggested that 'part of the intention behind producing the meal is to produce "home" and "family"' (Devault, 1991, 79) by 'bringing household members together around a table, giving them a chance to exchange news, confidences and to catch up on each others' lives' (Valentine, 1999, 493). Such acts of consumption give households a focal point to anchor shared performances around, with these continual communal makings of home necessary for the stability of the shared identity and the social assemblage. Without engaging in these positive shared performances, the household can

resemble more of a group of individuals that inhabit the same space rather than a collective, leaving a fractured social assemblage.

As home is built around this social assemblage, the fracturing or disruption of these socialities can unmake home. Though home can easily be seen as a place of belonging, intimacy and desire, the presence of alienation, violence and fear are also important to how home is theorised (Blunt & Varley, 2004). Experiences and notions of home can vary based on class status, age, bodily ability, sexual orientation, ethnicity, nation of origin, and, perhaps most notably in the literature, gender (Brown, 2003; Hyams, 2003; Punch, 2001; Gorman-Murray, 2006). For many women, home has long been a site of unpaid domestic labour and patriarchal control (Pratt, 2004; Hanson & Pratt, 1995). In this, the home is a restrictive and oppressive place for women, where they are 'expected to work, cooking, cleaning and caring, without wages or privacy' (Rose, 2003, 5), leading to the absence of the comfort and security that some suggest are imperative to home (Mufti & Shohat, 1997; Young, 2005). Rather than allowing these women to undertake identity affirming performances of home, home becomes robbed of its ideal of rest and retreat and is instead positioned as a place of work and violence (Duyvendak, 2011). Here, home can be unmade, or prevented from ever being made in the first place by the social structure of home and societal expectations of roles within the home. Demanded performances of subservience usurp desired performances of home, removing a crucial element of homemaking. Without the previously mentioned structures of belonging that this oppression challenges, home is a space that is more often unmade than made.

2.2.2. Boundaries of Home

This social assemblage of home is structured around the boundaries that surround the home and exist within the home. As discussed earlier, boundaries, and the emphasising and sharpening of them, are a vital element of territorialisation, however it can be questioned whether these boundaries ever truly allow the space to become territorialised. Every home is marked by distinct physical and symbolic boundaries that separate the private sphere of home and the outside world (Allen, 1989). this allows those who live there to control access and behaviours within (Dovey, 1985). The boundaries of home, however, have shifted historically over the years (Shaprio, 1998) and are more blurred and never as rigid as they may seem, with the allowing of access changing over the course of relationships and in different circumstances (Allen, 1989). From this, the boundaries have become viewed as a 'second skin' (Ahmed, 1999, 341). Boundaries are inhabited, something permeable between the self and home, and home and away, allowing the subject to be

touched and to touch the world in a way that is neither simply in the home or away from the home (Ahmed, 1999). The permeability of this boundary not only means that the space can never be truly territorialised, but also presupposes the space as being on the edge of deterritorialization. Though the permeability of these boundaries add instability to the assemblage of home, they are necessary for privacy and safety to be felt.

Though the boundaries of home may not be impassable, they provide a necessary separation between the outside world and the social assemblage within. In the creation of the private space of home, it is necessary to implement practices of division, with this exclusion of the 'other', external social processes and natural processes such as weather, being central to generating a sense of familiarity, safety and isolation (Kaika, 2004). The importance of home as a place of safety, where what is outside is kept from what is within, has been reinforced throughout the literature with the suggestion that home should be a site of ontological security (Dupuis & Thorns, 1998; Giddens, 1991). These elements of security and isolation are dependent on performances of home that make it so. Simple everyday practices such as locking doors and closing curtains become central to keeping home as this private space. Small actions such as these emphasise how fragile home can be. Unlocked doors and open curtains, particularly at night, can leave home feeling vulnerable and on display to the world. The ontological safety that the performed home can provide is what allows us to undertake the private and vulnerable act of sleeping (Veijola & Valtonen, 2007), with the sense of home able to be significantly disrupted when this ontological safety is challenged (Roelofsen, 2018b). This sense of privacy and escape from interference is also something that needs to be developed *within* shared households.

Boundaries can also exist within the home and can be necessary for the creation and cohesion of the social assemblage. While communal home building is a process dependent on relations (Dowling & Mee, 2007), it must also offer privacy (Gorman-Murray, 2006). Gorman-Murray (2006) suggests that these boundaries are created through the division between shared space and allocated space, and the arrangement of accumulated objects. Individuals maintaining their own space can allow for the reproduction of self, while also intensifying shared experiences in communal areas (Gorman-Murray, 2006). The performance of home requires separation between individual performances and collective performances, with this depending on physical and/or symbolic boundaries existing between spaces of the home. This aligns with Dovey's (1985) suggestion that the personal and social are interwoven, and the representations of our identity in the home emerge from both social structures and the search for personal identifications within them. From this, Dovey (1985, 40) claims that the home is both a '"statement" and a "mirror"', which

develops both socially and individually, while reflecting ideologies and personal experiences. Without opportunities for individual performances of home, the integrity of and individual's identity can be put at risk (Gorman-Murray, 2006). All performances of home, however, are dependent on privacy and the behaviours that are undertaken away from the eyes of the world.

The boundaries and privacy of home allow Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical 'backstage' to exist. According to Goffman (1959, 69), the backstage is 'a place, relative to a given performance, where the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly contradicted as a matter of course'. While the outside world is a place of judgement and inauthentic performance, the home is where individuals can 'relax; he can drop his front, forgo speaking his lines and step out of character' (Goffman, 1959, 70). The home is where individuals can be slovenly, sloppy, and behave with a 'coarse familiarity' (Punch, 2008; Goffman, 1959, 81). Without these boundaries, fears of the flaws of the backstage being exposed to the scrutiny of the frontstage (Scott et al., 2013; Goffman, 1959) may be realised. In this, the very performance of home itself is dependent on these permeable, fuzzy boundaries, with the effects of this being felt when others enter the space of home.

Whether it be in relation to the dwelling of cohabitants or in the home building activity that inviting guests can be, symbolic boundaries can be created (Gorman-Murray, 2006; Dowling & Mee, 2007). In welcoming visitors, symbolic barriers, in addition to material barriers, are accentuated in an attempt to establish the home as private rather than public (Dowling & Mee, 2007; Garvey, 2005). Here, the relaxing of boundaries that occurs when inviting others in results in the development of new boundaries within the home. This separates the home into areas where it is acceptable for guests to be, and areas where their presence is still rejected. While this loosening of boundaries can deterritorialise the home and destabilise the assemblage, this also effectively shifts Goffman's (1959) frontstage to within the home, causing a change in performance. This shift means that it is no longer home that is being performed in these spaces while the guest is present. Though it has been claimed that welcoming guests is a homemaking activity (Dowling & Mee, 2007), it also temporally suspends backstage performances of home from occurring in these spaces. While strangers can enter the space of the social assemblage of home, it is understood that they are never truly part of this assemblage, and therefore do not experience the same belonging that it can provide to those who are.

2.2.3. A Place of Belonging

The final part of this social assemblage of home is built on these previously discusses social structures and boundaries and understands home as a territorialised place of familial belonging. This territorialised 'place' is a construct born from both the physical and social environments (Stedman, 2003; Massey, 1995) that are 'interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood, and imagined' (Gieryn, 2000). This brings the understanding of a *place of family.* Experienced through these feelings, the atmosphere and character of the place can be described (Jackson, 1994; Jiven & Larkham, 2003). In this, places can be considered vital spaces within webs of social interaction (Easthope, 2004), with every place being 'a unique mixture of the relations which configure social space' (Massey, 1995, 61). The meanings held within place stem from the symbolic, emotional, biological, cultural, and political (Buttimer, 2015), building an understanding of home as a territorialised place of family that comes from within ourselves and from each other. Through all of these things, place informs how individuals sense the world, how they act, and how they form identity (Adams, 1995). The values of place are often not brought to consciousness but rather are taken for granted as part of the everyday (Buttimer, 2015), forming part of this natural understanding of belonging. Such values of place are strongly connected to ideas of home.

Sense of place as a sense of belonging can be seen to be greatly involved in the construction of the social assemblage of home and in the facilitation of the performance of home. Sense of place is closely tied to ideas of home (Buttimer, 2015) with home being described as 'the 'place' of greatest personal significance' (Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983, 60). It has also been noted that 'integral to ideas of places as stable and settled … is often – explicitly or implicitly – a notion of place as 'home'' (Massey, 1995, 64). Recognising a place as home and belonging is a crucial aspect of building the social assemblage of home and taking on performances of home. In this way, the sense of place of home, the belonging it fosters and the social assemblage of home build and feed off each other. A sense of place grows from the things that make home, such as social structures, materialities, spatialities, emotions, and as home is made, the sense of place is formed, allowing the place to be understood as home. Further emphasising this symbiotic relationship between place and home is the link between place and identity.

Tying these ideas of belonging to the social assemblage is the understanding that place is closely linked to identity (Sampson & Goodrich, 2009). While place itself can hold a place identity, coming as a substructure of self-identity and consisting of memories, feelings, ideas, attitudes, meanings, and conceptions of behaviour that occur in the space

(Proshansky, 1978; Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983), it can also help shape self-identity. It can be considered that certain aspects of identity are shaped by places, like home, that hold figures and images of significant meaning representing individual and group memories (Breakwell, 1983). Identity can attach itself to a place by feelings of belonging and comfort as places can be 'central to identity as people draw on the range of social processes, symbols and values to describe themselves' (Sampson & Goodrich, 2009, 902). In this way, home reinforces the identity of individuals and also of social groups (Eyles, 1985). In the case of home, one of the key social groups is the family. With this, self-identity and place identity shape each other as a place comes to be recognised as home, constituted through continual performances of home. This relationship takes time to develop, and continually to develops (Breakwell, 1983) but develops within these performances of home in which individuals interact with the place itself. For this development of both individual and group family identity to emerge, however, a social assemblage that fosters belonging, alongside boundaries that allow for more 'authentic' performances of home, must already be present. With this, for place identity, and recognition of home as a place of belonging to occur, certain elements of the assemblage of home necessarily have to already be in place. Another important aspect of place is territorialisation.

Belonging can be seen as something naturally very territorial, embedding its importance in the social assemblage of home. Territoriality is an essential element in the development and maintenance of place (Buttimer, 2015; Rose, 1995). Territoriality can be defined as the 'appropriation of place' (Ellingsen, 2003, 5) where people, objects, and acts can be marked as 'in place' or 'out of place' (Wastl-Walters & Staeheli, 2013). With this, the boundaries surrounding home are critical to recognising a place as home, and what 'belongs' there and what does not. These permeable boundaries, however, always carry the possibility of letting in the 'out of place', the 'other' that does not belong in the assemblage. Here, the territorialised place of home is dependent on the boundaries of home maintaining an environment in which performances of home and the social assemblage that surround them can remain separated from the 'out of place'.

2.2.4. The Messy Mutuality of Home

This section has looked to explore the social assemblage of home and how this is constructed in a complex social web that, through feelings of belonging and shared performances of consumption, is a necessary element in the performance of home. It also considered, however, that when this social structure holds oppression, it removes

belonging and curtails performances of home. It examined how the boundaries of home are crucial to territorialisation and creating the conditions for a more 'authentic' performance of home to be offered. The permeability of these boundaries, however, threatens the consistency of these elements. Finally, it discussed sense of place and how this develops in the home. It considered how this is a critical element in the identity and territorialisation of the home, and the overall assemblage. It also considered how it is mutually constructed with the socialities and boundaries of home.

The socialities, boundaries and sense of place of home are all formed in a relationship of mutual construction. The physical external boundaries of home allow place and social structure to develop and shape each other. At the same time, these elements mutually facilitate the construction of symbolic boundaries that divide the home. These components of the assemblage of home are what allow us to be together and apart within the home, and still apart from the outside world, building the understanding of what is 'in place' and what is 'out of place' (Wastl-Walters & Staeheli, 2013). These elements not only construct each other, but also play major parts in developing other aspects of the assemblage of home.

Without the development of these elements, the home as a performed and territorialised space cannot emerge. Territorialisation relies on the boundaries of home and the sense of place of home to build the homogeneity of the space; without this, or with disruption to one of these elements, home becomes deterritorialised. Similarly, the performance of home requires conditions of belonging and privacy, constructed through the boundaries, socialities and sense of home. This messy mutuality, through which home comes to be, places the home on the continual edge of unmaking. The stability of this social assemblage requires cooperation and negotiation between a number of elements that are themselves always changing. With these foundational elements of home embodying an instability and fragility, so too do the elements of home that fit around them and the assemblage as a whole.

2.3. Assembling Objects, Senses, and Feelings

The world of home is filled with objects, feelings, sights, smells, sounds, and experiences, all of which ground us in our surroundings. These strands all come to facilitate, or exist as (by)products of, performances of home and exist as the textural assemblage of home. These textures are the materialities, senses, emotions, and spatialities of home that bring layers to our worldly experience of the space, placing us in this deep reality of home. Such textural assemblages do not exist to us alone, however, but rather are part of the shared

world that is the assemblage of home. They touch us, affect us, and make our worlds one and the same. These textures that locate us in a place and time also locate us with others. In this way, textures are not just our own but rather are negotiated with others, with this negotiation vital in building the textural assemblage, but in this negotiation its fragility is also found. This section will look to explore how the materialities, spatialities, and senses of home exist as social and emotional negotiations held internally within us and between each other in the household. This will look to underline the fragility of home in terms of assemblage, territorialisation, and performance.

2.3.1. Materialities of Home

Materialities exist in our world as the objects we encounter and interact with in our everyday. They are things are used in performances, that we live with, and as such appropriate into everyday life, emphasising that through materialities, individuals are producers of meaning, not just consumers of goods (Money, 2007; Chevalier, 1999; De Certeau, 1988). The material cultures within the home manifest as both an appropriation of the outside world and of the private world within (Miller, 2021). Within this world, objects have the power to order 'life and behaviour without our being aware of it' (Miller, 2009, 4). It is these imagined and physical presences, influences, and emotional meanings that are critical to the stability of the textural assemblage of home and continual makings of home through performance.

That which constitutes the materialities of the home, such as the furniture, ornaments, artwork, photographs, etc. all help individuals project their identity onto their home. In this, the space of the home offers the opportunity to imbue and extend the self into their material surroundings (Twigg, 2000) through the deploying of objects that contain meaning or an expression of identity (Jacobs & Smith, 2008). Beyond sentimentalised objects, interior design has also been recognised as a way to create and reflect identities (Gram-Hanssen & Bech-Danielsen, 2004). Identity is bound to externality, with the self invariably socialised and formed in relation to the world, never in isolation (Jacobs & Maplas, 2013). This brings the need for internal emotional negotiation with the self to bring out the more 'authentic' self, rather than the idealised self we may wish to represent to the world through our home (Hunt, 1989). In many areas of the home, however, imprints of identity must be negotiated with others.

In the shared areas of the home, however, the space can become contested between materialised identities that seek to imbue different representations of self into the space. As Dovey (1985, 40) notes, 'The home is both a "statement" and a "Mirror", developing both

socially and individually'. With this, the home becomes a reflection of contestation and negotiation. As such, the homogeneity that brings territorialisation (DeLanda, 2006) requires this contested space to develop to reflect a negotiated shared identity of a household. Without this, the material identity of home can remain fragmented, separating individuals from their environment and effecting their ability to 'fit' and belong (Hagerty et al., 1992). These materialities do not, however, always simply reflect the identities of the individuals within the household.

Material belonging from cultural and national identities can bring shared pasts and presents into the space. For migrants, many cultural differences can be expressed and affirmed through practices of decorating (Thompson, 1994). Through the use of photographs and other sentimental objects, people, particularly migrants, can import an identification with land, territories, environments, and people, building a sense of self and of home (Tolia-Kelly, 2004b). With this, migrants can be seen to import a sense of belonging into the home that expands beyond the social assemblage of the household. It is the emphasising of these personal identities, and these shared identities that are founded within this wider belonging, that can help territorialise the home. This placing of objects imbued with memories can help create an emotional geography, whereby the emotions of the past can impact the present experience of home and guide future experiences. The materialisation of culture and individual identity is, however, only part of how meaning and emotion is invoked in the spaces of home.

By way of the everyday, repetitive performances of home, meanings, emotions and lived experiences become etched in this textural assemblage. The process of homemaking involves performing activities that give things a living meaning, then arranging these things to facilitate life activities and to preserve them and the meaning attached to them (Young, 2005). A common example of this comes from family photographs. As we move around the home, we may notice the pride of place given to family photographs, arranged in such a way that allows them to be looked at often as part of the everyday (Rose, 2003). Objects such as photographs can hold similar meanings as they do for migrants, but rather than importing a belonging with territories and lands, they can locate individuals in their families and close social systems. It is not only decorative objects that can do this, however, with functional materialities also able to take on the role. Furniture that becomes psychologically rooted in the house extends beyond homemaking and becomes part of the home itself (Reimer & Leslie, 2004; Seeley, Sim & Loosley, 1956), and through negotiation between members of the household, furniture can come to hold shared identities (Reimer & Leslie, 2004). These kinds of meaningful objects can act as an anchor

for shifting personal and group identities (Young, 2005) by helping to materialise a narrative model of the self (Varley, 2008). These ideas of meaningful belongings and performance facilitating materialities are fundamental to home.

The materialities of home exist in a symbiotic relationship with the performance of home. Whilst they reflect identity, they also facilitate performances of home which instil identity and lived experience upon them. At home, identities are produced and performed in material, practical and repetitively reaffirming ways (Duncan & Lambert, 2004). Identity is grounded in habit, with repetitive thoughts and actions creating home and instilling personal milieus in objects and places in the home (Wise, 2000). Alongside this, as identity and territory are closely linked (Wise, 2000), etching personality into the materialities of the home is one method of territorialisation (Soaita & McKee, 2019). Here, the relationship between materialities and performances of home strengthens the textural assemblage of home, emphasising that the home in all its elements is an assemblage that includes performance. This positions materialities as a particularly influential part of this assemblage, however, as changes in materialities can not only disrupt performances of home, but also bring about deterritorialisation (DeLanda, 2006). With this, continuity of materiality is as important to home as the continual making through performance. The continuity and satisfaction with these materialities, however, may be tested by the outside world.

Much like the rest of the textural assemblage of home, and indeed the social assemblage, the materialities are not fully protected by the permeable boundaries that surround home. Instead, they can be touched, with one way this can manifest coming in how the outside world can manipulate material desires. Lloyd and Johnson (2004) have claimed that women, as the supposed homemakers, were targeted by media to promote the notion of the commodified home. In this, dreaming about the ideal home was presented as a gendered activity, with the media centring this around the kitchen (Lloyd & Johnson, 2004). There has also been the suggestion that the media attempted to manipulated women into believing that buying things will give them any 'sense of identity, purpose, creativity' and 'self-realization' they may be lacking in their lives (Friedan, 1963, 199; Bowlbey, 1987). Similarly, the representation of home as place to present privilege has been reproduced throughout society. Here, the location of the home, and the gadgets and furnishings within it signal social hierarchy and privilege (Young, 2005), effectively aestheticising class relations in the home (Duncan & Lambert, 2004). Here, the outside world comes to influence how individuals see their home or would wish to see their home. This pushes consumption into the textural assemblage of home, creating desires for new materialities to

reflect identity, and new performances of home that become possible with these new materialities. With each new coercion from the outside world, the fragility of the home becomes tested by developing dissatisfactions with the current assemblage of home. The boundaries of home also give way to outside forces that can prevent this materialisation and rematerialisation of home.

Shaped by the world beyond the home, financial realities can often stand in the way of materialising and rematerialising the home. Decorating and furnishing are performances of home that are inescapably finance dependent (Jacobs & Smith, 2008) and something that is severely restricted by lower incomes (Van Lanen, 2020). This financial inability to effectively materialise the home can see homely ideals such as comfort, privacy and rest being threatened (Van Lanen, 2020). The financial also has impacts that move beyond the inability to materialise the home, to the lack of home ownership, something that reduces freedom to change and introduce materialities (Smith, 1994). It must also be considered that if material elements of the home become damaged, it can lead to its unmaking (Baxter & Brickell, 2014), and if these elements are unable to be fixed due to financial restrictions, performances of home related to the damaged element become disrupted. With this, financial barriers act as a continually looming threat to the continual makings of home, which are dependent on materialities, and through which home is created.

2.3.2. Spatialities and Emotions of Home

This textural assemblage can go beyond structural confines and can exist as a field of possibility, as something virtual, imagined not realised, something that can be felt or noncognitive (McFarlane, 2011). With this, spatiality can be considered both ‘a means of capturing the social-spatial duality and of challenging the social-spatial dualism’ (Gregson & Lowe, 1995, 224). Gaston Bachelard (2014), who wrote extensively about the poetics of space, considered the home to emanate from spatialities created by the imagination of the one who dwells there. Bachelard suggests that home is experienced through reality and the virtual, created through thoughts, dreams, and memories, and in this, the virtual can augment reality. He claimed that ‘the house is one of the greatest powers of integration for the thoughts, memories and dreams of mankind’ (Bachelard, 2014, 6). Here, the home can be seen to be inescapably connected to the perceptions and preconceptions that exist in one’s own head. This can be seen as the mobilisation of the home, as all past experiences of home travel with you to your next abode (Tolia-Kelly, 2004a). This positions the spatialities of home as a critical part of the textural assemblage, influencing possibilities of

belonging and performances of home. The spatialities of the family home can also arise from the structures of convention that can commonly exist within them.

The way homes are constructed and the implicit roles that are denoted within them can result in restrictive and oppressive spatialities for those who do not fit such conventions. Home as a place that offers spatial opportunities to perform homemaking activities (Sixsmith, 1986), as well as a place to perform certain roles, or even desirable future roles (Smith, 1994) relies on the individual feeling belonging in the space. It has been argued that home spaces have been conflated with nuclear families (Bell, 1991), with the suggestion arising that domestic architecture designs are inscribed with meanings, values and beliefs that both reflect and reproduce ideas about gender, sexuality, class, family, and nation (Blunt, 2005; Walker, 2002). An example of this comes in the creation of a house with a 'Master' bedroom and smaller spaces for children which reflects the ideals of the nuclear family (Gabb, 2005). This is reinforced by the suggestion that properties are often built with the inhabitant in mind (Fincher & Gooder, 2007), with houses being structured around preconceptions. Though it has been suggested that spaces of home can be constituted through family relations that are not of the normative conventions of the nuclear family (Waitt & Gorman-Murray, 2007), this is not always a simple obstacle to overcome. As such, the emotional geographies of conventional home spaces come to hold feelings of belonging and alienation, created by socialisations and practices where some identities are facilitated and others are oppressed (Gorman-Murray, 2007). With this, the home as a site of social reproduction and role performance is only effective as a means of homemaking for those who do not experience oppression in this space. The ability to take part in activities, and perform roles are integral parts of what is required to partake in building home, meaning that spatial oppression is a moderating factor in an individual's ability to perform home and stabilise it as an assemblage. As always, social dynamics bring many complexities to the notion of home as the way individuals perform home in relation to each other, and the belonging that individuals feel in the space dramatically influences the meaning of the spatialities of the home that are produced. These relations and complexities position the home as an emotional space.

Home is partially spatialised by emotion, with it being suggested that home is a spatially located emotional experience (Gorman-Murray, 2007). The studies of emotional geographies push the importance of the awareness of how 'emotional relationships shape society and space' (Anderson & Smith, 2001, 5). In this, our world is constructed and lived through the way we experience emotions (Anderson & Smith, 2001), while emotions also affect the way we make sense of our past, present and future (Bondi, Davidson & Smith,

2016). Our emotional relations and interactions are intertwined with our beings, helping to create our own unique personal geographies, which in turn has observable effects on our surroundings, shaping the nature of the world and the way we dwell within it (Davidson & Milligan, 2004). Here, emotions are situated in self-feelings, which allow us to make sense of the world through their place in both human relations and non-human relations (Wood & Smith, 2004). These emotions from relationships with people, things, and lived experiences come to inform what home is, and what performances of home are. With this, emotions, and their relative consistency, play a moderating role with almost every other part of the overall assemblage of home. The emotions that construct and help us negotiate our spatial world can inform our relationships with our belongings, other members of the household, and our performances of home, whilst also being informed themselves by relationships and performances. Significant changes in emotions can change how we experience our spatial world, destabilising the assemblage of home.

2.3.3. Senses of Home

Sensory and visceral factors also play an important role in understanding places as home. They have the power to locate us at home and place us within this textural assemblage. The sensory home can be understood as 'a domain composed of different sensory elements (Smell, touch, taste, vision, sound) that is simultaneously understood and created through the sensory experience and manipulation of these elements' (Pink, 2003, 48). There are sights, sounds, smells, tastes and touches that we come to associate with home and resonate with us as a byproduct of the performance of home, becoming something subconscious and imperative to the experience of home. This acknowledgement of the human senses helps to avoid the separation of the mind and the body (Hamilton, 2017), with consideration of the idea that 'the mind is necessarily embodied and body mindful' (Howes, 2005, 7). Senses are one of the most basic ways we engage with our environments, with this directly impacting how individuals dwell in different surroundings. The visceral refers to the internally felt sensations, moods, and states of being created from sensory engagement with the material world (Hayes-Conroy & Hayes-Conroy, 2008). The consideration of the visceral brings into the discussion the active role that the body plays in making sense of places and understanding them as home through the senses (Longhurst, Johnston & Ho, 2009). Through this, senses play a large part in perceiving, creating, and maintaining the home environment (Pink, 2020), and indeed how individuals' identities are created through everyday life practices (Pink & Leder Mackley, 2012). The sensory home ties together the household. It grounds us in the same world as we experience the same things, be it smelling food cooking in the kitchen, seeing and listening to the television, or

even feeling the textures of a sofa as we sit together. In this way, the sensory home is negotiated, built on understandings of behaviour that can bring us together, but can also push us apart in more ways than one.

It has been suggested that the sensory, bound up with the affective and the emotional, act in conjunction with how people go about making their home feel 'right' (Pink, Leder Mackley, & Morosanu, 2015). Movement is one particular component important to homemaking activities that is essentially regulated and controlled by senses (Pink & Leder Mackley, 2016). In this, movement is suggested to greatly contribute to the creation of atmospheres of home through interaction with things and environments, with various senses playing a pivotal role in this (Pink & Leder Mackley, 2016). Walking through the home is perhaps one of the simplest performances of home. Something that we do without thinking, but even this is still reliant on other household members. The placing of objects that restrict movement, even presenting potential hazards, can disrupt this quality of home. On the other side, individuals will commonly curtail their freedom of movement at night to prevent creating sounds that disturb others. With this, movement around the home is a negotiation in which we try not to disturb others in our performance but also facilitate movement as a performance by maintaining unrestrictive spaces for it to take place. Movement is not, however, the only sensorial engagement with the home that must be negotiated.

Cooking is another example of an everyday activity that allows individuals to connect to the home through sensory geography, with the visual, auditory, and tactile senses, as well as taste and smell playing a part (Longhurst, Johnston & Ho, 2009). Such smells can transport us back to a different place and time, evoking memories much stronger than visual images (Henshaw, 2011) bringing emotional connections. Smells can also become associated with daily routines, helping to make home in this way also (Ross, 2004). In this way, smells and other senses of cooking become signifiers of both the past and the present. Shared mealtimes within a household are an endeavour negotiated between individual tastes. With this, opportunities to relive memories through certain foodstuffs can either be bestowed or restricted through preferences or rejections of different meals. Despite this, the negotiations around meals can bring new shared identities to the household, creating new associations with the smells of these foods.

Sounds are another sensorial element that members of the household must negotiate. While sounds are suggested to be important to homemaking, through both communication and music (Duffy & Waitt, 2013; Pink, 2020), they also have potential to cause conflict. Duffy

and Waitt (2013) suggest that sounds are important aids that mediate spatial and temporal processes of homemaking by heightening affective intensities between human and non-human bodies which are expressed in terms of belonging and non-belonging, creating a space where individuals can feel most at home. Sound is also bound up in, and crucial to, experiential practices and performances of home, with how people listen and hear closely intertwined with wider social practices (Duffy & wait, 2013). An example of an important sonic homemaking activity is listening to music. This can bring individuals together, or it could be negotiated by norms that an individual will retreat to another part of the home to listen to music. Music, however, unless enjoyed via headphones, can be pervasive and be heard by members of the household who have not chosen to listen to it, becoming part of their sensorial experience of home. In this, negotiation with oneself is required to establish what is more important to the individual, the homemaking performance of listening to music or the current social condition of home. This emphasises the layers of negotiation that come with performances that produce sensorial outputs that reach other members of the household.

In addition to sound, light is also an important sensorial element in homemaking. Light can shape emotions *in* and *of* home (Billie, 2015), changing how we collectively see our environment. Different lightings are also used to create a physical orientation in a room and attune mentally to a situation, making it a key factor in positioning the intensity of atmospheres into a desired state (Billie, 2015). Lighting can also inform how we sense the home, and in this, how we create routes through the home by way of habitual and practical actions (Pink & Leder Mackley, 2016). Lighting in shared spaces is shaped by the performances that occur there, however certain performances can demand different atmospheres. One performance of home that commonly comes with the removal of light from a space is watching a film on the television. In this instance, the lighting dictates a singular performance of home in the space with must be negotiated and agreed upon by the individuals in that space. This agreement comes dependent on the desired performance of home by other individuals, which could see them either leave the space, or the cinema experienced ceded. The use of light can be very useful in creating a shared experience, but like all sensorial elements of home, it must be negotiated, and it is this negotiation that builds the textural assemblage of home that grounds the household.

The sensorial elements of the home are not fixed; rather, they are a variable factor. Every home has a constantly changing sensory aesthetic which is both shaped by, and helps to shape, the routines and practices of the inhabitants (Pink & Leder Mackley, 2012). This change occurs because of a number of factors, such as time of day, the changing use of

areas, and how different household members, of different genders, age, and generations move in, out, and through the home (Pink & Leder Mackley, 2012). The sensorial aspects of home are invisible and commonly taken for granted but remain highly influential in creating layers of meaning and understanding of the home (Sou & Webber, 2021). It is partially through this invisibility that the sensory home remains variable, while the variability can create these layers of meaning. Through variability, the home can be considered temporally dynamic (Sou & Webber, 2021). With this, certain senses can elicit memories and feelings of home from the past, creating a dynamism of homeliness that can embody both past and present. These ideas tie sensory conceptualisations of home to the spatiality and the sociality of the home, while the physical resources necessary for homemaking activities such as cooking, and the sentimentality that can be experienced from food, bring the material, emotional and imaginary into consideration as well. As this variable and negotiated sensory aesthetic changes, however, so too may the performances of home that they facilitate need to change. With this, the sensory landscape of home can be another element of the textural assemblage that can drive and disrupt continual makings of home through performance, bringing fragility to home.

2.3.4. Fragility in Negotiation

This section has looked to bring out the idea of the textural assemblage that forms within the home, building part of the overall assemblage of home through negotiation. It has explored how materialities can locate us in our household, and in cultures and homelands for migrants. It has considered how the physical elements of home can manifest individual and shared identities, and how they can create belonging and facilitate performances of home. It examined how the spatialities of home come from the self and from those around us, from our past and present, and can inform the future. They can also create spaces of oppression through this shared world building. The section has considered how senses ground us in a shared world together. They arise from performances of home, or as a byproduct of performances, and they can touch us, affirm identity through memory, but also touch those around us, bringing the need for negotiation.

It has emerged from this section that the materialities, spatialities, and senses of home are all to some degree negotiated with others in the household. These elements do not only exist to us, but exist to those around us, creating shared experiences that have the possibility to either make or unmake home depending on the compatibility of performances. In creating this shared world of home, negotiation takes place with both the self, and with others in the household.

The negotiation with the self comes in understanding how best to fit into this shared world of home. This comes with decisions about which elements of the self to express through materialisation and performances of home. With this, while home is considered to a place to reflect identity (Gram-Hansen & Bech-Danielsen, 2004), where no one questions your right to be (Silva, 2009), in maintaining the shared home, performances must be done with consideration to others. Through these elements, we have the power to disrupt others' performances of home through our own performances of home, which can in turn disrupt the shared assemblage of home.

In this shared world of home, it is not only in your own hands to build and stabilise the textural assemblage. This shared textural assemblage of home requires all in the household to not only manage their own assemblage and performances of home, but also ensure that these align with the performances and assemblages of the other members of the household. In this consideration, individuals sometimes must paradoxically withhold performances of home and expressions of identity in order to maintain the stability of the assemblage of home. All of these aspects of materiality, spatiality, and sense are underpinned by the sociality of home, and with this social web of home being as fragile as it is, so too can the nature of home be considered to be.

2.4. Unmaking Home

This chapter has looked to explore how the home is formed in assemblage, emanating from social assemblage and textural assemblage. It has considered how the socialities, boundaries, and sense of place of home mutually shape each other, coming together to build home, underpinning all other aspects of the assemblage that are layered on top. These elements are crucial to the territorialisation and performance of home, with these qualities and activities demanding a stability from the foundation of home. The chapter has also considered how the materialities, spatialities, and senses of home all emerge from negotiations with oneself and with the other members of the household. It considered how we are all grounded in one world, where our expressions of identity and performances of home can touch and shape others, with consideration and negotiation in this critical to home. With all of these interdependent elements, it is clear to see the many ways in which home can be unmade.

Home unmaking occurs when the material and the imaginary elements of the home are disrupted, divested, damaged or even destroyed, this can be deliberately or accidentally, temporarily or permanently (Baxter & Brickell, 2014). Home unmaking is not unusual; it is

part of the lifecycle of every home occurring through the mundane happenings of everyday life and the passing of time (Baxter & Brickell, 2014). Each day, the home is a site of new negotiations and contestations as the complex creatures that live within seek to settle and resettle their variable moods, emotions, and desires. Each day, the assemblage of home must adjust to this, sitting constantly on the edge of unmaking as the relationships between elements refuse to ever settle, instead constantly evolving and reshaping. Through all of this, the assemblage of home is territorialised and reterritorialised by the relationships and behaviours of those who live there. Whilst the internal elements of the assemblage of home inherently hold fragility, the instability of home can be escalated by outside elements (Burrell, 2014).

Whilst what goes on within the home can bring disruption to the fragile assemblage of home, so too can things that happen outside. The material deterioration of communal spaces, restricting access and changing routines has been seen to be a significant influence on home unmaking (Arrigoitia, 2014), while external noise has seen some people rearrange and remake their homes (Burrell, 2014). While these last two examples highlight the material and sensual importance to home, outside socialities can also have an influence. Negative interactions and relationships with neighbours can be a major factor in home unmaking (Cheshire, Easthope & ten Have, 2021). Cheshire et al. (2021) suggest that if neighbours are perceived to act in 'unneighbourly' ways, it can lead to conflict and dispute. These 'unneighbourly' ways consider acts such as invading privacy, creating copious amounts of noise, and threatening safety, even if these actions are not deliberate, while neighbourly disputes can lead to the damaging of social status through ostracisation from the neighbourhood (Cheshire, Easthope & ten Have, 2021). These examples bring emphasis to the role of boundaries and territorialisation to the assemblage of home. When these disruptive elements from outside become present within, the boundaries of home become more important than ever, even though they have been in some way passed. The boundaries of home are born from fragility as we attempt to protect the assemblage that has been constructed. They exist as a fallible but important division between the inside and the outside, holding fragility in their own existence.

When an element of home is unmade, it is not simply just this element that is disrupted. In the above example of sound from the outside unmaking home (Burrell, 2014), it is not just the materialities of home that become destabilised. The performances of home, such as sleeping, become interrupted, the highlighting of the permeable boundaries deterritorialises the home. At the same time, the stress from these elements can put pressure on the social structure of the home and the spatialities, emotions and sense of place that are constructed

from these elements. With this, it can be seen how the mutual construction of the home can lead to multiple unmakings of home when on the surface it may only appear that one part of the assemblage has been disrupted. This positions the home as a fragile web where disruptions to just one part can bring disruptions to the rest of the assemblage. With the ongoing makings of home through performances of home reliant on the assemblage of home, such disruptions can curtail these makings, leading to the unmaking of the fragile home.

This chapter has considered the fragile assemblage of home and how complex negotiations between people, things, and performances can bring disruption to this assemblage. Whilst this chapter has built a picture of what home is, despite the abundance of literature on the concept of home, still little exists to examine the impact of the presence of a stranger for an extended time within the home. The next chapter will look to fill this gap a little more as it examines the bringing of commercial hospitality into the home.

3. Hospitality at Home

Whilst homestays in the form of B&Bs have long been prevalent in the UK (Ladkin, 1999), the presence of commercial homes has grown considerably in recent years. In the UK in 2023, approximately 67 million nights were spent in short-term rental accommodation with just under 5 million properties in the market (Visitbritain.org, 2024). There are many different forms of commercial homes in the hospitality sector. Some examples beyond Airbnb are village inns, B&Bs, homestays and guesthouses (Ye, Xiao & Zhou, 2018), as well as farm stays and self-catering accommodations (Lynch, McIntosh & Tucker, 2009). All of these examples represent the commodification of the home, placing them all somewhere on the scale between the intimate setting of home and pure commercial hotels (Ye, Xiao & Zhou, 2018; Kontogeorgopoulos, Churyen & Duangsaeng, 2015; Lynch, 2003), and thus they all can be seen to offer something slightly different. Different types of commercial homes tend to attract different sorts of hosts, with the degree to which they engage with guests varying, as well as the provisions to the guests (Lynch, 2005). A key element of the commercial home that must be considered is the bringing together in the same space of those who are at home and those who are away, with these elements seemingly in conflict.

Home as a concept has commonly been placed juxtaposed with tourism. Where home can be said to offer security against what is strange, foreign or unfamiliar (Germann Molz & Gibson, 2007), tourism gives individuals an escape from the pressures of home (Cohen, 2010). For many travellers, home is considered a comfort zone (Germann Molz, 2008) while tourism lies on a spectrum from tourism for escape to tourism for quest (Hamilton-Smith, 1987). In this relationship, home can be considered as little more than the metaphorical bracket surrounding the trip that some travellers see it as (Germann Molz, 2008). However, some have contested this idea. Through theories of dwelling, the concept of home has been mobilised and operationalised regarding tourism (Wilson & Obrador,

2021). Such theories have shifted the idea of home from something fixed in a location to something that can move with individuals and can come with them on their touristic adventures. Such notions are manifested in the rise and continued popularity of Airbnb, where a home away from home is presented as an ideal. This fits in with the suggestion that tourism is not exclusively concerned with the exotic (Larsen, Urry & Axhausen, 2006), with the embodied ways we become tourists being everyday and ordinary (Obrador, 2003). Tourist behaviour can never be separated from everyday habits (Edensor, 2001), informed by 'everydayness' (Haldrup & Larsen, 2009). With this, the search and desire for this meeting of the home and the away draws ideas of how home and commercialised hospitality coexist into the spotlight.

The emergence of Airbnb and other such short-term rental opportunities has pushed the home further and further into the consideration of the touristic sphere. Though many tourists rent an entire house or apartment, some rent a single room. With this cohabitation between host and guest, these notions of home and tourism can be seen to intersect once again, placing together the home with the away. In this type of commercial home, it must be considered that someone is always *at home* and someone is always *away*. It is in the meeting of these two concepts, moderated and directed by commerciality, that this chapter focusses, considering how the home can be performed when the away comes to stay.

The offering of hospitality and the presence of paying guests in the home is central to this PhD, and following the focus on home, it is the impacts of these aspects with relation to home that are to be considered. As such, this chapter will examine the element that this paper argues to interrupt home, hospitality, with the exchange that takes place not simply being confined to the sharing of space but also the behaviour of the host who inhabits that space. This chapter will argue that commercialised hospitality has the potential to unmake home through disruptions of the sense of place, the changing of social performances and power relations, and manipulations of the emotional spatialities of home. It will conclude that, with the rise of commercial homes, changes in how we are away brings changes in how others are at home. It will look to do this by considering how commercialised hospitality problematises the concept of hospitality, instilling inauthenticity and restricting hospitable behaviours, before also considering how behaviours become directed by financial transactions, underpinning them with messy power relations. The first section will explore the commercialisation of hospitality, home, and the behaviours of hosts.

3.1. Commercialisation of Hospitality, Home, and Behaviours

Hospitality is an important concept in philosophy, with one important discussion considering its conditional nature. Derrida (2000) considered the concept of 'unconditional hospitality', the pure welcoming of the outside, from the viewpoint that hospitality is always given on conditions. With this, there has been disagreement in the literature as to what 'hospitality' means, what constitutes hospitality, and whether true hospitality is anything more than a contradiction. Hospitality can be considered to have four defining characteristics: that it is given by a host to a guest who is away from home, that it involves the coming together of both giver and receiver, that it involves a blend of both tangible and intangible factors, and that the host provides security, psychological and physiological comfort to the guest (Hepple, Kipps and Thompson, 1990). In line with the considerations of unconditional and conditional hospitality, two mains viewpoints can be found in the literature. One view of hospitality sees it as a form of gift that involves a temporary sharing of space (Still, 2006), while another view sees it as more of a transaction. In this way, hospitality is seen as a human exchange that is contemporaneous, voluntary and mutually beneficial (Brotherton, 1999). The view of the mutually beneficial exchange implies barriers, restrictions, or conditions that each party must meet for hospitality to be offered. This conflicts with the view that should any barriers or restrictions be placed upon the guest, hospitality becomes conditional, transforming the gift of hospitality into a contract. This contract is the basis for commercial hospitality.

The coalescing of hospitality and business has transformed the identity of the endeavour. Commercial hospitality has become something distinct from the altruistic roots of hospitality, holding a paradox of care and financial boundaries. In holding these commercialised elements, hospitality is transformed to be 'less than authentic' (Lashley, 2008b, 77), reducing host-guest interactions to commercial exchanges (Lynch et al., 2011). From hospitality's historical place of something of important societal value (Heal, 1990), it has become mainly driven by the goal of extracting surplus value (Sweeney & Lynch, 2007). This commercialised exchange positions the relationship between host and guest as one of tension.

This commercialisation of hospitality brings closer to the surface the hostility that has been commonly discussed with relation to hospitality. Hospitality and hostility share the shame etymological root, an example of the connection between the concepts that led Derrirda (2000) to coin the word 'Hostipitality'. Whilst Derrida (2000) claims that hostility can always be found in hospitality, the commercialisation exacerbates this. In this commercial state, hospitality is only offered to those who can pay for it (Ashness & Lashley, 1995),

with this offer withdrawn if this payment cannot be made (Lashley, 2015). In these transactions, even guests who can pay remain on the edge of a hostile rejection. This element of hostility can be seen to exist within the hospitality that is performed in the commercial home.

The commercial home brings together a place of authenticity and a money-driven performance of inauthenticity. This section will discuss the distinctions between hospitality and commercialised hospitality, and how hospitable behaviour can exist with commercial hospitality. It will also look at how commercial home hosts are paid to care and the distinctions that this brings from genuine hospitable behaviour. It will conclude with how the introduction of commercialised hospitality into the space of home can bring about the unmaking of home. This will be considered with particular regards to how financially incentivised performances of care can disrupt the sense of place of home and the emotional spatialities of home.

3.1.1. Locating Hospitableness in Commercial Hospitality

Commercial hospitality differs significantly from traditional hospitality, even if the tangible aspects remain largely the same. Moving away from the implied selfless commitment of traditional hospitality, commercial enterprises only offer such a service if the individual pays for it, and it remains profitable (Lashley, 2008b). It is for this reason that some believe that the word hospitality is used to gain association with the tradition of caring about the wellbeing of guests, placing the business in a good light (Lashley, 2008a). Through this projected front, masking monetary motives, there lacks the genuine compassion and motivations that make hospitality possible, resulting in the view that commercial hospitality is inhospitable (Ritzer, 2007). Others, however, have suggested that this is overly simplistic and hospitable people may be more drawn to search for work, or set up businesses in the industry (Telfer, 2000; Lashley, 2015). This is supported by the finding that the primary motivations for people working in the hospitality industry is to make people happy (Poulston, 2015). Despite this suggestion that a desire to make people happy is an influential element, it is still kept behind a financial barrier, revealing a reluctance. Regardless of their relationship with providing hospitality, the actual provision of it must be coerced through financial offers. Even at its very base level, hospitableness seems dictated by commercial agreements, but this can be seen to go deeper with these commercial agreements informing to what extent hospitable behaviours can emerge.

