

The multiple logics of market-based governance: how the sharing economy platform Airbnb governs user conduct

Domen Bajde, Maja Golf Papez, Tomaž Kolar, Barbara Culiberg

Publication date

14-09-2023

Licence

This work is made available under the **Copyright not evaluated** licence and should only be used in accordance with that licence. For more information on the specific terms, consult the repository record for this item.

Document Version

Accepted version

Citation for this work (American Psychological Association 7th edition)

Bajde, D., Golf Papez, M., Kolar, T., & Culiberg, B. (2023). *The multiple logics of market-based governance: how the sharing economy platform Airbnb governs user conduct* (Version 1). University of Sussex.
<https://hdl.handle.net/10779/uos.24132024.v1>

Published in

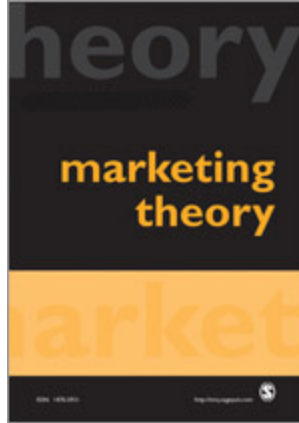
Marketing Theory

Link to external publisher version

<https://doi.org/10.1177/14705931231202359>

Copyright and reuse:

This work was downloaded from Sussex Research Open (SRO). This document is made available in line with publisher policy and may differ from the published version. Please cite the published version where possible. Copyright and all moral rights to the version of the paper presented here belong to the individual author(s) and/or other copyright owners unless otherwise stated. For more information on this work, SRO or to report an issue, you can contact the repository administrators at sro@sussex.ac.uk. Discover more of the University's research at <https://sussex.figshare.com/>



**The Multiple Logics of Market-Based Governance:
How the Sharing Economy Platform Airbnb Governs User
Conduct**

Journal:	<i>Marketing Theory</i>
Manuscript ID	MT-21-0178.R3
Manuscript Type:	Standard Article
Keywords:	sharing economy, governmentality, market-based governance, power, subjectivity, technology of governance, governance logics
Abstract:	<p>Building upon the rich tradition of research on governmentality, this paper introduces the notion of market-based governance (i.e., the coordinated efforts of companies to align the conduct of its constituents with the institutional norms, values and interests of the company), and presents an empirical investigation of market-based governance in the context of a sharing economy platform, Airbnb. Whereas existing governmentality research has focused on specific discourses or aspects of governance in the marketplace, our aim is to develop broader-spectrum conceptual tools for 'ordering' the increasingly multifaceted forms of market-based governance. We show that Airbnb mobilizes three distinct logics of governance (i.e., the regulatory, competitive, and communitarian) which subsume diverse modes of power (i.e., the sovereign, disciplinary, and pastoral) that contribute to the cultivation of governable subjects (i.e., the compliant subject, entrepreneurial subject and community member). The theoretical framework developed in this work is applied to critically reflect on emergent forms of market-based governance, the dilemmas of multi-logic governance, and the uneven geographies of market-based governance.</p>

SCHOLARONE™
Manuscripts

The Multiple Logics of Market-Based Governance:

How the Sharing Economy Platform Airbnb Governs User Conduct

Understanding the intricate ways in which companies endeavour to shape and control the conduct of their consumers represents one of the key challenges for marketing scholarship (Bajde and Rojas-Gaviria, 2021; Beckett, 2012; Beckett and Nayak, 2008; Shankar et al., 2006). This challenge is particularly momentous in contexts, such as the sharing economy, wherein platform users (both ‘peer providers’ of services and the ‘end-users’ of these services) are more directly involved in the production and destruction of value (Botsman and Rogers, 2010; Echeverri and Skålén, 2021), and where platforms such as Airbnb, Uber, and YouTube have developed copious ways to exert their power over users, including technologies of user monitoring and algorithmic control (Bajde et al., 2015; Cram et al., 2022), reputation systems and certification schemes (Art and Fletcher, 2019; Stemler, 2017; Tussyadiah and Park, 2018).

However, the critical study of these vibrant developments remains limited and fragmented. Scholars like von Richthofen and von Wangenheim (2021) have recently began cataloguing the platforms’ copious strategies of ‘user management’. Unfortunately, this nascent work has not examined the underlying power dynamics obscured by the rhetoric of ‘management’ (Fougère and Skålén, 2013). We argue that a critical shift in perspective from matters of ‘management’ to matters of ‘governance’ (Beckett, 2012; Shankar et al., 2006) can help turn attention to the increasingly intricate power dynamics underpinning the platforms’ efforts to shape and control the conduct of their users.