In modern society, commercial hospitality businesses focus more on commerciality than hospitality. The emphasis on reputation improvement, increasing sales and profits, and cost

cutting measures (Ottenbacher & Gnoth, 2005) has created a divide between hospitality and hospitality management (Brotherton, 1999). As part of hospitality, elements such as generosity, friendliness, host guest relationship, entertainment and experiences are expected to be given freely (King, 1995). In this consideration, hospitality exists somewhere between service and experience, with this experiential offering requiring something a little extra (O'Connor, 2005; Pine & Gilmore, 1999). This has created friction between hospitableness and commercial hospitality (Hemmington, 2007). Cost cutting wherever possible and offering something special and unexpected in the service are diametrically opposed, perhaps emphasising the gap between commercial hospitality and the hospitable behaviour that should underpin it. Broadly speaking, what differentiates hospitality from hospitable behaviour is the provision of food, drink and accommodation (Brotherton, 1999); this suggests, however, that hospitality is built on top of hospitable behaviour, whereas in commercialised hospitality, it could be seen to be separated from it. With *true* hospitable behaviour said to come from genuine desires to entertain (Ritzer, 2007), even those who possess this desire must temper it against commercial and financial demands. In such instances, the extent to which their hospitable attributes are allowed to emerge and be offered to guests is directly informed by the financial coercion offered by the guest. A minimal payment results in a minimal display of hospitable behaviour. Within this commercialisation of hospitality, the commercialisation of home can be found.

Commercial homes bring hospitality into the private sphere of the host, invading both the space and everyday life. Di Domenico and Lynch (2007, 321) claim that 'Commercial homes, which provide hospitality where the private home dimension is significant, blur traditional boundaries between home and work and social constructions of hospitableness versus hospitality'. This blurring can be quite impactful, and though hosts can work to separate private and commercial areas, the distinction remains quite subtle (Lynch, Di Domenico & Sweeney, 2016). Ultimately, the host's relationship with their commercial home will decide what experience the guest will have (McIntosh, Lynch & Sweeney, 2011), that is, how they divide their working life and their private life. With this, the financial coercion is enough to get the guest inside the boundaries of the home, but leaves them constricted by a new set of boundaries within. To be commercially hospitable means hosts allow part of their home to become commercialised, however, it still comes with its limits and leaves hosts seeking to ensure that a part of their home remains free from this commercialisation. Here, commercially hospitable behaviour in the commercial home can be seen to be underpinned by hostility, as will be further discussed later in this chapter.

Commercially hospitable behaviour also extends to the 'hospitable' offerings that are made to guests.

3.1.2. Paid to Care

In commercial hospitality, part of the transaction sees guests paying hosts to care for them. It has been suggested that hospitality is the act of 'generously providing care and kindness to whoever is in need' (Chaturvedi, 2017, 1). What 'care' is, however, is not easy to define (Held, 2006). For Bowden (1997,1), caring 'Expresses ethically significant ways in which we matter to each other, transforming interpersonal relatedness into something beyond ontological necessity or brute survival. Bubeck (1995, 129), however, considers care to be simply 'the meeting of the needs of one person by another person' where no particular emotional bond is required. These definitions quite neatly mirror the differences between altruistic hospitality and its commercialised counterpart, with one championing relatedness between people and the other concentrating on a more functional idea of care. It is, however, the promotion of this more interpersonal idea of 'care' in commercial hospitality that is problematic.

Commercialised hospitality has sought to claim 'care' as a part of the service. As King (1995, 221) highlighted, Ritz-Carlton Hotels describe themselves as 'a place where the genuine care and comfort of our guests is our highest mission'. Though the word 'genuine' could be questioned here, they are not the only ones to link care to commercial hospitality. It has been suggested that employees in this industry are expected to show empathy and care (Mmutle & Shonhe, 2017), with some defining this labour of care as 'affective labour' (Kikon & Karlsson, 2020). Of course, this is the kind of labour that is demanded in the commercial home, with hosts expected to show care to guests. This 'care', however, comes in a few different forms.

What have been considered some of the most basic offerings of care in hospitality have also been problematised by commercialisation. Generally, hospitality is considered to be the offering of food, drink, accommodation, and safety to the guest (Telfer, 1996; Ritzer, 2007). Historically, such offerings to strangers were required by cultural norms and Christian teachings (Hindle, 2001). More generally, these offerings are said to represent an act of friendship, symbolically linking people and creating bonds (Lashley, 2015). Typically, these provisions offered within the home would fall outside the realm of commercial hospitality (Lashley, 2008b); however with the rise of the commercial home, this is no longer the case. Where the welcoming of a stranger was once expected by society, it is now a financial transaction, with offerings of food and drink less an act of

genuine care but rather part of this transaction. In commercial hospitality, care is no longer caring but a performance of caring. Care, however, has also discussed with relation to the idea of reciprocity that has long been attached to hospitality.

Care in hospitality can also come from the social relationship between host and guest. Some have suggested that hospitality must involve reciprocity and social engagement (Lugosi, 2014), with it being in this social engagement that the sense of welcome can be created. The sense of welcome can be considered a social construct, influenced by factors both within and outside the host's domain, created through socio-cultural and linguistic exchanges and sensory interpretations (Lynch, 2017). Lashley (2000) suggested that activities such as eating and drinking can help create this social bond, as it were, that creates the sense of welcome. In commercial hospitality, however, it is the staff's responsibility to create this bond (Crick, 2000), or in the commercial home, the host. In the commercial home, the reciprocity comes simply from the transaction of money for hospitality, while the welcome is simply part of the service that is being paid for rather than any true formation of relationship. Making guests feel welcome is a staple of commercial hospitality and brings out the performance of hospitality, which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Hospitality can be seen as something that is inherently gendered, with male and female hosts reinforcing gender stereotypes (Di Domenico, 2008) and much of the labour being divided along gender lines (Veijola & Jokinen, 2008; Guerrier & Adib, 2000; Lucas, 1995; Wood, 1992). Historically, the expectations of placed upon hosts varied by the gender of the host (Darke & Gurney, 2000). While the male host's activities related more to shows of ownership and physicality, the role of the female host was more domestic, religious, and ornamental (Hamington, 2010). It has also been suggested that, in the case of female hosts, the role was not always freely chosen, and often they held less power and less of a role in decision making processes than their male counterparts (Hamington, 2010). In the modern commercial home, the labour performed in the course of hospitality blurs the boundaries between paid and unpaid labour (Di Domenico, 2008) with much of the duty of care falling on the stereotypical role of the woman. With this, hosting commodifies the labours, such as cooking and cleaning, that have made home an oppressive space for women (Rose, 2003). Here, such activities that have the potential to make home a negative space are being financially coerced and accepted as part of caring for the guest.

3.1.3. Hospitableness is not at Home Here

This section explored how hospitality, through commercialisation, is no longer a selfless endeavour; instead, it is a transaction. The transactional nature of it even dictates to what extent the hospitableness of the individual may emerge, with this tempered by finances. It has also considered how the boundaries of home become opened for those who pay for it, while this stimulates the development of boundaries within the home. It then examined how the element of care that is thought to be crucial to hospitality is replaced with a performance of care in the commercial home. This section then discussed how the traditional acts of reciprocity by the guests have been replaced by the fee that guests pay to stay. Finally, it looked at how the labour of care in commercial hospitality builds on the oppressive roles traditionally performed by women in the home.

Commercial hospitality is underpinned by ‘inauthenticity’. Every warm welcome and act of care offered to guests only comes with the agreement of a financial incentive. With this, the sense of place that allows individuals to recognise somewhere as home can change. ‘Authenticity’ is key to cultivating a sense of place (Knox, 2005), and with commercial hospitality hiding a selfless offering behind a wall of financial coercion, expressions of care cannot be taken as genuine. This is emphasised with performances of care being dependent on the financial incentive offered. This leaves home to be a place of hospitality without hospitableness. Beyond this, the practice of hospitality can impact upon the life of the commercial home host.

Hosting in a commercial home can immensely affect the host’s private and family life, and their personal space (McIntosh, Lynch & Sweeney, 2011). Issues such as host-guest transactions and interactions, practices of inclusion/exclusion, social and cultural dimensions, politics of space, and domestic discourse ‘are rendered important and united under the concept of “home”’ (McIntosh, Lynch & Sweeney, 2011, 511). With this, the very nature of the commercial home disrupts the assemblage of home and seeks to remake home around these elements. With the boundaries of home opening for those who pay, the new boundaries developing within because of this, and new practices and performances that occurring in the space, the sense of place, territorialisation, and continual performances of home become lower priority. With this change in priorities, some of the key elements that maintain the assemblage of home can be lost. This is something that can be further seen as a result of the socialities of hospitality.

3.2. The Socialities of Hospitality

Hospitality can be seen everywhere in the world around us. As per Bell's (2012) argument, 'hospitality is society'. Hospitality is encapsulated in the moments of interpersonal relations that make up everyday life (Bell, 2012). Hospitality is formed in the various social contexts, spaces, politics, social roles, and relations in society (Lynch et al., 2011). Hospitable practices not only reproduce conventional forms of togetherness, but also 'open up the possibility of doing togetherness differently – of imagining inside and outside, stranger and friend, self and other, host and guest in new, radical and potentially dangerous ways' (Lynch et al., 2011, 11). Society and social contexts have always been at the heart of hospitality.

Hospitality has long been considered from the angle of the interpersonal motives involved. Much of the work on this topic focusses on a more classical, non-commercialised view of hospitality where reciprocity is expected but not necessarily in monetary form. The basic function of hospitality can be considered to be to establish a relationship, or enhance an existing one, with the goal of transforming strangers into familiars, enemies into friends, and outsiders into insiders (Selwyn, 2000). In this, Selwyn (2000) suggests that reciprocity comes in the form of goods and services offered by the guest to the host. In this way, hospitality can be seen as a means of social control whereby the guest, the other, is civilised into society (Lynch et al., 2011). When this civilisation is complete, they are no longer considered guests (Still, 2006). Others, however, suggest that hospitality does not seek to change the guest to fit into the host's space, but rather accepts that the presence of the guest may change the space into which they are welcomed (Ruitenberg, 2011). This differing opinion could be seen to be emblematic of the difficulties that lie in the power dynamic between host and guest, which will be discussed later in this section.

The social relationship in hospitality has been problematised not only by commercialisation, but also by it being located within the commercial home. By bringing this commercialised relationship into the private sphere of home, the social hospitality offered to the guest becomes 'inauthentic' and underpinned by tensions, while the assemblage of home also becomes disrupted. This section will discuss the commodification of social performance in hospitality, the 'inauthenticity' this brings, and its impact on home. It will also consider the relationship that develops between host and guest, and how this shapes the space in which the relationship is performed. It will then finally consider how the socialities of hospitality can extend beyond the confines of the home and into the local community, exploring the impacts that this can have on sense of place.

3.2.1. Performing Emotional Labour in Commercial Hospitality

In commercialised hospitality, emotional labour underlies all communications with guests. Emotional Labour, as carried out by service workers, is the management of feelings to create a publicly observable or facial display (Hochschild, 1983). Within emotional labour, there are two methods of acting, surface and deep: surface acting is simply faking emotions, while deep acting is actually experiencing the emotions expected to be displayed (Grandey, 2000). Deep acting is said to be predicted by the extroversion of the person and their orientation towards customer service (Xu, Cao & Huo, 2020), while surface acting may occur in more high-pressure situations, such as dealing with an angry customer, where the individual is not allowed to show their true feelings (Similidou et al., 2020). It is this emotional labour that is brought into and enacted in the commercial home.

In their commercial home, hosts offer a performance where they display appropriate emotions in their interactions with guests. With this, hosts enact a performance of emotional labour, bringing 'inauthenticity' into what would normally be considered a more 'authentic', backstage region, the home (Goffman, 1959). Though in some instances, the commercial home sees behaviours that were once private become public for the guest to see (Lynch, Di Domenico & Sweeney, 2016), hosts commonly change their behaviour to perform emotional labour and present a staged authenticity (MacCannell, 1973). This performance will commonly see hosts augment their usual speaking patterns to reflect the language of hospitality, a way of speaking that differs from how individuals would typically talk to household members (Shryock, 2012). This use of emotion and language in performance supports Derrida's suggestion that hospitality is the interruption of the self (Westmoreland, 2008). What is important to note here is that, while the emotional labour performed is generally similar to what would be offered in traditional hospitality settings, such as hotels, it becomes different because of the setting. As this emotional labour is performed in the hosts' own homes, it comes with a different energy, one that is contradictory to the understandings of a home space. The 'authentic' social behaviours of home become replaces by more 'inauthentic' ones. They must shape their emotions, or at least convey emotions, in a reflection of the guest and circumstance, commodifying their emotions, behaviour, and self for hospitality, while also transactionally shaping the emotions of the spatialities of home. With this, social behaviours within the home can be seen to have become commodified, with every interaction part of the performance of emotional labour in hospitality. The motivation to do this comes with the financial benefits it can provide.

While the benefits of emotional labour remain few for the typical hospitality industry worker, they are numerous for businesses, commercial home hosts, and customers. The quality of performance the worker gives dictates the guest's emotional experience, which can create long-term customer satisfaction and loyalty, particularly through meeting guests' emotional needs (Lashley, 2008). The emotional labour of tourism service providers guides customers towards appropriate emotional responses (Arnould & Price, 1983; Edensor, 2001; Sharpe, 2005), and thusly shape the tourism product (Van Dijk, Smith & Cooper, 2011). In this way, emotional labour can be seen to create a surplus value from which both the employer and customer benefit (Constanti & Gibbs, 2005). In the commercial home, it is their own guest loyalty and value that the host is benefitting through their performance of emotional labour. This presence of positive financial outcomes can bring about issues as hosts allow themselves to be continually coerced into performing emotional labour, resulting in negative outcomes.

As can be expected in the financially coerced reshaping of emotions, emotional labour has been seen to have negative effects on physical and psychological wellbeing. It has been suggested that the frequency of the emotional display, the attentiveness to display rules, the variety of emotions required to be displayed, and emotional dissonance are all causes of emotional exhaustion stemming from emotional labour (Morris & Feldman, 1996). While emotional dissonance and social support have been suggested to mediate between emotional labour and emotional exhaustion (Van Dijk & Brown, 2006; Asif, 2012), this does not entirely shield emotional labourers from negative outcomes. The burnout associated with emotional labour can also cause changes in the way workers engage with their workplace environment (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002). For commercial home hosts, this can be particularly problematic as it changes the emotional spatialities of home. Emotional labour has also been suggested to cause strain in maintaining a good work-life balance (Kinman, 2009). With this, the commercialised performance of emotional labour takes precedent over the performance of home, commodifying behaviour in a way that has potential to lead to 'un-homing' (Spangler, 2020). In this, Spangler (2020) suggests that while emotional labour is valuable for both host and Airbnb, but also has the potential to bring feelings of alienation to neighbours of the host as they are also forced to perform emotional labour. This positions the effects of emotional labour as threatening to the assemblage of home not just for hosts, but also for neighbours as the space is reshaped with a confused face of distorted emotion and alienation. Another negative result of emotional labour that is particularly problematic to experience when working from home is depersonalisation.

With emotional labour comes the possibility of emotional impacts. Through emotional exhaustion, those who perform emotional labour may experience related ills such as physical discomfort, complaints, and depersonalisation (Bono & Vey, 2005). Though depersonalisation can also be seen as a defence mechanism against strain caused by an insufficient ability to deal with interpersonal stressors (Lee & Ashforth, 1996), it is a negative outcome. While some people consider emotional restraint to be part of their self-image, others see it as hiding their true self (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Cropanzano, Weiss & Elias, 2003), which can leave emotional labour to alienate the part of the self that is employed in that labour (Hochschild, 1983). With this, financially incentivised depersonalisation can bring alienation to emotion and cause true identities to be hidden. The home is said to be a reflection of, and intertwined with, an individual's identity (Massey, 1992), but here social performances of identity become discouraged and subdued under performances of hospitality. Existing alongside this performance of hospitality in the socialities of the commercial home is the host-guest relationship that develops there.

3.2.2. The Host and Guest Relationship

Within hospitality, there always exists a complex relationship between host and guest. The nature of this host-guest relationship is said to be a multidimensional social phenomenon, influenced by the politics of spaces, types and sites (Causevic & Lynch, 2009). The host-guest relationship in the commercial home is characterised by a 'relatively high intensity of interaction between host and guest' due to the scale, location, and atmosphere (Stringer, 1981), and the bringing together of resident dwelling and mobile dwelling (Lynch, Di Domenico & Sweeney, 2016). This gives the host-guest relationship the power to create, instil, and engage with the meaning imbued in the spaces of home (Di Domenico & Lynch, 2007). Through this, the relationship can be seen as transgressive in nature, infringing on the physical, psychological, and symbolic character (Sheringham & Daruwalla, 2007). This sets out the nature of the host-guest relationship as something that has great power to reshape home, setting home as a stage for dynamic performances of host and guest. The dynamic that emerges between the host and guest has seen consideration of the host's role.

In providing hospitality, power is an important element, with the role of the host able to be viewed as that of a servant or a shepherd (van Rheede & Dekker, 2016). At its heart, the host-guest relationship is mutually constituted; one cannot exist without the other, though this relationship is born of engagement, rather than simple duality (Dikec, 2002). This engagement is where the differing roles are found. As a shepherd, hosts take on additional responsibilities in the form of more broad efforts to care for and give direction to the guest,

rather than simply serve the guest (van Rheede & Dekker, 2016). An issue with viewing the host as a simple servant is that giving too much power to the guest can allow them to disrupt the order of things, challenging the control of the host (Kenway & Fahey, 2009). Considering these roles within the context of the commercial home blurs the distinctions between the roles of shepherd and servant. When the host offers guidance, it is still at the guest's request. This places the commercial home host somewhere in between as they offer a performance of care not dictated by the guest but will only seek to influence the guest at their request. With this, the role is dictated by the extent to which the host is financially coerced and, from this, the amount of hospitable behaviour they exhibit with the guest playing a supplementary role to this rather than seeking to direct host performance. In this messy distinction of the roles that are performed, issues of power come to the forefront.

One of the complexities of the relationship lies in the power differentials. The host-guest relationship is built hierarchies, inclusion and exclusion (Sheringham & Daruwalla, 2007), and subtle power plays (Candea & Da Col, 2012). A concept that can be considered to challenge and destabilise these power relations is reciprocity. Some suggest that reciprocity can never be offered during the course of hospitality as host and guest can never be equal lest a sense of rivalry be incurred (Pitt-Rivers, 1977). Pitt-Rivers (1977) also suggests that only reciprocal hostility can be simultaneous; reciprocal hospitality can never be, with the latter requiring the reversal of roles to take place. On the other hand, others have considered that the roles and nature of the relationship can alter with different contexts and situations, presenting the idea that they are not fixed, giving rise to the notion of Hostguests (Bell, 2012). An example that suggests the roles of host and guest need not be so rigid comes in network hospitality site Couchsurfing, where it is not uncommon for guests to offer reciprocity by cooking meals for the host, in the host's home (Germann Molz, 2014). In typical commercial hospitality, there is no reciprocity beyond that of the monetary transaction, which perhaps removes any possible hierarchical changes, but also removes any chance of role reversal, reducing it to what is simply an economic transaction without the sociality (Smith, 1989). In the commercial home, where both socialities and financial transactions are present, monetary reciprocity can prove disruptive. While it has been suggested that for a host to offer hospitality, they must be the master of the space (Derrida, 2005), the notion of 'the customer is always right' can challenge this. As commercial home hospitality, like any commercial hospitality, seeks guest satisfaction, the power that the financial transaction transfers can make the hierarchy a lot less clear. Here, the roles are not being reversed, but rather intensified by the expectations that the monetary

exchange creates. Underpinning this relationship is a tension that is seen to exist between host and guest.

Despite the friendly image that may immediately come to mind when considering hospitality, it can also be seen as a site of hostility. While past societies may have held hospitality as the offer of refuge and sanctuary, a place for empowerment (Cockburn-Wootten, McIntosh, & Phipps, 2014), through its commodification such altruistic elements have been lost (Lashley, 2015). It has been suggested that both hospitality and hostility imply the existence of the other (Selwyn, 2000), and has been linked to the idea of the undesirable guest (Derrida, 2000). This hostility can be exhibited through thresholds in the spaces of hospitality, which could be viewed as both physical boundaries and thresholds of tolerance (Germann Molz & McIntosh, 2013). Doxey (1975) suggested a model of the relationship between host and guest, claiming that hostility develops over time, with the relationship following the stages of euphoria, apathy, irritation, and antagonism. An element of hostility can arise in commercial hospitality through guest and host interactions with guests generally able to sense to what degree hosts are being sincere, which can instil a paranoia, or result in negative attitudes towards the service provided (O'Connor, 2005). This source of hostility comes from the side of the guest, but it can also come from the host. The entire relationship in the commercial home comes from the financial coercion to allow strangers into a space they would normally be excluded from. After the guests have been allowed into this space, the performances of care they are offered also hold a latent hostility concealed in the knowledge that such exchanges would not take place without a monetary return. Social relationships that emerge from commercial homes are not restricted to within the home but can touch those outside of it as well.

3.2.3. Host Communities

When commercial hospitality is brought to residential areas, the local community can also be affected, transforming them from a place to live to a place to visit. The term host can also be used to extend beyond the immediate individual to the wider community that surrounds the commercialised welcoming of guests (Bimonte & Punzo, 2016). Host communities are traditionally treated as a key part of the host-guest relationship, however, their response to tourism depends on various things (Lehto, Davari & Park, 2020). As mass tourism grows, negative effects can be seen to impact on both the environment and the local communities, creating tension between the host communities and tourists (Bimonte & Punzo, 2016). These tensions can be predicted by both economic factors and the contact that the host communities have with the guests (Ward, 2008). The main economic

predictors of opinions of tourism are employment and the benefit the local community sees from it (Ward, 2008; Tosun, 2002). Meanwhile, those who see no economic benefit from it will likely have a negative view of tourism (Martin, McGuire & Allen, 1998). This positions the hospitable behaviour from the local community as similar to that of the host in that it is predicted by a financial return that reaches them either directly or indirectly. Community reactions to guests can also come from how they perceive them and how proximate they are.

While some individuals in local communities base their opinions of guests on experience, others seem to rely on stereotypes and perceptions (Ward, 2008). One side of this gives room to the expression of nationalism, which plays a much more significant role in predicting host-guest relationships than simply nationality (Griffiths & Sharpley, 2012). Others, however, will be much more significantly affected by the proximity of their home to the central hubs of tourism, with negative opinions becoming much more prevalent the closer they are (Harrill, 2004). This proximity factor could be symptomatic of the changes to the host communities precipitated by tourists (Nunez, 1989) where there becomes a focus on meeting the needs and values of tourists and the tourism industry as opposed to that of the local community (Saarinen & Manwa, 2008). With this, the purpose and meaning of the place can change from a place of home to a place of the away. The authenticity of the place that has developed over time becomes displaced by enterprises of commercial hospitality, giving rise to an 'inauthenticity' underpinned by hostility.

As a community adjusts to suit tourists' needs, attitudes, and values, the host community gradually adapts to mimic the tourists' culture (Nash, 1996; Nunez, 1989). This can lead to a blurring of boundaries between host and guest, with locals integrating and manipulating aspects of the tourist experience into their everyday (Sherlock, 2001). With place constructed from how space is 'interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood, and imagined' (Gieryn, 2000, 465), these blurring of boundaries and reshaping of behaviour can reshape the sense of place. With this, commercialised hospitality can not only change and commodify the commercial home but also the sense of place, changing it to reflect a space of 'hospitality'. This meeting of the wider *at home* and *away* can bring negative outcomes into residential areas.

The commercial home can have profound effects on residential neighbourhoods. This inherent collision of the two worlds of home and domesticity, and the visiting other that hospitality produces, will frequently place hosts and guests into a hostile conflict with their neighbours as residents and tourists compete over resources, facilities and rights of access

(Cocola-Gant, Gago & Jover, 2020). The intrusion of tourism into residential areas has been seen to cause many problems. Increased noise levels, more competition for parking spaces, and damage to communal areas have led to some incidences of aggression towards guests (Stergiou & Farmaki, 2020; Gurran & Phibbs, 2017). Residents develop resentment towards commercial home platforms as they turn neighbourhoods into 'visitor ghettoes' (Colomb & Novy, 2017), leaving them uncertain as to what to expect for the community (Stergiou & Farmaki, 2020). By hosting disruptive guests, difficulties are placed upon the neighbours while the host can reap the financial rewards (Horton, 2015). Here, the hostility that is said to underpin hospitality is again more present in commercialised hospitality as it emerges between those who financially gain and those who do not and are asked to put up with the effects of commercial homes. With this, the residential neighbourhoods that represent a part of home through the lived experience of belonging in a community (Fincher & Gooder, 2007) become fractured, presenting disruptions to sense of place, belonging, and home.

3.2.4. Commercialised Sociality and it's Price

This section began by exploring how the performance of hospitality is the commodification of the socialities of hospitality. It considered how this performance is executed using emotional labour. It examined how emotional labour can bring financial benefits but also physical and emotional negatives. The next part of this section looked at the power that the host-guest relationship possesses. This considered how the relationship is mutually constructed but dictated by the terms of a financial transaction that brings imbalances and a messiness to the power relations. It also explored how hostility comes to underpin commercial hospitality, held in all elements of the performance of hospitality. The final part of the section mainly considered how this hostility is felt and expanded throughout the community as a result of commercial hospitality. It examined how this hostility is moderated by proximity and financial benefit but can ultimately leave communities fractured.

Commercial hospitality and the commodified socialities that are included in it necessarily fosters and harbours hostility. Germann Molz and McIntosh (2013, 58) discussed hospitality using the notion of 'thresholds of tolerance', this idea can be applied to commercial home hospitality where the endeavour can be seen as an exercise in tolerance. With this, hosts enter into a financial transaction that tests the limits of coercion necessary to tolerate having guests in their space and perform hospitality. Without the financial agreement in place, the performance of hospitality would not be offered, leaving a

remaining hostility to underlie interactions between host and guest. This reshaping of power relations in the home amplifies this.

In the agreed transaction between host and guest in the commercial home, the performance of hospitality and emotional labour that comes with it is purchased. With this, the individual who is a guest, and is labelled as such, has bought the right to expect certain behaviours and demeanours from their host. Behaviours of 'care', here hosts offer not just space, but provisions, conversation, and an emotional presence in the hospitality. Here, the host has sold their freedom of behaviour to the extent that they must perform emotional labour and bear any negative outcomes. The power balance here holds a messiness that brings out elements of hostility as hosts remain in a space where they would typically hold power but must now adjust to power being held over them by a guest. Such elements of hostility and power shifts can bring about changes in the sense of place of home.

Just as hostility and changes within the community as a result of commercial homes can bring changes in the sense of place of the neighbourhood, so too can hostility and changes within the commercial home bring changes in the sense of place of home. As detailed in the previous chapter, sense of place develops from both physical and social environments (Stedman, 2003; Massey, 1995) that are 'interpreted, narrated, perceived, felt, understood, and imagined' (Gieryn, 2000, 465), underpinned by 'authenticity' (Knox, 2005). With this, the place of home, and the place within which home is, become shaped by both the overt and underlying presences of commercial home hospitality. Through the performances of hospitality, both social and practical, and the utilisation of 'inauthentic' emotion, the home place becomes de-placed and then re-placed holding the processes and outcomes of commercial hospitality. Here, the sense of place of home is disrupted and gradually usurped by the sense of place of the commercial home.

3.3. Conclusion

This chapter has explored the place of 'authenticity' in the performance of commercial hospitality as financial coercion comes to shape the performance given and the extent to which hospitable behaviour can emerge. It has also outlined how the boundaries surrounding the home become paywalls that allow access to those who agree a fee. It examined how commercial home hospitality is underpinned by hostility and messy power relations. Finally, it explored how commercial hospitality in the home can de-place not just home but also the neighbourhood.

The complex and dynamic social structure that allows multiple worlds of meaning to be formed in the home (O'Connor, 2017) becomes subject to reshaping in the commercial

home. The socialities no longer hold ideas of belonging, a key element of home (Hurdley, 2013), but instead become shaped by emotional labour, hostility, and messy power relations. With this, home as a primary space for constituting and performing selfhood (Jacobs & Smith, 2008), somewhere we seek a social 'sameness' (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011), becomes secondary to the performance of hospitality, as dictated by a financial transaction. It is not just the socialities of home that are affected, but also the spatialities.

Home as a spatially located emotional experience (Gorman-Murray, 2007) also holds the potential to meet disruption through commercial home hosting. As the boundaries surrounding the home come to constitute a paywall, the boundaries that develop within denote spaces for work. It is within these workspaces that the commodification of emotion in the form of emotional labour is found. With this, the spatialities of home are reshaped to be spaces of work and emotional suppression. It has been suggested that when labour predominates over a space, the environment becomes little more than a neutral space to perform work (Silver, 2018). The sense of place of home becomes eroded, replaced by the sense of place of the commercial home. The association, meanings, and milieus that were once embedded in the space of home become fractured in a way that means, whilst they are still present, they are overshadowed by the transactional transition to commercial hospitality.

This brings us to the conclusion that disruptions in how we are *away* as tourists brings disruptions in how others are *at home*. The home as a space for the away sees the assemblage of home disrupted and unmade, with crucial elements of home dismantled for, and as a result of, the performance of hospitality. Commercial hospitality performed in the home is a transformational endeavour that necessitates behaviours that lead to negative outcomes. Consisting strongly of emotional labour and coerced hospitableness with an underlying hostility, the commercial home is a site of financially incentivised tolerance of an 'other' and potential conflict. From this emerges the question of where *home* in the commercial home is, something posed in the chapter 'Making the Airbnb Home'.

This chapter has examined how home can become unmade through the presence of commercialised hospitality. This brings some understanding towards the impact 'sharing' the home with Airbnb can have, with the literature here bringing a deep representation of the face of commercial hospitality and how it is realised within homes. The literature, however, still leaves unanswered the processes through which the offering of commercial hospitality and the presence of a guest bring lasting changes to the home. Alongside this, a simple focus on commercial hospitality in the home misses the wider, interconnecting

world that Airbnb brings to the situation. The next chapter seeks to address this by bringing Airbnb and the sharing economy into the conversation.

4. ‘Sharing’ our World with Airbnb and Platform Capitalism

The sharing economy, or platform capitalism, can be considered one of the major market innovations of the 21st century. The sharing economy has come to be a substantial influence in many areas of life and is something that we now ‘share’ our world with. It is in this ‘sharing’ that society has been exposed to what has been termed ‘platformisation’ (de Kloet et al., 2019). Platformisation has previously been defined as ‘the penetration of economic, governmental, and infrastructural extensions of digital platforms into the web and app ecosystems’ (Nieborg & Poell, 2018, 4276). This process of platformisation also brings changes to the way people live their lives, with it emphasised that investigation must move to explore the effects of platformisation on society (de Kloet et al., 2019). This movement of expanding studies of platformisation into consideration of society to examine the impact of platform capitalism on life is where this chapter finds its place.

In the two previous chapters, it has been examined how home is formed in a fragile assemblage, and the nature of commercialised hospitality and the impacts of introducing this commercial hospitality to the home. It is in these realms of home and hospitality that this chapter will seek to explore the impact of the influence of platform capitalism, and Airbnb as a platform within the platform economy. It is within the context of the influence of Airbnb and the platform economy that this fragile assemblage of home is tested, and this performance of hospitality is shaped. Through a process of platformisation, the presence of the platform economy becomes apparent in the home and many areas of life, with Airbnb being the main consideration here.

‘Sharing’ the home is the focus of this PhD. The previous chapter considered the impacts of ‘sharing’ space with guests in the context of commercial hospitality, this chapter moves the focus to ‘sharing’ our world with Airbnb and platform capitalism. Airbnb is the element that all hosts ‘share’ their home with and holds great power to influence hosts and wider society. As such, this chapter will argue that Airbnb, as part of the platform economy, is

impactful and brings changes to the lives of its hosts and those around them. Through its societal impacts that see the way individuals view their belongings changed, their mechanisms of control that shape host behaviour and communications, and the knock-on effects of bringing tourism into residential neighbourhoods, Airbnb encroach on the self of the host and their world. With this, Airbnb comes to change the realities of the individuals that operate on the platform, as well as those adjacent to it, while shaping the future as well. It will look to do this by examining an overview of what the sharing economy is, who Airbnb are as a company, and their place within the platform capitalism. Following this, it will consider the social, behavioural, algorithmic, and locational impacts of Airbnb.

4.1. The Impact of Platform Capitalism and Airbnb

Platformisation is not something that naturally occurs, rather it is accepted as something that inherently comes with platform capitalism. In a society where greater levels of inflation see people turning in greater numbers to companies like Airbnb (Airbnb, 2022), the acceptance of the reach and influence of platform capitalism becomes a trade-off to pay the bills. This section will explore the rise and realities of the sharing economy, network hospitality, and Airbnb. In doing this, it will look to conclude that the societal conditions that people are in give coerced permissions to capitalistic 'sharing' platforms to change elements of our broader realities, leading to us to view our own belongings as commercialised assets to be exploited.

4.1.1. Sharing Economy

The concept of the sharing economy is a relatively modern concept. In the early 2000s, as the scarcity of natural resources became more evident, more effort was made to utilise the internet to increase efficiency with the linking the online and offline worlds, the sharing economy was one of the initiatives that grew from this (Botsman & Rogers, 2010). This model would run against typical markets based on ownership, instead building on the 'using and sharing of products and services amongst others' (Puschmann & Alt, 2016). This saw the advocation of 'shared ownership and use, re-use and re-sale of goods, and optimizing use of assets by renting or loaning out durable goods and spaces' (Schor & Fitzmaurice, 2015, 5). Generally, sharing economy platforms are thought to adhere to five characteristics: that the offerings are temporarily accessed rather than owned, that access is dependent on a monetary transaction or quid pro quo exchange, that it relies on a platform to match users and providers, that it can expand the role of the consumer allowing them to experience both demand and supply sides, and that the supply is crowdsourced from many

individual providers (Eckhardt et al., 2019). Even within this framework, the sharing economy has evolved since the early platforms emerged.

Some of the first platforms in the sharing economy held rather altruistic motives. By 2003, Couchsurfing had built a large base, matching people willing to lend a spare couch or bed with people looking to travel cheaply (Schor & Fitzmaurice, 2015), while Freecycle gave people the opportunity to exchange unwanted household objects (Eden, 2017). These sections of the sharing economy were initially thought to have the potential to empower individuals, build communities, and provide an alternative to market capitalism (Benkler, 2006). In these early days, it was also linked to the idea of creating more sustainable uses of resources (Geissinger et al., 2019). At this point, the influence of platforms was not an area of concern, but this, and the non-profit realm, was not to be the long-term base for the sharing economy.

The modern, for-profit platforms of the sharing economy, such as Airbnb and Uber, emerged in 2008, along with the financial crisis (Schor & Fitzmaurice, 2015). At this time, the phrase 'idle capacity' became emphasised with the monetisation of spare rooms, cars, etc. (Schor & Attwood-Charles, 2017). With this, utilising 'unused assets' became more appealing (Schor & Fitzmaurice, 2015). In this upheaval towards monetisation, the processes of small, niche platforms were subject to coercive and indirect market pressures to become more commercially orientated (Martin, Upham & Budd, 2015), causing the disappearance of any early stage goodwill in such organisations (Schor, 2014). With notions of altruism fading, it became identifiable that what then existed in these platforms was simply form of capitalism, offering the hire of assets and services that would be otherwise underutilised or not even recognised as such (Langley & Leyshon, 2017; Murillo, Buckland & Val, 2017). With this, the sharing economy began to open to the capitalist market a number of aspects of life that were previously beyond the reach of commercialisation (Martin, 2016). This shift brought discussions as to how the sharing economy should be referred to.

It is this major expansion into the monetised realm that has since caused discussion regarding the term 'sharing' economy, with some authors coming to criticise its use (Codagnone & Martens, 2016). It has been claimed that participation in for-profit platforms is 'rational capitalism' (Ravenelle, 2017), while Belk (2007, 2010, 2014) argues that, by definition, sharing cannot include financial transactions. Benkler (2004), however, argues that a financial dimension does not define sharing, but rather considers a 'social

sharing' as they take on a collective practice. Others have searched for a term that more fully captures this financial aspect.

Coined by Lobo (2014), the sharing economy has also been referred to as 'platform capitalism'. In this, with workers only needing access to the internet and their own belongings to enter the market, they are suggested to have 'reclaimed the means of production only to discover they have very little control over the relations of production – in this case, the structure of the network' (Schor & Attwood-Charles, 2017, 7). With this, companies in the sharing economy, or 'platform capitalists', hold the same motivations to eliminate competitors and establish monopolies as any other company (Katz, 2015). In line with this, platform capitalism also holds the potential to intensify the unequal distribution of wealth (Murillo, Buckland & Val, 2017), with this capitalistic drive leading to criticisms of low pay as most of the revenue goes to the owners of the platforms rather than the providers (Kim, Baek & Lee, 2018). Alongside this, those who share their possessions are typically not seen as employed, but rather as independent (Ranchordas, 2015), leaving them to endure continual uncertainty and insecurity, along with no guarantee of future work prospects (Standing, 2014). The profitability for platform capitalists lies in their place as a middleman.

The platforms of the sharing economy position themselves between the individuals who wish to 'share'. It has been argued that the sharing economy acts solely as a peer-to-peer endeavour (Cherry & Pidgeon, 2018), with the ability to cut out middlemen (Fellander, Ingram & Teigland, 2015). This, however, can be debated. Between each peer-to-peer exchange, there lies the mediation of the sharing platform, a business, without which the exchange would not take place. The suggestion of a simple peer-to-peer exchange implies little to no interference or guidance from the platform, something that is observably not true. With this middleman positioning and the control imposed onto the form of the exchanges, the chain of transaction may be a little more complex. Indeed, it can be seen that the exchange is from peer-to-peer, however this happens within the sphere of influence of the company, with this affecting both how the service is offered and how the service is received. It is partially this positioning as a middleman that has led to how these platforms are categorised.

Within this monetised space of the sharing economy, attempts have been made to categorise the various platforms. As the sharing economy creates disparate markets for tangible assets, such as homes and vehicles, as well as less tangible things, such as space and money (Kathan, Matzler & Vielder, 2016), the platforms do not all operate the same

way. As it has been noted that platforms may not neatly fit into industry categories (Geissinger, Laurell & Oberg, 2021), some authors have tried to address this. Constantiou, Marton and Tuunainen (2017) categorised the sharing economy platforms, sorting them by the amount of control they are considered to exert and the competition that they create between users. In this, they suggested 4 models: Chaperones, who create high rivalry but impose little control, such as Airbnb; Gardeners, for whom there is both little rivalry and little control, such as Couchsurfing; Franchisers, who operate with high rivalry and high control, such as Uber; and Principals, who have low rivalry but maintain tight controls, such as Deliveroo. In these dimensions, the role of the platform as a middleman, and the extent to which this influences transactions is highlighted. This model brings an insight into the dimensions through which platforms gain advantages over incumbents and how they 'exploit the growing fluidity of organizational boundaries' (Constantiou, Marton & Tuunainen, 2017, 231). This categorisation was created to help 'businesses to identify, and respond to, the threats and opportunities provided by sharing economy platforms' (Constantiou, Marton & Tuunainen, 2017, 231), highlighting the sharing economy as something disruptive.

Since it first emerged, the sharing economy has been considered a disruptive innovation. Technological connectivity paved the way for the new business models that exist as the sharing economy (Bjorkdahl, 2009). The sharing economy has challenged mainstream business models (Cohen & Kietzmann, 2014) and is 'catalysed by disruptive technologies' (Allen, 2015, 25). This has brought both institutional and technological disruption (Laurell & Sandstrom, 2016; Mair & Reischauer, 2017) as access to underutilised assets and lower transaction costs have brought about unprecedented scalability (Acquier, Daudigeos & Pinkse, 2017). It has been suggested that this market disruption is caused by an abundancy that drives down prices (Acquier, Daudigeos & Pinkse, 2017), while also bringing more diversity of options to the marketplace (Geissinger, Laurell & Sandstrom, 2020). This has changed consumer behaviour (Puschmann & Alt, 2016) in a way that has left markets in a state of conflict and tension (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012). For it to gain influence enough to have this effect on markets, individuals had to be motivated to utilise the platforms.

Across the sharing economy, a few different motivations have been identified in the literature. For many, economic and cost saving reasons were the reason for entering the sharing economy (Habibi, Davidson & Laroche, 2017), with the flexibility with which it allows supplementing of income motivating users (Drahokoupil & Fabo, 2016) while, on platforms such as Airbnb, many guests are motivated by cheapness (Tussyadiah, 2015). For

other platform users, a multitude of factors play an important role, such as it being an easy way to make money, meet new people, and have new experiences (Grybaite & Stankeviciene, 2016). Attempts have also been made to sort motivations by the area of the sharing economy that they are most prominent in, with accommodation, vehicle, and tool sharing have been suggested to be the markets most driven by economic motivators, while in meal sharing, and to a lesser extent ride sharing, the social factors play a larger role (Bocker & Meelen, 2016). For users of platforms such as Airbnb, this is where the notion of 'idle capacity' (Schor & Attwood-Charles, 2017) becomes prominent. With this, personal belongings become viewed as something to be monetised, something that is not being used to its full potential if it is not being used to make money. This signals a shift in thinking, marking the reach of platform capitalism as something able to change relationships between people and things. When that 'thing' is the home, it becomes rather significant, marking network hospitality as a very relevant point of discussion.

4.1.2. Network Hospitality

One of the most developed areas of the platform economy is network hospitality. Coined by Germann Molz, network hospitality represents 'online-to-offline social networks' that 'revolve around a paradigm of hospitality, both in the exchange of the material resources of accommodation and in the shifting performances of hosting and guesting among strangers' (Germann Molz, 2014, 1). One of the earliest examples of network hospitality was Let-Me-Stay-for-a-Day.com, founded in 2001 (Germann Molz, 2014), with this followed by Couchsuring.com in 2003. Both of these platforms, amongst all the others that briefly emerged, held the same basic trait of network hospitality: that it is centred around the idea of sharing with strangers (Germann Molz, 2012), but it is really so much more than this.

At least initially, network hospitality held ideas of social relationships in its core, aligning with the early altruistic idealisations of the platform economy. With this, network hospitality connects individuals through networking systems and through the relationship that they perform face to face (Germann Molz, 2012), with much emphasis being placed upon social interaction as part of the exchange (Ikkala & Lampinen, 2015). These new social exchanges see new forms of intimacy and togetherness emerging, 'redefining who counts as a 'friend' or a 'stranger'' (Germann Molz, 2012, 215). In this, network hospitality revolves around brief but intense moments of social togetherness, relying on the integration of technology into the everyday and intimate encounters in which performances of hosting and guesting are fluid and interchangeable (Germann Molz, 2018). This can be seen in why people used platforms like Couchsurfing.

For Travellers, using platforms like Couchsurfing did not just mean a place to stay. Many were drawn to network hospitality in order to meet and connect with strangers (Germann Molz, 2012). Germann Molz (2012, 219) highlights this with a favoured motto of Couchsurfers, which says 'it's not just about the furniture!' to emphasise the importance of interpersonal encounters over locations or amenities. This attitude brought rise to the notion of the 'spirit of network hospitality' (Wiles & Crawford, 2017). This 'spirit of network hospitality' is considered unique to this way of travelling, allowing guests to become immersed in the everyday of the host and expand their world view through meeting new people (Wiles & Crawford, 2017). It allows people to experience a desired 'authenticity' on their travels (Steylaerts & Dubhghaill, 2012) and feel as though they are a 'member of the family' (Wiles & Crawford, 2017, 2453). Whilst these elements are still sought after by some guests, a key element of network hospitality has changed since the first platforms emerged.

In more recent years, network hospitality has seen the emergence of many for-profit platforms. While the original platforms did not involve monetary transactions (Ikkala & Lampinen, 2015), instead holding principles of reciprocity (Wiles & Crawford, 2017), monetised platforms hold hospitality behind a paywall. Whilst this financial element does not preclude meaningful host-guest interactions (Ikkala & Lampinen, 2015), building relations is no longer the sole primary motivation across the board for joining network hospitality platforms (Lampinen & Cheshire, 2016). For many signing up with for-profit platforms, the motivation was extra income (Karlsson & Dolnicar, 2016), while even those with Couchsurfing experience enjoyed the assurances offered by monetised platforms (Lampinen & Cheshire, 2016). The most notable platform in this for-profit realm of network hospitality is Airbnb.

4.1.3. Airbnb

Airbnb has become the most prominent platform in the realm of network hospitality. The first beginnings of Airbnb came in 2007 when its founders, struggling to pay their San Fransisco rent, sought to attract conference goers with hotels all fully booked (Oskam & Boswijk, 2016; Business Insider, 2019). With this, they placed 3 Air mattresses on their floor and offered breakfast and desk space, attracting 3 students attending the conference and led them to realise the potential of their idea (Business Insider, 2019). Officially launching in 2008, the offering remained an air mattress on the floor of the founder's apartment (Airbnb, 2019a). After initial struggles to find investment, they received their first $600,000 in 2009 (Business Insider, 2019), and by 2010 there were 140,000 guest

arrivals in Airbnbs (Guttentag, 2019). In 2018, the figure of guest arrivals sat at 164 million (Guttentag, 2019), and grew to 394 million in 2022 (Mariotti, 2023). These figures now position Airbnb commandingly as the market leader for their particular area of the reservation and online booking market (6Sense, 2023).

Within the wider hospitality market, there has been discussion whether Airbnb competes with hotels. Whilst Airbnb initially started by marketing themselves as an alternative to hotels (Guttentag & Smith, 2017), they have since denied they compete with hotels (Business Insider Intelligence, 2017; Trenholm, 2015), with their Chief Technology Officer saying 'No hotels have gone out of business because of Airbnb…Airbnb is not a perfect substitute for a hotel. We excel at different things' (Dingman, 2015). Within the sharing economy, however, Airbnb has long been labelled as a 'disruptive innovation' (Guttentag, 2015), with this manifesting in impacts on the hotel industry. A study by Guttentag and Smith (2017) found that nearly two thirds of respondents used Airbnb as a hotel substitute, with this correlating to a 1% increase in Airbnb listings leading to a 0.05% decrease in revenue per quarter for hotels (Zervas, Proserpio & Byers, 2017). With this, competition between Airbnb and hotels, specifically those that target the lower end of the market, has been suggested to cause a loss of jobs for people working for such hotels (Fang, Ye & Law, 2016). This emphasises Airbnb and the sharing economy as widespread disruptors with a broad sphere of influence that reaches out from the platform.

Airbnb describe themselves as 'a trusted community marketplace for people to list, discover, and book unique accommodations around the world' (Airbnb, 2016a). With this, the Airbnb business model is 'based on people who can't afford their homes and need extra money, so they rent out their homes' according to their Global Head of Civic Partnerships (Turner, 2013). Whilst this may have previously been accurate, modern-day Airbnb is much more profit oriented on the side of both host and platform having expanded into the short-term lettings of entire houses, luxury properties, and even novelty properties like Shrek's Swamp (Airbnb, 2023c). This project, however, focusses specifically on the hosts who operate a private room Airbnb in their own home. This allows for the investigation into the 'sharing' of the sharing economy. With this, it will seek to investigate the 'sharing' of space, time, and the home with guests and with the platform of Airbnb. Though Airbnb operate a platform that asks people to open their homes and have sought to present themselves as 'trusted' and 'community' minded, they have been marred by controversy for much of their existence.

Airbnb has been the subject of much criticism and controversy. Regulatory issues have seen Airbnb banned from Barcelona (New York Times, 2021), and full house listings banned from Berlin, London and New York (Nieuwland & van Melik, 2020). Alongside this, the platform has had to contend with guests causing damage to the property of hosts (Business Insider, 2019). These problems have led to a large-scale PR campaign, with Carville (2021), writing for Bloomberg, claiming that Airbnb are 'spending millions' to 'make nightmares go away'. More recently, Airbnb has come into specific criticism surrounding rising prices and cleaning fees that come with requirements for guests to actually do the cleaning themselves (Fleisher, 2023). Addressing these issues, Airbnb CEO Brian Chesky said they 'need to make sure listings are great' and prices are 'affordable' (Ekstein, 2023). With this, they are essentially asking hosts to bring down the price of their Airbnb in order to attract guests (Ekstein, 2023), however price is not the only factor that has been seen to bring guests to the platform.

In how they present themselves in their advertising, Airbnb seek to differentiate themselves from typical hotels, seeking to target a particular audience. It has been suggested that Airbnb exists as 'off-the-beaten-track' tourism (Oskam & Boswijk, 2016, 26). One of the key marketing messages that Airbnb uses centres around the idea of offering a more 'authentic' travelling experience (Lalicic & Weismayer, 2017) and the opportunity to 'live like a local' (Sans & Dominguez, 2016). With this, this way of *being away* also brings the opportunity to enact the various mundane activities of everyday life (Sthapit et al., 2022). The prevalence of this message from Airbnb is such that some have found that it is a key reason why guests choose Airbnb.

There has some discussion in the literature as to the motivations of Airbnb guests. The enticement of authenticity has been claimed to be one of the strongest motivational factors for people to use Airbnb, with it signifying the unique appeal of peer-to-peer accommodation rental (Nowak et al., 2015; Poon & Huang, 2017). Others have found, however, that, when compared to other motivational factors, authenticity was not significant in forming attitude or behavioural intentions (So, Oh, & Min, 2018). This claim is supported by the suggestion that the most important factors for guests are the location, the amenities, and the host themselves (Cheng & Jin, 2019). A number of studies have identified price as the key driver behind guest intentions to stay (Sthapit & Jimenez-Barreto, 2018; Paulauskaite et al., 2017). It has also been suggested that practical benefits, such as price, location and amenities are the most important, but the experiential elements like authenticity, social interaction, and novelty also hold importance for some (Guttentag

et al., 2018). For those who seek out these more experiential elements, it has been investigated how this value is produced.

Some authors have looked to understand how value is created in the Airbnb experience, concluding that it is co-created between guest host and guest. In one study, it has been found that value is created through the home, the host, the community, living like a local, cooking and cleaning with the host, cultural leanings, and relaxing (Johnson & Neuhofer, 2017). A similar study found that value was co-created in arriving and being welcomed, expressing positive/negative feelings, evaluating the accommodation, interacting with the host, and recommending the Airbnb to others (Camilleri & Neuhofer, 2017). These elements of value that arise for guests in private room Airbnbs where they can collaborate with hosts suggests that 'sharing' is still an important part of the sharing economy here. As with all companies that partake in platform capitalism, it can be questioned to what extent hosts are 'sharing' their home, their time, and themselves.

As the 'sharing' economy becomes more overshadowed by platform capitalism, it is unsurprising that finances are important, though they are not the only relevant factor. The most prominent motivational driver for hosts is suggested to be financial benefits, followed by social interaction, and the sharing of space and one's world (Karlsson & Dolnicar, 2016). This is supported by the finding that the initial motivator is money, but over time the social factors grow in importance (Ikkala & Lampinen, 2015). Ikkala and Lampinen (2015) also suggest that socialisation is aided by the ability to select guests that are in line with the host's preferences and can offer the sociability that they desire, although in Airbnb the ability to select guests is a luxury that is not really afforded to hosts, as will be discussed later. This monetary motivation emphasises the view of homes as underutilised assets that platform capitalists such as Airbnb seek to cultivate. It also means, however, that the coexistence between host and guest is moderated by the financial exchange, leading the constituent parts of the hospitality service to be affected by transactional obligation. This idea will be further discussed in the next section with regards to how Airbnb impacts the wider life of its hosts.

4.1.4. Reshaping Our 'Shared' World

This section began by exploring the altruistic beginnings of the sharing economy and how monetised elements were introduced during the financial crash. It then looked at how these monetised elements have problematised the label of 'sharing' economy, with the name 'platform capitalism' coming into use. It then considered how platforms insert themselves between users to shape transactions, while also disrupting the wider hospitality market.

The first part of this section concluded by examining the most financial reasons people engage with the sharing economy. The second part of this section looked at network hospitality, exploring the intensely social type of hospitality that is experienced here. It then considered the disruption of this by for-profit platforms. The final part of this section looked at Airbnb, starting by examining their history and their place in the hospitality market. It then emphasised the importance of examining private room hosts for this project, before considering their regulatory issues. Finally, it examined the motivations for guests to use Airbnb, for hosts to use Airbnb, and how social and experiential value is co-constructed between host and guest.

From the very start of its transition to platform capitalism, the sharing economy has changed the way we perceive belongings. Employing language such as 'underutilised assets' and 'idle capacity' to refer to people's personal belongings sought to change the way people thought about their belongings and their potential to be monetised. As platformisation is a process of disruption (Stehlin, Hodson & McMeekin, 2020), platform capitalism has brought disruption between individuals and their material possessions through commodification. Belongings are no longer simply your own, but rather an asset that is wasted if not being exploited for financial gain. This need for financial gain, however, is the reason platform capitalism exists.

As many such platforms emerged during the financial crash, at a time where many needed to supplement their income, the acceptance of this aspect of platformisation was coerced through societal circumstance. This can be seen to have continued as financial motivations have remained prevalent to the current day. With this, users of the sharing economy enter into a trade-off where they are allowed to utilise platforms, but in exchange must bear the realities of platformisation. The very notable example of this that is at the centre of this project is Airbnb.

The exertion of influence by Airbnb is unique in its entrance into the home. It is not a simple welcoming of a stranger, but rather a transaction that is brokered and monitored by a platform. Airbnb shape what the expectations of a homestay should be, while also changing the way hosts see their own homes. A spare room is no longer just that, but rather an underutilised part of an asset which is their home. A space that is wasted unless occupied by an 'other'. This platform capitalism has seen the notion of home as a private space reassessed and reconfigured as a place to become a 'micro-entrepreneur' (Holikatti, Jhaver & Kumar, 2019). Home spaces are now understood as a place to earn money rather

than reproduce the self. Although it is not just the hosts desire to make money that infringes upon the home.

It is Airbnb's desire for profit that drives the platformisation of the home. With this, hosts come to 'share' the space not only with guests, but with the platform itself. When this coexistence of host and platform comes to be, the presence of the platform can change the way individuals relate to their home, even after they have already come to view their home as an underutilised asset. As both host and platform come to extract profit from the home, it becomes less of a personal space and more a commercial space that is being cynically used by the parties involved in the transaction. The home is effectively transformed into a place of work, where hosts play out a hospitable performance that is monitored by Airbnb. Through this process of platformisation, Airbnb reshapes how hosts understand their world. Gone are the notions of work-life balances as life becomes hosting. Time at home becomes time at work, and this is accepted because homes are understood as an asset. With this, the financially driven platformisation places Airbnb firmly in the home, and in the understanding of home itself, but it also comes to invade the lives of hosts and those around them.

4.2. The Power of the Platform

The presence and influence of Airbnb is very powerful. It is felt not just by hosts and guests, but also by many outside of the transaction, driven by the machine of Airbnb. When individuals bring their home to the market of Airbnb, they also allow Airbnb to influence many areas and facets of their life and of other's lives. The previous section explored the sharing economy as something with the power to platformise elements of our worlds, changing how we relate to our belongings and our homes, this section will explore the finer details of how Airbnb impacts on lives. These impacts on key areas of life come both inside the home and more broadly into places, as well as systematically through Airbnb. As Airbnb hosting commodifies homes, leading to hosts enacting performances of home and hospitality for the benefit of guests (Roelofsen, 2018b), with hosts sacrificing living spaces to hosting to join Airbnb (Roelofsen & Minca, 2018), the influence of platform capitalism is very evident. Discrimination on the platform and disruption in neighbourhoods are also very real parts of the influence of Airbnb, with both coming to impact on the realities of hosts, guests, and others who are simply adjacent to the operations of the platform. Alongside this, Airbnb use algorithms to drive this machine and push their influence onto hosts and into homes, changing behaviours and material realities. This section will explore

how Airbnb, as platform capitalism, is a machine that drives disruption to homes and society.

4.2.1. 'Sharing' your Neighbourhood with Airbnb

One of the most prevalent areas of investigation into the impacts of Airbnb concerns local neighbourhoods. Local areas themselves do not engage with Airbnb, however they often feel the effects of the platform's influence. As neighbourhoods come to be 'shared' with platform capitalism, the community is changed, the way people socialise is changed, the lives of the people are changed. Neighbourhoods are vital spaces of social interaction (Kazmierczak, 2013) that thrive on the social capital that is generated by the people who live there (Aguilera, 2002). This section will discuss the how incursion of tourism into residential neighbourhoods that is brought about by Airbnb changes the lives and the social scape of communities that become reshaped by platform capitalism.

As Airbnb has introduced tourism lodging into residential neighbourhoods (Gutierrez, 2017), many negative impacts have been found. The touristification of residential neighbourhoods has brought concerns about the quality of life for the local inhabitants, with regards to both noise concerns and the consistency of the social fabric from which the community is woven (Guttentag, 2017). Some have suggested that they no longer recognise the people they see on the streets, and with public spaces taken up by tourists, it has become more challenging to meet people from their own neighbourhood (Nemer, Spangler & Dye, 2018). With this, the value of social capital, of this connection with others that is experienced when individuals feel trust in their neighbours and local community (Johnston & Soroka, 2001) can be lost. Not only can it be lost, but it can also create a stigma against tourists. As Goffman (1963, ix) defines stigma as being 'disqualified from full social acceptance', it can be recognised as something held against tourists. From this, where the social capital once offered sociability, cohesiveness and connection to the community (Putnam, 2000), it is now socially fragmented, with financial issues holding the potential to push this even further.

Further disrupting the social capital is the disruption Airbnb brings to everyday lives and housing markets. In instances where properties are bought with the express purpose of letting them on Airbnb, the housing market is damaged through reduced supply and increased prices (Guttentag, 2019), with rental price increases largest in areas with a high concentration of Airbnbs (Schafer & Braun, 2016). Along with this, the platformisation of Airbnb brings the possibilities of gentrification, noise, pollution, traffic, and waste management issues (Dann, Teubner & Weinhardt, 2018; Gurran & Phibbs, 2017). It has

been found that such commercial gentrification from tourism acts as a mechanism of exclusion that constrains quality of life and can increase intention to leave the neighbourhood (Gant, 2015). Many have found that the transforming rental flats into holiday apartments is a significant driver behind residential displacement (Arias-Sans & Quaglieri-Dominguez, 2015; Colomb, 2012; Stors & Kagermeier, 2015b). With this, Airbnb changes the wider spaces that individuals call home to the extent where both incursions into daily life and financial impacts can result in increased desires or necessities to leave the area. The people that residents see in their everyday is disrupted, with community ties diminished and spaces filled with tourists. With this, Airbnb comes to significantly disrupt the community that it 'shares' the neighbourhood with, leaving it fragmented and broken.

4.2.2. Discrimination in Airbnb

The power of the machine of Airbnb can also bring discrimination, something that is held almost implicit in the systems of the platform. As platform capitalists connect people to each other, they also connect people to discrimination and hostility. Whether this be discrimination based on prejudice or based on safety concerns, it is something that can greatly impact upon host and guest alike. With this discrimination comes hostility, that is both hostility between hosts and guests, and between hosts and platform. The relationship between host and guest is one that is continuously negotiated between the two parties, often acquiring a conflictual character (Farmaki, Christou & Saveriades, 2020), with hostility said to always be part of hospitality (Derrida, 2000). The hostility evoked by Airbnb and the sharing economy comes in more overt forms that relay both prejudices and fears. To consider this hostility, the section will begin by examining discrimination in Airbnb.

The entering of one's home into the sharing economy has been seen to expose many users to discrimination. Discrimination against hosts has been observed in many instances, with non-black hosts able to charge 12% more than black hosts for an equivalent property in New York (Edelman & Luca, 2014). Meanwhile in a broader study, Laouenan and Rathelot (2022) found that hosts from minority groups charge 3.2% less due to statistical discrimination, while three-quarters of this gap is attributed to inaccurate beliefs by potential guests. Whereas hostility in hospitality would more typically emerge in the host, with this, the sharing economy and Airbnb can be seen to bring it out of guests also. Here, the sharing economy can bring discrimination into lives of hosts, directly impacting their ability to earn. This leaves them in a position where they must navigate this discrimination

in their daily lives as hosts to attract guests and maintain their status. Discrimination against hosts is not the only issue here however, as discrimination by hosts also presents itself as an issue.

Research into discrimination against guests has been conducted mainly based on discrimination against names. A study by Edelman, Luca and Svirsky (2017,1) found that guests with 'distinctively African American names' were 16% less likely to be accepted than equivalent guests with 'distinctively White names'. A similar study conducted a few years later found that individuals with African American sounding names were 19.2% less likely to be accepted that those with White sounding names (Cui, Li & Zhang, 2020). Here, the sharing economy and Airbnb are seen to bring possibilities of discrimination to both sides of the transaction. In hosts, the hostility in hospitality is no longer latent and under the surface, but rather can emerge at the forefront, becoming present to prevent hospitality from even being offered. Airbnb have, however, undertaken measures to try to address these issues.

Introductions of new procedures have seen Airbnb try to remove possibilities of discrimination, however this has not been without issue. Previously, with how the Airbnb system operated, discrimination could be seen with hosts rejecting potential guests based on specific characteristics (Edelman & Geradin, 2015). The anti-discrimination measures introduced by Airbnb in 2016 included the removal of the guest's photo, bias training for hosts, and the option of instant booking (Farmaki & Kladou, 2020). This, however, caused some backlash from users (Cheng & Foley, 2018). This came with the complaint that users should have the right to choose 'whose home they enter' and 'who comes into their home' (Cheng & Foley, 2018, 95), with this being linked to the private nature of the home (Farmaki & Kladou, 2020). This decision drew out new hostilities from hosts towards the platform as they felt they were losing power over their own homes. This is the platformisation of the boundaries of the home. As part of the exchange that hosts enter with the platform, hosts somewhat surrender control of the boundaries of their home as Airbnb come to influence who hosts allow to enter. This element of platformisation has left some hosts feeling vulnerable to the hostilities of guests.

On occasion, discrimination can come from safety concerns. It has been found that lone female hosts and lone female travellers may choose to avoid co-habitation with males because of safety concerns (Farmaki & Kladou, 2020) as women feel at greater risk of physical harm, such as sexual harassment and assault, in such circumstances (Yang, Khoo-Lattimore & Arcodia, 2017), with these risks heightening with age (Maier & Gilchrist,

2022). Both female hosts and female travellers feel that they have been left more vulnerable due to Airbnb's anti-discriminatory policies as they have less power to select a female co-habitant to reduce risk (Farmaki, 2019). With this, Airbnb's anti-discrimination policies and platformisation of boundaries has impacted upon the safety that hosts feel in their own home. This comes to emphasise any hostile feelings between host and guest as hosts are placed more on edge by the platformisation of their home.

4.2.3. The Platformisation of the Home

This consideration of the impact of Airbnb on the home is a very important part of this PhD, however up to this point there is relatively little literature on the topic. As Airbnb hosts 'share' a space in their home by renting out a private room, they open their home to platformisation by Airbnb. This sees the machine of Airbnb given the ability to drive change in the materialities and spatialities of home, and the behaviours of the host. These impacts arise as hosts first prepare the spaces in their home to be shared with a guest, and then as they actively share these spaces. This section explores some of the disruptions that Airbnb brings to the home, and that hosts have to 'share' their space with.

Prior to the arrival of the guest, it is quite common for the host to engage with some redecorating in the commercial areas of the house. Many guests will prepare for sharing by undertaking activities such as renovating the space that will be shared, buying new furniture, and removing personal items (Bruni & Esposito, 2019). Galbreath (2017) found specific examples of this with one host decorating their home with local artworks to emphasise authenticity, while another installed colourful lights on the patio, and two further hosts added rooms onto their home to share. It has also been suggested that some hosts will look to adhere to 'professional' standards, rearranging spaces to look more inviting, leaving tourist brochures for guests, as well as flowers and wine (Farmaki, Christou & Saveriades, 2020). Furthermore, Airbnb also offer advice on how to prepare the space for photoshoots, providing suggestions on how to set up the rooms to a professional standard (Farmaki, Christou & Saveriades, 2020). As this professionalisation of Airbnb continues, more hosts can be seen to seek renovations in order to compete and provide the service (O'Regan & Choe, 2017c; Nemer, Spangler & Dye, 2018). Whilst there have been relatively few studies investigating this, there have already been suggestions of both aesthetic and practical changes to the materialities of home, and the influence of Airbnb in this. This will, however, be expanded upon in chapter 6 of this PhD. With this, Airbnb is allowed to reach into the home and rearrange what hosts see everyday, changing how their home looks. This impact is something that is very much accepted as part of hosting as

hosts realise that, in most cases, changes have to be made to the materialities of home to join the platform. The impacts do not, however, simply effect the material side of the home.

The space of the home also becomes impacted by hosting through both the presence of the guest and the presence of the platform. A study by Farmaki, Christou and Saveriades (2020) found that when the guest is present in the Airbnb home, the different spaces of the home are appropriated. They explain that functional appropriation occurs when guests extend beyond the boundaries of the commercial spaces, using the material aspects of the private spaces, while social appropriation sees guests impose themselves on the physical and social aspects of the private spaces of the home. The same study also considered the platform's role in this, suggesting that spaces of representation in Airbnb emerge from how the platform mediates the host-guest relationship. This is one of the few studies that has considered the spatialities of the Airbnb home, however this is something that will be expanded upon in chapter 8 of this PhD. With this, the reach of Airbnb is impacting upon how hosts and guests relate to each other, with this in turn impacting upon the spaces of home. With this, the spaces of the 'shared' Airbnb home become appropriated by both guest and platform, reordering the spatialities that exist there. The influence of this platform mediated relationship also impacts upon the behaviours of the host.

Once the guests are inside the Airbnb, some hosts will go out of their way to avoid disturbing them. Hosts may take measures to avoid disturbing guests, including not showering too early in the morning, not having friends over for meals, not playing music, and giving the guest priority access to the kitchen and bathroom (Bruni & Esposito, 2019). These changes can also be forced by guests who want to control the space and atmosphere of the home (Wilkinson & Wilkinson, 2018), which can lead to anxiety and uncertainty for hosts in their attempts to appease the guest (Jhaver, Karpfen & Antin, 2018). Tensions can also arise through the host's attempts to maintain a routine and a sense of privacy while also making the guests feel welcome (Wilkinson & Wilkinson, 2018; Di Domenico & Lynch, 2007). Whilst these studies have highlighted a major tension, there still remains space to take the idea forward, as is explored in chapter 7 of this PhD. As the presence of guests sees host behaviours reshaped, Airbnb creates a situation where the autonomy of home behaviours is impacted upon. With this, the host's the social and behavioural way of being becomes subjected to outside forces intervening and substantiating change in the world of the host. Some hosts, however, will make attempts to shield themselves from this intervention.

The impact of Airbnb on home is not something that is always completely accepted. The extent to which the host is business oriented can dictate the division of space between the private and the commercial (Di Domenico & Lynch, 2007), which can moderate how much of the host's life is impacted by Airbnb. With this, hosts will try to create separations between themselves and guests, and between private spaces and commercial spaces, rejecting the complete platformisation of home. Some hosts attempt to regulate contact with guests by putting up instructional signs around the property (Knaus, 2020), while others try to do this through the use of the physical barrier of the door to discourage entry into places such as the lounge, encouraging guests to remain in their room (Wilkinson & Wilkinson, 2018). Whilst these studies all highlight important elements, each individual point here can be considered part of something wider, and as such are highlighted and expanded upon across chapters 6 and 9. In this, the platformisation of home is so inherent to the process and deal of Airbnb hosting, that conscious efforts must be made to restrict the impact of both guest and platform. The host almost battles against 'sharing' their entire property with guest and platform, however this battle highlights the impact of Airbnb on the homes and lives of hosts.

4.2.4. Airbnb's Invasive Algorithms of Control

The main driver behind this powerful machine of Airbnb is algorithms. The algorithms of Airbnb are what direct guest traffic to host listings, making it an extremely powerful tool for controlling who succeeds on the platform. It is through this mechanism of control that many of the impacts discussed in this chapter are dictated. Algorithms can be considered quite a distinct characteristic of platform capitalism and are the machine of influence that drives the platformisation that brings so much impact to lives. Algorithmic Management is greatly used across the sharing economy (Mohlmann & Zalmanson, 2017), including by Airbnb (Cheng & Foley, 2019). Many platforms use algorithms to oversee the performance of those operating on the platform, with Woodcock (2020) positioning such management as an 'Algorithmic panopticon'. It has previously been considered that algorithmic management acts as a form of coercive control (Pregenzer, Remus & Wiener, 2020), this control can be considered to shape the hospitality service that hosts offer. With this, the way hosts go about offering hospitality is heavily platformised as the algorithms of Airbnb seek to ensure that it is platformised. This section will explore the algorithmic systems that Airbnb employ impact on hosts, influencing them and extracting maximum value from them.

Algorithms are essential to the workings of Airbnb. Through their algorithms, Airbnb controls the terms and conditions by which hosts gain access to the marketplace (O'Regan & Choe, 2017a). The algorithms also impact how high listings appear in the search rankings, as well as the award of Superhost status (Roelofsen & Minca, 2018). Generally, algorithmic systems seek to match workers and clients based on skills, and to assign tasks, while also evaluating, penalising, and rewarding performance (Lee, 2016). This is the kind of system used by Airbnb as they seek to match suitable hosts and guests and incentivise certain behaviours (Roelofsen & Minca, 2018). Specifically, the Airbnb algorithms work based on a variety of interactions with the platform, such as review ratings, use of the 'smart pricing' system, how often guests are declined, how often the listing is edited with greater frequency being viewed as better, and the enabling of the instant booking function (Cheng & Foley, 2019). This system of penalties and rewards is not used for no reason, rather it is vital for Airbnb to be able to influence hosts and shape the typical Airbnb experience.

Airbnb utilise algorithms to offer suggestions to hosts that guide their performance. Through algorithms, hosts are offered advice based on collected data on how to improve their service, with hosts unsure as to how it will affect their standing on the platform if they ignore this advice (Jhaver, Karpfen & Antin, 2018). Alongside this, Airbnb also gives hosts statistics and offers 'opportunities' for maintaining and improving hosting standards, demonstrating how they exercise control through measurement, benchmarking, and surveillance (Leoni & Parker, 2019). Through this algorithmic system, host practices are shaped by a system of penalties and rewards administered directly by the platform itself and indirectly by the amount of traffic directed to the host's listing (Cheng & Foley, 2019). These direct penalties can amount to the temporary or permanent deactivation of removal of listings (Roelofsen & Minca, 2018). The outcome of such processes is the accumulation of what can be referred to as reputational capital, something that is believed to be more about control, manipulation and discipline than accountability (O'Regan & Choe, 2017a). This idea of ratings as social surveillance has led some to find that the hospitality service offered has less to do with accounting for the physical and emotional needs of the guest, but rather the maintenance of reputation and the securing of future guests (Germann Molz, 2018). With this, Airbnb have platformised the host-guest relationship, shifting the focus from unique, individual concerns for guests towards a continuing cycle of self-sustainability. The algorithms of Airbnb very much drive the service towards their ideal of hospitality that sees them accrue the largest profit margin, using the hosts to do this. Airbnb

does, however, try to present some of the outcomes of these algorithms as a reward, chiefly Superhost status.

Airbnb use algorithms presented as incentives to foster desirable behaviour amongst hosts with the enticement of the 'Superhost' status (Leoni & Parker, 2019). Airbnb claim that Superhosts are 'Experienced hosts who are passionate about making your trip memorable' (Gunter, 2018, 27). This status is dictated by measurements, ratings, and rankings from guest reviews and Airbnb's algorithms (Roelofsen & Minca, 2018). Such status can be obtained by achieving and maintain a series of metrics: completing at least 10 trips, maintaining a minimum 50% review rate, a minimum 90% response rate, 0 cancellations, and receiving 5-star reviews at least 80% of the time (Leoni & Parker, 2019). With it being identified that Superhost status has a positive impact on the prices that Airbnb hosts can charge (Liang et al., 2017; Wang & Nicolau, 2017) as they become privileged in search rankings (Roelofsen & Minca, 2018), this is a very powerful asset for hosts, and a very powerful means of control for Airbnb. The fear of losing the 'Superhost' status forces hosts to engage with guests, even when they may not want to or if they have a second job that they need to do (Nemer, Spangler & Dye, 2018). This method of algorithmic coercion, coated with a thin veneer of benefit to the host, positions excellent adherence to the wishes of Airbnb as the benchmark for hosts. With this, it is not so much a benefit to have Superhost status, but rather a penalty not to have it. These mechanisms of controlling workers are created to push hosts to maintain a standard that allows Airbnb to achieve its financial goals. Many of the workings of these algorithms, however, have remained unclear to hosts.

For many Hosts, the inner workings of the algorithms of Airbnb are less than clear (Cheng & Foley, 2019). This has led hosts to undertake a sensemaking process, whereby they attempt to reverse engineer results in order to understand what affects the algorithm, while also comparing their listing to that of other hosts (Jhaver, Karpfen & Antin, 2018). For many, this process of sensemaking is very stressful and achieves varying degrees of success (Cheng & Foley, 2019). Alongside this, attempting to appease both the algorithm and their guests has proven difficult for hosts (Jhaver, Karpfen & Antin, 2018), with algorithms lacking nuance and not considering situations that are beyond the control of the worker (Lee et al., 2015). Here, the lack of algorithmic clarity forces the hand of hosts and sees them go out of their way to change their behaviour in order to appease the platform, with this sometimes sitting at odds with the reality of hosting situations. This lack of clarity could be seen as a disadvantage for Airbnb as hosts are not aware of the behaviours they wish to foster, while also causing undue stress to hosts. With this, the algorithms of Airbnb

clearly designed to pressure hosts into certain behaviours, evidencing a very visible mechanism of control, and while lack of clarity obscures the specific actions Airbnb wish hosts to perform, they still act to alter behaviour. One element of these algorithms that are clear in their workings, however, are reviews.

Reviews are very important for the status of hosts, guests, and the platform itself. Good reviews are imperative for the success of hosts, but they are also vital for producing the data on which Airbnb are dependent (Roelofsen & Minca, 2018). Reviews are such an important part of what makes Airbnb work as a platform that they will ‘nudge’ hosts and guests to prompt them to leave reviews (Roelofsen & Minca, 2018). Airbnb also provide guidelines on how to write reviews which guide the tone seen across many such reviews (Bridges & Vasquez, 2018), with reviews being overwhelmingly positive (Fradkin et al., 2015). This is beneficial for host, guest, and platform as it sustains the cycle of trust, upon which Airbnb is dependent.

Trust exists at the core of the sharing economy (Saturnino & Sousa, 2019). Indeed according to Airbnb, ‘Trust is what makes Airbnb work’ (Ert & Fleischer, 2019, 279). With this emphasis on trust, reviews become a vital determinant of demand (Edelman & Luca, 2014). In these reviews, guests are encouraged to consider hosts by a set of ‘hosting standards’: overall experience, accuracy, cleanliness, communication, check-in process, location, and value (Roelofsen & Minca, 2018). The presence of reviews on the platform allows Airbnb to eliminate the possibility of hosts and guests coming into contact without one of their trust mechanisms being in place (O’Regan & Choe, 2017a). However, the use of reviews as a measure of trust destabilises the perception of equality between host and guest, with labour now controlled and instrumentalised through the aforementioned algorithmic management (Cockayne, 2016). With this, reviews as a trust mechanism completes the encirclement of hosts by the algorithmic control. As Airbnb sets out the criteria by which hosts are judged by guests, the algorithms are given a further opportunity to punish those who have strayed from the path whist maintaining the status of those who match expectations. Reviews are not the only mechanism of trust employed by Airbnb.

Trust is a vital element within Airbnb. Indeed, one of the most prevalent sources of guest dissatisfaction comes from uncertainty and a lack of trust in the host (Phua, 2019). Because of this, Airbnb provides avenues to build this trust. some of the important factors for guests to develop trust in hosts comes with hosts providing of links to profiles on LinkdIn, Facebook, and Twitter, and demonstrating that they have a stable occupation, a social life, and an identity (Edelman & Luca, 2014). Similarly to Superhost status, links to social

media have also been found to increase the amount hosts can charge (Edelman & Luca, 2014; Abramova, Krasnova & Tan, 2017), positioning this as valuable to both hosts and platform. The use of personal photos in listings is also suggested to be beneficial as they are perceived to be more trustworthy (Ert, Fleischer & Magen, 2016). With this, hosts are asked to open up and sacrifice their privacy in order to build trust with guests. Hosts are expected to put themselves on display and are penalised through a lack of bookings should they not wish to publish private information. This is done with the goal of creating trust between hosts and guests, but by extension, between guests and the platform, which is an equally important part of this. This is an example of how the influence of Airbnb's platformisation can reach into the private lives of hosts and, via algorithms, draw out personal elements that are then displayed to the world. This emphasises the control that algorithms give Airbnb over hosts.

To have control is a very valuable thing for Airbnb. With each transaction, Airbnb will add service fees of around 6% and 15% (O'Regan & Choe, 2017a), meaning that high standards of performance among hosts is essential for them. This sees Airbnb put expectations on host behaviour, such as the demand for dependability, authenticity, and emotional labour, creating what could be viewed as a superior-subordinate relationship (O'Regan & Choe, 2017a). The process of hosting, which sees the host play the role of subordinate in their own home emphasises the power relations that Airbnb brings out and perpetuates (Roelofsen, 2018a). With this, controlling host behaviours via algorithms is a vital part of the platform, and contributes to what makes Airbnb successful. In creating a culture of trust and an offering of hospitality that meets their 'hosting standards' (Roelofsen & Minca, 2018), Airbnb are able to draw out the maximum amount of profit possible. Through their algorithmic platformisation, Airbnb are able to set the template for hosts that is designed to create the most revenue. Whilst this can be considered financially beneficial for both host and platform, it leaves the homes, behaviours, and lives of hosts to be touched by Airbnb in the course of their pursuit of profit.

4.2.5. A World Touched by Airbnb

This section has looked to explore how the lives of hosts and those around them become touched and changed by the machine of Airbnb through its power and influence that is accepted as part of hosting. The section began by examining the impacts that Airbnb hosting can have on cities, towns, and communities, and the social and everyday disruptions that come with the platformisation of locations. It then moved to consider the discriminations in Airbnb, how this brings hostility into the lives of hosts and guests, and

how movements to eliminate this discrimination platformises the boundaries of home. Next, it looked to examine the platformisation of the home itself through changes in the materialities and spatialities of home, and the behaviour of hosts. Finally, it explored the algorithmic systems of Airbnb, how these systems direct the offering of hospitality through incentives and penalties, and how these systems ask hosts engage with trust mechanisms by rewarding the sharing of personal information.

It can be seen that, through hosting, the immediate socialities of the host are greatly impacted by Airbnb's power. Who hosts interact within their homes and on the street becomes reshaped, while how interactions play out become newly informed by algorithms and stigmas attached to being part of imposing tourism on the neighbourhood. This interference in how social interactions play out can interfere with identity as social relations inform how we are perceived by others (Agha, 2006). As such, the way hosts relate to others and the way others relate to hosts becomes informed by platformisation to the extent that new perceptions become placed upon hosts, leaving them to be seen as representatives of Airbnb and manifestations of others' views of the platform. It is not, however, just social identity that becomes reshaped by the influence of the platform, but behaviour also.

By attempting not to bother guests, trying to mediate contact with guests, and attempting to appease the coercive algorithms of Airbnb, the behaviour of hosts becomes significantly disrupted. With this, the everyday of the host becomes shaped through numerous infringements on the relative autonomy with which we live our personal lives. Here, it becomes clear that, behind behaviours, Hosts' thought processes are adjusted to consider both guests and the algorithms. From this, it can be considered that hosts are very much in the subordinate role (O'Regan & Choe, 2017a) with immediate thoughts going to maintaining a good relationship with the platform and looking after those that the platform has put in their care. Within their own home, a space typically associated with freedom of behaviour, where a 'coarse familiarity' is accepted (Goffman, 1959, 81), hosts must adhere to the wishes of both the guest and the platform that they have accepted into their life. Behaviour is not, however, the only aspect of control that hosts cede to Airbnb.

Airbnb can be seen to platformise control of the boundaries and spaces of the hosts' home. Through the various measures and algorithms that Airbnb employs, hosts are pressured into accepting any guest that requests to stay, even in situations that leave them vulnerable. Within their home, the appropriation of areas as guest spaces sees host's immediate surroundings changed by the presence of guests and the continual expectation to accept

guests. This platformising influence of Airbnb within the spaces of the home is materialised by the changes many hosts make for hosting. This positions the encroachment of Airbnb as something experienced in the spatial and emotional, but that is also realised in the physical as well, leaving the world of an individual to be transformed into the world of a host, a world touched by Airbnb.

4.3. Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, the ways that Airbnb impacts upon lives have been considered. It has explored how understandings of the world have been reshaped, leaving homes to be considered an underutilised asset where host and platform coexist, with both driving towards achieving profit. It has examined how Airbnb has affected how hosts socially interact with and relate to others and vice versa. It also looked to consider how host behaviours become changed, dictated by strangers and algorithms, while their control of the immediate world is also usurped.

The financial drivers behind this platformisation and hosts' acceptance of bringing this into their home changes their lives. In this current place in society where many are drawn to Airbnb to supplement their income, hosts become willing to be coercively controlled and subordinate to the platform within their own homes. Hosts are forced to give up their autonomy and control over their behaviours and surroundings to participate in this region of the sharing economy. Hosts sell the boundaries of their lives when they sign up to Airbnb; they invite the platform to share their private details, private spaces, and interfere with their everyday behaviours because of this need to utilise the asset of home. This platformisation comes to significantly touch the hosts and those around them.

From the moment that hosts begin to create their listing to after the guest has departed, Airbnb becomes a part of their lives in many ways. The platform sits in and around the home, coming to be a volatile part of the already fragile assemblage of home. From creating a situation where home is constantly unmade and remade (Roelofsen, 2018b), leaving hosts to feel like guests in their own space (Wilkinson & Wilkinson, 2018), to a 'destroyed community liveability' (Rozena & Lees, 2023, 265), almost everything around the host is impacted by Airbnb, and even touches those who exist near them. This platformisation by Airbnb, and the sharing economy as a whole, has permeated the world, affecting individuals and businesses alike. It has changed how individuals think, distinctly changing everyday realities for many, and the future for many more.

This chapter has considered the wide-reaching influence of the sharing economy and Airbnb. The literature has explored how the platform has the power to shape the experiences and daily lives of many people. However, it still remains to be understood how this influence manifests in the behaviours, emotions, and decisions of Airbnb hosts. This is an aspect that will be taken further in the empirical chapters of this PhD. Whilst the literature examined in these past 3 chapters have helped to build an understanding of home, commercialised hospitality, and Airbnb, there still exists a gap that concerns the home-disrupting processes that occur through the 'sharing' of the home with Airbnb and guests. It is this gap that the rest of this PhD seeks to address.

5. Methodology

This project seeks answers as to if and how home becomes unmade through its sharing with both strangers as guests in a private room Airbnb and with Airbnb as an influential platform. Home is a concept that is rife with subjectivities of importance, experience, and understanding, leading it to exist as something complex, fluid, and messy. Home is not just the people and belongings we see and know, but also the invisible things and the things we take for granted. It is tradition, society, and economics, but it is also now platform capitalism. It is this incorporation into the home of platform capitalism in the form of Airbnb that these methods confront, exploring how these influences of capitalism, strangers, and hospitality come to interact with these messy notions of home. With this comes questions, how do homeowners *become hosts?* What makes the home into the *Airbnb home?* What are the tensions that arise from this? The Aim of these methods was to give the best chance of understanding and answering such questions, and to try to strip back the surface level performances to reveal the emotional undercurrents of the process. With this, three specific research questions have been outlined:

- How is the assemblage of home changed through hosting on Airbnb?
- How does the performance of home change? And what impact does this have?
- What impact does the commercialisation and commodification of home have on the experience of homeliness?

To answer these questions, methods of enquiry designed to examine home from the perspective of Airbnb hosts. With this, the participants involved in this study are all private room Airbnb hosts, meaning that they let out a room in their own home, cohabiting with the guest, with their experiences existing at the heart of this research. In order to build an understanding of this topic, this PhD utilises an ethnographically informed approach with elements of netnography that emphasises methodological mobility in the constant

movement between the online and the offline. The individual methods used within this approach are semi-structured interviews, visual data in the form of listing photos and photos taken during the interview, online Airbnb listings and their reviews, online advice for Airbnb hosts, and data from dedicated Airbnb hosting forums. The messy nature of this topic brings questions as to how we can understand subjective human experience and represent these experiences to a secondary audience in a trustworthy fashion. The attempts to address these questions are what informed the selection of methodologies for this project. This chapter will explain these methodological choices, coming as a result of the subjectivities and messiness that these questions inherently hold, as well as the realities of investigating Airbnbs. Following this, it will explore the research participants, the reality of conducting the study, and how the data collected was analysed. Finally, it considers the limitations of this methodological approach and the impacts of reflexivity on the study. Firstly, it will present the research questions and the ontological and epistemological understandings that the answers to these questions are to be built on.

5.1. Ontology and Epistemology

Home is constructed in an assemblage (Harris, Brickell & Nowicki, 2020) of social, material, psychological, sensorial, and spatial elements, and as such exists with a great deal of subjectivity. As it is formed in assemblage, the complex and negotiated elements that make up home leave it to be a fragile entity without stability. This tricky and somewhat fluid idea of home presents many challenges in researching the topic. Home is manifested through social constructs and emotional connections, holding the constant potential for dynamism through time. With this, it was considered that the more rigid, traditional research methods and approaches that include hypotheses that are to be tested, were unsuitable, and rather a more grounded approach that allows data to emerge and develop as the research progresses was more attuned to the complexity of the topic.

In order to investigate such a messy concept, exploratory methods were employed in this ethnographically informed study to allow data to emerge during the course of the research. Ethnographical investigation 'is the study of people in naturally occurring settings or 'fields' by means of methods which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting' (Brewer, 2000, 6). Such methods presented the best way of entering the space of the subject and addressing ideas of home, however as the time period necessary for a full ethnography requires 'fairly lengthy contact' (Hammersley, 2006, 4), something not possible within the timespan of this PhD, it was preferred that elements be taken to produce an ethnographically informed project. As such, ethnographic elements were used, supplemented by elements of netnography,

interviews, and visual ethnography. The core tenets on which this research was built held a flexibility and adaptivity that allowed themselves to be shaped as data emerged. A position of rigidity would not have allowed for the flexible and subjective nature of home to be understood in a way that would benefit the project. As such, ontological and epistemological positions that champion such flexibility were vital for the progression of this research.

The notion of researching home, and the inherent messiness of it, gave a direction towards a suitable philosophical paradigm for research. As such, this project was completed from the point of view of an interpretivist paradigm, encompassing ontological relativism and epistemic subjectivism, aligned with postmodern thought (Levers, 2013). The interpretivist perspective finds its grounding in the belief that the social world is complex and that people, including researchers and their participants, create and define their own meanings within different social, cultural, and political settings (Potrac, Jones & Nelson, 2014; Jones & Wallace, 2005; Markula & Silk, 2011; Purdy & Jones, 2011). From this, interpretivism rejects the idea that the social world can be examined and understood via the same methodologies that natural scientists use to examine the physical world (Potrac, Jones & Nelson, 2014). As home is created through social, cultural, and political meanings, a dynamic paradigm that reflects understanding of this, such as interpretivism, presented itself as useful in the context. Interpretivism aims to include richness in the insight gathered, rather than attempting to create definite and universal laws that are generalisable and apply to everyone, as with positivism (Alharahsheh & Pius, 2020). Any search for undeniable proof of what occurs in terms of homeliness when hosting on Airbnb would have undoubtably come up short as it demands the simplification of a very complex topic. Interpretivist methods allowed for these complexities to be discussed and conclusions drawn from them, but those conclusions emphasised the subjectivity that comes with studying human processes.

Fitting quite nicely within the interpretivist paradigm, and with the view that home is a subjective assemblage, unique to each individual, is the relativist ontology. This ontology holds the belief that reality is a finite, subjective experience (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), where the world is constituted, by various extents, by the mind (O'Grady, 2014). Reality, from the relativist perspective, cannot be distinguished from the subjective experience of it (Guba & Lincoln, 2005), with the consideration that reality is human experience, and human experience is reality (Lever, 2013). It can be considered that human experience shapes home, and it is only through subjective realities that home can come to be. Complimenting this ontological position is a subjectivist epistemology. This epistemic

position considers unaffected, universal knowledge of an external reality not to be possible beyond the reflections and interpretations of an individual (Lever, 2013). This subjective and individual view of reality is also suggested to be filtered through a lens of language, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity, amongst others (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Many existing studies have identified that factors such as gender (Young, 2005), sexuality (Gorman-Murray, 2006), and social class (Woodward, 2003) impact the experience and performance of home, which made this a vital element to consider, and further demonstrated the necessity for an epistemological position that highlights these aspects of subjective experience. The presence of reflexivity in the research process also demanded the acknowledgement of such characteristics as they can influence how individuals relate to each other and potentially shift the perspective from which data is gained.

This research also followed an inductive approach. Glaser and Strauss (1967) argued that inductive methods are the only way to prevent the separation of theory and reality, with Reeves, Kuper and Hodges (2008) noting that it is only through inductive methods that empirical data is turned into theory. Attempting to predict the outcome of such an inherently messy study through hypotheses would have proven fruitless, and would have narrowed the field of search, ignoring elements that proved integral to the understanding of the situation. With this research focussing on a gap in the literature regarding hosts experiences of home when hosting on Airbnb, it was imperative that theory was generated to fill this gap. It was only through these qualitative, interpretive, ethnographically informed methods that the empirical data could be gathered, analysed, and transformed into theories that sought to answer the research questions that the project posed.

This philosophical paradigm clearly reflects the complexities of this project. The implicit subjectivities of the performance and experiences of home, along with the individual's own experiences of hosting, necessitated the rejection of complete objectivity. As each host experiences their own reality of hosting on Airbnb, the acknowledgement of the possibility of multiple truths was vital. The ability to view the thoughts of each host through the lens of their life experiences and positions in society was critical to the creation of a knowledge that reflects their subjective realities. To search for something generalisable, or a universal rule of behaviour and experience, would have been to reject the intricacies of human cognition that form the core of this project. A key element of this messiness is found in human emotion, with the investigation of this necessitating a paradigm that considers such subjectivities.