Our study builds upon and extends the critical tradition of governmentality research in marketing (Charitsis et al., 2019; Cova and Cova, 2009; Zwick et al., 2008) by theorizing the sharing economy platforms’ multifarious governance efforts and the power dynamics underpinning them. We open the paper by introducing the governmentality perspective and

1
2
3 reviewing some of the key contributions to marketing theory. Marketing and consumer
4
5 research adopting this Foucauldian perspective has been especially prolific in theorizing the
6
7 often obscured and paradoxical forms of power exercised over consumers in the marketplace
8
9
10 (Beckett and Nayak, 2008; Cova and Cova, 2009; Giesler and Veresiu, 2014; Shankar et al.,
11
12 2006; Zwick et al., 2008; Charitsis et al., 2019). We argue that this body of work provides a
13
14 solid foundation to investigate *market-based governance*, which we define as the coordinated
15
16 efforts of companies to align the conduct of their constituents with the institutional norms,
17
18 values, and interests of the company. We introduce this umbrella concept to leverage extant
19
20 work, and to stimulate future research on market-based governance.
21
22

23
24 Extant governmentality research has primarily focused on theorizing how particular
25
26 discourses and practices of marketing operate as tools of governance, thus leaving
27
28 considerable opportunity for developing broader-spectrum theorizing that can help scholars
29
30 organize and order the rapidly multiplying forms of market-based governance. There is ample
31
32 opportunity to examine how the multifarious governance efforts, and the power dynamics
33
34 underpinning them, ‘hang together’ and how they differ. In other words, to develop ‘ordering
35
36 theories’ of market-based governance, if we borrow from Sandberg and Alvesson’s (2020)
37
38 terminology for varied styles of theorizing.
39
40

41
42 The context of sharing economy provides a rich ground for such exploration.
43
44 Platforms such as Airbnb (the focus of our study), Uber, or TaskRabbit have developed a
45
46 myriad of new tools and strategies for governing the conduct of their users (i.e., hosts and
47
48 guests in the case of Airbnb). Airbnb’s rich tapestry of ‘user management’ (Richthofen and
49
50 von Wangenheim, 2021) provides a particularly fertile ground to critically explore and
51
52 theorize the multifarious nature of market-based governance. Hence, we ask: *What forms of*
53
54 *market-based governance are deployed by platforms like Airbnb? What kinds of power*
55
56 *dynamics underpin and emanate from these forms of governance?*
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Answering these questions can help advance research on market-based governance by
4
5 categorising and critically reflecting on the intricate forms of governance at play. Our
6
7 analysis shows that Airbnb mobilizes three distinct *logics of governance* (i.e., analytically
8
9 outlined principles of power and control around which governance is organized): the
10
11 regulatory, the competitive, and the communitarian logic of market-based governance. These
12
13 logics subsume diverse modes of power (i.e., the sovereign, disciplinary, and pastoral, in
14
15 Foucauldian terms) that contribute to the cultivation of distinct, yet co-existent user
16
17 subjectivities (the compliant, entrepreneurial and communitarian subject). We apply this
18
19 theoretical framework to critically reflect on dilemmas of multi-logic governance and the
20
21 disparities of market-based governance.
22
23
24
25

26 27 **The governmentality perspective on governance**

28
29 There is a rich tradition of governmentality research in social sciences that offers an
30
31 extensive and critical view of governance, and the manifold technologies of governance
32
33 deployed to shape the conduct of citizens, workers, consumers, etc. (Dean, 2017; Foucault et
34
35 al., 1991; Rose et al., 2006). Instead of limiting the concept of governance to the actions of
36
37 the state, the governmentality perspective recognizes that governance occurs across a variety
38
39 of institutions and sites, controlled by a diverse range of ‘authorities’ who pursue varied
40
41 objectives (Rose et al., 2006). Governance can thus be viewed as a practical activity
42
43 conducted by various institutions, including commercial organizations (Richard and
44
45 Rudnyckyj, 2009).
46
47
48
49

50 The core contribution of the governmentality perspective has been to extend not only
51
52 our view of who engages in governance, but just as importantly our understanding of how
53
54 governance transpires. The term ‘governmentality’ synthesizes ‘government’ and ‘mentality’
55
56 to emphasize the central role of knowledge and beliefs (i.e., ‘mentalities’) in modern-day
57
58 governance (Dean, 2017; Beckett and Nayak, 2008). Governmentality research explores the
59
60