Human emotions are necessarily a tricky concept to investigate. In sociological circles, historically, emotions were ‘associated with the irrational and so quite opposed to the objective scientific search for knowledge’ (Holland, 2007, 196), however it was argued by Jaggar (1989) that the understanding of emotion is vital to the generation of knowledge in many fields, which has since come to be widely acknowledged. Emotional reactions can be both instinctual or a conscious reaction to an instinctive visceral change (Holland, 2007), linked to both cognition and action (Hochschild, 1983). Emotions can be considered our way of ‘knowing the world’ with it being only through emotions that we can ‘know’, not simply through cognition or intellect (Game, 1997). It is through emotions that we come to know what constitutes our subjective experiences of home, with emotions underpinning the complex arrangement of socialities, materialities, spatialities and senses that facilitate our performance of home. With regards to the materialities of home, it is acknowledged that emotional connections can be made with even the most banal items, be they coffee mugs, clothes, or kitchen utensils (Lupton, 1998). These kinds of connection may not even take place on a rational, conscious level (Lupton, 1998), with this underlining how important this kind of emotional attachment can be to the continued performance and experience of home. Research on emotion can bring out not just what people say, but what they do, giving an insight into how they manage their world. Emotion is something that can be seen throughout this research, for example pride in chapter 7 and anxieties in chapter 8.

The researching of emotion can be a very complex and subjective endeavour. In the course of investigating, emotions can start to be perceived as falling into distinct categories (i.e., anger, sadness, fear, joy), neglecting the nuance that emotional dimensions surely hold (Scherer, 2004). Emotions can be better conceptualised as something fluid (Lupton, 1998), something that cannot possibly be reduced to a single element but rather is constructed through continued relational practices of embodied, interdependent human existence (Game, 1997). For emotions to be effectively researched, it must be understood how they can manifest. The most common forms of the manifestation of emotions come through in the way we talk, in our speech patterns and choice of words, as well as our facial and body language (Galasinski, 2004; Harre & Gillett, 1994), and it is these expressions of emotion that had to be understood for rich data to be extracted. One of the key ways to uncover these emotions is the examining of the emotional trajectories in a conversation, considering how emotional processes affected the interaction (Godbold, 2015). All emotional research depends on the researcher’s ability to interpret and recognise the meaning of the emotions of the participant (Godbold, 2015), however, this can be a very subjective process. The identity and experiences of the researcher shape the ideas that they take with them into the

field (Holland, 2007), which can influence their interpretation of the emotions displayed by the participant. Researchers can only understand and interpret emotions to the same extent as anyone else, emotional research is not access to the experience of others but rather involves trying to make out what is happening based on knowledge of what is usual or typical in the given situation (Godbold, 2015; Heritage, 1984). The creation of emotional knowledge can be considered an unscientific, unobjective process, however, to understand social situations, and here, the experiences of homeliness for a cohabiting Airbnb host, it is something absolutely essential. The understanding of emotion can also be considered as a part of a larger whole, coming under the consideration of the theory of affect.

The understanding of affect also plays a large role in the creation of knowledge about how we perform and experience home. While emotion can be considered one of the ways that humans qualify the intensity of affective experiences (Massumi, 2002), affect also encompasses passions, moods, and feelings (La Caze & Lloyd, 2011). Affect analyses the body in ways that just the emotional cannot fully capture, focussing on how human bodies are affected and how they affect others (Sobe, 2012). Through the intensity and dynamism that affect embodies, the forces of sociality are energised (Athanasiou, Hantzaroula & Yannakopoulos, 2008). While affect is imperative to research in all areas that create home, this idea positions affect as a vital element in the investigation of how the presence of guests impacts on homeliness with it playing a key role in understanding the host-guest relationship. Affect exists between the thinking mind and the feeling body, between the power to affect and the power to be affected, and between bodies and worlds (La Caze & Lloyd, 2011). That it is considered to lie between the mind and the body relates to the idea that affect and cognition are never fully separable (Seigworth & Gregg, 2010), rejecting the concept of duality. Despite this, affect need not be a conscious occurrence. Autoaffection is linked to the feeling of being alive, aliveness or vitality (Clough, 2007). Incorporating the in-depth consideration of emotion, affect offers a root of investigation into the socialities, spatialities and senses that is critical for the experience of home to be truly understood.

Emotion and affect are so deeply subjective that they can never be truly interpreted with any degree of certainty. Through emotional reflexivity, we have to attempt to interpret our own emotions (Holmes, 2015), meaning that we can never even be certain of our own emotions. Beyond this, the same emotion can be exhibited in many different ways by different people, making solid interpretation challenging. Researchers can only dig so far when investigating such topics, with an absolute truth of emotion and affect impossible to uncover.

5.2. Methodological Approach

This project takes an ethnographically informed approach. Ethnographic methods are chiefly used in studies that look to understand the complexities of social and cultural processes that are experienced as part of the everyday (Crang & Cook, 2007) by placing the researcher as an active participant in the field (Brewer, 2000). This is typically a long process, however short-term theoretically informed ethnographies have been championed as a contemporary method that is suited to investigating contemporary subjects (Pink & Morgan, 2013). This short-term theoretically informed method has also come to inform the ethnographic elements of this study. As the home is centred around processes and performances that are influenced by, amongst other things, socialities and cultures, this positions ethnography as the most suitable for this project. As this project deals with topics filled with messiness and subjectivities, an ethnographically informed approach allows the best opportunity for these to be explored and understood. This ethnographically informed approach will also be adapted to include elements of netnography to effectively examine the online mobilities that are an inherent part of Airbnb hosting. One element of critical importance that this ethnographic methodology is useful in investigating is relationships.

Ethnographies are useful in breaking down the boundaries of the pure subject, tracing thoughts back to things such as books, friends, and social relations (Crang & Cook, 2007). This can allow the research to more effectively draw upon the relationships between people, and between people and things that create home, presenting more of an opportunity to probe into the socialities, materialities and spatialities of home. It is critical that links to experiences and environments are made in the participants minds for the research questions to be effectively answered, with an ethnographic research design offering the most credible path to achieving this. Qualitative ethnographic research has also previously been instrumental in the researching of emotions (Brannan, 2011). With emotional elements underpinning all of the relationships between humans, and humans and objects that come together to create home, this positions ethnography as a vital element for the creation of the knowledge that this project demands.

A knowledge of the social world is procured through an intimate familiarity with it, ethnography is vital to this as it offers the opportunity to take an in-depth look at the day-to-day practices of individuals, and the meanings of social actions (Brewer, 2000). Within ethnography, there are different strands of thought, one of these being naturalist. Naturalist ethnography focusses on the experiencing, observing, describing, understanding, and analysing the features of social life (Brewer, 2000). This strain of ethnography centres investigation upon what humans feel, perceive, think, and do in natural situations, stressing

people's meaning, which is characterised as their perceptions, emotions, feelings, thoughts, moods, ideas, beliefs, and interpretive processes (Brewer, 2000). This naturalist branch champions the investigation of how people endow meaning through their creation and interpretation of their social setting in an ever-changing world, with this research best localised to the real world in which the reside (Brewer, 2000). This very much lends itself to the analysis of the fragile realm of home, mediated by the meaning and emotion that facilitate the performance of home. To best suite this investigation of home, elements from other strands of ethnography stand prominent as fitting the role. Discovery ethnography positions itself to focus on the inductive, rather than limiting itself to the testing of hypotheses (Hammersley, 1994). In researching a topic that deals in messiness as much as the investigation of home does, the building of theory as opposed to the testing can be seen as a method that allows for the more comprehensive understanding of a complex topic. Meanwhile, the 'understanding' field of ethnography suggests that to be able to explain human actions, we must understand the cultural perspectives on which they are based (Hammersley, 1994). As home can be seen to embody and reflect cultural identities, understanding this, and how it has changed to accommodate the guidelines of Airbnb can be pivotal to identifying the affect that it has had on the host's experience of home. Alongside these various elements of more traditional ethnography, other, more distinct branches will also be utilised.

Both sensorial and visual ethnographic methods are key to the full understanding of what creates the environment necessary for the performance and experience of home. These are two methods of investigation that are employed when in the home of the host. Sensorial considerations are central to our attempts to learn about, understand, and represent the lives of other people (Pink, 2012). With sensory organisation dependent on social and cultural order (Falk, 1994), this can be a crucial component to gain a full understanding about how the performance and experience of home is affected by the presence of an Airbnb guest. This multisensory approach can also add vividity to the findings, making them more accessible and faithful to the realities of the subject (Stoller, 1989). In the case of this project, the sensorial aspects are vital to the reality of home, and something that Airbnb hosts may find to change upon the arrival of a guest. Visual ethnographic methods will also hopefully present useful opportunities for understanding home. Such methods can offer insight into the participant's way of 'being in the world' (Pink, 2008) and thus of their 'being at home'. The researching of the senses makes them describable as an 'inscribed, negotiated, and embodied knowledge and practice' (Gibson & vom Lehn, 2021, 3). This may help build an understanding of how the hosts interact with the spatialities and

materialities of their home, while also examining whether the spatialities and materialities reflect identities of home or commercialisation.

Parts of this project also utilised a photographic essay approach. This differs from the visual ethnographic methods in that these are images that are reviewed after the interview takes place rather than what was seen and experienced during the interview. This includes photographs taken by hosts in the creation of their Airbnb listing. Images have the power to inform, document, and add value and meaning to discussion and can be used to analyse and understand phenomena, usually in conjunction with other data collection methods (Rodrigues, 2018). Photographs can also be a useful way of understanding visual cultures, considering how meaning is made through visual imagery (Rose, 2022). Photographic materials, through compositional interpretations (Rose, 2022) allow a way of considering how images have been framed and what they are trying to depict to the viewer, giving insight into not only what the visual shows but also into what the photographer wants the viewer to see. Through this, semiological analysis can be conducted into what visual 'signs' are produced through the image and what they mean (Rose, 2022). This, taken alongside the view that 'Human Culture is made up of signs' (Bal & Bryson, 1991, 174), allows these meanings found in the photographs to be considered within the wider context of the project and the human meaning that it is founded in.

This project adapts ethnographic methods for digital environments using a netnographic inspired approach. In the modern era, particularly in a project that considers the online platform Airbnb, the introduction of netnographic methods can be very useful for adding context and background to project data. Such online research is particularly useful when investigating personally sensitive topics (Costello, McDermott & Wallace, 2017), such as the emotional side of hosting. Netnography is a specialised kind of ethnographic research that has been adapted to the unique characteristics of the various types of computer-mediated social interaction (Kozinets, 2012). Within the online sphere is a social and cultural world that scientists can benefit from understanding, with online interactions analysed with cultural frames of reference (Kozinets, 1997; Kozinets, 1998). As online social worlds are so different in how they present and how they manifest, it was considered best that there were specific, new approaches to data collection and research engagement (Kozinets, 2010). As a consequence of this, the concept of netnographies was devised to offer a platform for common understanding and common practice with the idea that studies would therefore confer stability, consistency and legitimacy (Kozinets, 2010). Netnography has become increasingly more important as online social spaces receive more recognition as important fields for qualitative social science research because of the richness and

openness of its cultural sites (Kozinets, 2014). It is this openness and richness that positions netnography as a very useful method for gaining extra details in this project, aiding the creation of knowledge. Whilst Kozinets (2010) suggested that there is no need for offline data collection in netnographic study, a combination of both online and offline study has since been championed (Costello, McDermott & Wallace, 2017). This project utilises a number of netnographically inspired methods to move constantly between the online and the offline in the course of collecting data. This highlights the importance of mobilising research methods.

This project also mobilises traditional ethnographic methods in order to adapt them to consider modern technologies. Mobile ethnography has been developing alongside the capabilities of smartphones and other devices to process and display applications (Diaz, Marino & Rivas, 2010; Patrick et al., 2008). This method offers a mixing of the real and technological environments, helping to bridge the gap between physical and digital worlds, and is commonly used to understand how users learn in technical ecologies (Crabtree & Rodden, 2008; Muskat, Muskat & Zehrer, 2018). Mobile ethnographies do, however, reduce the distance between researcher and participant in the data collection process, as the researcher must have a higher level of engagement and participation in the knowledge creation process (Muskat, Muskat & Zehrer, 2018). The strength of mobile ethnography is that it is well suited to capturing dynamic phenomena and developments in spaces, such as change and development processes, and mobile lives (Buscher & Urry, 2009; Urry, 2002). This exploration of the integration of technology into everyday lives could help to give great insight into hosts communicate with, and via, Airbnb in their homes and what impact this has. Conducting ethnography in the modern world demands the acknowledgement of the online sphere. Without taking its influence and affect into consideration, a deep understanding of human experience cannot be reached. Netnography and mobile ethnography can therefore be considered vital elements that must be considered in the modern age.

5.3. Study Participants

The participants selected for the study were exclusively Airbnb hosts who cohabit with their guests, that is that they rent out a room in their own home. The distinction must be made between hosts who cohabit and hosts who rent out an entire house or apartment as it is only the cohabitees that welcome guests and commercialisation into their homely space while they themselves are still also inhabiting it. While hosts that rent out an entire abode may be placing their home onto the market while they inhabit a separate space, their performance of home is less likely be in opposition to guests and commercialised

hospitality as the two are not sharing the same space. The locations for this research were Newcastle and across Devon, where a total of 12 interviews were conducted. This saw the inclusion of Airbnbs in both urban and rural locations. This was done with the idea of examining the different atmospheres and markets that come with different locations, although these aspects did not emerge as significant in the research. All participant hosts in this study were white, the majority were British, and the majority were middle class. As none of the interviews were spoiled, it was decided that saturation had been reached after the twelfth interview. Below is a list of the participants in this study:

Sophie: 11 Months a host, was new to hosting, lives with her partner and sometimes her daughter, in her 40s, works full-time.

Colleen: 10 years a host, previously hosted exchange students, lives with her partner and 2 children, in her 50s, works full-time.

Annie: 3 years a host, previously had a lodger, lives alone, in her 60s, works part-time.

Michael & Caroline: 3 years hosts, were new to hosting, in their 60s, both retired.

Harry & Sue: 1 year hosts, ran a traditional B&B for many years, live alone together, in their 70s, both retired.

Sandy: 4 years a host, previously had a lodger, lives with 2 daughters, in her 40s, works full-time.

Mary: 4 years a host, was new to hosting, lives alone, in her 60s, retired.

Jane: 6 years a host, previously hosted exchange students, lives alone with partner, children have moved out since starting, in her 50s, works full-time, from Hungary.

Bill & Tom: 3 years hosts, were new to hosting, live alone together, in their 50s, both work full-time, Tom is from New Zealand.

Tilly: 7 years a host, previously had a lodger, lives with partner, in her 50s, works full-time.

Nadine: 4 years a host, previously had a lodger, lives with child, in her 60s, works part-time.

Jenny: 5 years a host, previously welcomed acting students, lives with partner, in her 60s, retired.

The methods used for selecting participants were non-probability, purposive techniques. Purposive techniques offer the best chance of ensuring that the sample possess the salient characteristics critical to the study (Farmaki & Kaniadakis, 2020). This was to be paired with the use of snowball sampling techniques in order to find as many participants as possible, with precedent for this coming from Saturnino and Sousa (2019). As hosts cannot be contacted directly through Airbnb, a variety of other channels were utilised. Airbnb host Facebook groups were considered for suitable participants, with four separate page admins contacted. While two of the messages received no response, one allowed me to post a request on their page, though it received no interactions. The final page was the official Airbnb host page for hosts in Devon. Though the admin was not able to allow me access to the group as I am not a host, they put a request out on my behalf. This yielded one interview. Following the lack of success with this method, I decided to use my knowledge of the local area to search the online Airbnb listings for suitable Airbnbs. My initial approach of knocking on the doors of the Airbnbs and requesting interviews was unsuccessful in the two instances that it was attempted. A secondary approach of producing a letter and putting it through the letterboxes of the Airbnbs was then employed. This achieved much greater success, yielding 10 interviews. The remaining interview came as a result of a mutual contact. While all hosts were asked if they knew any other hosts who could participate, as per the snowball technique, none were able to recommend any.

5.4. Data Collection Methods

For this project, a number of data collection techniques were utilised. An interview with the host(s) was conducted in both a sit-down interview and continuing during a tour of the guest areas. During this tour, any notable hosting materialities not visible on the listing were photographed, with permission from the hosts. Data from the listings of the Airbnbs investigated was also collected, including property description, host description, house rules, listing photos, and guest reviews. Online articles offering advice to hosts from both Airbnb and other outlets were collected, a number of Airbnbs TV adverts were analysed, while data was also extracted from 2 separate host forums. This variety of research methods allowed for a wide variety of data to be collected, covering many viewpoints and minimising gaps in the data.

The first data collected came from websites offering advice to hosts. The pages considered were the top results from the searches ‘advice for Airbnb hosts’ and ‘top tips for Airbnb hosts’. In total, the advice of 30 webpages was collected. 9 of these were from Airbnb themselves, while the other 21 were from various outlets with 19 of them coming as written advice and 2 coming as videos on YouTube. Advice regarding the socialities,

materialities, spatialities, and senses of home were examined and recorded and used to inform interview questions, though only the specific advice on materialities was used in the final chapters. This was conducted prior to the interviews as a thorough knowledge of the topic can be key to asking the right questions (Rabionet, 2011). This allowed me to gain a backdrop to the kind of advice and information that may have influenced hosts in their offerings and hospitable behaviours.

The interview with the host(s) was the most critical process of the project. For the first stage of the interview, I sat down with the participant(s) and discussed their hosting experiences. This kind of interview has been considered one of the primary methods for understanding the contexts and goings-on of the everyday social, political, cultural, and economic aspects of people's lives (Crang & Cook, 2007). The main focus of this stage of the interview was on how they have adjusted to hosting, what their performance of hospitality looks like, and what their performance of home looks like. In each interview, I came with the same sheet of questions to guide the interview but never restricted the interview solely to these questions. This kind of semi-structured interview (Knaus, 2020) allowed the participants to talk more freely (Brewer, 2000) and for the interview to flow more smoothly. In instances when it was applicable, episodic interviewing was also used, for example I asked each host to recount their experience with their first guest from receiving the booking through to the review stage to get a full understanding of how they initially experienced hosting, with this technique able to improve recall (Flick, 2000). This was particularly useful when investigating the emotions hosts have felt at different times during when hosting, bringing into focus transitions of mindset and of home. These interviewing techniques continued into the second part of the interview, which took on a different form.

The second part of the interview saw the host leading me on a tour of the guest areas of the home, and occasionally the private areas also. Visual ethnography methods such as tours has precedent for this kind of research, with them found to be useful in gaining an understand of people's feelings of home and homeliness (Pink & Mackley, 2012). With this section of the interview including a main focus on material changes and relationships with the materialities of home, placing the participant in the presence of these materialities had the advantage of stimulating the participant's thought processes and self-expression (Moisander, Valtonen & Hirsto, 2009). Bringing the interviewee into contact with different spaces and possessions also helped to unlock memories and different facets of identity (Rowles, 1983), generating very valuable discussions regarding spatial relationships. As identity and the home are so closely intertwined, it was vital to be able to bring this out

during the tour, with the materialities and spatialities facilitating this. Objects do not have any single meaning, they are subjective, with a meaning that is contextual and contingent (Moisander, Valtonen & Hirsto, 2009) and this portion of the interview sought to understand meanings behind objects of home and objects of Airbnb. It is for this reason that it was vital to get as close as possible into the host's relationship with their materialities and spatialities. The mobility of the tour transformed this part into a walking interview, which can create ethnographic 'moments', decentring the focus on data to develop and consider the critical potential of the politics of everyday life (Wilmott, 2016). While such mobile interviews can be used to redress power imbalances, it can also aid in the exploration of the relationship between place and person (Kinney, 2017), a critical aspect of this project. During this tour, some photographs were taken. The main focus of the photos was to highlight materialities that existed in the space for guests that were not included in the listing photos. As it transpired, the photos were exclusively of signs and notes that were left for the guests.

Following each interview, data was retrieved from the Airbnb listing. This saw all of the text describing the Airbnb, listing the house rules, and describing the host copied onto a word document, along with every review they have received. Each listing photo was also downloaded and saved. This was used to give an insight into how hosts presented their homes and themselves online and to explore their relationship with the space as both a home and a commercial home. The listing photos provided a record of the materialities that had been introduced for guests while also allowing for comparison between how hosts would like their home to be seen and how it is in reality. The reviews were also used to gain an insight into their experience as a guest. Review analysis has been considered to be one of the best ways to examine customer experiences as they tend to write the review shortly after the experience and they are unaffected by any means of observation (Rageh, Melewar & Woodside, 2013). While much can be deduced from the reviews, the only conclusions that reached the final chapters came from establishing the frequency of particular hospitable performances.

The next piece of data that was collected came from online forums operated specifically for Airbnb hosts. The two forums examined were the official Airbnb forum Community.withairbnb.com, and the unofficial Airhostsforum.com. Community.withairbnb.com is arranged into different sections: Airbnb updates, help, hosting, interests, new to hosting, and tips & tutorials. From each of these different sections, the 10 most recently interacted with threads were recorded onto a word document, giving a total of 60 threads from this site. Airhostsforum.com is not divided in

this way, with the threads presented in a single list. The 37 most recently interacted with threads were recorded, with it being felt that saturation had been reached at this point. Collecting data from forums in a form of online ethnography (Hine, 2008), and so can offer in-depth insight into the experiences of hosts while avoiding reflexivity from the presence of a researcher. This took place concurrently with the interviews; however it had no effect on the interviews as the questions asked did not change.

The final data that was collected for this project was from Airbnb's television adverts. The collection of Airbnb tv adverts proved quite challenging. The criteria for the collection of these ads were that they must have been on television in the UK and must have been broadcast in the last 10 years. The availability of such ads was restricted to YouTube and very few other sites, with the majority placing the ads behind paywalls. This resulted in a limited number of ads that were able to be collected and analysed. Whilst this stands as a limitation of this method, it remained possible to collect 13 Airbnb adverts that met the research criteria and allowed understandings to be built surrounding the messaging of Airbnb's tv marketing. Using various means, such as YouTube and ispot.tv I was able to find a total of 13 adverts to examine. These adverts were found by looking through the uploads of the official Airbnb YouTube channel, as well as internet searches of 'Airbnb TV advert'. In instances where the name of an advert could be found but was not accompanied by the video, the same internet search was conducted with the name of the advert attached to the end. Out of the 13 adverts collected, 6 stills from 6 different ads were chosen to offer visual representations of Airbnb's television advertising. These were considered to offer the best visual illustration of the messaging in Airbnb's advertising, attending to the prevailing themes that were observed across the 13 adverts analysed. As advertising is used to position the brand (Cartwright, McCormick & Warnaby, 2016), analysing these TV ads is a critical factor in understanding the environment in which hosts perform hospitality. This allowed me to explore what guests are told to expect from their host, and what hosts are told to expect from themselves.

Whilst the methods above are the ones that were utilised for the study, they were not the only potentially suitable avenues of research. In place of the interviews that were carried out, it would have been possible to actually stay with the host as a guest. This sort of auto-ethnographical method, used by authors such as Roelofsen (2018b), brings the ability to see the hosts' homemaking practices first hand as an active participant playing the role of a guest. Though this has potential to offer a greater view of host behaviour in the presence of guest, it may also limit the ability to understand hosts' relationship with hosting. This method places the researcher within the host-guest dynamic, attaching to them the features

of this relationship and role. With this, the host may still view the researcher more as a paying guest who will leave a review than as a researcher. In this dynamic, the host may be less willing to discuss negative aspects of hosting, particularly ones that relate to guests. As such, the decision was made to maintain my position outside of this relationship, exploring the phenomena purely as a researcher with no extra baggage attached to my relationship with the host.

Alongside the television ads of Airbnb, other visual materials were also considered for research. The main consideration for another source of materials was Airbnb billboards. This would have simply provided another avenue for the visual analysis of Airbnb's marketing messaging from a medium that requires different methods of communication from television. It quickly became apparent, however, that there were limited examples of such Airbnb ads freely available to be found on the internet, with even fewer offering information such as the location of the billboard and the date the ad was put up. Whilst this method had the potential to offer interesting and valuable data, the lack of materials and information meant that this was not an avenue that could be pursued.

5.5. Data Analysis

For the process of analysing the data in this project, a phenomenological approach will be utilised. This involves first, the bracketing of assumptions and prior conceptualisations about phenomena to remain open to what the data says, secondly, spending time reflecting on the data and what it means, thirdly, reducing down the data to discern 'horizons of meaning' from lived experiences, and finally, the constructing of findings through writing and rewriting (Roulston, 2014, 302). This represents a formula that can be followed for the analysis of all three sets of data that will be collected in this project, allowing for greater consistency and greater opportunity for reliability, though distinct elements will need to be introduced into the process for each method.

The first data to be analysed was the information available to hosts. This was conducted immediately after collection and was used to inform interview preparations. The data was first analysed by extracting information relevant to private room hosts, sorting and categorising the advice, and then tallying how often advice in each category was offered. The information from this tally was not used in the final chapters. The categorised advice was then considered with relation to the key topic areas of socialities, materialities, spatialities, and senses of the home. Key quotes were then extracted to support the arguments made in the chapters.

The interviews were the next pieces of data to be analysed. Firstly, needed to be transcribed (Roulston, 2014), facilitating the searching of data for specific words or phrases. The transcription for each interview took place shortly after it was conducted, and concurrently with other interviews being arranged and undertaken. For the analysis of these interviews, a qualitative analysis technique was utilised. This method commonly starts by ‘analysing and counting the distribution of answers question by question’, with the researcher then selecting ‘some sections of participants’ discourse as providing the satisfactory answers to his or her questions, whereas other parts of participants’ discourse are ignored or treated as unimportant’ (Talja, 1999, 461). All the key quotes were taken from each interview and sorted into categories that best reflected the meaning and theme of the quote. These categories of themes were then brought together to form larger categories that considered similar areas. It was considered that this method would provide ‘a logical and coherent picture’ (Talja, 1999, 461) of the research group. It is from these larger categories that the story of the empirical chapters emerged, leading to them partially dictating the structure of the PhD going forward.

Occurring alongside analysis of the interviews was the analysis of the data collected from forums. This data was analysed in the same way as the interviews, with quotes being extracted and categorised. Whilst largely the same analysis techniques were used for the data collected from forums, the categories were not reused. For the forum data, new categories were developed in the same way that they were for the interview analysis. Whilst this meant that there was some overlap between the categories employed in each analysis, it also meant that distinct areas of investigation emerged from the forums, leading them to further shape the structure of the PhD going forward. During the process, each individual forum post was tallied with regards to their content, similar to the online advices, and also similarly, this data was not used in the final chapters.

Following this, the photos taken during the interview and the photos on the Airbnb listing were analysed. This began with a content analysis of all the photos, quantitatively describing their contents (Zhang, Chen & Li, 2019). This was used to identify materialities in hosting spaces, such as objects introduced for the guest and material arrangements, for example bottles of water, cups, kettles, and the neatly arranging of pillows and cushions. These materialities were then tallied on an Excel document to represent the frequency of their observance. The photos were then considered semiotically, as a representation of the home and space (Zhang, Chen & Li, 2019). In this, it was considered how the staging of the photos was meant to represent the home. This was done by looking at the photos, comparing them to other data from the listing, and to answers in the interview to establish

what atmosphere or message the host was trying to convey in the image. For this, elements such as staged lighting, staged breakfasts, staged drinks, and staged candles were tallied.

Alongside this, the written descriptions of the Airbnb and of the host were analysed, as well as the guest reviews. The written descriptions were analysed in the same way as the interviews and forums, with quotes taken and sorted under relevant categories. Similarly to the forum posts, the themes of the listings were also tallied to bring out the more common themes. The reviews were searched for key words relating to the hospitable performance of the host. To establish how often hosts would offer to drive their guests, the reviews were searched for ‘drive’, ‘driving’, ‘lift’,’ drop(ped) me off’ etc. It was also used to look at extra food offerings using words like ‘food’, ‘breakfast’, ‘lunch’, ‘dinner’, ‘snack’ etc. Beyond the search for performances above the ordinary, the reviews were also searched for the words, and variances there of: ‘home’, ‘house’, ‘welcome’, ‘helpful’, ‘family’, ‘accommodating’, ‘knowledge’, ‘clean’, ‘privacy’, ‘quiet’, and the name of the host. How often the host responds to reviews was also calculated. Statistical analysis tests were then used to find relationships between the occurrences of these words. Much of this was not, however, used in the final chapters.

The final analysis conducted was on Airbnb’s television adverts. This was done after all other analysis had been completed. This was done by repeatedly viewing the adverts, drawing out conclusions from the audio, the visual, and the overall narrative. This involved considering the spoken and written words in the adverts and visuals from both cartoon and live-action ads that were used to suggest ideas of home and host-guest relationships and how these ideas are represented. From the audio, key quotes were taken and categorised, much like had been done for previous data. From the visuals, stills were taken that display themes relevant to the project, these were then also categorised. These quotes and stills were then compared with each other and the overall narratives of the adverts to understand the messaging of Airbnb’s marketing campaigns.

5.6. Limitations

As with any study, limitations exist within this methodological approach. The results produced by ethnographic research are suggested to be very diverse, making it difficult to draw exact conclusions (Queiros, Faria & Almeida, 2017). This produces ambiguity and adds an element of inconclusiveness to the findings (Elliott & Jankel-Elliott, 2003), while also making generalisability very difficult. Some have also suggested that ethnographies focus on small-scale interactions and typically only observe what is on the surface rather than societal issues that may influence phenomena (Brewer, 2000). This suggests that such

ethnographical methods may be able to uncover what is happening in the specific instance of the research but struggle to relate it to a wider context, which could lessen the value of the findings that are produced.

There are also limitations associated with the data collection methods that were chosen for this project. Interviews can commonly be considered very time consuming and while producing data that is not generalisable (Queiros, Faria & Almeida, 2017). It can also be difficult in interviews to distinguish between a natural discussion and an artificial performance (Smithson, 2000), this can be a particular concern when interviewing hosts who are understood to regularly enact performances in the presence of guests. With this, the presence of a researcher and the purpose of the interview has the potential to guide participants towards certain directions without the researcher being leading in their behaviours or questions.

The collection and analysis of online reviews also has limitations attached to it. Netnographic methods have previously been criticised for a lack of methodological rigor (Nascimento, Suarez & Campos, 2022; Costello, McDermott & Wallace, 2017). A limitation that emerges from analysing just the two most prominent forums is that the views and experiences of users in other spaces are missed and excluded (Belz & Baumbach, 2010). As the online portion of this research relies on secondary data, much of what is written in the reviews and on forums may be completely irrelevant, meaning that there may be no benefit to the research from the time put into the analysis in some instances. In any case, the complete context from the reviews or forums posts will be unknown, so any data extracted may not hold the same value and reliability as any underlying meanings may have to be inferred by the researcher rather than overtly stated by the guest. Generally, this can be considered an inconsistent data collection method, and can only really be used to supplement findings from the other methods rather than making up the basis of the project.

Limitations can also be found with the gathering of advice available to hosts online. The breadth and scope of information available to hosts can result in contradictions being observed, making it difficult to identify the prevailing narrative. This can impact the usefulness of the information in the planning for the interview stage of data collection. The vast number of sources also can make it hard to judge what each individual host will or will not have seen. This could call into question the subjective relevancy, but it can be considered that it is the subjective nature of human experience that necessitates the in-

depth researching into what information is available to help give an insight into the various viewpoints that may be held by the hosts.

5.7. Reflexivity

In the course of undertaking research, reflexivity must be a key consideration. Reflexivity is an emotional, embodied, and cognitive process in which individuals have feelings about and try to understand and alter their lives in relation to their natural and social environments, and to others (Holmes, 2010). This positions reflexivity between the reproduction of the self and the reproduction of society (Elliott, 2002). This can create difficulties in research when attempting to discern what constitutes the emotions and beliefs of a subject and what is simply a front put on to reflect their current social environment. Whilst the naturalist ethnographic perspective suggests that research should be undertaken in a 'natural' state, unaffected by the researcher (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2019), the question could be raised as to what constitutes the natural environment for this project. It could be considered that the presence of a researcher in the home of the host may go some way towards replicating their feeling of homeliness that occur when they have a guest staying with them. Evidence has shown, however, that this is not the case.

In a number of instances, it was quickly identifiable that I was being treated differently to a paying guest. A few of the hosts immediately led me to a space that I would later find out is not normally open to guests. While they would almost all initially offer me a drink, as they would with a normal guest, it was still not the same performance. A number of the hosts also showed me the private spaces of their home, including their bedrooms, which would certainly not be shown to Airbnb guests. Beyond the surrendering of boundaries in my presence, there were instances where their social performance could be seen to change.

When the performance of hospitality began, it was easy to see a difference to the demeanour that was offered to me. Here, the voices pitched up slightly and words that I could tell had been said many times before were uttered. It was perhaps made to seem a little more jarring when they would immediately revert to how they were before when the guest had left. In a particular instance where the guest was present for much of the interview, however, the opposite could be observed. While in the presence of the guest, the host was consistently complimentary about guests, however for the minute or two where the guest left the room, the host quickly made comments about younger guests making noise, before reverting to positivity when the guest returned. As this particular guest was a student, the host clearly did not want to make these comments in front of them. From these examples, it is clear to see that a certain amount of reflexivity was in play, but that I was

getting something closer to the 'authentic' self than is offered in the performance of hospitality.

5.8. Ethics

In preparation for the data collection part of this project, ethical approval was given by Northumbria University. With this, all possible risks involved with undertaking this research were understood and provisions were made to minimise any potential risks. Prior to each interview, participants were given an information sheet stating the purpose of the research, what was involved in the interview, assurances about the safe storing of data, assurances about anonymity, and emphasis of their right to withdraw from the study at any time, along with a consent form to confirm their willingness to participate, for the audio to be recorded, and for photos to be taken in their home in some instances. Following the interviews, all consent forms were safely and privately stored along with all recordings made, transcriptions written, and photos taken.

Alongside this, it was important to take an ethical approach to interacting with, and gathering information from, hosts. Collecting such personal, and potentially sensitive, information frequently required caution and empathy. I found it important to reassure participants that they did not need to answer any questions that they did not want to and never had to give any information that they considered too personal. With this, I also took responsibility to steer the conversation away from subjects that participants seemed less comfortable with to ensure that their part in the interview did not bring negativity to them. I also refrained from entering, or asking to enter, the private spaces of the home unless invited by the participant out of respect for their privacy. As with any study that concerns emotion and person experiences, this study required much ethical consideration, however I believe that it was conducted in a manner that gave appropriate respect to this ethical importance.

5.9. Summary

These methods were designed to examine the home in the new context of Airbnb hosting. This new way of offering hospitality that the platform provides brings the home to share space with capitalism, work, and technology, bringing new ways of *being* in modern society. Airbnb hosting brings a new messiness to the home as a space filled with confusion and contradiction. This ethnographically informed approach was chosen to explore this and have afforded a detailed insight and analysis into the processes, practices, and tensions of Airbnb hosting. This assortment of methods has allowed the problem to be viewed from different angles, bringing out the minutia of experiences and impacts on the

notion of home. The five research methods chosen, the interview, the online advice for hosts, the listings, the forums, and the television adverts, aimed to offer a rich view of the vital areas of study, namely the sociality, materiality, spatiality, and senses of the home. Reflexivity played a large part in all of the interviews and tours and likely saw a change in the environment of the home and the behaviour of the host, which had to be taken into consideration, while the mobility of moving between the online and the offline provided a more rounded understanding of experiences. Though there were limitations attached to the study design and research methods, the research benefits that came with this approach far outweighed them.

6. Making the Airbnb Home

As a home becomes commercialised, it will commonly undergo a transition that sees it change from a private space to a shared space. Much of the discussion surrounding commercial homes examines them as a transformed space of commerciality, viewing them as small businesses (Morrison, 1998; Thomas, 1998), family run businesses (Getz & Carlsen, 2000; Getz et al., 2004), or from an entrepreneurial perspective with considerations to lifestyle (Altjevic & Doorne, 2000; Di Domenico, 2003). A critical aspect of the commercial home has been generally overlooked, that is the locating of *home* within this commercialised home. While many discussions consider the forms of commercial homes and how they operate, few have attempted to understand how the commercial home exists, is made, is unmade, and is remade *as a Home.* One of the problems with finding home in the commercial home comes in how the space becomes remade to suit the commerciality, and can in turn lose vital elements of home, this is where this chapter sets its focus.

Within the commercial home setting of an Airbnb, the remaking of home can be quite major and multifaceted. When an individual decides that they want to become an Airbnb host, it is very common to make changes to the materialities of the home. Most commonly this will see simple functional items added and walls being painted, but it is enough to change the feeling of the home. Along with this, they remake their home in the virtual, creating a listing to advertise their Airbnb with the aim of presenting their home as an attractive space for guests. With this, the newly introduced elements of the commercial home can challenge the material and imaginary elements that make home, disrupting the assemblage from which home is made.

This chapter continues to view home as an assemblage (Harris, Brickell & Nowicki, 2020) with a stronger focus on the relationships between the human and the material that lie at its heart (Maalsen, 2020). The components of this assemblage can either support or subvert

the social and political processes of home (Maalsen, 2020), while the stability of this assemblage is dependent on the territorialisation and re-territorialisation of the space (DeLanda, 2006). Home becomes territorialised through the homogenisation of the assemblage and through boundaries that are delineated and made impermeable (DeLanda, 2016). This consideration of home as a territorialised assemblage sits very much in tension with the realities of Airbnb hosting and the commercial home. For hosts, boundaries become permeable, flexible and temporal, willingly opening to guests and Airbnb itself upon financial transactions. This acceptance of outside spheres of influence into the home allows the behaviour of the host to be guided and the materialities of the home shaped to fit the image of an Airbnb. For many, identity is territory (Wise, 2000), but for hosts this is challenged.

This chapter seeks to locate *home* in this material and imaginary transition to the commercial home and understand the effect that these changes have. It will argue that by imposing the changes that come with the transition to a commercial home in both the material and the virtual, home itself can be unmade, becoming a de-territorialised assemblage where the 'other' exists as a feature of the space. In this, the home is reshaped to the image of an Airbnb, sitting in tension with the 'authenticity' of a home that much of Airbnb's marketing is built around. The commercial home brings a fluidity to the boundaries of home, allowing it to be touched, changed, and shaped by outside forces, and through the virtual creation of home and the introduction and arrangement of materialities for guests, the identity, homogeneity, and impermeability of home can become ruptured. Drawing on data from Airbnb television adverts, online advice for hosts, online host forums, and host interviews, this chapter will examine how Airbnb shape the image of the host and home through their adverts and online guides, how hosts adjust the materialities of their home, and how hosts present themselves and their home on their listings. The first step in this transition to the commercial home comes with the advice and narratives presented to hosts by guiding voices.

6.1. Shaping the Image of Airbnb

Before the decision to become a host has been made, the ideal image of a host has been painted; and before the first guest has arrived, the host has been trained to adopt this image. While advertising in the tourism sector will commonly try to create a familiarity with a location prior to travel (Kodirovna, Atoevna & Oktyamovna, 2020), Airbnb can be considered to try to create familiarity with, and expectations of, a non-standardised

homestay experience that, in reality, is actually quite standardised. Through television adverts, online advice, and even from other hosts on forums, hosts are guided on what personality a host should have and what their Airbnb home should look like with the aim of creating this representation of the standardised Airbnb home, and in this section, I will provide evidence of how. It is well recognised that to achieve a positive public image, dissemination and alignment of core values to communications and activities is imperative (Melewar & Karaosmanoglu, 2006), with perceptions mainly being drawn from the actions of management and staff as they are considered to be the face of the organisation (Ind, 1990; Kennedy, 1977; Dowling, 1986). For Airbnb, it is the hosts who are the face of the platform, with this driving the company's interest in shaping host image and behaviour, as well as the materialities of home. As noted by O'Regan and Choe (2017b, 157) 'through Airbnb videos, guidebooks, and Airbnb mentors, individuals are trained how to behave and provide hospitality as hosts'. This comes as part of the process of de-territorialising home as Airbnb seek to change a space that is homogenised by its inhabitants. This section will explore how the assemblage of home becomes de-territorialised through encouragement of emotional labour and suggestions that the materialised identity that makes home (Gram-Hanssen & Bech-Danielsen, 2004) should be reshaped to reflect an Airbnb.

6.1.1. Creating the Image of a Host

In Airbnb's advertisement, the target can be considered to be not just guests, but also hosts. These adverts exist as much to encourage people to become hosts as they do to encourage people to stay as guests. In this, by way of the visuals, dialogues, and narratives of their adverts, Airbnb moulds the public perception of what an Airbnb host is and how they should perform hospitality. Airbnb seeks to position the offerings as a very personal experience, with home and the coming together of host and guest at the heart of a touristic adventure. The realities of this, however, put no pressure on Airbnb; rather it is the host who must bear this, reshaping their performance and experience of home.

In watching Airbnb's TV spots, I observed that home is consistently one of the key central themes of Airbnb's marketing, with this being signalled overtly through narration and more subtly through visuals. Campaigns that tell guests to 'feel at home anywhere' and to 'do your regular routine' (Airbnb, 2016b) and narrations of guests saying 'it felt like home' (Airbnb, 2015c) present an idealised experience of home away from home. Scenes of guests cooking, playing games, making beds, and watching movies (Airbnb, 2021b), while neighbours clean and go shopping, with pets sat at windows (Airbnb, 2014c) really drives at capturing home and the everyday. Figure 1 from the advert *Views* (Airbnb, 2014c) shows

a simple breakfast overlooking a workman, bringing together these ideas of home and away, everyday authenticity and the occasional. This ambition of intertwining the home with the away became the centre of a campaign that told guests 'Don't go there, live there' (Airbnb, 2016b), setting expectations that guests should enjoy 'a home I can call my own' (Airbnb, 2015b). In this marketing, Airbnb presents the home as an idealised space, free from the complex social, spatial, psychological, and emotive processes that help us understand home (Easthope, 2004). Where home is not the exclusion of the 'other' (Kaika, 2004), but rather their unquestioned inclusion and freedom to perform their own understanding of home. Along with this vision of the home, Airbnb also create vision of the personality of the ideal host.

A passion for meeting new people and sharing spaces and knowledge is a common theme in Airbnb marketing. In many cases, lines such as 'I want you to make yourself at home here, I love having guests' (Airbnb, 2014c) and 'I meet people that are excited about coming to my city and I get excited about sharing my city with them' (Airbnb, 2016c) are attributed to hosts. The visuals also look to emphasise this performance of hospitality, with the advert *Don't Go There, Live There* (Airbnb, 2016a) showing a host greeting a guest at the door with a big smile, as shown in figure 2. This is the standard that Airbnb want for their hosts and the attitude they are expected to perform, with this implicit demand underpinning emotional labour as 'part of the hidden scaffolding that upholds a platform' (Spangler, 2020, 580). The model Airbnb host is not someone who simply provides a room for the night, but rather someone who exhibits a passion for hosting that is renewed with each guest. It is someone who would welcome guests 'as a friend' (Airbnb, 2014b) and who 'would love to show you (the guest) around' (Airbnb, 2018a). For them, Airbnb hosting is something more than just simple hospitality, it is the proactive sharing of the home and knowledge of the local area. It is also the creating of the idea that home is not a place of privacy and intimacy (Rybczynski, 1986; Mallet, 2004), but instead a place where the 'other' is excitedly welcomed in and can belong.

From their logo The Belo, which stands for people, places, and love, as shown in figure 3, and is a 'symbol of belonging' (Airbnb, 2014a), to their '#OneLessStranger' campaign (Airbnb, 2015a), much of their branding is centred around creating connections. Claims that people are seeking to belong (Airbnb, 2014a), along with the recurring tagline 'Belong Anywhere' (Airbnb, 2014b; Airbnb, 2015c; Airbnb, 2016b; All About Airbnb, 2016), really emphasise this. The developing of this host-guest relationship is shown visually through host and guests sharing a drink in the ad *Breaking Down Walls* (Airbnb, 2014b) as shown in figure 4, and a host delightedly returning a forgotten toy in *Many, Many Thank You's*

(Airbnb, 2019c), displayed in figure 5. It is also quite clearly depicted in an advert where a guest meets the host's friends, claiming they 'almost felt like family' before thanking the host for 'sharing your world with me' (Airbnb, 2015c), with a scene from this advert shown in figure 6 depicting a guest on a night out with their host and the host's friends. While this marketing plays on the cosmopolitan fantasy of belonging (Germann Molz, 2018), with ideas of home and belonging being closely linked (O'Connor, 2017), it is unsurprising that this plays such a large role in the marketing of Airbnb. This asks hosts to not just 'share' their home, but to also share the emotional connection that comes with being *at home* with someone, making them feel like they are more than guests, that they are 'family'. With this, the Airbnb host is positioned as someone more than just a person you pay to stay with, and the Airbnb place as somewhere more than a place you just pay to stay.

Figure 1: Airbnb advert *Views* from 2014. This advert focusses on the sights that you might see from the window of your Airbnb, with these mostly representing the mundane everyday of the location.

Figure 2: Still from Airbnb advert *Don't go there, live there* from 2016. This advert tells guests not to visit Paris as a tourist, but rather to live in Paris by renting an Airbnb and to carry on regular routines. Here, a host happily greets guests at the door as they arrive.

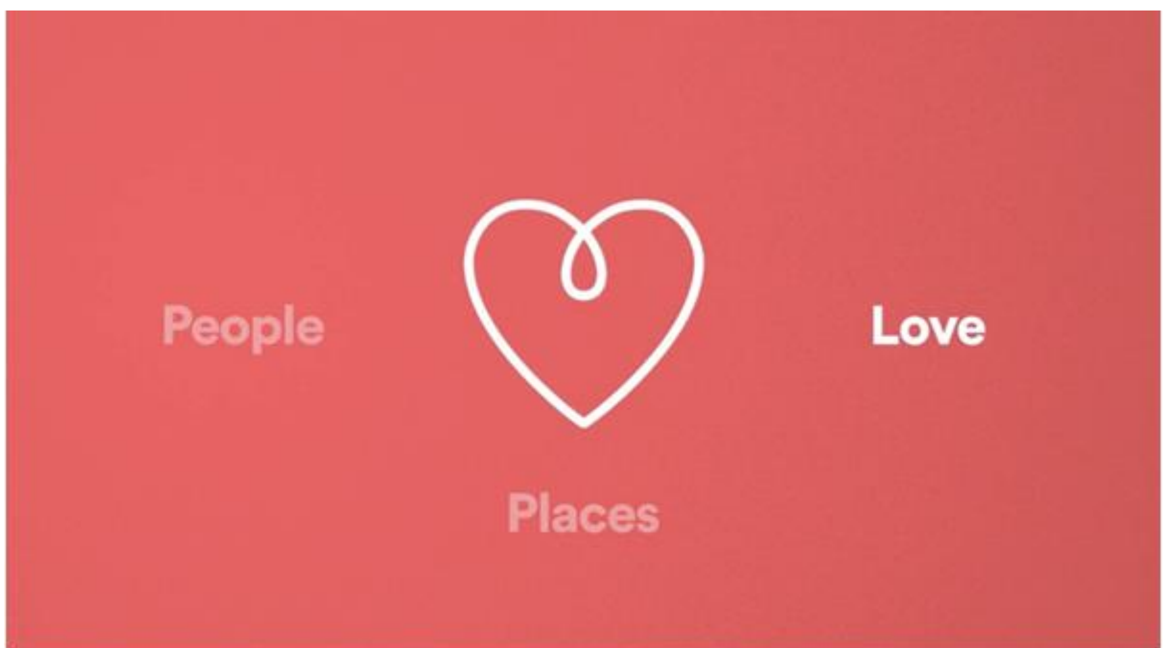


Figure 3: From the Airbnb advert *Symbol of belonging* from 2014. This advert introduces the logo of Airbnb, the Belo, presenting it as a symbol that represents people, love, and places, coming together to represent belonging and Airbnb.

Figure 4: From the 2014 advert *Breaking down walls*. This story focusses on someone who was a guard at the Berlin wall who becomes reunited with a guard from the other side of the wall through Airbnb. This still shows both ex-guards and the daughter of the protagonist guard enjoying a drink after arriving at the Airbnb.

Figure 5: From the 2019 advert *Many, many thank you's.* This advert thanks guests for being good guests on behalf of hosts. This still shows a guest who has forgotten their child's toy returning to retrieve it to find the host ready to hand it back with a smile.

Figure 6: A still from the advert *Sharing your world with me* from 2016. In this, a guest thanks a host for including them in their life, such as including them in a family function and taking them on a night out with their friends, as shown in this image.

6.1.2. Creating the Airbnb Place

When it comes to designing the Airbnb space, hosts may look to various sources for advice, whether it be Airbnb themselves or other online outlets. From these sources comes the creation of the Airbnb place. From suggestions on what decoration to put in, to the layout of the space, to what should be taken out, most facets of the materialities are covered. In the materials that exist online advising hosts on their hospitality provision, offered by Airbnb themselves and other outlets, advice on the decorating and organising of the home features greatly, appearing in 15 of the 30 pieces analysed. Centred around the idea that 'even if your home is perfect for you, it may not be for guests' (Leonhardt, 2019), outside forces try to influence hosts to adapt and change the materialities of their home to suit Airbnb rather than themselves. Part of the assemblage of home comes in the sense of place that exists there. Emanating from the individual and their relationship with their environment, in both the physical and social senses (Hashemnezhad, Heidari & Mohammad Hoseini, 2013; Stedman, 2003), the place of home can be disrupted and changed by the material alterations made for hosting.

When searching for advice on how to decorate, hosts are told to store away family photos, children's drawings, and other personal items, and to 'declutter' (Airbnb, 2020; Sokolowski, 2018; Enowtakang, 2021). This is done with the intent of making sure guests do not feel like they are 'intruding', and it is instead a space where they can 'relax and

truly feel at home' (Sokolowski, 2018). This is a key element in the depersonalisation of home, taking away items that clearly mark the space as home. Here, not only are hosts being asked to remove items that may be very dear to them, but such items are described as clutter, something that is getting in the way of the new function of the space, to perform hospitality. A sense of place can be closely tied to emotionally recognised symbols of place (Hashemnezhad, Heidari & Mohammad Hoseini, 2013), with these being removed, the place may not hold the same emotional recognition as home. While some of the preparation for hosting includes the removal of items, much of it concerns what is introduced to the home.

Airbnb tells hosts to 'get inspired by Airbnb plus hosts, whose spaces are known for cohesive design full of personality' (Airbnb, 2020). Perhaps notably, this is the same article that suggests the removal of family photos, children's drawings, and personal items, and to 'declutter' to such an extent that only 'functional items' are left in the bathroom and kitchen (Airbnb, 2020). This, along with suggestions that hosts should decorate using local art (Airbnb, 2018b) and leave books and board games in the living room to give a 'homely feel' (Airbnb Universe, 2022), creates the impression that the advice is driving hosts towards a staged material performance of homeliness and personality that usurps the more authentic home. This creates tension with authenticity being closely linked to sense of place (Knox, 2005), leaving hosts to become hyperaware of the spaces that were 'manufactured' for guests as Mary put it. The advice also leads hosts towards the materialisation of the guest's presence in the home.

Hosts are also encouraged to physically manifest communications to guests by adorning the space with a framed Wi-Fi password (Andrea, 2019) and putting explainer notes around to help them (Daly, 2021; Whereverwriter, 2022) creating a constant material presence of an otherness in the home. With sense of place being partially constructed by the physical environment (Stedman, 2003), the character of the environment that the sense of place describes (Jiven & Larkham, 2003) can come to reflect the Airbnb home rather than the 'authentic' home. It is not, however, just the decoration that is the target of materialities advice from Airbnb.

It is also suggested to hosts that they try to design the shared spaces of their Airbnb home to be more 'communal' (Airbnb, 2019b). Hosts are prompted to reorganise spaces to be more inviting and comfortable, and set tup to encourage guests to 'hang out and feel at home', by having a 'comfy couch' and a 'large dining table' (Airbnb, 2021a). Alongside materialities, sense of place is also shaped by the practical ways in which space is used

(Hashemnezhad, Heidari & Mohammad Hoseini, 2013) and the socialities that inhabit that space (Stedman, 2003), both of which can play a role in determining the atmosphere where informs sense of place (Jackson, 1994). Rearranging of furniture can its everyday use by the members of the household, while also marking the place as a space shared with others. The atmosphere is no longer one of refuge and relaxation, but rather of Airbnb hosting.

6.1.3. Host to Host Advice

Dedicated Airbnb hosting forums are the most common spaces in which hosts come together. These forums allow direct conversation between Airbnb hosts in a space that is solely for them and where comradery can develop. The official Airbnb forum, Community.withairbnb.com, and the independent airhostsforum.com are the two most prevalent sources when searching for Airbnb host forums. From these forums, comments from the most recently interacted with and most active threads (more than 10 posts) were collected. These forums place the ideas that hosts have had for themselves and for others in one place for other hosts to share. On Community.withairbnb.com it is quite common to see 'critique my listing' threads, where hosts ask each other's advice on how to decorate their spaces. These threads see advice to put up more thematic pictures on the wall, to make the place cosier with blankets and rugs, and to rearrange the furniture so the sofa faces the window. These pieces of advice are clearly all for the benefit of the guest, mainly focussing on the creation of a homely and communal space. Particularly with the suggestions regarding furniture arrangement, it offers no consideration to how the host may wish to use the space when no guests are present. Due to its importance in the way negotiate our habits and routines, furniture can be considered psychologically immovable (Seeley, Sim & Loosley, 1956) with it being more than just a commodity that is consumed, it is a vital part of home (Reimer & Leslie, 2004). Away from granular recommendations, general themes do emerge from the materiality advice on the forums.

Championed by hosts is a more modern décor with an 'uncluttered, minimalist style' (user John), modelled on up market hotels, with 'pops of colour and character' amongst a mainly neutral setting (User Sal). By this advice, hosts are actively encouraging each other to shape the space away from a form that is home and towards a form that represents the away. To be a home is no longer the primary function of the house, rather it is to act as an almost completely commodified space. While this disrupts the authenticity of home (Dovey, 1985), it also very much blurs the lines between the home and away (Di Domenico & Lynch, 2007). While this is symbolic of how the now wide-open boundaries can allow for the shaping of the inside by the outside, it also emphasises how the

homogeneity of the assemblage that territorialises home (DeLanda, 2016) is not advocated for. Deliberate suggestion that the home should resemble a de-territorialised space of the away positions how the space functions as a home as an overlooked element of the commercial home, despite the fact 'home' is a big part of what is being sold.

In a particular thread on an incident of guests complaining about tarot cards and a Ouija board being on display, the prevailing advice was to remove them, and any other items that could cause offence. Though one host urged for them not to be removed, as the display of personality is 'the difference between Airbnb and a hotel' (User Sam), they did not get much support in this viewpoint. For those who hold it as important, spiritualistic practice can make up part of the everyday (McGuire, 2008), while for some it can be key in the forming of identity (Oppong, 2013). While objects can reflect identity (Gram-Hanssen & Bech-Danielsen, 2004), they can also contribute to the emotional spatialities of home through their presence accepted and interacted with in the everyday (Gorman-Murray, 2007). By removing these items, the spirituality can be lost from these spaces of the home, and too the sense of belonging that is closely tied to spiritual beliefs (Saraglou, 2011), changing their sense of place. Such spiritual items were not the only things hosts advised each other to remove in these threads.

Some hosts commenting on the above went even further, saying that they removed all personal items, such as family photos, before they started hosting. What can be seen here, whether it be on the advice of other hosts or necessitated by the presence of guests, is that the reproduction of the identity of hosts is being supressed. Family photos, as a signifier of belonging (Tolia-Kelly, 2004), make up a significant part of home, and by being oft gazed upon, become part of the everyday (Rose, 2003). The materialities would that make up the environment of hosting in following the advice of Airbnb and other hosts would lead home to take on a completely different face. A face that does not reflect the identity of the host, that does not hold the ingrained memories and experiences of the host, and that may come to not feel like home.

6.1.4. Homogenising 'Authenticity'

This section began by examining the messaging of Airbnb's TV adverts. It considered the encouragement of the unquestioned inclusion and freedom offered to the 'other', while also providing them with a place where they can belong, all coming with the prioritisation of the performance of hospitality over the performance of home. It then moved on to look at the advice directed at hosts by Airbnb and other outlets, outlining the championing of the removal of symbols of place, the manufacturing of 'authenticity', and the materialisation of

the ‘other’ in the space. The advice that hosts offer each other was also covered, explaining how the advice offered can blur the lines between the home and the away, while also disrupting the reflection of identity in the materialities of the home.

The information that makes its way to hosts from Airbnb, and others who seek to guide hosts. has the potential to unmake home in a number of ways. In presenting an ideal of a host and home, suggesting changes to both, Airbnb create a paradox between depersonalisation and selling authenticity. Airbnb create the idea that the space is genuine, telling them to ‘live like a local’ (Benner, 2016), all while asking hosts to rearrange, remove, or add to the materialities that allow them to express and constitute the self, extend their image into their surroundings, and reflect their identity (Jacobs & Smith, 2008; Twigg, 2000; Gram-Hanssen & Bech-Danielsen, 2004). Rather than reflecting authenticity, the aim is for the property to reflect the identity of an Airbnb. With this, rather than sharing their *home*, hosts are reshaping their space to resemble the Airbnb ‘home’, and it is this that they share.

The findings here also raise the hypothesis that removing the authenticity of the space plays a role in the disruption of place. The sense of place feeds off authenticity (Knox, 2005), while also being tied to a sense of identity and feelings of home (Sampson & Goodrich, 2009; Buttimer, 2015). In the material and social disruption that is advocated for by many sources, the home can become mis-placed and no longer emotionally recognised as a place of identity and refuge. Place emanating from the practical (Hashemnezhad, Heidari & Mohammad Hoseini, 2013) can also be lost as the materialities that once facilitated the performance of home (Young, 2005), are now positioned to be best suited for the performance of hospitality.

While the boundary between home and away is considered to be permeable, allowing one to touch the other (Ahmed, 1999), the allowing of outside forces to necessitate changes in the materialities of home can cause its unmaking (Burrell, 2014). This process of depersonalisation that Airbnb advocates for can de-territorialise the home, disrupting the homogenisation of the assemblage (Soaita & McKee, 2019; DeLanda, 2016). In following this advice, the home is transformed from a territorialised space that holds a sense of place and emotional connections, to a de-territorialised Airbnb home that physically manifests the performance of hospitality. This advice does not advocate for the selling of the ‘authentic’ home that was there prior to its commercialisation, but rather a sanitised image of a ‘home’ that fits the desires of Airbnb.

6.2. Materialising Otherness in the Airbnb Home

For many, the home is a sacred space where they can be allowed to unrestrictedly reproduce their identity (Jacobs & Smith, 2008), extending the self into the material surroundings (Twigg, 2000). For Airbnb hosts, however, the materialities of home can no longer just act as a facilitation of the performance of home, but also as a facilitation of the performance of hospitality, materialising the 'other' in the space. The material cultures of home represent identity, history, and heritage (Tolia-Kelly, 2004), however through the painting of walls, adding of items, and sometimes the taking away of items, the presence of the guest becomes continually manifested in the materialities of the home. With these changes, a visual disconnect between guest areas and private areas can be observed in many of the Airbnbs investigated, emanating from the material disparities between spaces that reflect the self and those that reflect the performance of hospitality. The denial of, or loss of control over the materialities of home can undermine formation and maintenance of identities and senses of self (Harris, Brickell & Nowicki, 2020), and with the imprinting of identity onto the materialities of home being a key way of territorialising home (Soaita & McKee, 2019), this could have considerable implications for hosts. This section will examine the homes of the interviewed hosts and explore how the inscribing of the 'other' into the materialities of home can de-territorialise the assemblage of home with considerations to the reflection of the self and identity.

6.2.1. Transforming the Guest Bedroom

One of the first spaces that hosts change to become an Airbnb is the guest bedroom. The most consistently observed changes here came with the adding of functional items. In many cases, hosts seem to attempt to provide guests with almost everything they need in the room giving them less reason to leave it, even if they are free and welcome to do so. The most frequently seen addition to guest bedrooms is cups or glasses, with the vast majority of interviewees providing these in the room. This is normally accompanied by a bottle of water, or tea and coffee along with a kettle, while a few hosts provided both water and hot drink facilities. It is worth noting that the few hosts that do not provide drinks in the room do provide an almost private alternative space for guests to have a drink, typically a dining area. Other items frequently added to the guest bedrooms of the Airbnbs that were analysed were televisions and boxes of tissues, which were present in about half of the Airbnbs. While this materialises a space of Airbnb in the home, it also materialises the everyday needs of an 'other', a microcosm of another life in this space. The things held here represent the basics of modern life, they are unmistakeably objects that are there to facilitate the presence of the 'other'. In the commercial home, both host and guest

interactively imbue and create meaning in the space (Di Domenico & Lynch, 2007), in this case the meaning becomes imbued by hosts not using the objects for their purpose while guests do. This space becomes home to a television that the host owns but does not watch, a kettle that the host maintains but does not boil, cups that the host washes but does not drink from. It is the space of the 'other' where a performance of the everyday is actively facilitated by not undertaken by the host. Not all items introduced into the space, however, were focussed on the functional, but rather also the aesthetical.

Many hosts look to add decoration to the rooms to make them more attractive to guests. The most obvious example of this upon entering is the placing, and neatly arranging, of throw pillows on the bed. This was done by half of the hosts that were interviewed. Many of the hosts chose to arrange ornaments around the bedroom, while some of the others were left a little more bare. When it comes to hanging pictures and other wall mounted decorations, about half of the hosts introduced new elements, with some stopping at photos while one used bunting to style the room. The rest all decided that the existing decoration of the room would suffice, while one host chose not to have any decoration at all on the walls. Notably, while none of the hosts apart from Mary said that they manufactured the space for the guest, a number of them decorated using things that were not present in the private areas. Annie, as well as Bill and Tom, put up pictures that represented the local area, normally photographs, but these were not used anywhere else in the property. Despite the fact that Sandy claimed she decorated it with 'what I like' and made it 'How I would like to live in it', it was still distinctive. Both guest rooms were adorned with bunting, while the walls were soft pinks and blues whereas in the living room, kitchen, and halls, everything was white. This could be viewed as a staged authenticity (MacCannell, 1973) where Sandy has projected an idealised vision of how she would like her home to be, rather than matching the ways that she has reproduced her identity in the private areas of the home, which seemed to centre more on family photos than colour and decoration. These are the touches that help separate the frontstage areas from the backstage areas, the authentic from the staged, the home from the Airbnb. The walls in many of the Airbnbs also told a story of inauthenticity and functionality.

While a few of the walls in the Airbnbs studied used pale pinks, blues and yellows, most of the hosts opted for plain white. The use of white was typically one of ease for hosts, with one of my interviewees Nadine noting that it makes it easier to repair if someone scrapes a wall as 'you can just paint, you've always got paint, without having to, sort of, think 'what colour is the room?''. Another interviewee, Sophie, enjoys being able to just Tippex small marks thanks to the white walls. For these hosts, the functionality of the colour is the most

critical thing with not a thought given to the reflection of the self in the space. Although it could be considered that who the host is in this space is someone who wants to make their performance of hospitality a little easier, a more practical side of their identity. Though a material reflection of identity can help to make home (Gram-Hanssen & Bech-Danielsen, 2004), the white paint can be an expression of the self desiring not to lose time in their performance of home to their performance of hospitality.

Despite their prevalence in the Airbnbs, not all the hosts were as keen on the white walls. Annie remarks that she has 'had to be very restrained in that little room. White.' but used white because 'It's clean, it's fresh, It's easy'. This design choice does 'not at all' fit with her personal taste and aesthetic, which centres around her enjoyment of colour, which could be seen most in her own bedroom, and a bit in the shared living room/kitchen area. In this instance, the host was not simply changing the materialities of the space but was actively aware she was supressing the reflection of her identity. This means that despite the fact that combinations of colours chosen according to taste and personal significance can create feelings of comfort and homeliness (Dowling & Power, 2016), Annie believes that, as a host, this is not the most important thing. This shows an awareness that the guest room is no longer her space, removing the room from the home and passing it to the Airbnb, characterised by a colour that is the essence of neutrality. Annie was not the only host to have vocally emphasised the fact that the guest room was decorated without consideration for their own preferences.

Mary says that she specifically 'manufactured' the guest bedroom with Airbnb in mind. She says she 'very deliberately chose a palette for the room and selected some of my pictures and so on that gave it a coastal feel, because people often come here on holiday for the coastal experience'. When asked if the room felt different and held more associations as an Airbnb room, Mary agreed, the decoration being one of the reasons for this. This is a key example of hosts selling 'authenticity' at the expense of homeliness. Mary designed the space to fit what guests expected from their coastal stay, but doing this resulted in the space feeling different from the rest of her home. As mentioned earlier, sense of place feeds off authenticity (Knox, 2005), and with these changes the place becomes less identifiable as home. Such a space, manufactured for hosting as it was, comes to be understood as a space of hosting, touched by and shaped for the 'other'. This consciously materialised otherness that changes the spatial feel of the space was not just found in guest bedrooms, but also in other areas of the Airbnb home.

6.2.2. Materialising the Guest Around the House

Though for most hosts living rooms were not a major site of change, dining rooms and kitchens did see some alterations being made. These changes commonly acted to facilitate the presence of a guest, but this also adds a physical and material element to the presence of a guest in these spaces. One such area impacted by this is the kitchen. In the instances where guests were allowed to access the kitchen of the Airbnb, hosts would add certain things to enhance the guest experience. Sophie and her partner arranged a separate area for guests to prepare drinks that is 'surgically polished', whereas their own area is given less attention. They also purchased a small table and 3 chairs solely for the use of guests at breakfast. This sits just towards the kitchen side of the open plan kitchen and living area. They then set this up with candles and 'designer matchsticks' so as to present the high-end aesthetic they seek for their Airbnb. Here, the hosts are changing the materialities, making the room nicer for guests, but not actually nicer for themselves. Their time and effort is devoted to maintaining a high standard of hospitable performance, rather than their own performance of home. This is reflected in Sophie's relationship with the space, discussed in the next chapter. Material changes in the kitchen do not mean new additions for guests in all cases, but can rather mean the rearranging of what is already there.

A number of the hosts interviewed went out of their way to create space in their kitchen cupboards and, more commonly, the fridge to allow guests to store food items. While some hosts were absolutely fine with this, others found it a little more difficult. Guests going quickly to the fridge is something that Annie finds a little bit difficult: 'sometimes it's a bit, it's a bit odd because you're not…especially when you're on your own, you're not used to somebody else being and doing that'. She is not the only host who seemingly has an issue. Bill and Tom, having previously allowed guests to use their fridge, eventually decided to install a minifridge in the guest bedroom. This, along with the kettle and coffee machine they introduced to the bedroom, eliminated any need for the guest to enter the kitchen. Fridges and kitchen cupboards can be considered quite a personal space, housing the foodstuffs that we desire to consume. The food that we purchase reflects personal facets of our identity (Almerico, 2014), and when these storage spaces are shared, these aspects of identity are placed on display to the guest. For Bill and Tom, their actions have allowed them to join the hosts who allow no kitchen access, hiding this identity from the guest. This strengthens the barrier between host and guest and also the boundaries between private areas and guest areas. This was not the only material change that was enacted by hosts to strengthen boundaries.

Early in their hosting journey, Bill and Tom found themselves feeling a bit uncomfortable not having a barrier between themselves and the guests during breakfast. In this set up, guests would eat in the dining room while Bill and Tom would eat in the living room with these two rooms connected by a moderately sized archway that allows quite broad visibility between rooms. While Tom emphasises it was a privacy issue, Bill goes on to say 'that was a little moment I thought…I don't feel like…I'm in my own house and I feel a little bit uncomfortable'. They resolved this by putting a curtain up in the archway between the dining room and living room, allowing both parties to eat out of the eyeline the other. For Bill and Tom there was a feeling that an act of performing home as simple as eating breakfast was not compatible with the performance of hospitality. In order to feel comfortable in performing completely mundane, everyday acts of home, they needed to separate themselves from the guest. This is an example of the exclusion of the 'other' to make home (Kaika, 2004) but done through the boundaries within the home. Though this is the only example from the interviews of hosts introducing materialities to act as soft barriers, several of the hosts installed locks on bedroom doors. The impacts of this, and reasoning for this, will be discussed in the third chapter in the sections relating to anxieties about guests and boundaries of the home.

A few hosts have taken the measure of rematerialising their dining rooms for almost exclusive use by the guests. In a few cases, this has included putting in a small fridge, a kettle, a toaster, a television, and a radio. In some instances, the hosts have purchased boxes of breakfast cereals that permanently reside in the 'guest' dining room. This is a very strong example of the materialising of an otherness in the home. Particularly for the hosts that have rematerialised in this way, who do not allow access to the kitchen, this separation seems to be sought after. The repurchasing of items that the host already owns, rather than sharing space and appliances, sees the materialisation of an 'other', someone whose performances exist separate to that of the host, emphasising the temporal boundaries that move through these spaces.

The final way that hosts materialised their home for Airbnb was by putting signs and notes around for guests. Between the Airbnbs, these notes and signs could be found anywhere, from outside the front door to the guest bedroom. Though Sophie uses the signs she puts out for breakfast, which say things like 'mushroom omelette why not?' and 'granola + honey + yoghurt = Awesome' (Figure 7) to act as her 'voice' as she puts it, other hosts tend to use signs to pass on information or as a passive means of control. Such signs, though not normally physically immovable, become permanent fixtures in the materialities of

This collage shows images of various signs found around the Airbnbs of the interviewed hosts.

the Airbnb. In most cases these signs and notes encourage guests to follow house rules and the requests of the host. Bill and Tom have a small sign with the Wi-Fi name and password (Figure 8) as well as stickers on the front door and guest bedroom door which say 'no smoking' (Figure 9), while Jenny has a sign placed on the stairs that asks guests to take their shoes off (Figure 10) and a note handwritten on a whiteboard on the guest breakfast table that says 'Have a good day. Please don't forget to leave the key. Thank you! X' Figure 11). Jane simply put a print-out of the listing on the door of the guest bedroom to

highlight which room it is (Figure 12). Nadine in particular used signs to abide by more specific requests, such as not putting towels down on the wooden bedframe (Figure 13) or on the floor (Figure 14), not to flush anything except toilet paper down the toilet (Figure 15), and not to switch off a lamp at the mains that is set up to come on when the main light switch is flipped (Figure 16). While everything else that hosts introduced for guests, kettles, toasters, mugs, glasses, etc., are commonplace in the home, these signs are not. They are unmistakeably tied to hosting and serve no purpose other than to advise guests. While functional items concrete the presence of an 'other' that would otherwise be excluded to make home (Kaika, 2004), it allows them to behave and perform actions that fit in with their surroundings. Most of these signs tell of the presence of someone who does not belong in these spaces and that needs to be told how to act in the host's home. Home is a site of belonging (O'Connor, 2017), and these signs are a constant visual reminder to hosts that they are sharing their home with individuals that do not belong there and they do not feel belonging with. Signs are another thing which some hosts have utilised to maintain boundaries.

Both Bill and Tom, and Michael and Caroline chose to put 'Private' stickers and signs on the doors of private areas of their home. For Bill and Tom, this was a sticker on the door that led to the area of the house with their bedroom, workroom, and private bathroom (Figure 17). For Michael and Caroline, it was plastic signs on the door of their living room and 'junk room'. This is probably the strongest communicative barrier that hosts can put between themselves and their guests, very much signalling where the boundary lies and marking where the host's performance of hospitality can end. This also suggests a certain level of discomfort with guests, particularly for Michael and Caroline who use such a sign to protect their living space. This, again, will be investigated more with relations to the boundaries of home and anxieties over guests.

Along with all the purposes of the signs with relation to the control of the space, and the meanings they can have with regards to boundaries, what is quite notable is that it changes the aesthetic feel of the space. Whereas commonly in a home, the eye may be drawn to art, ornaments, family photos, etc., where these signs are present, they are what immediately draws the attention. For hosts, looking at these signs will become part of the everyday, as Rose (2003) suggests happens with family photos. The key things in the home that the eyes jump to are no longer reflections of identity or hold meaning and memories, but rather mark the home as a commodified space that is not just for the use of the host. This is amplified by the dematerialising of the home that some hosts undertake.

The preparation of the home for Airbnb does not always centre around what goes into the spaces, but rather for some hosts, what comes out. Jane noted particularly that they 'are aware the hallway leading up to the to the room should be free of clutter' and that they 'have lots of personal items in the house and we try to remove them from the area they to have access'. As a result of this, Jane says that they have many personal items stored in their garage. Here, the materialities that were part of the assemblage of home are banished to storage away from eyes and the everyday of the host. With the physical mirror of identity that once gave home its shape (Gram-Hanssen & Bech-Danielsen, 2004) disrupted, the space now lies empty, with the emptiness existing to facilitate the performance of hospitality. These actions sound very much like they have been influenced by the advice of Airbnb, but it is not always outside interference that leads hosts to remove items.

Harry and Sue removed family photos from shared areas, like the hallways, because they felt it was 'too personal'. As they have a background of running a traditional B&B, they wanted to maintain the feel of a 'professional hospitality business' rather than having the feeling of 'inviting somebody into your home'. For Harry and Sue, these photos have been relocated to their private bedroom. Here, the hosts are removing things from parts of their home that they themselves describe as 'personal', with the aim of making the space feel less like a home. This deliberate dematerialisation of the home and of personal identity can change the feel of the space, leaving it to feel strangely empty in some cases and very different to the private areas of the home. Ideas of home are tightly linked to how photographs are displayed within the home (Swan & Taylor, 2008), and with this redistribution of photos to the private areas, Harry and Sue are designating which areas they feel comfortable performing home in and which they do not.

6.2.3. Outcomes of Building the Airbnb Home

This section has offered micro evidences on how home becomes rematerialised for Airbnb, how the space becomes depersonalised, and how hosts are selling home but making it less homely for themselves. It has looked to explain how associations with work have been created, while rooms become subject to manufactured or staged authenticity. It described how personal preferences and uses are put aside to shape areas for guests, including creating spaces in cupboards and fridges, disrupting material manifestations of identity and putting the more private identities that emanate from food choices on display. It explored how curtains have been installed along with signs that act as boundaries or to guide guests tell of the presence of a guest have become part of the everyday, while those trinkets and family photos that used to be centre of the everyday gaze are removed and decluttered. The

overarching theme has been the materialisation of the 'other' in the space, marking it as commodified and bringing it to become de-territorialised, and in turn creating the potential for the unmaking of home.

In the territorialised, homogenised space of home (DeLanda, 2016), the newly introduced or repurposed materialities are subjected to a process of othering, resulting in the creation of socio-spatial distinctions (Scott, 2021). With materialities existing in a complex relationship between the objects themselves and the meanings that are attributed to them by people (Miller, 2008; Borgerson, 2009) the attributed meaning becomes the presence of an 'other', leaving hosts with a constant awareness that these materialities do not 'belong'. This relationship between the person and the material plays a role in the construction of identity and memories through touch and sight (Epp & Price, 2010; Ratnam, 2017), however a critical aspect of home becoming a source of identity, meaningfulness and a symbol of the self is familiarity (Valentine, 2001).

In rematerialising for Airbnb, hosts take a space that is familiar and add unfamiliar elements, or reorganise the entire space to become practically unfamiliar. Familiarity with a space is what comes to inform the everyday practical use of that space (Hage, 1998), and as material objects interplay with everyday lives (Gregson, 2007), the performance of home becomes disrupted by the loss of familiarity. As the absence of an 'otherness' can be considered vital in maintaining home and familiarity (Valentine, 2001), it can be considered that Airbnb sits in tension with this aspect of the assemblage of home. While the home becomes physically remade, it is also remade in the virtual through the listing.

6.3. Online Representation of the Home and the Self

While Airbnb listings serve to sell the room to prospective guests, it also gives a window into how hosts wish to portray their home and themselves to guests. Through the language that hosts are encouraged to use by Airbnb to describe the home and the way they wish the photos to be taken, Airbnb have a direct impact on how the home is presented to potential guests. This almost templated exhibition of home in the virtual can also have an effect on how home is performed in reality. While the identity of the space is created in the listing, so is the persona of the host.

Rather than the frontstage-backstage dynamic that takes place when the guest has arrived, Airbnb listings can be seen as asynchronous online exhibitions of performance (Hogan, 2010) where the online host persona is displayed. While the online allows for many different identities or facets of identity to be performed (Bullingham & Vasconcelos, 2012;

Hodkinson & Lincoln, 2008), most performances offered here are not determined by a specific stimulus but are instead driven by the norms of the setting (Barker, 1968). In this case, the norms are dictated by Airbnb through more advice on creating listings. With identity and territory being closely linked (Wise, 2000), this section will look to explore the impact of adopting and performing different personas as hosts. It will also seek to build an understanding of how home is constructed not just in the physical, but in the virtual as well.

6.3.1. Advice on Creating the Listing from Airbnb and Other Outlets

Throughout each stage of creating a listing, Airbnb offers suggestions on the best ways to do this and seeks to guide hosts towards the platform's preferred way of presenting the home. Immediately when you select 'get started', you are given the option of getting guidance on setting up an Airbnb from a Superhost over a chat or videocall, asking if you would like to 'match with a Superhost' or 'start on your own'. Before the listing has even been started, Airbnb are encouraging prospective hosts to take advice on presenting their home from existing hosts who their metrics deem to be performing well, reinforcing the kind of presentation that Airbnb desire. Opting to 'start on your own' allows immediate progression to the next stage. Presented with an isometric view of a minimalist property, step one asks the type of property and how many guests can be accommodated. This section offers simple options to choose from, with linked articles on how to select the property type, how to decide if the space is private or shared, and deciding how many guests can stay. In these articles, the focus is on how many guests can be accommodated in the property, rather than how many guests the host is comfortable to have stay with them. This is quite an important aspect for many solo hosts, including Annie, who fear that the host-guest dynamic would not work if they were outnumbered. Control over the space and the boundaries of home are pivotal to the performance of home (Easthope et al., 2015; Kaika, 2004), and should the host feel that they have lost this because they are encouraged to accommodate than they are comfortable with, the assemblage of home could be disrupted.

Step two arrives with the same isometric property, but this time adorned with art and ornaments. Hosts are now told to 'make your place stand out'. In this section hosts need to upload photos, with advice given on how to focus these photos to make the listing stand out. Airbnb then automatically select a cover photo, but this can be manually altered. Once the photos are done with, you are then prompted to 'give your house a title' using 32 or fewer characters and told that short titles work best and to 'have fun with it'. According to

Airbnb, a ‘compelling title’ needs to add detail to the listing, be appealing and unique, and invite guests to learn more. Hosts are then asked to create a description and ‘share what makes your place special’, while offering an initial placeholder of ‘you’ll have a great time at this comfortable place to stay’. Airbnb offer advice here too with hosts being told to showcase special features and ‘tell the story of your space’. The language used here really asks hosts to think about their home as something distinct from the mundane everyday and instead as something ‘special’ that will speak to guests and match the aesthetic of the brand. This is really the first stage of the virtual making of home, with it immediately being created as an embellished form of reality, an exhibition of the ideal Airbnb home informed by the language suggested by Airbnb. In bringing hosts to think about their home in this way, it can affect the imaginaries of home which emanate from thoughts, dreams, and memories, with the power to augment reality (Bachelard, 2014). The way that home is viewed in creating the listing, through the lens provided by Airbnb, is not held solely in the virtual but rather can pass into reality as well. Whilst this can change how hosts feel about their home, it also informs their own performance in the presence of guests. This part of the listing is really where the online host persona is born, and though online personas are distinct from the embodied self, and in this case are informed by Airbnb, they still represent facets of that person (Baym, 2015). It is here where Airbnb seek to draw out a particular part of the host’s self which they will then need to exhibit in the presence of guests.

Step 3 asks hosts to choose whether or not to choose to have an experienced Airbnb user as their first guest. Airbnb suggest that this can ‘make hosting for the first time seem less daunting’, while the guest may also be able to provide useful feedback. Here, Airbnb are recommending the opportunity to begin with a guest who can relay advice based on what they have experienced in other Airbnbs. With this, the ‘experienced’ guest can advise new hosts to do what their other hosts have done, further emphasising this idea of standardisation. Every new host that opts for this service and is given direction by an ‘experienced’ guest can be brought further into line with the service that Airbnb wants hosts to offer. Following this, Airbnb then asks you to set your nightly price and highlight any potential issues, such as dangerous animals, before allowing hosts to publish their listing. In every step of the listing process, Airbnb offers advice to guide hosts in how they present their homes, but they are not the only ones.

In publications by many other outlets, hosts are also urged to market themselves as part of the offering, with this being tempered by how much involvement the host wants to have with the guests (Enowtakang, 2021). Much is made of the profile picture of the host, with

it being claimed that it should make the host look 'friendly' (Airbnb Universe, 2022). This is one of the first instances of a performance of hospitality, but rather than occurring face-to-face, it is an asynchronous online exhibition of performance (Hogan, 2010). This can see the creation of a desirable host identity that can be enacted face-to-face when the guest arrives. Though the distance between host and guest online makes it easy to conceal certain aspects of the self and embellish others (Bullingham & Vasconcelos, 2012), this can cause difficulties, particularly for families, as will be discussed in the next chapter. In terms of Goffman's idea of 'Face' following the first impression made in the online space, the host then has to 'live up to it' (Goffman, 1955) in the offline space. While some of the advice clearly encourages the development of an online host persona, others seem to suggest the opposite of such individuality.

Other articles will, instead, advise hosts to emulate existing, successful local listings (Global Viewpoint, 2021). Following this advice can mean that hosts are relinquishing the opportunity to form their own online host persona and exhibition of home. This emulation of another host's voice can lead to the adoption of a performance of hospitality that is not the natural fit for the host. Though such online personas are separate entities from the embodied self, they still represent elements of the individual (Baym, 2015). Attempting to perform someone else's version of hospitality rather than your own can prove difficult as it can lead to the development of a persona that is more distinct from the self. From this, the adopted online self can inform the behaviour of the real-world self (Baker, 2009) during face-to-face interactions with the guest, resulting in the authentic performance that would normally be reserved for home (Goffman, 1967) being disrupted.

6.3.2. Analysing the Listings

None of the hosts that were interviewed sought any kind of advice on how to create the listing, they did not specifically look at other listings for reference, nor did any of them hire professional photographers. They all claim the elements of the listings came from their own minds, although as a number of the hosts had previously stayed as guests through Airbnb, it is a possibility that they are subconsciously influenced by the elements of other listings that resonated with them. They will have also followed the step-by-step process that is completed when first creating the listing, meaning that even if they have not been explicitly advised by Airbnb, they have been implicitly advised. At some level, they have all been coached on how to create their listing, something that can be seen in the way hosts present their home through text, and particularly through photos.

In order to create an image of home that hosts want to present, many of the listing photos seek to hide any evidence of the everyday. Upon visiting the Airbnbs, there were always signs of the everyday performance of home, whether it be shoes left by the front door or opened junk mail left on a sideboard, but these elements are almost always missing from listing photos. Similarly, nearly half the hosts interviewed showed pictures of their kitchen having been tidied with very few things on the counters, deliberately decluttered, but this is not the standard of their kitchens. Both through views of the kitchen in the background of other photos and what was seen during the interview tours, this perfect, decluttered, spotless kitchen does not represent the reality. A notable example would be Annie's kitchen, where it is displayed very neatly and cleanly in the photos, but during my visit there was cutlery and crockery by the sink that had just been cleaned, with more waiting to be cleaned. Mary's kitchen was similar in that it was immaculate in the photos, but in reality, it simply showed signs of the everyday with a couple things left on the counters. It is these signs of the everyday that are cleared from the photos as hosts try to hide their mundane routines that make home (Pink & Leder Mackley, 2016) that suggests presenting the home in its most desirable state also means ordering it so as to look like it does not actively function as a home. Hiding such mundane products of the performance of home speaks to homemaking as a private process (Dupuis & Thorns, 1998) that is hidden when the 'other' is excluded (Kaika, 2004). While hosts maintain certain rituals of home, they do not wish to broadcast them via their listing. They do, however, seek to convey a desirable aura of home through their listing photos.

Half of the interviewed hosts used various forms of lighting to stage an atmosphere in at least one of their listing photos. In various examples, this was done through fairy lights (Figure 18), main lights, Lamps (Figure 19 & 20), or waiting for a very particular natural lighting. When done well, this can create a more welcoming and warm aesthetic, along with a more inviting vibe. Lighting can be used to shape the emotions in and of the home (Billie, 2015) with this acting as a tool for hosts to attract guests. Such staged lighting was, however, only done for the photos and not replicated for the guests' actual arrivals. This is a key element that highlights the separation between the face-to-face performance of hospitality and the online exhibition of the hospitable home that can be seen in the listing photos. Though the reason for most hosts not replicating it in real life was simply that they did not think to do it, it has had the effect of maintaining part of the assemblage of home. Light is one of senses of home that facilitates the habitual and practical processes of home (Pink & Leder Mackley, 2016), while also being bound up in what makes home feel 'right' (Pink, Leder Mackley & Morosanu, 2015), and for the interviewees, has not been impacted

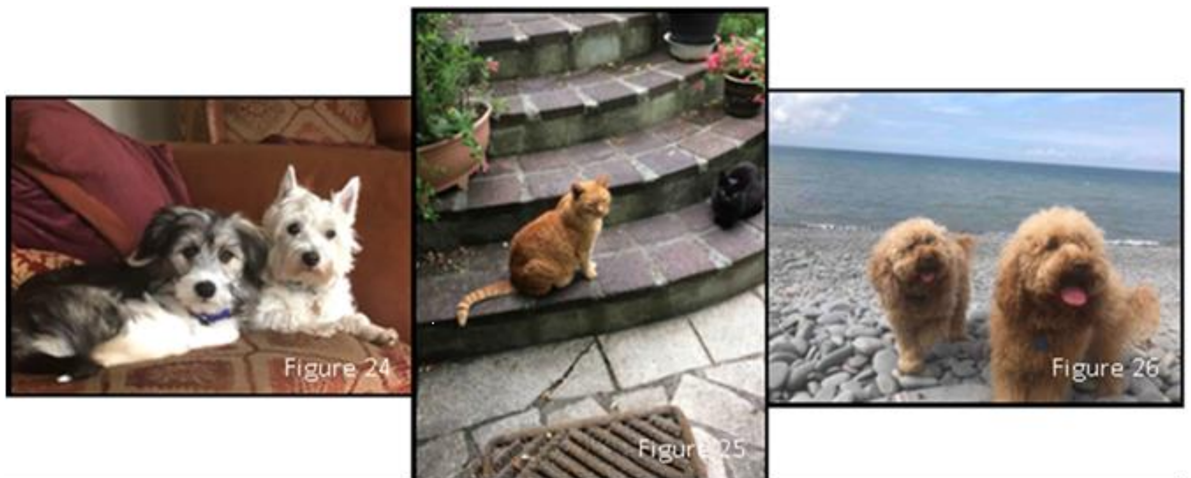
by hosting. The lights, however, were not the only thing that the hosts used to try and shape the online image of their home.

This figures show examples of staged lighting, with figures 18 & 19 coming from Sophie's listing, while figure 20 comes from Jenny's listing.

Sophie, along with Harry and Sue, try to cater to a slightly more expensive market, with this reflected in their photos. Both of their listings included staged photos of outside tables with bottles of wine and empty glasses (Figure 21 & 22). Harry and Sue also included a photo of a glass of orange juice next to a garden chair (Figure 23). Whilst this tries to reach towards a particular demographic, it also presents the space as somewhere guests can relax and have a drink. This can create an expectation over the use of space for guests, along with the expectation of an atmosphere in the Airbnb that makes them want to use and relax in these areas. It significantly differs from what would represent the everyday of these spaces, instead representing something that feels more like an occasion. These hosts do not try to sell home, but rather a space more fitting of the 'away'. These particular staged photos are the furthest any of the interviewed hosts strayed from representing their more 'authentic' home.

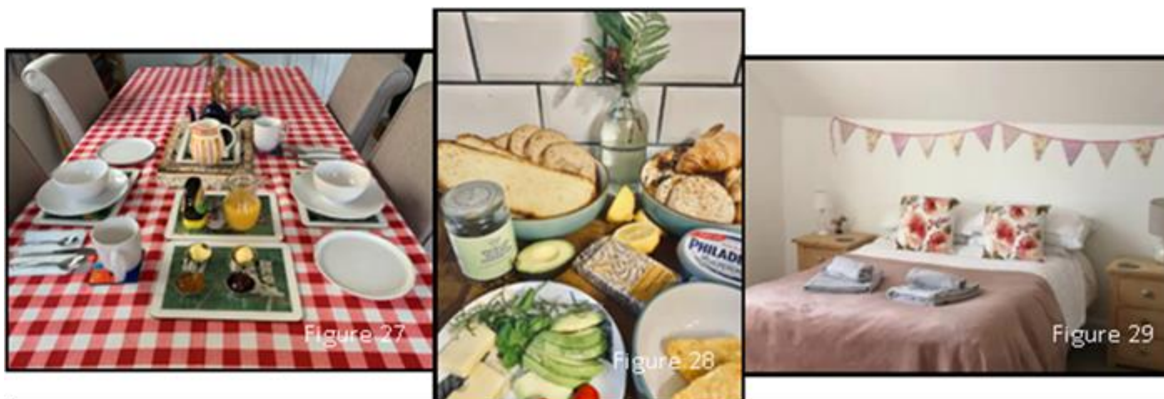
These figures show examples of staged drinks, with figures 21 & 23 coming from Harry & Sue's listing, while figure 22 comes from Sophie's listing.