1
2
3 ways in which certain ‘mentalities’ or modes of thought are inscribed into, and perpetuated,
4
5 via a wide range of forms of knowledge, procedures, techniques and technologies deployed to
6
7 shape the conduct of individuals (Dean, 2017; Rose et al., 2006). These material and non-
8
9 material technologies, vocabularies, modes of perception, practices of calculation, forms of
10
11 judgement and expertise coalesce into systemic ‘regimes of governmentality’ (Dean, 1999)
12
13 that exert power over individuals by making them known and knowable, shaping their needs
14
15 and desires, fears and aspirations, and ultimately their understanding of the self (Beckett and
16
17 Nayak, 2008).
18
19

20
21 The governmentality perspective thus inspires researchers to examine how the
22
23 “mundane business of governing everyday economic and social life” contributes to the
24
25 production of “governable persons” – new forms of subjectivity formed through the mundane
26
27 practices of governance (Rose et al., 2006: 101). It explores the ways through which
28
29 individuals are simultaneously ‘objectivized’ as objects of knowledge, surveillance, and
30
31 control, and ‘subjectivized’ by constructing certain subjectivities and forms of identity and
32
33 encouraging individuals to adopt them (Beckett and Nayak, 2008). Rather than merely
34
35 imposing external, top-down pressure on individuals, governmentality relies on ‘technologies
36
37 of self’ through which individuals are constituted as ‘free’, self-regulating actors (Shankar et
38
39 al., 2006).
40
41
42
43

44
45 As shown by Fougère and Skålén (2013) multiple modes of power are relevant in
46
47 analysing market governmentalities. Drawing upon Foucault’s distinction between sovereign,
48
49 disciplinary and pastoral power, they show that the managerial landscape evolved from a
50
51 ‘sovereign power’ type of authoritative management enforced through top-down orders and
52
53 the coercion of sales personnel, towards management based on the ‘disciplinary power’ of
54
55 discourse and knowledge (i.e., the sales marketing school). Employees and consumers
56
57 became increasingly monitored, examined, compared to the ‘norm’, and ultimately shaped as
58
59
60

1
2
3 subjects of knowledge who strived to reach the norm. With the subsequent arrival of
4
5 marketing management and service management schools of thought, disciplinary power
6
7 became growingly supplemented by ‘pastoral power’ that “takes as its starting point the
8
9 innermost thoughts of the governed person and is thus a form of management that defines
10
11 subjectivity from the inside out” (Fougère and Skålén, 2013). While managers take the
12
13 leading role in proselytizing and interpreting the shared ethics, the governed individuals play
14
15 an equally central role by reflexively self-managing their conduct. Pastoral governance is
16
17 both individualistic (i.e., focused on self-reflection and self-governance) and profoundly
18
19 communal, as it is through community that pastoral powers reproduce desirable values and
20
21 behaviours, normalise their ‘truth’, and reward/ostracize those who ‘deviate’ from it (Martin
22
23 and Waring, 2018).
24
25
26
27

28
29 In sum, the governmentality perspective provides a critical and expanded view on
30
31 governance that raises questions, such as “Who governs what? According to what logics?
32
33 With what techniques?” (Rose et al., 2006: 84–85). It fosters a sensibility for the intricate and
34
35 sometimes less obvious dynamics of powers and governance.
36
37

38 39 **Marketing research on governance and governmentality**

40
41 Marketing scholarship has paid considerable attention to the dynamics of governmentality,
42
43 particularly when it comes to theorizing the intricate forms of power companies exercise over
44
45 consumers (Beckett, 2012; Shankar et al., 2006; Zwick et al., 2008). In this section, we use
46
47 Sandberg and Alvesson’s (2020) typology of theorizing to review some of the key
48
49 contributions of such work, and outline the research gap that is the focus of this paper.
50
51

52
53 First, marketing scholars have developed *provoking theories* to challenge the
54
55 conventional understanding of marketplace power dynamics. For example, Shankar et al.
56
57 (2006) challenge the liberal view of consumer empowerment through choice and argue that
58
59 consumption serves as a technology of the self through which consumer subjectivity is
60

1
2
3 shaped. Elements of provoking theorizing can also be found in the rich tradition of
4
5 Foucauldian work exploring marketing discourses, CRM and collaborative marketing in
6
7 particular, as a vital mode of governmentality (Beckett and Nayak, 2008; Zwick et al., 2008).
8
9 These studies advance provoking theories that counterbalance celebratory discourses of
10
11 customer-oriented marketing.
12
13