Other hosts go for a slightly different vibe. Colleen, Annie, and Michael and Caroline all included pictures of their pets in their listing (Figure 24, 25 & 26). Pets live in our homes and are crucial parts of how we live our lives (Fudge, 2014), while also representing aspects of our identity (Sanders, 1990). Pictures of pets also lead to associations of sociableness, contentment and easygoingness (Sanders, 1990), while the pet themselves can act as a social buffer between its owner and others (McConnell, Lloyd & Humphrey, 2019). For these hosts, photos of their pets can bring a little more of the 'authentic' home, the everyday, and personality into the listing, but they are also useful as a tool to draw in guests and aid conversation when they arrive. This was identified in Sandy who, despite not putting a photo of her dog in the listing, does describe him as 'a little icebreaker'. While in such online exhibitions of home, hosts try to use their pets to say something about their home and themselves, they also use photos to say something about the hospitable service that they offer.



These figures show examples of pets in listings. Figure 24 comes from Colleen's listing, figure 25 from Annie's listing and figure 26 from Michael & Caroline's listing.

Hosts also use their listing photos to show guests what is there for them and to try to entice them. Seven of the interviewed hosts staged photos of the breakfast area, setting up all the crockery, cutlery, glasses, cups, and placemats just for the picture (Figure 27). Going a step further in this, Sophie, and Bill and Tom set out the food that is available for guests in an extra enticement (Figure 28). Alongside this, to show that the bedroom is a traditional Airbnb guest space, many hosts took the typical measure of presenting the towels rolled or folded on the bed (Figure 29). Sophie also displayed the towels but instead placed them folded on a chair immediately next to the bed. While many of the listing photos display an idealised form of home, these are the only photos that necessarily sell it as a commercial space with this being done through the inclusion of photos that are staples of Airbnb listings. This can again create expectation and a sense of standardisation which, though the host has control over it, guests will measure them against, holding them to the standards that they have presented in the listing. Despite hosts going out of their way to stage the scene, this is not their own personal image of hospitality, it is just how Airbnb is done. This standardisation reinforces the commodification of the home, bringing it to a middle ground between home as an intimate setting and a commercial hotel (Kontogeorgopoulos, Churyen & Duangsaeng, 2015; Lynch, 2003). This can manifest in hosts curtailing of their own performance of home, as is discussed in the next chapter.



Figures 27 & 28 show examples of staged breakfasts and foods, while figure 29 shows a staged bedroom setup. Figure 27 comes from Bill & Tom's listing, figure 28 from Sophie's listing, and figure 29 from Sandy's listing.

In the written part of the listing, hosts will also try to create certain ideas about themselves and their home, though this can manifest in a many different ways. The majority of the interviewees used very expressive and emotive adjectives in their listings to try and sell the space and experience. With phrases such as 'Make yourself at home in a bright and quiet space next to a delightful park' coming from Sophie's listing, this approach tries to present everything as a selling point. It does not try to sell the everyday, but rather something special. This can be seen to fit quite neatly in the mould of what Airbnb would like listings to be.

The majority of the hosts have information about themselves, their jobs, and their hobbies as part of their listing. Some of the hosts have also mentioned their family here as well as their pets. Many of the hosts here have used this to say that they enjoy meeting and socialising with guests and that they will offer recommendations and advice to them. This is really the section of the listing that builds the online exhibition of self that hosts will draw on in their performance of hospitality. They set the expectations of service that they must themselves adhere to, even if they do not always enjoy doing all the things that they have promised, which will be discussed more in the next chapter. These kinds of online exhibition of self can be used to construct an ideal self (Michikyan, Dennis & Subrahmanyam, 2015), in this case, it can develop the ideal hosting self that will later inform the performance of hospitality. Despite all the attempts to sell both the home, the experience, and the self, these are not the only things the listings focus on.

In between the idealistic portrayal of the space and the more mundane lists of what is included in the room, which two thirds of the hosts include, the home as it is experienced by the host is also protected. With explicitly stated house rules that range from simply asking guests to take their shoes off in the house, to very long lists that make up the bulk of the listing, hosts do take measures to insulate certain performances of home from the effects of hosting. This is perhaps most notable with regards to sound. With Mary describing herself as 'quiet', Tilly saying they 'encourage a quiet household', Jenny stating they are a 'quiet household' and asking guests to 'be considerate of us and other possible guests at night and early mornings especially when opening and closing all doors', Nadine telling guests that she is 'usually in bed by 10.30pm and ask that my guests are extremely quiet after that time thank you', and finally Sandy requesting guests to 'Please keep voices down after 10.30' as 'People are usually working or going to school the following day'. Clearly from this, especially when considering that the requests of Sandy, Jenny and Tilly were introduced after they started hosting, noise at night is something that negatively affects the host and their sense of home. While sounds are important to homemaking (Duffy & Waitt, 2013), home can also be unmade by noise created by outside forces (Burrell, 2014), in Airbnbs, however, those outside forces are within the home. While many of these hosts are prepared to make concessions in some aspects of their performance of home, their nightly routine and desire for sound sleep is not something they will give up. Stating house rules is not, however, the only way hosts seek to protect home in their listing.

It was a relatively frequent occurrence that hosts would use language that emphasised that it is their own home. This was done in a few different ways; Tilly emphasises their presence in the house saying 'We normally work from home daytimes and enjoy quiet

evenings at home', Colleen explains 'This is a family home, we work and have kids, so it is not a bed and breakfast in that sense, expect some mess, music, lots of homemade food, chat, interest in what you are doing and lots of help with the local area but not immaculate minimalism!', while Sandy, alongside frequent uses of 'my home', says that 'You will receive a warm welcome into my home, but also I like to have space and time with my family'. These hosts are naturally quite protective of their home and their space, with control over it being key to the performance of home (Easthope et al., 2015), but it is in tension with the very nature of hosting. Whilst hospitality does not seek to fit guests into a space, but rather accept that the guest may change the space (Ruitenberg, 2011), these hosts desire for the space to remain their home rather than a site of hospitality. This is emphasised by Nadine when she says 'I want them to sort of fit in' with her and her home. The realities of how the performance of home and the performance of hospitality sit in enmity with each other will be discussed in the next chapter. Along with this maintaining of control and boundaries, there is another method that can be employed by hosts in an attempt to protect their home.

Through the cultivation of the aesthetic of the listing and the moulding of the theme, some Airbnb hosts seek to target the type of guest they would most like to share their home with, or avoid ones they would not. There is not a specific desirable demographic, but rather the general desire to avoid guests who may be trouble. Sophie explicitly tries to avoid guests 'who wanna party' and says 'it's made absolutely explicit that this is a zen house, this is a quiet house. You come here to be really bored. You come here to only sleep and have something nice in the morning with lovely piano music. It's made very explicit, no parties here'. Meanwhile Colleen has successfully played up the family home aspect to get 'a high proportion of single females', as she tries to avoid high numbers of male guests due to her anxieties of safeguarding her children, which will be discussed further with regards to anxieties over guests in the third chapter. Tilly has sought to reduce her role as a host by targeting 'a market which needs very little input or support from me and can look after themselves. They're not on holiday, it's functional'. From this, she mainly attracts people on business trips or visiting their children at university. Bill and Tom, after their initial guests were smokers, changed their listing name to 'with walkers in mind' as 'we get loads of coast path walkers here anyway, and that seems sort of work 'cause you get the fitter people who probably generally don't smoke anyway'. Though Airbnb can be seen to dismantle the already permeable boundary that exists between the home and the away (Ahmed, 1999), through targeting certain demographics, hosts can at least regain a little control over who passes through the boundary. These attempts to avoid undesirable guests

see hosts attempting to protect facets of home. Sophies protects the atmosphere of home, Colleen protects ontological security (Dupuis & Thorns, 1998), Tilly protects her everyday performance of home (Blunt, 2005), and Bill and Tom protect the familiar domestic smells which make home (Sou & Webber, 2021). With home comprising of a fragile assemblage with different aspects holding different weights of importance to different hosts, the arrival of an undesirable guest who compromises this assemblage can quickly unmake home. Theming is not, however, the only way that hosts seek to entice a specific kind of guest.

Discussions of how pricing can affect the guests that are attracted to the listing can also be found on the forums. On quite a few occasions, hosts tell each other to raise their prices because 'Low rates attract low lifes' according to user Jim. Other hosts in agreement refer to them as 'problem guests' (User Paul) or 'dodgy' (User Amy). While some of the interviewed hosts did share a similar sentiment, none used such strong language. The strongest sentiment came from Tilly, who commented on how she 'weeded out all the disrespectful ones' by raising prices. Sophie has also set high prices and suggests that she would not offer budget prices because 'I don't think that fits the philosophy of this place either. I don't…'cause you…budget would give you a different demographic, there's nothing wrong with a different demographic, but it's just this has a certain demographic'. For Sophie, the emphasis is less on avoiding a demographic that she feels uncomfortable with, and more on attracting one she does. No matter what the reasoning behind it is, it still comes down to taking back some control over the barriers of home, allowing hosts a little more control over who they let in. For Tilly and the forum users, it seems to have been a case of minimising the possibility of hosting an undesirable guest. With the concept of the undesirable guest being closely linked with hostility (Derrida, 2000), and as host and guest both interactively imbue meaning into the spaces of the commercial home (Di Domenico & Lynch, 2007), the belonging that is critical to home (Ahmed, 1999) is put under pressure.

6.3.3. Realities of Making the Virtual Home

This section has looked to examine how the Airbnb home is constructed in the virtual through the creation and curation of a listing. It began by outlining how Airbnb and other outlets seek to guide this virtual construction and the state of home and performance of hospitality that must be lived up to during the guest's stay. It then considered how hosts seek to hide the mundanity of home in their photos, attempting to present the space as something that stands out from the everyday, while still connecting to everyday ideas of home through photos of pets. It has explained how hosts attempt to sell their home through

traditional Airbnb norms of stages breakfast photos and fanciful descriptions, while also attempting to safeguard home through house rules and putting emphasis on the fact that it is their home.

In this virtual representation of home that is created in listings, the face that is provided to home can end up being a little confused, holding contrasting ideas. Hosts try to entice guests in through carefully planned photos and enthusiastic descriptions, but at the same time hold them at arms -length with detailed house rules. Already the clear place of home within the commercial home is becoming hard to pin down. While hosts try to maintain some of the control and territoriality that helps maintain home (Easthope et al., 2015; DeLanda, 2016), they are engaging in an activity that de-territorialises home and takes control away from them. They are reproducing Airbnb norms and ideals of home that exist separate from their reality of home, but not separated enough to escape the need to emphasise that it *is* their home. These listings present a space that is neither fully home, nor fully away, existing in contradiction and presupposing the potential for conflict and tension. This virtual representation does not end in the virtual, but rather must be to some extent enacted in the real world.

This setting of expectations through the virtual construction of the home and host persona can be considered with regards to Goffman's (1955) idea of 'face' where after the first impression is made, the individual must then 'live up to it'. The visual face of the listing sees hosts transform the space that they call home into an Instagrammable stage designed to entice guests, and to maintain this face, this is what home must become. While the home will have already been materially organised as an Airbnb at this point, the feel and the atmosphere can still be shaped by the goings on in the home. To live up to this idealised, or even imitated vision of home created in the virtual, the home is pulled away from its more 'authentic' shape so as not to disappoint guests. Authenticity is a critical aspect of homemaking (Rapport & Williksen, 2020), with this including the emotionally authentic (Goffman, 1967) and the experientially authentic (Dovey, 1985). In replicating the virtually made home in reality, the illusion of authenticity that Goffman (1967) considers reserved for the outside world is now inside the home.

6.4. Conclusion

This chapter has looked to explore how the material aspects of the assemblage of home can become disrupted and can lead to the de-territorialisation of home. It has sought to do this by examining how the television adverts of Airbnb create the image of an idea host and

place, as well as how influential images emerge from the advice given to hosts by Airbnb, other outlets, and other hosts. It has detailed how the homes of the interviewees were materially changed for Airbnb and how they went about making home in the virtual. From these themes, some common conclusions did emerge.

What has quite clearly emerged in this chapter is the paradox that comes with selling home and authenticity, and the advice and realities that lead to depersonalisation. In following what they are told, hosts remove their identity from the materialities, de-placing the spaces of home. The familiarity that is held in the materialities can become lost or disrupted, while the 'other' becomes clearly materialised in the space. As it now holds items that do not 'belong', the materialities are no longer reflecting the self (Gram-Hanssen & Bech-Danielsen, 2004), but rather reflecting an Airbnb. In disrupting the assemblage of home in this way, the space can become de-territorialised.

The spaces of home can become territorialised through the homogenisation of space and the etching of identity into the materialities (DeLanda, 2016; Soaita & McKee, 2019), this, however, can become disrupted in the Airbnb home. As explored in this chapter, the outside or 'other' is materialised into the space, but this materialisation is also shaped and informed by the outside. With this potential dissipation of the recognition of a place as their own territory, the belonging in the space that comes from 'a sense of ease with oneself and one's surroundings' (May, 2011) can also be lost. Many of the spaces of the home that are open to guests can lose this sense of place, identity and territory. The feelings of home that come from the territorial link between '*this* individual and *this* house' (Soaita & McKee, 2019, 153) and senses of belonging (Gorman-Murray, 2007) can become weakened by the materialisation of the 'other'. With the home no longer solely being a space for facilitating the everyday of those who live there, but also for facilitating the everyday of the 'other', it can become unmade, leaving it a confused place with conflicting meanings.

It is these confusions that arise in the space from the materialising of an 'other', the contradictory constructions of home on listings, the transferring of these contradictory listings into the real world, and the overall theme of depersonalisation to sell authenticity that leaves home in the commercial home in a precarious position. The materialities and imaginaries of home are disrupted and manipulated to fit the commercial home, leaving the 'authentic' home somewhat fading into the background. The home becomes unmade and remade around the elements of the commercial home, with the two becoming intertwined but both pulling in opposite directions. When home is remade containing elements in its

assemblage that challenge its very existence, *home* can be located as a tentative entity existing on the periphery of the space.

7. The Performance of Airbnb

Arguably the most critical parts of Airbnb hosting come in the socialisation between host and guest, the hospitable offerings available, and generally ensuring that the guest remains happy and undisturbed. Whilst the performance of hosting begins prior to the guest's arrival and continues beyond their departure, the duration of their stay is the period that can put the most strain on the home. For this time frame, the mundane, everyday performances of home (Pink & Leder Mackley, 2016) become substituted for, or informed by, the host's performance of hospitality. Hospitality, as viewed through the lens of Goffman (1959), is a performance (Darke & Gurney, 2000). All that is done for the guest, such as communicating with them, showing them their room, serving their breakfast, and even cleaning guest areas are performances of hospitality. As per Goffman, this performance would normally be given in the front stage areas, with the backstage representing a space for people to "step out of character" (1959). Though Goffman conceptualised this idea with the home representing the backstage and the outside world being the frontstage, the theory does fit quite neatly into the Airbnb home. Here, any area that is shared with guests, like the hall, dining room, and sometimes kitchens and lounges, becomes the frontstage, while private spaces such as bedrooms become backstage areas. For many, the space that allows for this freedom and authenticity is home, however in the Airbnb home this can be disrupted. In this typically backstage setting, the performance of home (Roelofsen, 2018b) would commonly take place, but with the welcoming of guests, the performance of hospitality now competes for space, and can curtail other performances. Due to the diverging nature of these performances, they would normally be sequestered into different locations, however in an Airbnb they are brought together.

In the process of Airbnb hosting, the whole home becomes a stage for performances for hosts from the arrival of the guest until their departure. This is where the chapter sets its focus. Though the clear divisions of space and boundaries utilised by hosts would typically

fit the home quite neatly into these front stage and backstage dynamic, the separation is not absolute. In hospitality, one of the critical and fragile aspects that needs continuous care and attention is impression management (Darke & Gurney, 2000). For hosts in their own home, this never ends. While outward performances of hospitality are given in the frontstage areas, their own behaviours are curtailed in their backstage spaces so as not to disrupt the set dressing of the frontstage. This eye on impression management also brings hosts clean to excess as well as connect to the pride in their home and performance to a point where they are genuinely affected by guest reactions. Meanwhile, by examining home and hospitality as a performance in the context of Airbnb, it is possible to consider performances that deviate from the everyday of home (Roelofsen, 2018b) in both the frontstage and the backstage spaces. While the frontstage sees performances of hospitality offered directly to guests, the backstage becomes shaped by these ideas of impression management, with each attempted performance of home done with the guest in mind. Though the Airbnb notion of hospitality is based on ideas of home, as highlighted in the last chapter through the analysis of Airbnb's television adverts, for Airbnb hosts it is, ironically, feelings of home that can be disrupted by this performance of hospitality.

This chapter will begin by examining the frontstage areas and the performance of hospitality that occurs there. It will consider the inclusion of strangers into the home and how hosts adjust to this and develop welcoming routines. It will then explore the pride that many hosts feel in their home, and how they fear the judgement of their guests, concerned that the space will not be deemed good enough. Following this, it will then examine how some hosts offer performances of hospitality that go beyond typical Airbnb expectations in attempts to gain favour with guests and the hostility that can emerge from this. It will also detail how familial relations can be impacted by performances of hospitality, with conflict challenging the idealised depiction of home. The final part of this section will consider emotional labour, analysing how hosts consciously change their behaviour, demeanour, and even attire in the presence of guests. The second section of the chapter will move the focus to the backstage areas of the home. This section will begin by exploring the suppression of the senses of home, detailing how hosts will avoid performances of home that create sounds or smells that can permeate the frontstage. Following this, it will examine how routines of home become disrupted, with hosts negotiating bathroom use around guests, waiting for guests to arrive and depart, and feeling restricted in their ability to socialise with friends and family. As we begin our journey through the Airbnb home, we first find ourselves in the frontstage areas.

7.1. Frontstage Performance

The frontstage performance of hospitality will typically locate itself in hallways, dining rooms, and sometimes kitchens and lounges. These spaces exist as the frontstage as they are where the host and guest are in each other's presence, each offering their own side of the performance. It is in these spaces where hospitality will directly and inevitably involve the bringing together of the home and the away (Hepple, Kipps & Thompson, 1990). Building upon contexts, spaces, objects, and relations (Lynch et al., 2011), the relationship between host and guest exists as a temporary sharing of space (Still, 2006), with the host not seeking to fit the guest into the space, but rather accepting that the guest may change it (Ruitenberg, 2011). In emphasis of this, Airbnb hosts actually assist in the changing of space through their performance of hospitality.

This section of the chapter will consider the performance in the frontstage spaces of the home (Goffman, 1959), where almost every action performed in the presence of a guest is done for them, or with the utmost consideration to them. The frontstage or 'front region' is where an individual's performance seeks to 'give the appearance that his activity in the region maintains and embodies certain standards' (Goffman, 1959, 67). This frontstage performance emerges when in direct engagement with the audience, or while in 'visual or aural range of the audience' (Goffman, 1959, 67). The performance of hospitality for Airbnb hosts can manifest in everything the guest sees of them. From the smiles and the offers of friendly conversation to the clothes that hosts choose to wear in the presence of guests, the self of the host comes to embody the service. Hosts repeatedly play out a performance in which they strive to maintain a demeanour thought to be most becoming of a host through emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983), while also going out of their way to offer services above the minimum. While this can be engaged in with much aplomb to begin with, the willingness to do more than the minimum can drift over time, bringing out negative emotions attached to the offerings. For some hosts, the initial presence of guests and all-encompassing nature of performing hospitality can come as somewhat of a shock to the system as they bring guests into their home for the first time.

7.1.1. Welcoming Strangers

The Home's transformation into a stage of performance begins the moment a guest arrives in the host's home. The stranger is one who's 'position in this group is determined, essentially, by the fact he has not belonged to it from the beginning, that he imports qualities into it, which do not and cannot stem from the group itself' (Simmel, 1971, 143). It is this importing and welcoming of strangers who do not belong into the home for the

first time that gives hosts their first experience of home being remade and renegotiated as a commercial space. This is also something which proved to be a rather jarring experience for hosts who had not done anything of the sort previously. Many of the interviewed hosts already had experience of bringing strangers into their home, with four of them previously having lodgers, three welcoming students, and Harry and Sue having run a traditional B&B for many years. This left Sophie, Bill and Tom, Michael and Caroline, and Mary who were completely new to the experience. The arrival of the first guest was typically something that caused a bit of nervousness, with Bill and Tom saying ‘We were ready. But we got, we got, ‘oh we got strangers coming to our house’, was like oh. Well, we asked to do It, you know and…I must admit it was it was a bit strange asking people in, specially 'cause they have to come in through the house, through the lounge, and we’re sitting there watching the telly and eating our dinner, and there's the room’. These feelings of discomfort did not always subside after the arrival but continued throughout the guests stay, with Sophie recalling experiences with her first guest, saying ‘the dad was exhausted so he just laid straight down on the sofa, and I thought *pause* it just felt totally odd’ and that ‘they had the bedroom door open and the son was just there with his shirt off, and it just, it just, honestly it just felt so funny’. For Sophie it was almost enough to put her off hosting, with her commenting ‘I said to myself I’ll try a few of them, maybe try five and if I don’t like it, we’ll just not bother with this, ‘cause it might just be too creepy’. She admits that the money from hosting played a role in overcoming this, as she says ‘I certainly didn’t like the idea…of having people in the house, I didn’t like it, but if you’re getting a hundred quid a night, well…’. It does seem that most feelings of extreme discomfort subside fairly quickly, as emphasised by Bill and Tom saying ‘It was a bit of a weird feeling to be honest with you, uhm, but we got used to it once you got the first couple in, two or three, and it's not too bad’. After a lifetime of subtle, routine unmakings of home from simple, mundane events (Baxter & Brickell, 2014), it is rather jarring for hosts to then experience a more significant disruption to the socialities and spatialities of home. New negotiations of the socialities and spaces of home become necessary, bringing about temporal shifts in the practices and performances of home. With the arrival of each guest, the home is remade and negotiated as a commercial space, where every action a host performs is done with thought to their performance of hospitality, instilling a heightened temporality into the home. This almost constant performance of hospitality becomes built into the routine of the host, with some instances repeatedly following the same structure.

For all the hosts, there seems to be a very standard way of welcoming guests into the frontstage of the home, with many repeatedly offering the same curated performance. It is

in this welcome that the performance of home most clearly gives way to the performance of hospitality, with hosts showing guests around the property, subtly implying boundaries, and getting to know the guests a little. This will normally include the soft emphasis of house rules, organising when they want breakfast, and advice as it seems quite common that guests will ask for restaurant recommendations. Forum users also highlighted the repetitiveness of welcoming guests. For user Kat, the worst part of hosting is 'HAVING THE SAME CONVERSATIONS OVER AND OVER' when welcoming guests, while similarly user Kez recalls that they 'even use the same jokes over and over!'. This repetition of dialogue, with hosts almost creating a mental script for themselves to follow time and time again really is the essence of performance. Though home can be considered a site for constituting and performing selfhood (Jacobs & Smith, 2008), for an Airbnb host, this welcoming routine is a replicable, neatly packaged portion of the self as a host. This moment of welcoming is the most carefully considered performance that will be undertaken during the guest's stay, with lines and jokes tested, repeated, and curated to a fault. With the hosts aim of navigating all guests through the same process, this is probably as far from their typical performance of self in their home as they will get during the stay. It holds the clearest distinction between *doing* hosting and *Being* at home. Alongside this well staged welcome, hosts engage with the pride that they feel in their home and their own performance, seeking approval from guests.

7.1.2. Pride, Performance and Scene Setting

In the kind of home-centred hospitality that Airbnb hosts provide, what would normally be a private space is put on display, opening it up to scrutiny, with those responsible for it being judged as a result (Darke & Gurney, 2000). The home, as a private space, makes its inhabitants sensitive to such scrutiny, leading them to organise it to reflect how they would like it to be viewed, rather than how it is in the everyday (Hunt, 1989). Being as intertwined with the self and identity as it is, home can be the site of a cultural anxiety in how it may be judged and perceived by others (Hurdley, 2006). For Airbnb hosts, this is something that some of them feel quite strongly, affecting how they feel about their home, how they feel about themselves, and their behaviours.

A number of the interviewed hosts hold guest experience as something that is really important to them. In this, they express their ethos of hosting, while also making it apparent that they derive pride from guests having positive experiences. This idea is conveyed by Michael and Caroline saying 'I always try and make their stay really nice anyway. You know, like I say, I like to think people will, uhm, when I go and stay

somewhere, I like to stay somewhere nice, and so I like people to feel the same way when they come here', as well as Sandy's comments that 'I care about their experience and if that is going to maintain my Superhost, that's fine'. Mary sums up her ethos by saying 'I really, really, really want them to have a nice time when they come to this place', while for Jane, if she does not know if the guest is happy it can cause a little stress, saying 'if a guest is not too chatty, a bit reserved, probably too tired, and doesn't want to interact, It puts me on unease because I don't get any feedback and I don't know what I'm doing is right or wrong'. This supports suggestions that lifestyle entrepreneurs reject market instrumentality in favour of personal values as a motivating factor (Hultman & Cederholm, 2010). Although despite this, as Airbnb reviews are judging not only the stay, but the home and the host themselves, pride and validation can be quite affective elements.

Pride in the home is stimulates particular behaviours in hosts and can be a motivator to become a host. This is evidenced with Michael and Caroline saying 'we've got a nice house here, we like to share it', and with Tilly sharing the common sentiment that 'I am proud of my home and enjoy sharing it with people'. This pride, however, can be a source of stress for some hosts as they seek validation from the guests. As Jane describes 'it's nice if people step in and say 'oh that's lovely', and you can see if it's not genuine and sometimes if they don't say it, I just think, oh, do they like it at all?'. Nadine confesses that it makes her quite anxious when she shows someone around her home, saying 'if they walk around and they don't say anything. Sometimes people don't say anything, like 'Oh your house is lovely' or you know, don't say anything and you think, oh why aren't they saying something'. She then confirms that this is linked to the pride she feels in her home, commenting that 'if you've made a big effort and they don't say anything, you sort of think, 'oh why haven't they said something?' you know, even just like 'oh it's nice', you know, just they don't have to say a lot. Most people do say something like 'oh you've got a lovely house' or-, and even if they don't mean it, it's just quite nice to hear it'. For Sophie, her pride in her home is so strongly connected to her sense of self, negativity towards it can be quite damaging, as she says 'The house is really me. This is probably, this house is probably an expression of me, and therefore if people are not having a good time, then I feel self-loathing and hate and all the things attached to not be able to present the best'. In these examples we see both extremes that were identified by Darke and Gurney (2000, 80) with some inviting in guests as an 'admiring audience to an accomplished home-making performance' while others fear exposure of their 'incompetence at presenting home and self'. For these hosts that fall into the second category, validation is something they require from guests to feel good about their home and themselves. In this, guests play a critical part in either strengthening or

damaging the relationship a host has with their home. It is not always just their home that hosts feel is being judged by guests, however.

While some hosts will just generally go on the ethos of 'treating people how you like to be treated yourself' as put by Bill and Tom, others feel a greater necessity to do more. Sophie sums up these sentiments best when saying 'I need to be loved, right? so I think my pathology is I need to be loved and I need to be seen to be doing enough to…to gain that love'. For some hosts, hosting is directly connected to their own self-worth, and it is this that is one of the key driving forces behind their hospitality offerings. How guests judge the performance of the host can be a major influencer in the host's sense of self-competence, which can in turn affect their self-confidence and self-acceptance (Marsh et al., 2016). While some consider home to be crucial to the continuity of identity (Dupuis & Thorns, 1998), the commercial home invites in an element to judge this identity. The Airbnb home is no longer a site of refuge from the eyes of the world, but rather a space where hosts can feel the eyes of the world upon them.

This feeling of the space being on display can also be seen in some hosts approaches to cleaning, with some putting a lot of importance onto it. While some admit that they keep their home a little cleaner now they are hosts, with Mary, and Bill and Tom saying that they 'dust more often' and are 'more particular', some feel more of a compulsion to do more. Colleen mentions that there can be 'people in the next room, I'm constantly washing kitchen floors *laughing* I'm wiping surfaces, It's hard work'. Sophie feels even more strongly about keeping spaces clean for guests, saying 'I have to be totally obsessed' because she believes that 'If someone sees one human hair anywhere in this bedroom, they're gonna know it's not their hair, right? Because I believe that the…the people who come to stay here will see it immediately, they may not, but in my head, they will see that'. The anxiety that this potential judgement causes brings her to think if she is not 'forensic' in her cleaning she will 'get a terrible review, it'll be one star'. In this obsession, she claims 'I'm not like this' and that 'It's completely false and a completely different me'. Impression management becomes an important aspect of the performance for hosts, leading them to become meticulous. Coming from the idea that guests can threaten to expose the hosts incompetence at presenting home and self (Darke & Gurney, 2000), hosts seek to remove every hair that may suggest their home is anything but perfect. This desire for the approval of guests also positions the care that hosts offer as an important element.

7.1.3. Caring for Guests

Hosting implies caring, where the host looks after the guest. Indeed, hospitality is the act of 'generously providing care and kindness to whoever is in need' (Chaturvedi, 2017, 1). Caring is something that we do to 'maintain, continue and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible' (Tronto, 1993, 103). Hosting can be considered a form of caring where hosts seek to look after the needs of their guests. Hosts care about guests, with the guest's experience and happiness making the baseline of this concern, and so feel, and are predisposed to feel emotions relating to them (Allmark, 1995). As such, many hosts offer extra service offers to care for the happiness and experience of the guest. This predisposition to care as Airbnb feel a host should, as discussed in the previous chapter, may be present to begin with but does not always remain. It is quite typical for hosts to go all in when they begin hosting, ensuring that guests have as good an experience as possible, only for this enthusiasm to drift over time. As this enthusiasm begins to drift, the hostility that is said to be an inherent part of hospitality (Derrida, 2000) can begin to emerge attached to these extra offerings of care that hosts are compelled to give.

A first example of this care in the form of an extra service offer is driving. Bill and Tom, Colleen, and Jenny have all offered on many occasions to drive their guests to tourist locations, as well as picking them up from and dropping them at bus and train stations. While Bill and Tom still seem very keen to do this, and do not show any signs of reluctance, both Colleen and Jenny have stopped doing this. For Jenny, prior to 2018, eleven guest reviews specifically commented on how they were driven somewhere by the host, however since 2018 only 3 have commented on this, with the most recent coming in 2021. This displays either a waning in enthusiasm or that it was a little too much for her to handle. But she is not alone in this. Colleen also used to, on occasion, drive guests around, now describing it as 'madness' and feeling as though 'All the time I've put is being a bit…abused' because 'there's no correlation between going above and beyond, and, uh, a really good review'. The 'obligation of reciprocity' is a critical element of hospitality (Bell, 2007), and though the reciprocity in a commercial agreement typically comes in monetary form, what Colleen desires here is a good review. Here, hostility emerged out of feelings that her generosity was being taken advantage of while guests offer no reciprocity in the goodwill of a positive review, leading her to experience negative emotional outcomes. As job satisfaction can help to stave off burnout (Tsigilis, Koustelios & Togia, 2004), the inverse is also true. When offering this service, Colleen gave the impression that she was showing signs of burning out, and thus gave up driving guests. Historically, unappreciated labour has made home an oppressive space for women (Rose, 2003), and for a while this

reached a very high level for Colleen, until she stripped back her service to a simpler offering. Giving lifts to guests was not, however, the only extra offered by some of the hosts.

A further extra offer of care from some hosts doing laundry for their guests, or simply offer access to the washing machine. For Mary, and Michael and Caroline, this is not a problem as the layout of the house facilitates a separation, however for Colleen this is not the case. Colleen recalls this as being a bother on more than one front, saying 'they have to go through our living room to get to the utility…and that…well, we found, you know, we'd be sitting there at 8:00 o'clock at night and then somebody just walked through the living room when we're watching Netflix, and you think 'oh please', and then you'll find that they're-, they'll do a washing machine load and inside it is 2 white T-shirts and they've done a full load and you think 'oh why?''. In this particular instance, the very offer is underpinned by a hostility that immediately becomes felt when the guest takes her up on it. Emanating from uneconomical and untimely use, Colleen clearly resents the wasted money in running the washing machine and the sound that it creates. As Colleen is one of the hosts who relies more heavily on the income from Airbnb, the wastage puts a financial strain on the offer, while the noise also proves disruptive. For Colleen here, it is not the presence of the guest, but the noise created by their use of the washing machine that brings out a hostility and affects her consumption of media. As consumption, identity, and home are all closely linked (Reimer & Leslie, 2004), this is a crucial way in which a host's performance of home is interrupted and is something that will reoccur later in this chapter. When deciding on extra offerings for guests, food is often something hosts will choose.

Caring in the form of making the offer of food, beyond the standard breakfast that they would typically offer, is another avenue used to gain favour with guests, though the provision of this is not normally relished by hosts. Colleen said that she used to buy special food on request for guests, recalling a particular situation where she 'got a poor review once from the guy who turned up and said he was a vegan, and I went out, so, I already buy Alpro and stuff like that, but I went out and I spent £20.00 on vegan stuff, and he never bloody ate it *laughing* and he gave me a bad review'. She does not do this anymore, while she also says she used to 'do a cooked evening meal, 2-3 courser for them for that £25. Not worth it'. She is not alone in this reluctance to cook for guests. Though Nadine offers a standard breakfast of cereal, she has also 'Written down that I can, 'cause I'm a cook, that I will do a cook breakfast for people if they want, but I hardly ever get asked, but I have done it a couple of times. I'm not mad on doing it 'cause it's a bit of hassle'. She confirms that she much prefers when guests just go for the cereal. Nadine also mentions

that on occasion she will cook fresh bread for guests but was not massively pleased when a guest mentioned it in a review, saying ‘In a way I thought ‘Oh why did they put that’, 'cause everyone will expect it’. Here, the host fears that her extra offering to one guest will cause heightened expectations for all the following guests, putting more pressure on her performance of hospitality. Sophie, however, suggests that she uses cake to ‘sweeten’ seemingly unhappy guests. Here, rather than being something to add to the experience, it is a safeguard against bad experiences. In all these examples, the offering of extra food is not a favoured part of the performance of hospitality for the hosts, but at different times has been deemed a necessary one. In terms of historical hospitality, the provision of food (Lugosi, 2014) and caring for the wellbeing of the guest (Ritzer, 2007) are critical elements, however in Airbnb what these hosts offer can be considered an overperformance. With underappreciation closely linked to burnout (Van Vendeloo et al., 2018), it is no surprise that hosts have negative responses to this particular overperformance. They are all also clearly underpinned by hostility. Colleen resents guests not appreciating the offer, Nadine dislikes guests taking up the offer and resents reviews that heighten expectations of offerings, while Sophie will only make such an offer when friction becomes present between host and guest. All these extra offerings, however, make up a relatively small part of Airbnb hosting, with the most prevalent performance coming in the socialisation.

7.1.4. Adopting the Role

The social element of the performance of hospitality is where elements of Goffman can be seen most clearly. Hosts will consider the scenography of their performance to the last detail, including their application of ‘face’ (Goffman, 1955) and the donning of the appropriate costume. These elements, along with hosts’ considerations to the choreography of their performance, is offered to each guest in each encounter. With Goffman’s (1959) claim that switching audiences periodically can help maintain the performance, the temporal nature of Airbnb can facilitate this quite nicely, although in Airbnb the guests could be considered actors rather than an audience. With each new actor that enters the stage, approaching with their own performance, a new commercial friendship (Lashley & Morrison, 2003) is forged. With each new staging, however, it becomes necessary each time to re-evaluate the extent that guests wish to partake in this mutual performance.

The social performance of hospitality begins for hosts when they welcome the guests, with this bringing the necessity for dramaturgical circumspection in which hosts decide how best to stage the performance (Goffman, 1959). This comes with hosts gauging how much social interaction the guest wants, with this ranging from the standard welcome to a full

conversation. Mary sums up this process of gauging the guest when she says ‘I will judge by how they interact with me at that point as to whether they want to chat or not, and I'll say things like I'll just give you a quick look around and then I'll let you settle in, and then if they want to settle in on their own, I can…I can sort of judge from how they respond to that or not, and if they seem like they're the sort of people who want to have a chat, then I'll have a chat with them’. Here, the hosts are effectively allowing guests to dictate the extent of the hosts performance of hospitality and how much time is dedicated to it, though for many hosts, this can be a highlight of hosting.

Meeting new people and getting to know them was the part of Airbnb hosting that many of those interviewed said that they enjoyed the most. Harry says ‘Oh I like it, actually, I find it, I find it stimulating for us as well because we’re meeting all sorts of different people, different ages, different aspects of their life, and its lovely’. Jenny shares a similar sentiment, saying ‘you just meet such interesting people, that's what I like about it, and they're from all over the world. You learn about the different cultures’. It may be worth noting that the hosts who are fonder of the socialising are retired and, as retirement leads to a decline in social ties and networks (Gabriel & Bowling, 2004), will typically be more dependent on hosting for social interactions. For these hosts, the social aspect of hosting seems to be one of the things that compels them to the Airbnb lifestyle and to continue hosting, though this is not the case for all hosts.

For some of the hosts, the communications with guests can be a bit much, bringing the necessity for dramaturgical discipline. On course in this area of the performance, the host is not the only actor on the stage, with guests playing their part in the conversation. With this brings the need for hosts to actively respond to the part performed by the guest, even if it is not a favourable performance to offer. Jane recalls how some elderly guests ‘need company’ and will ‘run downstairs’ as soon as she comes home from work, and comments that when they began hosting, they ‘gave time and energy into it (the communications) and it was exciting…to start with’. Over time, Jane has very much lost her enthusiasm for long conversations with guests. Tom has also found that older guests are eager to chat, saying ‘the older ones want to engage and said ‘come in and have breakfast with us, sit down’ *laughs*, it’s like, have your own coffee *laughs*’. Sue has found that giving recommendations to guests can become tiresome, describing a situation where a guest ‘went on and on and on and I was about an hour with him telling him where to get to *Place name* and how to walk to *place name*, how to get to *place name* and everything, and then he said ‘what about something else?’’. While some of the hosts can, naturally, be inconsistent about when they want to chat, Sandy is a little more open about

the extent to which she wants to engage. She explained 'I'm a chatty person and I'm happy to chat, but also what I don't want then is them to get the wrong impression and think that I'm here for their chatting needs, which sometimes does happen' and 'I am sociable but also I like to, uhm, obviously spend time with my family, uhm, and interact with the guests as and when they need it'. Despite occasional reluctance to communicate, the hosts do not let this show, they manage their emotions, employing dramaturgical discipline whereby they supress intrusions of personal issues into the performance (Goffman, 1959). This kind of suppression of emotion is also present in how hosts outwardly present themselves to guests.

As with Goffman's (1955) concept of 'face', in attempting to maintain and 'live up to' the impression of them that the guest has, the majority of the hosts were acutely aware that they would change their demeanour in the presence of guests. Colleen says she always must 'Smile…smile, try to be nice', and she is not alone in this, with many hosts confirming that they make a conscious effort to smile more. Sophie says that she is 'totally different', identifying 'It's a performance, isn't it', and says 'It's probably a bit, coming up the stairs, down there, into the room, Tada! Different'. Jane is very aware of the dissonance in what she portrays to guests and the emotions that she experiences, explaining that, when you are a host, you smile 'even if you don't feel it inside all the time'. She also expresses a great relief when the performance is over, saying 'after we checked them in, and then we sit down again, or do cooking, then we feel 'oh, it's done' and it's good it's done because I can…I can get on with my life'. Similarly, forum users have also noted this, with user Kelly saying that they felt as though they were 'constantly having to be on my best behaviour' making it 'very difficult to relax or indeed live'. These comments from hosts make the performance sound very superficial, with some hosts almost holding an antagonistic relationship with the emotional labour. The expression of relief when the social performance is over certainly brings suggestions that the negative effects of emotional labour are being felt. What is notable is that two of the hosts that seem to feel it the most, Colleen and Jane, both work full time in roles that require interaction with customers and a level of emotional labour. This brings concerns over the possibility of burnout and emotional exhaustion from emotional labour (Kinman, Wray & Strange, 2011), with similar conclusions able to be drawn in the previous paragraph. Despite these comments, not all host-guest interactions have such a veneer of falseness.

Over the course of my interviews, I witnessed three interactions between host and guest. While it never came across as forced or fake, it was always most certainly a performance. Invariably coming with a continuous smile and very slightly higher pitched voice, the host

acts simply delighted to see the guest, though upon the guest's departure, their demeanour would revert after a few moments to switch gears. The performance of a host is far from the completely artificial smile that comes with surface acting, rather being far more akin to deep acting (Hochschild, 1983). Whether it be for their own benefit of getting a good review or the benefit of the guest, these hosts genuinely seem to care about the guest experience, giving greater depth to the performance. While home is normally considered a space for authentic reproduction of self with the outside being where we become actors providing an illusion of authenticity (Goffman, 1967), for Airbnb hosts all of the frontstage areas of their home are now sites for the illusion that they present. While the illusion may simply be a happier, more attentive version of themselves, it still remains far from authenticity.

A few of the hosts that were interviewed commented that they would alter how they typically dress at home when they have guests, putting on a costume and setting out their manner to establish 'a favourable definition' (Goffman, 1959, 47) of their Airbnb. This does not mean dressing up necessarily, but rather avoiding wearing certain things. Harry suggests that he would not 'go around in paint-stained jeans, which I which I might well do when, when there's no guests here'. Sue shares similar sentiment saying 'you don't slop around in your dressing gown and slippers', something which Colleen agrees with as she says 'You can't wander down in your jammies'. Jane also suggests that she tries to 'dress up when they check out', though this does seem to just mean not wearing night clothes and a dressing gown. She comments that if guests want to check out early, her husband is fine with wearing a dressing gown, but she feels 'much more aware of it'. The reasoning behind this attention to clothing for these hosts can perhaps best be summed up by Harry when he says 'you try to present yourself in…in a certain light'. Though this is not the case for all the hosts that were interviewed, for these hosts, they do not want to present themselves as someone who is at home. Though this can simply be considered a deviation from the everyday which shapes home (Blunt, 2005), it can also be seen as a shielding of our identity in that space, around which our clothing choices are made (Crane, 2012). The self that is visibly displayed to the guest is not the 'authentic' self, but rather the self as a host, with the host donning attire that facilitates their desired presentation of themselves and their Airbnb. This can also certainly be considered a conscious attempt by hosts to hide their identity and 'authentic' performance of home, which is reserved for the backstage areas. While in the frontstage areas of the home, they will perform the role of the host, and they will wear the appropriate costume. This performance of hospitality also extends to social performances that exclude the guest.

7.1.5. Performing Family

In many instances, members of the host's family become thrust into a role of performing hospitality and performing family that they did not ask to be a part of. This is something that can bring tension and complexity to the stability of the family making process and the home making process. Bringing guests into a space that has previously been reserved for performances of family can disrupt this family making process. Families need to constantly perform acts and narratives that provide stability to their familial relations (Haldrup & Larsen, 2003), and though families may present themselves in the best light, their realities are far more complex (Obrador, 2012). It is this complexity of family relation, as well as the ability to perform narratively affirming acts of family, that is made difficult by the presence of Airbnb. The familiar relationship that exists between household members can temporarily shift to that of a 'performance team' who must cooperate to provide the service (Goffman, 1959). In this performance, family members must be reticent (Seymour, 2015), displaying themselves as a particular type of family (Morgan, 2011), however it is not uncommon for some members of the household to be apparently unwilling and involuntary members of this team. Home is built around these social dynamics that exist between members of the household (Dovey, 1985; Duque et al., 2019), but when the performance of hospitality supersedes this performance of family, home can start to show its fragility.

For hosts with children, avoiding conflict becomes a critical part of impression management. This is something that Sandy says she has to contend with, needing to tell her children 'Don't shout at me, we've got guests upstairs' when in the middle of an argument. For Nadine, in her particular situation, arguments with her child are something that very much stresses her out. She says 'I've got three sons and one of them has got mental health issues, so if he can, he's living here at the moment, but so, if he's, sort of, arguing with me, then I do feel Like… I don't like that. I feel anxious about it, 'cause obviously I wouldn't want them to hear'. Colleen admits that she cannot 'go in and do the fish wife act on them if they've left the bedroom messy or not done the homework or they've got behaviour point come up on their school app' for fear of disturbing the guest. Though Colleen does recall situations where she has had to take action in a disagreement with her child, saying 'If you've ever had to try and have a row with a bolshie 13 year old in whispers, while smiling *laughs* pulling a kid right into the bottom of the garden 'cause they've slammed the door on you and going 'don't you ever do that again, there's somebody paying to sleep in the room next to you''. Mainly in occasions of conflict, the entire dynamic between families can shift and become more difficult to manage. In the commercial home, private behaviours become public (Lynch, Di Domenico & Sweeney, 2016), and with this last

example, something that would normally be a private affair is moved out of the home and made even more public for the sake of a guest. This particular instance does, however, highlight how hosting itself can be a cause of conflict.

Other members of the household failing to alter their behaviour has been a source of difficulty for some of the hosts that were interviewed. Annie says that on an occasion that her goddaughter was staying with her, she was 'on her phone quite late to her boyfriend and I had to say to her, you know, just…just realise there is somebody who's paying to stay in the room next door, you're not paying, you're just staying'. Similarly, Sophie sometimes has difficulties with her partner, saying 'so sometimes he'll be tired in the morning, right? We've got guests in, and I can hear him clumping up the stairs dung dung dung *mimes heavily walking upstairs* like that, right? And when he comes back down, I'm like 'you do realise, don't you, there's people asleep up there, and you're just clattering''. Sophie suggests that the dynamic of the relationship changes significantly when they are hosting, as she says 'It's also helped actually, *partner* and I 'cause we…there's a certain limit to how we- I don't mean we kill each other normally *both laugh* You just want…you get…you, you are a bit more reserved, more negotiating, and that's probably help- helped our behaviour and atmosphere in the house, that actually, it helps when you've got people in, 'cause you, you know, they're paying customers'. Sophie also admits that it can be a 'relief' when her daughter is not at home, saying that there can be 'some tension there' when she is. She suggests that the difficulty is that 'she doesn't know how to act. Perform hospitality' and says of kids 'They live their life, don't they?', which is quite a telling statement, implying that she does not just live her life when guests are present. For these hosts, the commitment to the performance of hospitality is so strong that when other household members do not perform and instead display their authentic selves, it can cause stress and conflict. Though home is intertwined with identity (Massey, 1992), identity can be considered something grounded in habit, with repetition of thought and action creating home (Wise, 2000). In the performance of hospitality, freedom to repeat certain actions becomes curtailed, and when the entire household adheres to this, the performance of home as a whole is disrupted until the departure of the guest.

7.1.6. Doing Hosting, Not Home

This section has explored how welcoming strangers into the home can be a jarring transitionary practice for hosts, adjusting to the home becoming a commercial space, before considering the pride hosts hold in their home and performance. It has considered how hosting is a form of caring and how this can lead to overperforming by hosts. It has

examined the social side of the performance and the strategies that are employed to sell the performance. Finally, it considered how hosting can disrupt the family making process by temporally positioning the household as a ‘performance team’. All of these elements, either individually or in conjunction with each other, can have impacts on the assemblage of home.

At the heart of the frontstage performances of hospitality are the ongoing negotiations and renegotiations within a constantly changing social landscape. As exemplified earlier new hosts may struggle with this, but with experience they become more able to make sense of highly socially constructed world (Mallett, 2004). In negotiating this socially constructed world however, the host dons a mask and sometimes a costume in order to perform their role, while also holding their family to the same practice. While home can be considered a site that brings the self into being (Wu, 1993), the Airbnb home brings the self as a host into being. It is this self as a host that is created to negotiate the social structures that now exist in the frontstage areas of the home and become part of the hospitable offering. The practices of home in these spaces become informed by, or replaced by, practices of hospitality with displays of hospitableness taking precedent.

With both communications and other offers of hospitality shaping the new social structure of the space, the socialities of home can become very different. As home can be considered a social practice (Boccagni & Kusenbach, 2020), the continual, if short lived, disruptions of this social practice can lead to home’s unmaking. The *doing* of the social home becomes interrupted and no longer performed as 'normal’, weakening this element of the assemblage of home while being superseded by the doing of host-guest social relations. Though hosts will try to replicate previous buildings of social structure through the repetition and routine seen in the welcome, the admittance that they constantly have to gauge what guests want emphasises the individuality of the socialities that arrive with each new guest. This presents the frontstage areas of the home as sites of tentative social negotiations between strangers that will restart from scratch every few days, a logical opposite to the domestic familiarity that is key to practicing and performing home (Somerville, 1997). This distancing from the performance of home is also highlighted in the performance of a host persona.

This host persona for many includes offers of care that come underpinned by hostility. Hostility in hospitality is considered to either be consistently present or arise from a situation or event (Visser, 1991), and in these situations both can be seen. Some offer things that have always been a source of tension due to the host’s reluctance, while in other

instances tensions attached to offers have grown through experiences. The emotional labour that comes with making these offers that they would rather not can bring negative consequences such as burnout (Chiaburu, Thundiyil & Wang, 2014) while also bringing out an antagonism between host and guest each time one of these offers of care is required or requested. In these instances, the doing of hospitality overtakes the doing of home to the extent that hosts resent the performance that they are giving. While this hostility mostly only present in particular offerings of care, it highlights what hosts are compelled to do to make their Airbnbs a success, while also emphasising the frontstage as a space of dramaturgical discipline. A space for 'cheerfully' doing what is required, not what is desired.

Home hinges on ways of *doing* things (Boccagni & Kusenbach, 2020) and for Airbnb hosts, practical performances of home and the reproduction of identity are informed by, or substituted for, performing hospitality. The ways in which they would previously perform and *do* home and family in these areas is taken out of the space, with it now being held as this separate space for outward performances of hospitality. The masking of the self and the family, along with the building of host-guest social relations become the new *doings* that take place in the frontstage of the home. Airbnb places spatial and temporal thresholds on doing home in the frontstage areas, and with home emanating from ongoing social relations (Duque et al., 2019), relations between family members (Dowling & Mee, 2007), and mundane routine (Pink & Leder Mackley, 2016), it is easy to see how home can become unmade by hosting.

While hosts are in the frontstage areas of their home, what could be considered the more 'authentic' self is hidden away, both in terms of the individual and the group identity of the household. Identity that is performed in practical and repetitively affirming ways (Duncan & Lambert, 2004) is also banished from these spaces, with practical behaviours here establishing the self as a host rather than identity. As per Goffman, these more 'authentic' practices are more commonly reserved for the backstage areas of the home, but even here they are not free from the influences of the performance of hospitality. It is this extension of the performance of hospitality into the backstage areas of the home that this chapter will next lay its focus.

7.2. Backstage Performance and Disruptions of the Performance of Home

Separate from the frontstage areas of the Airbnb home is the backstage. This is where hosts would typically be able to enact something more of their typical performance of home and

reproduction of 'authentic' identity. This performance of home, however, is not as uninhibited as the separation may suggest. Concerns over noises, smells, and other products of the performance of home emerge as concerns as hosts attempt not to disturb the frontstage areas. The performance of hospitality, not limiting itself to the frontstage areas of the home, instead establishes itself as necessity in every space. Home is not something that is fixed, but rather is something that is practiced (Lloyd, 2001) and performed (Roelofsen, 2018b), and with impression management (Darke & Gurney, 2000) becoming present in everything a host does, this performance of home can become disrupted.

For some hosts, this consideration of impression management means that the performance of home is significantly disrupted. Sandy acknowledges that hosting poses an impasse to her preferred performance of home, saying 'you can't really be the way you would naturally be, which is an issue for me. Which is why I do want to sell the house'. For her, it is such an issue that she would rather downsize her home, removing the need to host, than continue to compromise her performance of home. Sophie also says that she and her partner are 'having to, kind of, negotiate normal behaviours all the time'. It is on the negotiation of these 'normal behaviours' that is done for the benefit of the guest that this section will focus. Whether it be avoiding practices of home that noise or smell, or changing routines to suit the guest, the way hosts *do* home even in the backstage areas can become interrupted and negotiated. One such negotiation concerns the senses of home.

7.2.1. Interrupting the Senses of Home

Our senses are a key component in how we come to perceive, create, and maintain home (Pink, 2020), with sounds able to heighten where the body feels at home (Duffy & Waitt, 2013). This becomes an issue for many Airbnb hosts, with one of the most notable disruptions of the performance of home coming from the hosts having a hyperawareness of the amount of noise that they are making. For many, hosting means silencing their performance of home, disciplining the home and the body to not create noises that disrupt the guest experience. A homemaking activity that suffers in this is the consumption of media, something that for many people makes up part of the very typical mundane routines of home. Tom admits that watching TV makes him a little uncomfortable because as Bill has poor hearing, they need to have the volume up quite high, and he says it makes him 'worry about whether they (guests) were sitting in their room stewing and not saying anything'. Mary's media consumption habits also change to accommodate guests, as she says 'quite often, when I'm on my own, I will make my breakfast, I will bring it through on a tray and I'll watch breakfast TV to catch up with the news. I don't do that when I've got

guests. What I do is I sit in the kitchen and I put the radio on and I push the door to so that the noise doesn't travel up and disturb them'. This also affects her in the evening, with her saying 'in the evening I watch TV like most people do, but if there's both rooms booked out, I tend to go and watch TV upstairs on my computer rather than down here so that I'm making this space available for them if they want to use it.' Whilst the media consumed here is the same, the way in which it is consumed is different and not in line with Mary's typical performance of home, with a performance that would normally take place in what is now the frontstage of the home being moved into the backstage. Nadine also has similar experiences to Mary when it comes to radio listening, saying 'I do play music more when they're out. So when they come in, I probably, sort of, turn it down. But…and in the morning I listen to the radio, and I probably would have it a bit louder. If I know there are guests upstairs, I'd probably just have it a little bit quieter'. A radio that is consumed as the listener would like can fill a room with substance and can be experienced as an expression of the listener themselves (Miller, 1998). The radio can also help the reproduction of the self through its mundanity, creating a domestic atmosphere by being the sound of the everyday, bringing familiarity in its unremarkableness (Tacchi, 1998). The social relationship of the household can also manifest in chosen patterns of consumption (Clark, 1998), and with this being critical to a sense of home (Dowling & Mee, 2007), some significant elements of home can be interrupted here. Similarly, media consumption is closely linked to identity (Kellner, 1995), so when hosts avoid listening or watching something, or feel compelled to do so more quietly, the reproduction of the self is being hampered. The mundane everyday and these audible expressions of identity are being silenced for the sake of impression management. These experiences, however, were not just limited to the hosts that were interviewed.

Across the forums, many hosts also expressed that they felt the need to be more conscious of the amount of noise they are producing. A familiar case of an affect being had on media consumption comes from user Kez, saying 'Even though they are not in my personal space, I'm still mindful of guests when they are here. I try not to have my TV on loud', while they also highlight that they 'wait on running the dishwasher'. Similarly, user Elsi says that they 'avoid vacuuming when guests are here. I don't use my stand mixer, food processor, stick blender or regular blender until the guests are away or 10:00 A.M. whichever is earlier'. Here, the caution around noise is affecting the food consumption of the host, as well as their cleaning routine. Home is shaped by the everyday and the mundane routines (Blunt, 2005; Pink & Leder Mackley, 2016), actions that are typically done without thinking, but now must be considered with relation to their impacts on the guest. Sounds, however, are

critical to home, mediating the spatial and temporal performances of homemaking by heightening affective intensities between both humans and objects, manifesting in feelings of belonging (Duffy & Waitt, 2013). By going out of their way to avoid making sounds, hosts can lose this element of homemaking, instead experiencing home as a site of restricted behaviours. Hosts will also often be concerned about the noise that they themselves create.

Even the simple act of navigating their home becomes something of a difficulty for many hosts due to the fear of potentially disturbing guests with their footsteps. Harry and Sue mention that 'you are aware you need to be quieter if you get up in the night for instance' and you cannot 'go stamping around'. Mary shared the same sentiment, agreeing that she would tiptoe past guest rooms and that she tries to 'be very quiet and respectful'. As mentioned earlier, the sound of footsteps has also been a point of conflict between Sophie and her partner, with her partner not taking the same care to be quiet as she does. This has also been discussed on forums. User Kez also says that they 'try to tippytoe upstairs', while user Maggie similarly says they 'feel like I have to tiptoe around'. How we move around the home contributes to the creation of atmospheres in the home through interactions with things and environments (Pink & Leder Mackley, 2016). Tiptoeing around the home can change the atmosphere of the space from one of belonging to one in which the host feels more like the interloper. It is no longer their space to move around freely, but rather to be a ghost, so as not to disturb the guest. The creation of sound, however, is not the only thing that hosts avoid in their performance of home.

Some hosts have commented that they will change their eating habits, avoiding certain foods when they have guests due to concerns that arise from the smells cooking can create. Tom recalls an occasion where 'we'd had a great evening, and in the morning we, uhm, it was their breakfast time, so they're having a continental breakfast and then he was doing…he…he did some bacon or something in the kitchen for us', Bill continues 'half-way through doing it and I thought, they were having their cornflakes and they got this waft of bacon going through the house', Tom concludes by saying 'I thought that's not…it wasn't the right-, so we've never done that again'. Forum users have shared a similar sentiment with user Beth commenting that they do not 'cook burgers on the barbie' when they have guests, due to the 'smoke/smell'. In the interview, Jane also mentioned that she changes her consumption habits, mentioning that many guests will make great use of the kitchen, which means that she must pre-prepare meals and reheat them later. The consumption of food plays a critical part in the formation of identities, helping us to locate ourselves in our narratives and creating a shared form of identification (Valentine, 1999),

while the smells of cooking also helps connect individuals to home (Longhurst, Johnston & Ho, 2009). In these instances, the narratives of households are being interrupted. The way hosts prepare food, what they eat, and how they eat becomes shaped by the narrative of impression management. It is quite common that the performance of home will take a back seat to the performance of hospitality, as there are a number of concessions that hosts will make to avoid bothering guests.

7.2.2. Time and Routine

Home is partially built on everyday, mundane routines (Pink & Leder Mackley, 2016), however it is these routines and the time of the host that can be disrupted by performances of hospitality and acts of impression management. One such example of this comes with negotiating the use of shared bathrooms. For Annie, it was something notable that came up, as she commented 'the things that affect me, but not in a bad way, are sort of like morning and night time, you know, using the bathroom, 'cause obviously we've got…there's two people who don't know each other using a small space, 'cause it's not a very big house, so some people say 'is it OK to have a shower?'. You know, some people ask, some people don't. I show them in the shower, in the bathroom, toilet, and I think, because there's only two people, you can sort of work round It'. While Annie admits that it is something that affects her, she does not feel it is a massive imposition. Similarly for Tilly, she says that her routine has to change 'A little. But not much' and that she and the guest have to 'Just fit around each other with bathroom times'. In the case of Sophie, it is a bit more of a big deal. She comments that she tries 'not to go to the loo for a number two during the weekend'. She also tries to make sure she and her partner do not shower while guests are staying, as her partner mentioned 'you (Sophie) stop me from going in the bath or the shower, that's always awkward'. Sophie follows onto this comment, saying 'yes, he's going 'I need a shower' like, there's no way you're going in the shower this morning. I said 'you should have thought about that two days ago''. Generally speaking, she says that she does not 'like the idea of using the shower when the guests are around'. So for Sophie it is a duel reasoning that she does not want to disturb guests by having a shower, and she seems not to feel she has the level of privacy to shower comfortably while guests are staying. In this way, hosting continually disrupts regular patterns of behaviour and the mundane routines of home (Pink & Leder Mackley, 2016), while also seeing freedom of behaviour being lost. Home is a place of unique control for individuals, a space for greater levels of freedom than can be found elsewhere (Sebba & Churchman, 1986). For these Airbnb hosts, however, it has transformed into a space where they are restrained in the autonomy of

addressing their own bodily functions and personal hygiene. A far cry from the desired freedom of home.

Some hosts will avoid having friends or family stay with them while they are hosting, preventing any regular routine of socialising. Harry and Sue say ‘we wouldn't have our own family as visitors come down to stay, not that we haven’t got room for them, we have, that's…I just don't feel comfortable with the guests *and* the family’. Similarly, they say that they ‘wouldn't have lots of people, lots of friends in. We wouldn't have dinner parties’. Forum user Beth also adheres to this, saying ‘We alter our lifestyle somewhat when we have guests. We do not have company over and sit outside’. In the interview with Mary, she says that she has ‘family who I'm very close to’ but she ‘can't have them come and stay with me because it's always let out for Airbnb’. She admits she feels as though she is missing out and says ‘it would be much nicer for all of us if they could come and stay here’. Here, hosts are being pulled away from spending time with friends and family, needing to reserve opportunities for socialising for guests. Quite unlike socialising with guests, socialising with friends and family can be a significant homemaking activity (Gorman-Murray, 2006). Removing this as part of the performance of home can create a tension with hosting, as was the case with Mary. From her tone of voice in the interview, which held a slight sadness and bitterness when discussing the situation, I certainly got the feeling that there was a resentment towards hosting because it restricted the amount of time she could spend with her family. While home can be considered a site for the exclusion of the ‘other’ (Kaika, 2004) and homemaking through shared familial performances (Dowling & Mee, 2007), for Mary it is the opposite. For her, the home has become a commercialised space where strangers are welcomed at the expense of those who she would rather spend time with. Beyond this, time that could be dedicated to other activities is also taken up by hosting.

The need to wait around for guests was a quite common complaint of Airbnb hosts, pulling hosts away from activities, playing on their mind, and preventing the settling of routines. This was a clear issue for Bill as he says he can only be ‘three quarters’ as relaxed as usual when waiting for guests in the evening, while Tom says ‘sometimes I like to go for a walk in the morning, like down the Burrows, but if there's someone here then I can't do that until they've gone’ and admits that ‘I’d say I arrange my life around Airbnb’. Annie also mentions that waiting for guests affects her behaviour, saying that she will not go in the back garden because ‘they won't know where to find me’, so she ‘might lurk around in the house a bit more until they've arrived’. Sophie tries to see waiting for guests as an opportunity, she says ‘when I say I'm waiting around for these check-ins, I've had to learn

that, in the spaces, that I have to come up with something productive or do something out there *gestures to garden* or…It…it changes how you live your life and you haven't got to see it as an imposition, but actually just punctuations that lead you to do other activities that you probably wouldn't normally do' adding that 'there's a real relationship with your lifestyle'. However not all hosts have such a positive outlook, with this evident from the forums. Forum user Jamie comments that they are 'sick and tired of staying up all night, waiting for guests to arrive' and that waiting for guests is 'The hardest part of hosting'. This sentiment was strong amongst hosts on the forums, one of whom, user Cynthia, went as far as to create the meme seen in figure 30 which shows a host waiting for guests to arrive, accompanied with punctuation creating an unhappy face, an '#!' typically used to signify swearing, and an angry face. Even though home is built on regular patterns of behaviour (Douglas, 1991) which could mean waiting for guests could become part of home, it has been theorised that these behaviours should be a performance of the self (Jacobs & Smith, 2008). Not only are hosts being pulled away from their everyday, but their time is being used simply to wait rather than undertaking performances that affirm home. Whilst waiting may become a regular ritual of hosting, it is not a performance of home, it is a performance of hospitality done to ensure the host is prepared and attentive to the guest's arrival. On top of disrupting their performance of home, some hosts also feel anxieties about opening their home to judgements from guests.

Figure 30

Another way in which routines for Airbnb hosts are affected is through the rhythm of hosting. This considers the changes that occur in periods between guests. It is quite typical in these times after the departure of a guest and prior to the arrival of another guest that

hosts will forgo acts of impression management and enjoy 'a bit of a rest' as Jenny describes her weekends off from hosting. This is when hosts can enjoy being in their 'own space' as Mary put it. In this time, hosts can pick up their regular routines of home, no longer having to consider working around the presence of a guest. Here, they are able to pick up the habitual and repetitive practices that affirm identity and the territorial assemblage of home (Duncan & Lambert, 2004; Wise, 2000). Whilst these periods of time allow hosts to regain elements of their performance of home, some performances related to Airbnb remain necessary. Between every guest, the host must clean the guest bedroom, wash the sheets, wash the guest crockery, leave reviews of the previous guests and reply to messages of prospective guests. While the rhythm of hosting does intensify and relax throughout a period of time, it never stops. It never becomes a non-concern and its presence always remains in the home in some form.

7.2.3. Hiding Home

This section has looked to explore how the senses of home become disrupted with hosts avoiding the creation of noise, resulting in hosting being a performance that silences both the host and their home. It also examined how hosting can disrupt the social narratives that can come with food consumption for the fear that smells from cooking may disrupt the guest. It then considered how the time and routines of the host are forced to revolve around the guest and hospitality, leaving the host immobilised in their home. Such host commitments to the performance of hospitality and impression management mean that even in the private, backstage areas of their home, hosts do not have the typical freedoms that they enjoy when not hosting.

Despite the permeability of the boundary between the home and the away (Ahmed, 1999), this distinction of the home and the away is still made (Wardhaugh, 1999) with the home being a private space that offers freedom and control (Darke, 1994). In Airbnb, hosting even in the backstage areas, the spaces which are kept to maintain home for the hosts, this freedom and control can be lost. Hosts become unable to enact practices of home as simple as walking from one room to another without needing to consider how the noise may affect guests. This focus on impression management in the backstage essentially means avoiding any performances that might give guests the impression that hosts are at home. In this, a critical aspect of home is being temporally impacted upon, with homely freedoms withdrawing with the arrival of a guest and re-emerging upon their departure.

This freedom that makes home is the freedom to *do* home. With so much emphasis on managing how the backstage may affect the frontstage, the host is no longer practicing and

performing home in a way that is more representative of their 'authentic' everyday. It is these everyday homemaking practices that allow space to become imbued with meaning (Young, 2005), however in the Airbnb home the spatialities become confused in temporary restrictions that flux in and out with every guest. Much like the frontstage area, the backstage is no longer a space for the uninhibited doing of home but rather somewhere home is tentatively attempted while hoping the guest does not notice.

7.3. Conclusion

This chapter has walked through the commercial home, exploring the frontstage areas and considering the social performances between host and guest and host and family, the pride that hosts feel in their performance and their home, along with the offers of care that they make to their guests. Following this, it ventured into the backstage to examine how even here many homemaking practices are curtailed.

Through the curtailing of homemaking practices, as well as inviting judgement into a personal realm, home can quickly transform into an unhomely commodified space. With this, every attempt is made to make it appear as though a performance of home is not taking place. Whether this involves ensuring no evidence of the everyday is visible, avoiding cooking certain foods, vacating areas of the home, or even just being cautious of moving through the home, hosts will try to minimise their presence to maintain the illusion of home that they wish to present. Underpinned by impression management, the host develops the persona of the self as a host who will enact these performances distinct from that of the self at home. It is this self as a host that makes and carries out the offers of care and stands ready for the judgement of the guest. This employed persona acts as a buffer between the performance of hospitality and the hostility that common underlies it. It is the mask that upon which hosts are judged and which separates guests from hosts 'authentic' emotions. The implications of this performance of hospitality can mean the unmaking of home.

As emphasised earlier, home hinges on ways of *doing* things (Boccagni & Kusenbach, 2020) which, as shown in this chapter, is affected in every area of the Airbnb home. The doing of self in the frontstage areas becomes the doing of the self as a host, while the doing of homemaking practices becomes either restricted or replaced by hospitable practices. Every instance of *doing* home becomes informed by the performance of hospitality and impression management, with the lingering fear of judgement coming with each guest. The desired or commonly enacted performances of home and self must be held in check until

the departure of the guest. It is only then that the self at home, or 'authentic' self can truly emerge and restart their way of *doing* home.

With this, the entire Airbnb home, frontstage and backstage, become a site for the performance of hospitality rather than the performance of home. It becomes a place for restraint, where acting 'at home' is not allowed. A place of emotional labour where smiles must be given and familial relationships are on show. Where you do not walk, but tiptoe. Once the Airbnb stage is set, creating and maintaining the scene becomes one of the host's biggest jobs, and it is not a scene that involves their typical performance of home.

8. Boundaries, Anxieties and Hostilities in the Airbnb Home

Boundaries are a crucial part of the assemblage of home. These boundaries are what makes processes of inclusion and exclusion possible both between the home and the outside, and within the home. Over time, however, the concept of home has changed, weakening and eroding boundaries, bringing together work and leisure (MacCannell, 1977; Di Domenico & Lynch, 2007). These two sides of life have become increasingly intertwined, and with relations with work informing the rationales of how and whether boundaries are drawn (Cohen, 2008), boundaries can become very hard to pin down. Spaces that are used for both work and leisure come to hold contested meanings, neither a place for homely reproduction of identity nor production in a capitalist society. Through everything we do, we carry with us temporal boundaries of self that we use to inform our performance in a given situation (Nippert Eng, 1996). When these boundaries begin to shift, as in the integration of work and leisure into the same space, our relationships with space can be left confused. The commercial home is a good example of this. When individuals are put to work in their own home while guests enjoy leisure time (Ikonen, 2017), the purpose of the boundaries of home, that is to separate work and leisure, and to separate the home from the away, becomes lost.

Whilst the home is inevitably permeable in its boundaries (Sabra, 2008), Airbnb have opened up the boundaries of the home to a quite extreme extent.The practice of excluding the ‘other’ is critical in creating and constructing spaces that are autonomous and distinct as home (Wigley, 1996; Lefebvre, 1974), with the exclusion of socio-natural processes that manifest as the ‘other’ becoming prerequisite to the creation of home, keeping fear, anxiety and social upheaval outside (Kaika, 2004). In the case of Airbnb, this ‘other’ is the guests that are now invited into the home. This brings the necessity for most hosts to introduce new boundaries within their home. This sees many hosts introducing boundaries, both physical and immaterial, between themselves and guests to keep the ‘outside’ out (Steiner

& Veel, 2017), with 'Out' in the case of the Airbnb home typically meaning guests will be restricted to certain areas to maintain home and privacy (Heath et al., 2017; Allan, 1989). It is this duality of the erosion of external boundaries and the development of new internal boundaries that comes with the inclusion of the 'other' in the spaces of home that can elevate hostilities and anxieties.

As the boundaries of home become eroded by these commercial elements, hostilities and anxieties emerge as notable concerns. The idea of a link between hospitality and hostility has long been discussed following Brown's (1980) suggestion that both hospitality and hostility imply the possibility of the other. The concept of hospitality is deeply marked by tensions between hospitality and hostility, belonging and unbelonging, and inclusion and exclusion (Friese, 2004). As boundaries become open for the 'other' to cross, encounters with the 'undesirable guest' (Derrida, 2000) elevate the potential for hostility and anxiety for hosts. With this, the chapter will argue that Airbnb hosting transforms the home into a hostile space through spatial fragmentation that divides the home across lines of hostility and through close proximities to an unknown 'other' who poses a potential threat that engenders anxieties.

This chapter will begin by examining the shifting of boundaries that occur in the process of Airbnb hosting. It argues that Airbnb hosting leads home to hold hostile elements, emerging through spatially disruptive practices of external inclusion and internal exclusion that come to change, eliminate, or temporally sequester certain emotional and performative milieus of home. It will consider how the home is divided, the reasons that the hosts divide their home in these ways, and how temporal boundaries of self move through certain areas. How these boundaries are negotiated will also be analysed, considering the physical barriers placed between host and guest, and how these boundaries are crossed. The chapter will then move on to the anxieties and fears that can become present when these commercially eroded external boundaries allow potential threats into the home of the host. This will consider the fears that many solo female hosts, or female hosts with children feel when lodging with a male guest. It will also examine both the online and physical boundaries that are employed to increase feelings of safety. By this, it will outline disruptions in the spatialities attached to the emotional, and the practical and performed elements of the assemblage of home that come from these new practices of inclusion and exclusion.

8.1. Boundaries

Home is a space that we consider to be our own territory, holding both physical and symbolic barriers that allow us to control access and behaviour within (Dovey, 1985). These boundaries, however, are not unbreachable, but rather are permeable, allowing home to be touched by the outside world (Ahmed, 1999). For Airbnb hosts, these exterior boundaries must necessarily be open and redefined to include the 'other' and frequent temporal shifts. However, when opening and redefining these external boundaries, marking certain internal spaces as private rather than part of the shared space means creating more boundaries within (Garvey, 2005). This chapter will evidence that internal boundaries can come from the closing of doors or the mutually agreed but unspoken spatial arrangements. For many of the hosts, however, these boundaries are not fixed but rather are of a temporal nature, shifting through spaces and denoting performance. These temporal boundaries of self (Nippert-Eng, 1996) can move through one room or almost a whole house, for one minute or for several days, constantly changing the purpose of space between a site for the authentic reproduction of identity and the performance of hospitality. Existing either side of these shifting boundaries are spaces that will always remain on one side of the divide as hosts seek to maintain home for themselves and make offers of space to guests.

8.1.1. Dividing the Home

Emerging a few times across the interviews was a constant awareness of the presence of a guest in the home. Bill and Tom say that the fact that a guest is in the house is 'in the back of your mind all the time'. Harry and Sue share this sentiment, saying that you are 'aware there's somebody else in your house, even…even if they're in another space'. For these hosts, this awareness does not seem to be much of an issue, however Jane feels it a little more strongly. Jane suggests that she is 'aware every minute if somebody else is in the house, so I feel I'm in standby mode all the time, whether they need anything or want us or need any assistance'. In Jane's case, this awareness has almost become an extension of the performance, as she cannot fully relax because of the chance that the guest might need something. Home has previously been conceptualised as a space where the social 'other' must be excluded to feel familiarity, safety, and isolation (Kaika, 2004), for Airbnb hosts this is not possible. The awareness of the presence of guests and the desire for social isolation brought a tension to the homes of many of the hosts. This has led the Airbnb home to be divided in a number of different ways through the building, heightening, and shifting of temporal boundaries. This section will explore the variations of this division of home, considering spaces that are actively or flexibly shared with guests, spaces that guests

are excluded from, and spaces hosts removes themselves from to give it over to guests. This tension can be highlighted by how hosts emphasise their relationship with their home.

In the majority of the interviews, the hosts sought to spotlight the fact that it is their home. Sandy says 'it's a family home first and foremost' and Colleen says that they offer 'a room in the house, which is the family house, we've never pretended to be anything other than that'. Some of them say that as it is their home, they want guests to feel as though it is a 'home from home' as put by Michael. With Annie, and Harry and Sue, this is emphasised by decisions to let fewer people stay so that it is 'not too much for us' as Harry says. This connection with home *as a home* rather than simply an Airbnb, and a desire to maintain this, can be observed in how these hosts redefine the boundaries of the spaces. A notable space in which boundaries are drawn around is the living room.

The living room is a unique space in the home, where we can sit together, relax, talk, consume media, all in a way that does not really occur anywhere else. For many it is the heart of the home. One significant way, however, that hosts diverge in the dividing of their home revolves around guest access to this space of the living room. Four of the interviewed hosts allow full access to their living room, however while both Sophie and Mary will vacate the space should they feel the guests do not want to socialise, Colleen and Annie will more actively share the space. Neither of Michael and Caroline, or Bill and Tom allow general access to the living room, with Michael and Caroline putting a sign that says 'private' on the door, and Bill and Tom saying that they do not 'generally encourage the lounge' as a shared space, however they do both sometimes invite guests in. For these hosts, the boundary is more flexible and depends on how they feel about the guest. For Bill and Tom, the reasoning for restricting the space was that 'The danger is we didn't want the thought of them coming then into there and sitting down and watching the telly and getting into a film and then I come in and then I can't sit in my own lounge and watch the telly' before commenting that the space can only be used by guests 'under our condition'. For these hosts who have no complete rule against having guests in the living room, the boundaries of the front and backstage areas regularly shift. As individuals, we create temporal mental boundaries around spaces which denote certain ways of thinking, acting, and being (Nippert-Eng, 1996). In this, certain aspects of the self are separated out and apportioned to specific spaces and times (Nippert-Eng, 1996), for an Airbnb host, typically between the frontstage and backstage. For these hosts, however, the living room represents a space where temporal boundaries of self are continuously shifting in and out. Sometimes it is a space for reproducing something of their authentic self, other times they will offer a performance of hospitality. From this, the identity of this space becomes blurred, and no

longer a complete representation of belonging and home, but rather of shifting performances and roles. The remaining six hosts, however, are even more restrictive in offering access.

For half of the hosts that were interviewed, the living room is a space that is completely off limit for guests. For Harry and Sue, this reasoning also seemed to at least partially centre around the television, with Sue saying ‘Well, I don't think we wanted to be sat watching television at night and they come in… You've got to ask them what they wanna watch’, with Harry agreeing, commenting ‘that's true, we don't. It can be too much’. They also both emphasised that wanting ‘privacy’ played a role in this decision. Sandy considers the living room to be ‘completely out of bounds’ to guests and says ‘my children and I are in here. This is…this is family spaces’. For both Nadine and Jenny, the decision not to make the living room accessible to guests was made ‘just 'cause of the way the house is’ as Nadine puts it. The layout of their homes lent itself to a stronger divide, though Nadine admits she never invites guests in, and Jenny refers to the living room as ‘our space’, suggesting that wanting space to themselves was still a major factor. For these hosts, maintaining a communal space where they could continue a familial performance of home was essential, leading to the temporal reinforcement of the boundaries around the spaces. For Sandy it allows room for the social relationship of the family as part of the process that shapes home (Dowling & Mee, 2007), while for Harry and Sue it facilitates the shared consumption of media that helps to build a household (Carrier, 1995). The layout of the home facilitated the performance of hospitality for a number of the hosts that were interviewed.

In a few of the Airbnbs studied, the guest rooms were located on a floor completely separate from the host and the rest of the house, while in Nadine’s Airbnb the guest rooms are on the same floor but at the other end of the large home, producing similar effects. For these hosts, this is what helps them to be able to do Airbnb, with Sandy commenting that if the guests were not ‘self-contained up here’ she thinks that ‘it wouldn’t work’. For Nadine, her home is almost divided in two, with the left-hand side of the house being guest areas, while the right side is her own private spaces. She admitted that without this setup, she would not be keen on hosting, saying ‘I think if I was sharing, I…I don't think I'd like it if I had to, sort of, share communal areas with them, not because-, 'cause then it would change how I felt about my home’. For a number of these hosts, having a large house which allows space for themselves and space for their guests is crucial towards maintaining a sense of home. As privacy is a crucial part of communal homemaking (Gorman-Murray, 2006), needing to share certain areas could damage feelings of homeliness for hosts such as

Nadine and Sandy. Privacy is essential for the continuity of identity and allowing us to do as we please, which is central to creating and maintaining home (Dupuis & Thorns, 1998) and would be interrupted for some hosts by needing to share spaces. While some hosts make extra effort to claim space as their own, others are more open to giving over space.

At the other end of the spectrum to hosts who actively maintain spaces as home, some of the hosts interviewed make it clear that, for the duration of their stay, certain spaces belong to guests. For Bill and Tom, this is clearly seen with the dining room, as they recall comments to guests saying 'it's your space, it's your space for the morning' and emphasising that 'we try not to invade it if we can help it'. Mary says that she will leave her living room if she feels that the guests want to be on their own, giving over ownership of that space. Mary will also vacate her bedroom, instead sleeping in the attic, in order to give the space to her guests. This means that the first floor of the house is where both guest bedrooms are located, and a bathroom which becomes for sole use by the guests. Mary makes it clear that while guests are staying 'the 1st floor is private to them. During their visit, I don't go in and out of their bedrooms. I don't go in and out of their bathroom, and literally just come through in order to access the downstairs or go back up (To the attic). Because that's their space'. Similarly, Sophie also gives up her bedroom to guests, moving down to the basement, but feels an even stronger sense of giving over the space. Sophie says 'when I go 'there's the keys to our house, now it's yours', I actually feel that. When we have the customers, not in a creepy way, they go 'oh what d'you mean', I get a genuine…you've paid this money, I want, and we also, my partner and I, we we're in the basement when the guests are here, we live in the basement, out of the way because we want people to feel that they really getting value for money, they feel free in the space, they, almost like it's their house, their…that they live here, does that make sense? That they're redoing their own home but with a different set of values, vibes, whatever'. As may be expected, Sophie says of the first floor, where her bedroom is located, that 'when I've got the other guests in, I don't want to come up here at all'. She also tries to avoid spending too much time in the living room, saying 'we have a little sneaky coffee here, enjoying our living room at about 7:00 o'clock in the morning, but If we hear anyone move upstairs or we think they're coming down, we scoot, we're out of here, we go straight downstairs, we want to be out of the way', while her partner comments 'we kind of just pop up and do breakfast and then disappear'. For these hosts, particularly Sophie and Mary, most of their homes are subject to shifts in their temporal boundaries of self, going from allowing freedom of the performance of home in every space without guests, to restricting it greatly with guests. Though adhering to the conceptualisation of hospitality that suggests that

hosts should not seek to fit guests into a space, but rather allow their presence to change the space (Ruitenberg, 2011), these hosts are sacrificing large areas of their home to do this. Control over the space of the home is a major factor for many in feeling at home (Easthope et al., 2015), though here the hosts are surrendering control of guest spaces that force them to retreat to their own private areas. Particularly for Sophie, this makes her feel as though it is not her home anymore, saying ‘we feel like we’re no longer the owners, *we* are the people who are the renters in a way’. Three times across the interview, Sophie describes the experience of moving to the basement as ‘camping’, which very clearly indicates a feeling of removal from her home. In dividing the home in this way, these hosts almost build boundaries within their home that sees them place themselves on the outside and the guests within. Many of the others will attempt to maintain greater senses of home, and many will use physical boundaries to achieve this.

8.1.2. Negotiating Boundaries

As the boundaries that come to be built, rebuilt, and shifted through the Airbnb home are temporal in nature, they are always the subject of interpersonal negotiations between people. This section will discuss how these boundaries come to be negotiated between host and guest, starting with the temporal reinforcement of boundaries through physical elements. Several of the hosts interviewed say that when guests are staying in their home, they will close doors in order to create a barrier between themselves and the guest. Sandy says that she only sometimes closes the door to her living room depending on how comfortable she feels with the guest but says ‘sometimes I will shut the door because I don't…I…I…yeah, if I shut the door, that means don't come in, don't knock on the door’. Nadine is very similar in this with regards to the living room door, saying ‘I think if I if I don't mind them, sort of, chatting to me, I'll leave the door open, but if I don't want any communication, I just shut that door and then if they did want to speak to me, they have to knock, so I don't feel like I'm going to get intruded upon’. For Jane, she initially asserted that the living room door was closed so that ‘when they (guests) come and go in their pleasure, in in their own time, they don't feel they have to say hello and they have to interact, you know, every time’, but does also acknowledge that it is ‘Probably for us as well, yes, for our privacy there as well’. Alongside this closing of doors, there are also the physical boundaries that were introduced just for hosting that were discussed in chapter 6, such as the curtain put up between dining room and living room by Bill and Tom, as well as the ‘Private’ signs found on closed doors, put up by both Bill and Tom, and Michael and Caroline. For all of these hosts who actively, and with acute awareness, employ boundaries, they always act as a shield between host and the face-to-face performance of

hospitality. Despite these attempts to maintain boundaries through such barriers, closing doors can affect the flow of the house. The flow of the home, the way we can move around the home, the way sounds and atmospheres can diffuse through space can bring feelings of homeliness through both visual and whole-body experiences that bring a sense of freedom, mobility, and comfort (Dowling & Power, 2016). The flow of home is enhanced by openness (Dowling & Power, 2016), and when doors that are usually left open are now closed, as is the case with these hosts, this openness is lost. This can give the space a very different, less homely feeling. Despite attempts to reinforce boundaries, some hosts have experienced the lines being crossed by guests.

While closing the living room doors symbolises a reinforcement of the temporal boundaries of self, the fact that they are sometimes left open is perhaps more intriguing. For all of Sandy, Nadine, and Jane, the living room is a private area, but as noted in the previous paragraph, they will all sometimes leave the door open. In doing so, they also leave the door open for the possibility of interaction, meaning that this temporal boundary can shift in with the guest and straight back out again when they leave the space. Whilst they made it clear that they did not want guests to join them in these spaces, they were open to short bursts of performance that, despite bringing the room to the front stage area, are brief enough that they do not change the identity of the space. This suggests that occasionally hosts are happy to resist the closing of doors and include the presence of a guest in the flow of the home (Dowling & Power, 2016), enough to allow the performance of hospitality to briefly flow into the backstage on the provision that it will quickly flow out again. Even the closing of these doors, however, is not a certain way of rejecting guest presence from the space.

Even the best attempts at emphasising boundaries are not infallible, as a number of hosts experience. Nadine recalls an instance where a guest crossed the boundary from the shared hallway into her private kitchen, bringing feelings of discomfort and intrusion. She says ‘there was one man who was a bit weird and he came in the kitchen and was being over friendly and-, but I think-, that was right in the beginning and maybe I was a bit too friendly in a way, I don't know, I think you sort of learn from your…Yeah, I think I said ‘do you want me to make you a cup of-‘, I p-, perhaps I didn't…I'm more sort of professional about It now’. Here, a guest entered a private area of the house, and pushed the host into a performance of hospitality that included a familiarity she was not comfortable with. For Sandy, there has been more examples of guests crossing boundaries, and ones that are perhaps more difficult to deal with for a host. She recounts that one guest ‘felt that he should be able to use the house as his own home’ as well as other guests who ‘didn't ask

prior to coming 'is it OK to use the kitchen?' and he said…he just came with bags of stuff and just said 'so where's the kitchen?' and there was that presumption of just 'I'm going to be using all your space''. She also encountered another guest who would 'Come and knock on my door if my door's shut and just come in and sit on the sofa and it was just…he'd say some very inappropriate things to me, like sexual stuff. He was married as well and he used to come down in his, like you know, like smoking jackets back in the day, he'd sit on his laptop and sit in the kitchen and…and it was…bizarre'. She admits that these experiences 'made me feel uncomfortable and regret being a host'. In these situations, boundaries have been crossed and areas that guests would normally be excluded from are being intruded upon. Feelings of safety, familiarity, and isolation that build homeliness (Kaika, 2004) are being damaged, with the host is losing their control over their boundaries and space. The guest has exited the frontstage and moved their presence into the backstage area, from which the social performance of hospitality is normally excluded. It is not always the case, however, that it is poor guest behaviour that makes hosts feel as though boundaries have been crossed.

For some hosts, it is the presence of a guest who spends all their time in the communal areas of the house that proves an issue. Mary describes a situation where a family came to stay, and while the father was on a training course, the mother and children 'spent practically the whole time in the house, and I felt that that got to a point where it was a bit too intrusive for me'. In order to avoid situations like this, she says that 'if I have a family who are coming on holiday who are staying longer than a week…so very rarely I've had a family for either 10 days or two weeks, and then I've chosen to go away for some of that time'. For Mary, the lingering presence of guests has in the past made her leave her home so as to get away from them. She is not the only host who has experienced issues of this nature. A number of hosts on the forums have also had guests who stay in the living room for extended periods of time, with user Kat saying 'Guests that stay in all the time really bug me'. A similar experience occurred for user Joan, who has guests that are generally very well behaved 'polite, clean and friendly' however they 'are like fixtures on my sofa' and 'it's driving me nuts', they say they are 'just letting off steam' and maybe 'need to take a break from hosting for a while'. For user Joan, this constant invasion of personal space has led them to question whether they should continue hosting. When user Andy had guests like this, they say they 'just had to adjust and spend more time away from home these days', essentially allowing the guests to force them out of their home. User Selma also encountered guests like this when they began hosting, describing it as a 'nightmare', but soon decided to put televisions in the guest bedrooms, only allowing living room

access until it ‘interferes with my schedule’. The temporal boundaries of self that would regularly shift through the shared areas for these hosts become more fixed with these guests. While they would normally be able to revert to something of a more authentic self while the guest is out for the day, in these situations, it remains a site of performance for the whole duration of the guest’s stay. From these examples, its clear such behaviour can create a tension between host and guest. As home is built, at least in part, by a harmonious social structure (Dovey, 1985), this can damage that, turning the space into a site of conflict rather than of safety and familiarity (Kaika, 2004). Here, not only is the personal space of the host being encroached upon, with guests manipulating the temporal boundaries, but they are also disrupting the hosts preferred performance of home, something that can be affected by hosting in many different ways, as discussed in the previous chapter.

A final consideration of how the boundaries of home are impacted by hosting extends to relationships and impacts upon neighbours. While neighbours are a party that exist outside of the host-guest-platform relationship, they can still be touched by the processes of Airbnb hosting. This is emphasised by comments on forums. User Jacqui claims that ‘Neighbours can make a host’s life a misery if they’re not on side’, while user Haley claims that they plan to ‘play fake nice and make them feel like their concerns are listened to’. User Georgie even claims that they ‘bribe’ their neighbour in order to avoid conflict. This shows the impact that can be felt by neighbours and the impact that neighbours can have on hosts as a result. It is interesting to note, however, that issues with neighbours is not something that commonly arose during my interviews with hosts. The only example of this came when Karen mentioned about concerns of the noise of a neighbour working on their boat while a guest was doing an online interview. This lack of conflict between hosts and neighbours may be due to the situations of the properties of the hosts interviewed. Many of the properties were detached and had driveways, offering a separation from neighbours and less of an impact beyond the property and onto the street. With this consideration, a further research opportunity can emerge. Further investigation on this aspect of hosting could be undertaken in a situation where this separation between host and neighbour is significantly less, such as a block of flats. This investigation could be conducted with considerations to mobile neighbouring (Veijola & Falin, 2016), considering the guest’s active role in the social environment. This could be used to investigate how different living situations have the potential to result in different changes to home, both for hosts and for their neighbours.