14
15 Second, existing work has developed *enactment theories* that unpack the emergence
16
17 of specific regimes of governmentality, such as Fougère and Skålén's (2013) analysis of the
18
19 evolution of managerial governmentalities cited above, or the rich stream of work theorizing
20
21 the enactment of consumer responsabilization, i.e., the neoliberalist formation of consumers
22
23 as responsible subjects (Bajde and Rojas-Gaviria, 2021; Cherrier and Türe, 2022; Coskuner-
24
25 Balli, 2020; Giesler and Veresiu, 2014; Soneryd and Uggla, 2015). Third, several of the cited
26
27 studies also contribute to the development of *explaining theory* and *comprehending theory* by
28
29 delving into the workings of specific marketing discourses and practices, and the ways in
30
31 which they affect the subjects of corporate governance. For instance, Zwick et al. (2008),
32
33 Beckett and Nayak (2008), and Beckett (2012) show how marketing discourses of co-creation
34
35 and collaborative marketing, and marketing tools such as loyalty programs, are deployed by
36
37 companies to exert power over consumers. In more recent studies, Charitsis et al. (2019)
38
39 highlight the wide-ranging effects of Nike's marketing in shaping the intellectual, social and
40
41 bodily aspects of runners' subjectivity, while Bajde and Rojas-Gaviria (2021) show how
42
43 market intermediaries orchestrate consumer affect to responsabilize consumers.
44
45
46
47
48

49
50 These studies provide valuable contributions to critical understanding of market
51
52 governmentality and power dynamics. However, they tend focus on specific marketing
53
54 discourses and practices (e.g., CRM, collaborative marketing, loyalty programs), or on
55
56 specific features of an overarching (neoliberal) regime of governance (e.g., the role of
57
58 neoliberal discourse, or the role of affect in neoliberal responsabilization). Yet, the ceaselessly
59
60

1
2
3 evolving and rapidly multiplying efforts of governance in the marketplace (Fougère and
4
5 Skálén, 2013) cannot be reduced to a unitary regime or structure of governance. Limited
6
7 progress has been made in developing an ‘ordering theory’ (Sandberg and Alvesson, 2020)
8
9 that can help us capture and categorize the increasingly multifarious approaches to
10
11 governance. For example, platforms such as Airbnb, Zipcar (Frei and Rodriguez-Farrar,
12
13 2005), or YouTube (Bajde et al., 2015; Burgess and Green, 2009), are constantly
14
15 experimenting with new policies and technologies to govern the conduct of their users. New
16
17 theoretical tools are required to critically examine these vibrant developments in what we will
18
19 conceptualize as *market-based governance*.
20
21
22
23
24

25 **Conceptualizing market-based governance**

26
27 To theorize the increasingly intricate forms of governance in the marketplace, we first
28
29 introduce the concept of *market-based governance*, defined as the coordinated efforts of
30
31 companies to align the conduct of their constituents with institutional norms, values and
32
33 interests of the company. We hope that this umbrella concept can help put into perspective
34
35 the rich, but relatively fragmented existing research, and stimulate future work on how
36
37 companies attempt to govern their constituents.
38
39
40

41 Our emphasis on *market-based* serves to focus attention on the strategic efforts of
42
43 *companies* to govern their constituents, as opposed to the more commonly studied forms of
44
45 state-driven governance. Among the various constituents that companies might attempt to
46
47 govern, this paper’s primary interest lies in the governance of platform users. The distinctions
48
49 are important for both empirical and institutional reasons. First, companies face a different set
50
51 of conditions for governance than other actors, such as the state. These differences can range
52
53 from disparities in available technologies and technologies of governance, to differences in
54
55 authority and institutional legitimacy. Second, marketing scholarship is well equipped to
56
57 study *market* actors and the *market* dynamics that shape and are shaped by them (Giesler and
58
59
60

1
2
3 Fischer, 2017). In short, market-based governance is a research domain that should both be of
4
5 utmost interest to marketing scholars, and a domain which they are very able to contribute to.
6
7

8 9 **Research context and methodology**

10
11 To advance research on market-based governance we focused on investigating and
12
13 developing conceptual tools that can help us ‘order’ the manifold and diverse approaches
14
15 taken by companies to govern their constituents. The blossoming platform/sharing economy
16
17 provides a particularly fruitful ground for exploration, due to the endless experimentation of
18
19 platforms with new technologies and policies that are used to govern multiple, and often
20
21 exceedingly diverse and dispersed, customer groups. Our specific context of research that
22
23 allowed us to capture the complexities of market-based governance was one of the leading
24
25 and most salient sharing economy platforms – *Airbnb*. With a global inventory of more than
26
27 seven million listings across 220 countries and regions, and with more than two million
28
29 people staying in their listings on any given night in 2019 (Airbnb, 2020), Airbnb is the
30
31 world’s largest marketplace for places to stay. We chose Airbnb not only because it is one of
32
33 the most visible representatives of sharing economy but also because its self-proclaimed
34
35 leadership in “design[ing] a system for strangers to trust one another” (Airbnb, 2019). The
36
37 company’s considerable and continuous investment into developing a system of new policies
38
39 and technologies of surveillance and ‘user performance’ to govern the diverse and globally
40
41 dispersed hosts and guests makes this platform a particularly relevant setting to explore
42
43 market-based governance.
44
45
46
47
48
49