8.1.3. The Home is not Whole

This section has looked to explore how the homes of Airbnb hosts become divided to facilitate hosting. It has laid out that despite hosts still regarding the entire property as their home, many hold a constant awareness that an 'otherness' has invaded the space. There are divisions amongst hosts who actively share spaces, actively exclude guests from spaces in the desire of privacy and consider that hosting only works when there is a separation between host and guest, and those who allow temporal boundaries to shift through spaces as the situation dictates. While the section has detailed how some hosts will create physical boundaries through closed doors and curtains, it has also considered examples of how these boundaries are crossed by guests. From this evidence, this summary will look to explore how these practices of inclusion and exclusion, underpinned by hostility, can spatially disrupt the home.

The boundaries of the Airbnb home are built on practices of inclusion and exclusion between the familiar and the 'other'. On one side of the division is the backstage, a space where the 'authentic' may be reproduced, while the performance of hospitality is kept on the other side, on the frontstage. Trapped on the line of these boundaries are the transitional spaces, where the boundary may temporally pass through, rendering it either private or shared. The Airbnb home can be considered quite spatially confused, with emotional attachments intensified in the private spaces, but almost relinquished in the shared spaces. Spatially, the home is not a whole anymore.

The geographies of home are ingrained with spatial ideologies that help us understand different environments (Holloway & Valentine, 2000). This is how we recognise what home is. The overlap between home and family is crucial in identifying the ideology of the home (Bowlby, Gregory & McKie, 1997). In the Airbnb home, family becomes separated from certain spaces, leading the performances of home and self to undergo spatial displacement. In the first instance of adopting these boundaries, hosts are consciously sequestering their private, 'authentic' home to certain spaces with an acknowledgement that the spatialities of the rest of the home will take on a different form. This is best summed up by Sandy describing the private areas as 'family spaces' and the guest areas as 'functional'. In this, the shared areas of the home are subject to a process of 'othering', being bordered as such so as to contain the 'other'. These more rigid spatialities denote *the home that is home* and *the home that is not home*, however for those who leave boundaries to be flexible in certain spaces, the spatialities can become more confused.

The emotional geographies of home, socially constructed as they are, can hold contested meanings for individuals (Sims et al., 2009). Through the temporal boundaries of self that shift in and out of certain spaces, such performances are never allowed to settle, with inconsistent guest encounters necessitating the performance of hospitality. With the identity of space emanating as a product of interrelations (Massey, 1999), such changes in performance and socialities can change the characteristics of the space. The fact that the identity of a space is never finished or fully formed (Massey, 1999) is what allows such disruptions to occur to the spatialities of home. With these shifting boundaries, the spatialities come to hold both 'authentic' reproductions of self, and performances of the self as a host. These spaces caught between such temporal boundaries come to be contested by feelings of privacy and homeliness and commerciality.

Where hospitality demands the host maintain authority over their home, necessitating the conditionality of the offer (Derrida, 2000), Airbnb is no different. The emphasising of these boundaries, and experiences of them being crossed in the Airbnb home underline the practices of inclusion and exclusion that must take place and clearly evidences the presence of hostility. By the closing of a door, guests are kept in one area while the host can remain undisturbed, but even something as simple as this can be spatially disruptive. The flow of the home is created by openness, which creates feelings of mobility, comfort, and freedom (Dowling & Power, 2016), with the shutting of doors proving a barrier to this openness. Paradoxically, for Airbnb hosts it is the creation of these barriers that allows something of a freedom to perform home, however it spatialises the home into separate realms. As certain spaces of the home become so starkly spatialised as private or shared, this is why hosts feel so strongly intruded upon when these barriers are crossed. Whether it is a living room, a kitchen, or a bedroom, the spatialities of private spaces are intensified to reject an 'other' in this space and the performance of hospitality. The barriers of the Airbnb home can be considered 'thresholds of tolerance' (Germann Molz & McIntosh, 2013, 88) where hostility underpins the acceptable presence of the guest. While the spatialities of the shared areas become negotiated to accept the presence of strangers, the spatialities of the private areas that hold feelings of privacy and safety become all the more important. The spatial disruptions within the Airbnb home are such that distinct geographies of home are produced, leaving the spatialities that reflect home clinging to the private areas. The spatialities of these private areas can, however, be changed by anxieties and fears that come with hosting.

8.2. Anxieties of Hosting

When these boundaries of home become opened and crossed by guests, they can bring with them fears and anxieties for hosts. The barriers of a locked front door that exists for the safety of those within is surpassed, allowing in the unknown 'other' and the potential dangers that can come with them. For many women, home, rather than being a site of security and comfort, is a site of violence and oppression (Mufti & Shohat, 1997; Marcus, 1994; Young, 2005), and In the context of Airbnb, hosting has presented itself as a source of fear and anxiety for female hosts and guests alike (Farmaki & Kladou, 2020; Farmaki, 2022). Despite these legitimate anxieties, Airbnb asks hosts to put them aside and put faith in the trust systems that the sharing economy is built around (Hawlitschek, Teubner & Weinhardt, 2016). This trust means that hosts forgo the exclusion of the 'other' that helps make home (Kaika, 2004), while also potentially sacrificing the ontological security that it is suggested home should provide (Dupuis & Thorns, 1998). Bringing an unknown other into the space means that there is always the possibility of encountering an undesirable guest. For many hosts, it is not simply bad guest behaviour that can make a negative impact, it is the anxieties that each guest, particularly male guests, may perform such bad behaviours. Due to this, holding anxieties and fears of guests is not uncommon for many Airbnb hosts.

8.2.1. Bad Experiences and Fears

When it comes to bad experiences of hosting, one thing was always certain, the hosts recall of the incident was impeccable. Even when for many hosts the negative hosting experiences make up 'such a small percentage' as Sandy puts it, these are the guests that seem to stand out most strongly in their minds. It was also clear for me to see during the interview that these instances stirred emotion more than the vague recollections that were given of positive experiences. So often when talking about this, hosts' faces would show a little annoyance that they still have regarding the situation and the guest, anxiety when thinking about uncomfortable situations, and sometimes they would offer slightly aggravated laughter in describing more egregious instances. Every host had a negative story to tell, while conversely only a few hosts would detail specific positive experiences, with many boiling it down to 'I've had such good experiences' from Nadine, or 'We only had good experience with people, so we were lucky to…to have really nice friendly and…and trustworthy people' from Jane. This is because bad experiences are processed more thoroughly than good ones, leaving them to make a stronger impression in our memory (Baumeister et al., 2001). This can mean that the emotional milieus that become engrained in the space of home through repetition of thought (Wise, 2000) can be of these

bad experiences. This creates a space that, when associated with the presence of a guest, holds associations of anxiety and bad experiences. Some of these anxieties are felt most strongly by mothers that host with their children.

For the female hosts that had children in their home, the fear of solo male guests was quite pervasive. Colleen recalls that when she started hosting male guests, she felt ‘worried’, saying ‘if you’re a mum with a 7-year-old, you lie in bed at night thinking oh my God, have I got an axe murderer come into the house? You know what I mean? You…you worry have I got a paedophile? is that somebody…what will happen? Will they steal from me while I'm sleeping?’. Sandy also finds herself with similar concerns, saying ‘the only worries I have and still do have are men staying in my home. I've had some really unusual guests in the form of males. Uhm, they tend to be not aware of appropriate boundaries. Uhm, they can be quite inappropriate with their language. They have, uhm, really overstepped the mark in many ways’. She then recalls a previous experience, saying ‘so I had a Cypriot guy that came down for 10 days, he arrived when I was at work and my daughter was in the house and instantly made her feel incredibly uncomfortable. She phoned me and said he's really weird and he's saying weird things, going up and down the stairs with his suitcases, he's got hundreds of suitcases and all this, and he said he's an illegal immigrant, and I was just thinking ‘Oh my God! Who is in my house!’ so work said you can go if you want, but I phoned *daughter* and her friend had come over and she said I'm OK I'm in my room, duhduhduh, I said right. So then I came home, like, it's in about an hour, so I came home, I'm literally around the corner and, uhm, I said…I went straight to his room and I said ‘hi everything OK?’ And duhduhduh, and…and he was really friendly and I thought OK, so from my daughter's point of view, she's almost 17, She's got a strange man coming into our house with all these suitcases, uhm, he's quite hairy and a bit, like, gruff, and you know, appearance wise, I suppose it kind of was a little bit intimidating for her'. Sandy then explains that ‘since my Cypriot guy, I said to the girls, look, I understand that having men in the house is not ideal’ and has ‘declined three men in that time scale of the Cypriot guy leaving and…and now’. Here, it is not just the ontological safety of themselves that creates home, it is that of their children as well. Safety for yourself and your family is a critical element of home (Boccagni & Vargas-Silva, 2021). Without this feeling of safety for their children, feelings of homeliness are interrupted until the guest leaves and a familiar, safe, and isolated performance of home can resume. In this case, a particularly anxiety inducing experience with a guest, built on previous experiences with male guests, led to a change in who home became open to. The

fear of male guests does not just extend to anxiety over protecting children, but also themselves.

A number of female hosts, particularly ones who live alone, feel a vulnerability when hosting male guests. Annie explains that as she is ‘a single woman in my own home on my own’, she has felt the need to screen guests in the past. Nadine says of having male guests ‘when I first started, I was a bit worried about that’, while Jenny explains that ‘I always feel relatively safe 'cause my husband's here, but no, if I was doing it on my own, no, I wouldn’t do it’. Similar experiences could also be found on forums, with user Iris commenting that ‘I don't want to discriminate anybody but for two singel women it feels so much safer to host a singel woman compared to a singel man’, with many female hosts sharing stories that support this sentiment. User Selma describes a guest who is ‘trying to flirt with me’, while user Kathy describes quite an unsettling incident. They say ‘he came back to the house completely drunk (he told me he was) and proceeded to make unwanted advances towards me, (asking me where I am from, telling me I am good looking, invading my personal space, forcing me to back away into the bathroom and lock the door. Then he shouts “I’ll be upstairs if you want to come up”’, and then upon leaving he ‘invaded my personal space again’. The experience left them ‘feeling very uncomfortable (especially since we were the only ones home at the time)…this is the first time I have felt intimidated in my own house’. User Elle describes a similarly difficult experience, recalling ‘I was at work when a young male guest checked into my spare room, and as he was out when I got home, our very first encounter was when….I was woken up at 2am by my guest coming into my bedroom. I screamed!! Instant thoughts: Rape? Assault? Danger? Eeek!’. They then explain that the guest was drunk and later returned to their own room. User Elle says ‘it took me some time to calm down and process the incident. It’s hard to shake off the initial fear’ before exclaiming ‘Gah…the joys of being a single female host’. Whilst this again impacts on the ontological security of home (Dupuis & Thorns, 1998), for these solo female hosts it also pushes home firmly into the realm of being an oppressive site (Rose, 2003) where feelings of safety and comfort are not afforded to them (Mufti & Shohat, 1997). Such experiences and anxieties can create a barrier to homeliness whenever a female host is asked to share the space with a male guest. With such situations posing a risk to safety, many solo female hosts take measures to protect themselves.

8.2.2. Online Barriers

With many female hosts preferring not to co-habit with male guests because of concerns for their safety (Farmaki & Kladou, 2020) due to similar experiences to the ones discussed

above, some female hosts have utilised the tools offered to them by Airbnb to place barriers between themselves and potentially dangerous guests. Colleen says that she will message guests through Airbnb to try to get a sense of who they are, saying ‘ I do gentle probing on my…when they contact me, and I've got almost like a Spidey sense over years of managing staff and recruitment, and I've actually, a couple of…maybe about five people I've turned around and gone actually no, and and and said, no I'm not having you in the house. But you can lose your Superhost on that which is really, really, really tough if you're only doing it very occasionally. You've got this feeling that there's something wrong with that person and you've got him kids in the house’. Annie also says that she has screened guests but there has ‘only been a couple of men I've done that with’, while Mary also holds similar experiences, saying ‘I occasionally have refused a request because I, rightly or wrongly, picked up something from the communication that made me think, not sure about them. So I'm just going to say no I'm really sorry it's not available anymore and block it off’. While asking questions of guests has become a key boundary in keeping these hosts safe, it is also an example of how guests are subject to ‘othering’ by the host (Di Domenico & Lynch, 2007). Here, even the guests they allow to stay are consciously an ‘other’ to the host. In this situation, hosts may still be fearful for their security, but also have a greater awareness that the ‘other’ is no longer excluded from the home. Communicating directly with guests is not, however, the only way hosts seek to put a boundary between themselves and potentially dangerous guests.

Along with guest screening through messages, Airbnb does also allow hosts to reject guests on the basis of gender identity. Airbnb have outlined that hosts may discriminate based on the gender identity of a guest if they have to share living spaces with them (Airbnb, 2023b). This was utilised by Sandy in declining three male guests following her experience with the Cypriot guest, as mentioned earlier. Though these barriers offered by Airbnb, such as the ability to discriminate based on gender identity and to screen through messages, present a front of allowing guests to have the power to dictate who can enter their home, for hosts who value Superhost status it is an option that is never truly on the table. While Airbnb offer these tools to present the image of wanting to protect everyone, they also employ the Superhost system which effectively pushes hosts to accept all guests, sitting in complete contradiction. An important example of the negative possibilities of this comes in looking at Sandy’s experiences. After the previously mentioned incident of a male guest making sexual comments towards her, she continued to host male guests until a further incident pushed her to be more discriminating. For hosts more dependent on the income from Airbnb, these contradictory systems may push them to put their Superhost status

before their own safety. Tools offered by Airbnb were not, however, the only way hosts sought to protect themselves.

Some female hosts will utilise their listing to make it seem as though they are not living alone, and so do not become targets for dangerous guests. Annie mentions that she 'put in my…in my blurb that sometimes my daughter or family would be staying, sometimes I might have a dog here…just so they know that things are happening in the house'. This has also been a topic of discussion on forums, with user Sarah saying they have done something similar, explaining that 'My listing profile pic is me and my bf even though he doesn't live at my house. It felt like a safer option'. This is also something that other forum users have advised solo female hosts to do, with user Jamie suggesting they 'give the impression that there is a male onsite' by having 'a photo of a male friend at the end of your post, after your profile picture' and using 'the plural of pronouns: eg. We will be glad to have you stay at our home'. User John suggests that taking these sorts of measure 'could help deter the creeps looking to intimidate a host alone in her listing'. Here, female hosts' online performance of home is forced to hide their realities of home for the sake of safety. These actions can be seen as admittance that feelings of ontological security have been lost for these hosts when hosting as they have become hyperaware that the reality of their living situation does not hold the level of security that they desire. For these hosts, home can easily be interrupted with each guest. Despite attempts to put up barriers through their Airbnb listings, some hosts have measures to protect themselves in their home as well.

8.2.3. Physical Barriers

Anything done online can never ensure that dangerous guests will not visit when you are an Airbnb host, so many female hosts have gone out of their way to give themselves and their children a stronger feeling of safety. While Nadine says that 'if someone came in and they were really weird, I would do something like ask my partner, who lives in another house, to come and stay', she also says 'I have got a I've got a lock on my door, so I always lock my door at night'. The practice of hosts installing locks on their own doors is not an uncommon one. Jane says 'We have two boys in the house, they…they are now adults, but they were younger, of course, when we started, so we asked them to lock their bedrooms for the night, and it was a peace of mind for us'. Forum users also echo this, as user Selma advises other hosts to 'definitely lock the door', saying 'I always do from day one'. User Elle however says 'I don't use the lock that much as I prefer being able to get out quick in case of a fire or any other emergency'. In the case of user Elle, hosts are needing to make a choice between guarding themselves from guests and ensuring that they have a means of

escape should something occur that means they have to leave the house. Here, a locked door can mean a standoff between safety from direct contact with others and safety in the form of escape. This means having to make a choice about which potential danger poses the most threat, being unable to guard against both. While a locked door can mean the regaining of safety, and control over the environment and boundaries (Peterson, 2000), it also means a more fixed restriction on the flow of the home. Tensions can arise here as efforts to interrupt flow are consciously done, negatively impacting on homeliness (Dowling & Power, 2016). While many hosts use locks to protect themselves, they will also use them to protect their belongings.

Many hosts have anxieties over the trustworthiness of guests, which, for the interviewed hosts, has typically manifested itself in the instillation of locks in the home to protect belongings. Even hosts who says that they feel no fear or anxiety for themselves have gone to extra lengths to safeguard their valuables. Michael and Caroline say 'we lock our bedroom door now because I've got a lot of jewellery in there so, you know, it's not that you distrust people, but it's just better safe than sorry'. Here, despite their words, Michael and Caroline carry out a clear act of mistrust, suggesting that they feel less secure, at least for their belongings, when they are hosting. Jane also says that they 'lock away valuables for the night'. As Bill and Tom's home is divided, with the section housing their bedroom, work room, and private bathroom being kept behind a door, they say 'we're letting relative strangers into our house, but obviously we don't want them to be in that part of the house, coming in sniffing around, so we have got a deadlock on that door'. Tom also says that Bill is a collector of figurines, so Bill explains 'I've got these cabinets here, there's some little figurines in and the-, some of these are quite collectable…Sticky fingers go 'I li- my little kid would like one of them', you know, and I don't know for six months, and then 'oh where's that one gone?' so I've…I've locked them'. While ontological security can mean general safety, it also reflects trust in society and in others (Giddens, 1990). Holding a fundamental lack of trust in guests to not steal or damage belongings shows that little security is felt, and that little comfort is felt in sharing the space with guests.

8.2.4. Manifestations of the Fearful Home

This section has mainly looked to explore the anxieties and fears that arise for female hosts that either live alone or with their children when hosting male guests. It has considered how bad experiences can be more influential on host decision making and feelings than good experiences, even if they are heavily outweighed. It has outlined the fears that female hosts have for their children and themselves in possibly being exposed to violence from

male guests. It has explored the online barriers female hosts put between themselves and guests, through questioning guests before accepting bookings and using listing descriptions and photos to make it appear as though they do not live alone. It has also detailed the material boundaries hosts put in place in adding locks to bedroom doors and to cabinets containing valuables. Considering these fears, experiences, and resultant actions in both the virtual and physical space, this summary will look to explain the effects that this aspect of hosting can have on the spatialities of home.

The welcoming of guests can bring about a hyperawareness of vulnerabilities in hosts, with the resultant emotions manifesting in the material, social, and imaginaries of the home, disrupting much of the ontological security that has previously been held in the spatialities of home. These anxieties of guests tend to manifest prior to the arrival or before much communication has been had but can still change the feelings of home. While the spatialities of home can be shaped by social relations (Massey, 1999), they can also be shaped by the imaginary (Bachelard, 2014). Through this, the spatial identity of the home can be shaped by thoughts and memories (Bachelard, 2014), allowing previous experiences or knowledge of other incidents that are attached to hosting certain guests to disrupt the spatialities held in the home, while communications with the guest can either lessen or exacerbate this. For these hosts, the undesirable guest that evokes hostility (Derrida, 2000) becomes a prominent figure in their home. As such, feelings of ontological security (Dupuis & Thorns, 1998) become infiltrated and replaced by feelings of anxiety and fear for themselves and their children, and hostility felt towards guests. These fears that become temporally held in the spatialities of home do not restrict themselves to the shared areas, but rather become present in the entire home and even in the virtual.

The manifestation of these anxieties in the online performances of home and hospitality also bring disruptions to the spatialities of home. By questioning guests prior to accepting the booking, the guests are subject to ‘othering’ (Di Domenico & Lynch, 2007), which can heighten the awareness that there is someone who does not ‘belong’ upon their arrival, intensifying initial hostilities. Alongside this, in consciously identifying what would make them feel more secure (e.g. someone else in the house) to add to their listing, hosts can become more aware that this is something that they do not have. The imaginary can begin to shape the spatialities of home before the guest has even arrived, emphasising home as a space that they are not sure they feel secure in and painting prospective guests as entities that caution is required around. This is typically a feeling that manifests most strongly in the private areas of the home.

The areas of the home where the most vulnerability is felt for hosts is in their own bedroom, with this materialised by the instillation of locks. This sees a physical boundary created, born out of anxiety and hostility. This signals that even beyond the boundary and in the backstage, hostility can linger with the host, leading them to secure themselves away from the guest. With objects also playing in a role in the formation of spatial identities (Law, 2002), the lock on the door embeds these anxieties into the space. Whilst the fears that disrupt the spatialities of home are temporal, revolving around who the guest is and how long they stay, the lock remains a constant reminder of vulnerability in this space. This leaves the spatialities marked, acting as a reminder that the security of the home is not absolute.

8.3. The Hostile Home

This chapter has sought to set out how the inclusion of the 'other' into the home, along with the practices of inclusion and exclusion that occur within the home can be a spatially disruptive endeavour that can bring about the unmaking of home. In the first section, it has examined how the home can become no longer a spatial whole, but rather split into the 'home that is home' and the 'home that is not home'. It has also considered that between these realms of home, temporal boundaries of self shift through the space, denoting performance and changing emotional and social spatialities, while in the areas that are always private, the spatialities of home can become intensified with the 'other' more vehemently rejected in these spaces. In the second section, it sought to outline how the inclusion of the undesirable and feared 'other' in the space can instil anxiety into the spatialities of home. It then finally examined how the manifestations that occur from this in the virtual and material can potentially unmake the home through the disruption of the spatialities.

In the creation of boundaries in the Airbnb home, hosts are delineating latent hostilities that guests can incur should they be crossed. Hosts close doors and adorn them with signs that say 'Private' in order to keep guests out of their space. The home becomes temporally demarcated by hostile spatialities that either reject guests from spaces or demands their submission to the rules of the house. The home as a spatially located emotional experience (Gorman-Murray, 2006) becomes overrun by emotions of hostility, changing the way spaces are used and bordered. This element of hostility and conditionality are a permanent fixture in the Airbnb home where the spaces become shaped by practices of inclusion and exclusion.

Further forcing these practices of exclusion within the home is the necessity to include the 'other' into the home. Close proximities to, and anxieties about, the undesirable guest brings hostilities closer to the surface. It sees them taking both virtual measures and physical measures to distance themselves and protect themselves from the 'other' in order to maintain feelings of safety in their home. The more measures that are undertaken to enhance safety, however, the more aware of their lack of safety the host becomes, something that becomes instilled in the spatialities of home. Home now represents a space into which the undesirable guest intrudes, and must therefore be guarded against, ingraining hostilities into the imaginaries of home, online presentations of home, and the materialities of home.

The introduction of Airbnb into the home creates a hostile home. It transforms a space of belonging and safety into a space that is fragmented by conditions and fears. Where guests are held at arm's length by boundaries and anxieties that shape all the spaces of the home to hold elements of hostility. When guests are conditionally accepted into the home on the basis of payment, they will never be *accepted* into the home. They will always be an interloper who is never fully trusted and must be guarded against. The Airbnb home is one of hostility, and whether this be latent, overt, or somewhere in between, it will always be present.

9. Conclusion

This PhD has sought to build an understanding of how the fragile assemblage of home can become unmade through the processes of 'sharing' the home with Airbnb. It has looked to do this by considering how the material realities of the home change through the physical things that are within it, the social negotiations that come to shape the space, and the controlling presence of Airbnb. Within these realities are the processes of the *at home* coexisting and 'sharing' with the *away* in a transactional dynamic that places the performance of home in tension with the performance of hospitality. It is these elements that position Airbnb hosting as a problematic element for both individual hosts and for wider society.

Airbnb, in its place in wider society, is not always viewed negatively. Since its inception, Airbnb has been a very useful tool for meeting people and turning unused space into money, easing loneliness (Farmaki & Stergiou, 2019) and financial stress for many hosts (Lampinen & Cheshire, 2016). This notion of 'sharing' has brought a solution to these problems that was not so much on the table prior to its creation. It has also expanded tourist experience from the impersonal placelessness of a hotel to the more everyday setting of a home, changing the way people experience being *away* from home. In many ways, Airbnb exists in this idealised place of 'sharing' where it brings people together and allows hosts to make money from being with others. However, running parallel to these benefits are damaging negatives that come from the intrusive elements of capitalism that infect this form of 'sharing', bringing disruption to the institution of home.

The sharing economy has already been noted as being 'the most extreme manifestation of the evolution of the relationship between society and the market' (Arcidiacono, Gandini & Pais, 2018, 278). It can also be viewed as a major disruptor of society and everyday life. It is the sharing economy's position as a paradoxical space that is framed as both 'part of the capitalist economy and as an alternative' (Richardson, 2015, 1) that brings much of this

disruption. As this notion of 'sharing' exists inexorably intertwined with capitalistic elements, this too comes to reshape our individual worlds and society through the power imbalances and surveillance of Airbnb through guest reviews. In 'sharing' with customers and capitalistic platforms, hosts bring in the 'other' and commercialisation, and are pushed to separate themselves from their spaces and ways of being. This concluding chapter will look to draw on the previously explored evidence and conclusions to explore how Airbnb and the sharing economy bring changes into our ways of being ourselves, our ways of being at home, and our ways of being in society. It will look to do this by answering the research questions that were posed at the beginning of this PhD. Following this, it will look to expand these elements to examine the impact of hosting on society and the implications of this going forward.

9.1. Answering the Research Questions

At the beginning of this PhD, three research questions were listed:

- How is the assemblage of home changed through hosting on Airbnb?
- How does the performance of home change? And what impact does this have?
- What impact does the commercialisation and commodification of home have on the experience of homeliness?

These made up the basis of what was sought to find out through the course of the research. In the pursuit of answering these questions, my research afforded me a valuable view into the lives and performances of Airbnb hosts, with this allowing me to gain an insight into both the broad practices of hosting, along with the minutia and quirks of individual experience. An ethnographically informed approach mobilised by elements of netnography assisted in the collection of data from in depth interviews, which sought to understand the experiences of hosts. Alongside this, forums were examined to gain a wider perspective on hosting and experiences. Adverts and websites were also analysed to build a picture of the communications between Airbnb and their hosts, and how this comes to shape the image of the host and the home. This data was then brought together to facilitate a broad and deep understanding of the world that Airbnb hosts inhabit and are touched by. Drawing from this data, the understandings build in the literature review chapters, and the conclusions formed from the empirical chapters, this section will seek to provide an answer to these questions and add to the existing literature.

Whilst topics such as home and Airbnb have been extensively considered in the literature, the interplay and relationship between these areas is something that there is still scope for further investigation of. Home as something that is never fixed nor finished (Dovey, 2005) with permeable boundaries (Sabra, 2008) has already been established. This project has sought to establish the fragility of this assemblage of home, with this coming to be disrupted through Airbnb hosting. Whilst the platform of Airbnb is already widely regarded as a market disruptor (Guttentag, 2015), they have also been noted to coach hosts in ways to behave (O'Regan & Choe, 2017b) and alter the performances hosts give at home (Roelofsen, 2018b), with algorithmic coercion and Superhost status playing significant roles in this (O'Regan & Choe, 2017a; Cheng & Foley, 2019; Roelofsen & Minca, 2018). This PhD has looked explore these by considering the impacts that 'sharing' the home Airbnb has on the assemblage of home, performances of home, and the host relationship with their home. It will now look to take this a step further by considering the impact that introducing power imbalances and surveillance into the home has on individuals and wider society, and how Airbnb brings further problematic elements into a capitalist society.

9.1.1. How is the assemblage of home changed through hosting on Airbnb?

The home can be considered to be formed in assemblage (Harris, Brickell & Nowicki, 2020), holding and becoming a reflection of the things, people, and performances that occur within. In this balance of things, behaviours, and social negotiation, the assemblage of home holds an inherent fragility. Airbnb is a critical element that comes to disrupt this fragile assemblage. From Airbnb's shaping of what a host's home should look like, to the surveillance measures of reviews that allow guests to inform the platform whether hosts are adhering to these standards, this power imbalance places much of the assemblage of home within the reach of Airbnb's influence. The assemblage of home is formed of everything that goes on within it, the Airbnb home, however, is a fractured space filled with a confusion of purpose. It is a mix of objects that symbolise home and objects that symbolise work, things that materialise the self and things that materialise the 'other', spaces for the *at home* and spaces for the *away*. The Airbnb home is no longer spatially whole. This section will explore how the power and surveillance that Airbnb project over hosts brings this fracturing of the assemblage of home.

When allowing Airbnb to enter the home, hosts also allow the transactionally given power of guests to come with it, and by extension, the surveillance of the platform. In this, guests become a paying part of the social negotiations of the home, one that hosts must engage with and work around. Typically, the home is a site of mutually constructed relationships

that develop into a delicate social web. These connections that develop between individuals in a home help to identify understandings of belonging, who is meant to be there and who is not. With Airbnb hosting, the guest as an 'other' in this web becomes very apparent as someone who should not be there, they are, however, someone who has paid to be there. With this, the power of the guests draws emotional labour and impression management into the socialities of the home. This leaves the already heavily negotiated home in a state of tentative renegotiation whereby a temporary balance is found before 'normality' can be renegotiated upon the guest departure. This significant process of 'othering' places the guest prominently in the minds of hosts, giving them an importance that sees behaviours and social interactions enacted with the effect on guests in consideration. This brings social negotiations with guests to hold a more unique character in the home.

This performance of socialities, as explored in chapter 7, enacted in a way that negotiates the power of the guest and the surveillance of the platform brings disruptions to the already established social bonds between members of the household. With this, impression management and emotional labour comes to reshape the way hosts and other permanent members of the household relate to each other. This can be through a suppression of hostilities to display a happy family unit to guests, or even heightened hostilities if an individual is not considered to be playing the part of a host properly. The host will, in some cases, become a supervisor of the behaviour of other members of the household, as is their position at the head of the 'performance team' (Goffman, 1959). This is a common part of the relational reshaping that occurs around guests in Airbnb households. With this, the relationship between members of the household becomes reshaped by the understanding of the presence of, and the importance of, an 'other'. It is not just these social elements of the assemblage that become changed by hosting, but also the spaces of the home.

The relationship between the host and the boundaries of their home always exists as influenced by the algorithms of Airbnb. Airbnb's algorithms, as discussed in chapter 8, are very powerful and influential. As Airbnb utilise their algorithmic power to coerce hosts into opening their home to any guest who requests to stay, anxieties can overtake the space and become manifested in the imaginaries and materialities of the home. With this, the home as a space of security is lost as fears and vulnerabilities come to define spaces and socialities. The assemblage of home that includes feelings of security becomes disrupted, with this leaving lasting spatial impacts that can temporally reshape emotional experiences. Locking their bedroom door at night becomes something for protection but is also an act that realises these fears and anxieties in the home and behaviours of the host. With this, the coercion to accept any guest further fractures the home into spaces of potential danger and

spaces where hosts retreat to escape this threat. While locks on doors materialise fears into the home, there are also many other examples of how the 'other' becomes materially present.

Through Airbnb's power to create a homogenised image of an Airbnb, and the power of the guest to interact with the surveillance systems of the platform, physical changes are commonly made to the home to meet the demands of both parties, as explored in chapter 6. As the 'other' becomes materialised in these physical changes, disruptions are brought to the assemblage and the material 'whole' of the home. As the materialities of home are negotiated, with items understood as belonging in place, when this is changed to suit Airbnb, disruptions can occur. It can be understood that the items around the home exist to facilitate the everyday, while the familiarity they offer also fosters feelings and understandings of home. The Airbnb home, however, materialises an 'other', one who does not belong. With this, the materialities of the home must be renegotiated around the needs of the guest, resulting in home not exclusively being this reflection of identity and everyday, but rather that of an Airbnb. This process of rematerialisation creates a visual disconnect between the guest areas and private areas of the home, marking this division of space and fitting the different sides of the home with distinct purposes and performances. This material transition is the clearest evidence of the unmaking of home and the remaking into an Airbnb home.

With the opening of the home to these power imbalances and surveillance of Airbnb, the Airbnb home can be taken as something spatially confused and adorned with new meaning. As hosts seek to divide their home between spaces for themselves and spaces for guests, the negotiated identity of space becomes something of constant change. While some spaces come to hold heightened intensities of home, others are appropriated as functional workspaces. Separating these areas are, most commonly, doors that come to be a manifestation of the hostility that is present towards guests in these most private spaces. With this, the home as a spatial whole no longer exists. Instead, it is a fragmented and emotionally charged space that is segregated between belonging and unbelonging. Airbnb has broken and divided the assemblage of home.

9.1.2. How does the performance of home change? And what impact does this have?

The power and surveillance of Airbnb does not just change the assemblage of home, but also changes the way we behave and perform home within this assemblage. It can very much be recognised that how we are *away* is changing how we are *at home.* This can most clearly be identified in the reshaping of the home to fit Goffman's (1959)

frontstage/backstage dynamic, as discussed in chapter 7. In this, the power of the platform, and of guests by proxy, leads hosts to almost try to hide the fact that they are at home. This section will discuss how the performance of home becomes fractured across the same lines as the assemblage of home, leaving *home* to be something that is cautiously performed in the peripheries of the space.

The desire to fit into the image of a host that Airbnb have created in their marketing, as was discussed in chapter 6, sees hosts putting on a performance of hosting and hospitality. In the shared spaces of the fractured assemblage, typical performances of home become replaces by performances of hospitality. Within this performance of hospitality, it can be considered that the host is not offering it with their 'authentic' self, but rather their self as a host. The persona that hosts develop comes inform both their face to face and online interactions, as well as their Airbnb listing. This adoption of a persona done by hosts and the other members of the household sees hosts ability to *do home* interrupted by the necessity to *do hospitality.* This sees hosts adhering to impression management, going out of their way to avoid giving the impression that they are in fact *at home.* This leaves home to be a confused space where, even in the ferociously protected private areas of home, behaviours must be suppressed. A place that is no longer there for the reproduction of 'authentic' identity, but rather the reproduction of a host identity which is repackaged as 'authentic' as part of the Airbnb experience. Within this host identity, however, the performance of hospitality can introduce elements that are quite disruptive to home.

In trying to negotiate the transactional power of guests and the surveillance of the platform, host performances become underpinned by negativity and inauthenticity. As considered in chapter 7, whilst many hosts will seek to offer replicable performances, the offers of care within this can be underpinned by negative elements. Offers of care that include emotional labour and a harboured hostility can leave home to hold negatively charged emotions and associations. This, along with the curtailing of performances of home means that home has become a space for doing what is required with a forced smile, rather than doing what the host would prefer. Home is no longer the hosts own space to act in as they please, it is a workspace where a constantly present customer is felt to always be casting a judging eye and ear over the host. This places home as a space of 'authentic' performance into question.

Hosts are often acutely aware of being surveyed by guests, and the platform by extension, with this leading to the curtailing of the performance of home. Whether it is through not cooking certain foods, not listening to music, not having the television up too loud, or even

tiptoeing through their own home, hosts almost try to minimise the evidence that they are indeed *at home.* These are things that many hosts would do without thinking as part of their everyday when they are not hosting, but when guests are present, they sacrifice these performances of home and the byproducts from them that exist as part of the assemblage of home. With this, home is no longer a refuge where hosts can act without thought of judgement from the outside world or the 'other'. It is a place where freedom of behaviour and freedom of expression must be curtailed with considerations to guest experiences. Home has lost its place of occupying the entire dwelling, but rather is now something that is tentatively attempted in the peripheries of the space. Control and mastery of their own home is relinquished and placed into the hands of guests and a platform that now come to inform and direct their performance. With this, the commercial platformisation of home can be seen.

9.1.3. What impact does the commercialisation and commodification of home have on the experience of homeliness?

The commercialisation and commodification of the home makes Airbnb a very real presence and influence on the space. Airbnb has seen the recontextualization of home from a space of rest and recovery into a place of work. More than this, however, it has changed a home that is constructed from personal, negotiated elements of relationship and identity into an asset that is there to be marketed online. The reality of how home is understood in this modern capitalist economy has been reshaped in order for value to be further extracted from workers even when they are away from their regular employment, or even already retired. This change sees workers put price tags on their space and presence.

As the home is commodified, it is essentially given an entry fee. Rather than there to separate the home from the outside world, the boundaries become a paywall where the door may as well be a turnstile that unlocks when money is put in. This fee does not, however, simply buy access but rather purchases the host's tolerance of a guest in their space. It financially coerces hospitable behaviours from the host. It financially coerces hospitable mannerisms from the host. Everything about the home and the host now becomes focussed on the paying guest, with this often playing into the conflictual character of Airbnb hosting.

Hostility, as something always underlying hospitality (Derrida, 2000), can be seen as something that exists in many areas and outcomes of Airbnb hosting, as considered in chapters 7 and 8. From hostilities between host and guest, between host and platform, and even seeping out into the local community, the commodification of home brings conflict.

As financial motivations are brought into a realm where they sit in tension with everyday life, while intense social negotiation reconfigures the spatialities of the home, displacement of homeliness occurs. What can be considered a place of belonging and exclusion is transformed into a place of hostile acceptance and tension. A further element of tension can be observed in the transformation of the reality of home.

As the home is commodified into the Airbnb home, it becomes depersonalised with a staged and false 'authenticity' sold. What previously constituted the assemblage of home becomes changed, the social web is renegotiated, the materialities reshaped, the spatialities etched with new and confused meaning, and behaviours and mannerisms reordered to suit an 'other'. Home is not what it once was, instead it has been repackaged to suit the image of an Airbnb and offer the experience that is expected to come with it. The 'authentic' assemblage of home and performance of home are given little consideration once the space has been commodified, with *home* forced to cling to survival in the fringe spaces that hosts keep for themselves and where a concentrated feeling of home can be shielded from commercialisation.

9.2. Power, Surveillance, Advanced Capitalism, and Disruption

This PhD has sought to demonstrate the disruptive power of Airbnb in the homes of hosts; however this disruption extends beyond the home. The sharing economy, as part of the capitalist system, has long been considered a disruptive force for markets, challenging mainstream business models (Cohen & Kietzmann, 2014), however it can be considered more than this. The sharing economy is a disruptor of people, lives, and society. This kind of advanced capitalism brings major disruptions to the well-being of individuals (Butler, 2019), to the housing market (Benitez-Aurioles & Tussyadiah, 2020), and to society (Fukuyama, 2017). The power and surveillance of Airbnb, and its general position within a capitalist system brings disruptions to the everyday of many people, starting in the home of its hosts.

Surveillance and power imbalances are always a part of capitalism. First and foremost, this surveillance, and the exerted power that comes with it, is utilised to ensure that labour is performed in compliance with the goals set out by management (Newlands, 2021; Fleming & Spicer, 2008; Giddens, 1984). Historically, this kind of careful surveillance would have been reserved for workplaces such as factories, warehouses, and offices. Airbnb, however, shift this surveillance into the home, with the goals that the platform sets out covering the home and the behaviours of the host. With the guest acting as the eyes and ears of the

platform, every action performed in the presence of a guest, or that is registered by the senses of the guest, is subject to surveillance with the guest deciding whether to pass this information on to Airbnb. This Surveillance has the power to change the 'self' that hosts display.

As noted by Collinson (2003), Foucault (1977) has described how workplace surveillance systems bring about disciplined and 'conformist selves'. This is the performance of the self as a host. This kind of 'identity regulation' is central to organisational control (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002), with this enacted through power and discipline (Collinson, 2003). This is something that individuals would typically attempt to distance themselves from, or rebel against. This brings suggestions that individuals build psychological walls between 'public' and 'private' selves (Collinson, 2003), or that they would show resistance in the form of indifference and 'foot dragging' (Scott, 1985; 1990). For Airbnb hosts, however, they have less opportunity to display resistance or mediating measures. Whilst they can separate themselves from guests, this is less of a clean disconnect than those who are able to leave their work-self outside. The function of reviews also means that they cannot show any kinds of resistance without potentially damaging their chance to receive guests in the future. With this, the power and surveillance of Airbnb exceeds that of most other organisations, bringing a new level of invasiveness and control to advanced capitalism.

This power of Airbnb also extends to the use of the home. Platforms such Airbnb cater to an 'on-demand' mentality (Dablanc et al., 2017; Rosenblat & Stark, 2016) which the host is pressured to adhere to due to the controlling algorithms in place. With these practices of inconsistent work comes an insecurity and precarity for hosts (Newlands, 2021). This kind of job insecurity has the potential to bring about negative physical health effects and negative mental health effects (Lastad et al., 2018). With this, the dwelling of the host can become both a fractured assemblage of home and an insecure place of work, with the pressures and tensions that come with both of these situations. This leaves no space for the retreat away from capitalism as the home becomes infected with the same disruptive commercialisation that much of society already holds.

Airbnb can also be seen to spread disruption throughout society, with one avenue of this being the housing market. As individuals seek to capitalise on the Airbnb market by buying houses to offer as holiday lets, house prices and rents rise as a result (Barron, Kung & Proserpio, 2018; Benitez-Aurioles & Tussyadiah, 2020). With this, Airbnb comes to further disrupt homes, but also engages in the wider disruption of home stability that is already prevalent in the capitalist market. Housing instability has been found to have strong links

with negative health outcomes (Burgard, Seefeldt & Zelner, 2012) as well as negative educational outcomes for children (Galvez & Luna, 2014). With this, Airbnb further strengthens the hold of capitalism over society and the instability that comes with having little wealth in this society.

Airbnb can be considered a disruptive force for home, individuals, and society. Through their power over hosts through their surveillance, to their power as an avenue for making money for both those rich enough to purchase an entire property to let or for those who need to rent out a room to pay the rent, Airbnb disrupt, extract value from, society. Airbnb brings changes to how people live, their everyday, and the society that they live in. Airbnb have played a role in the rebuilding and recontextualising of home in the modern technological age, further deepening the roots of capitalism into a space that was once an escape from capitalism. In their place within an advanced capitalist market, they bring damage to the physical health, mental health, and education of society, seeking to extract profit above all else.

9.3. Implications of these Findings and Implications for Future Research

The implications hosting as a disruptive practice for home and the platform as a disruptive actor in society could be felt by hosts, guests, and by the platform itself. For hosts, the implications of the findings of this project are the unsettling of home and family life, the disruption of their way of being in the world, and the invasion of capitalism into a space that was once used to escape from it. This disruptive practice of hosting exists as part of the package that comes with signing up for Airbnb as a private room host. Algorithms, reviews, and Superhost status mean that resistance to this from the host is not possible without damaging their standing on the platform. With this, such disruptions exist as persisting concerns for hosts.

Implications of Airbnb's ability to platformise private spaces also emerges as a notable implication for guests and platform. For guests, this allows them into a space that offers a more personal service that a hotel however this comes with the entering into a unique relationship with the host. The guest comes to exist as an element that enforces these disruptions of home and family on hosts, leaving them in an environment that holds an underlying hostility that threatens hosting futures but is kept in check by money. For Airbnb, the implication of this is the understanding of the power that they hold as a platform. They have brought people's private spaces to a worldwide market, to the extent that some hosts even give up their own bed to guests. Airbnb continually ask more of their

hosts, from the early beginnings of air mattresses on floors to the modern professionalisation and standardisation of hosts' homes, this shows that Airbnb can exercise their power. The danger in this comes with how far they can push it, both for hosts and for the platform itself as the hosts' 'thresholds of tolerance' (Germann Molz & McIntosh, 2013, 88) are high but not unreachable.

It is important to understand that this project does not provide a complete answer to the question of how home is impacted upon by hosting, nor has it sought to. In a topic filled with messiness and subjectivities, it would be impossible to offer a complete representation of the experiences of private room Airbnb hosts. As such, there are a number of areas that this project was not able to cover, as well as areas that were explored but can be further investigated.

A first area of further investigated relates to the financial situations of the host. Whilst this paper researched hosts who ranged from being partially dependent on the income from Airbnb to those who are much less reliant, none of the hosts were, for example, in a position where they needed Airbnb income to pay rent. With this, it could be interesting to investigate Airbnb hosts for whom the money from hosting is of greater importance to explore if and how this changes their relationship with hosting. Alongside this, as many of the hosts interviewed here lived in relatively large houses, it may be useful to explore if hosts in smaller houses experience more intense social changes and further curtailing of their performance of home.

A study that specifically looks to examine the experiences of Airbnb hosts against Couchsurfing hosts may also provide interesting insight. This would allow for comparisons in how home is affected by both commercialised hospitality and hospitality that does not involve monetary transactions. This could perhaps highlight the differences between hosting as a lifestyle choice and hosting as a necessity. It could examine the differences in emergent socialities, delineation of boundaries, and elements of hostility and anxiety. With this, the specific impacts of commercialised hospitality in the home may become more evident.

It could also bring interesting research opportunities to look into other countries. This would provide a chance to consider how other cultural understandings of home can operate and coexist with guest and platform. It would also allow for investigation into how different cultures of hospitality are able to operate within the expectations that Airbnb set for their guests. More broadly to this, it would give the opportunity to examine how hosts within different nations, each with their unique society and position in relation to the

world, face unique challenges with regards to hosting and the impacts that this may have on their experience of home.

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