50
51 Our study drew on online archival data – this is data that was created on behalf of
52
53 organizations and by individuals for their own purposes (Fischer and Parmentier, 2010) and
54
55 is available online. We consulted a corpus of texts, videos, and podcasts produced by Airbnb,
56
57 Airbnb users and the media (see Table 1 for an overview). In reviewing these online
58
59 materials, we focused on *identifying and examining Airbnb’s endeavours to shape and*
60

control the hosts and guests' conduct in accordance with its institutional norms, values, and interests. Our main data source was the Airbnb webpage (airbnb.co.uk) where we surveyed content such as the Terms of Service, Community Standards, news and blogs, hosting and travelling resources, help centre articles and the user interface. This data source was supplemented by reviewing podcasts featuring interviews with Airbnb CEO Brian Chesky. To gain an understanding of Airbnb-deployed governance technologies from the perspective of the users we examined the podcast Airbnb Automated, which aims to "teach [Airbnb hosts] all the best strategies for vacation rental management" (Airbnb Automated, n.d.), the webpage AirHost Academy which is a community of more than 16,000 hosts, and users' posts in the Community Centre hosted on the Airbnb webpage. To further contextualize our observations, we also reviewed pertinent media reports. Our observations were conducted between February 2020 and November 2020 (please see Table 1 for details of the data sources).

Table 1. An overview of the dataset.

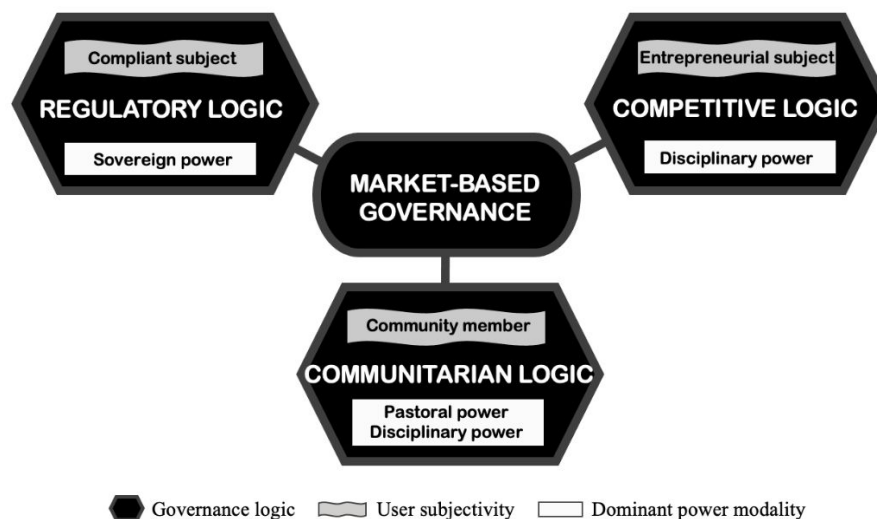
Type of data	Method	Data sources	Purpose
Archival data	Observation (14 February 2020 – 24 November 2020)	Airbnb webpage (Airbnb.co.uk). Examples of reviewed content: Community Standards, Terms of Service, Airbnb Guest Refund Policy, Help Centre articles, Community Centre articles and News	To gain an understanding of the technologies of market-based governance put forward, promoted and/or deployed by Airbnb from the perspective of Airbnb
		Airbnb blog (blog.airbnb.com) Airbnb Engineering & Data Science blog (medium.com/airbnb-engineering)	
		Interviews with CEO Brian Chesky (11 podcasts)	To gain an understanding of the technologies of market-based governance put forward, promoted and/or deployed by Airbnb from the perspective of hosts and guests
		Airbnb Automated Podcast (26 podcasts) Airhost Academy webpage (airhostacademy.com) Airbnb Community Centre Discussion Rooms (recent conversations tab plus searches for keywords such as "guides", "refund", "responsible", and "resolution centre") (more than 500 posts reviewed)	
		Airbnb-related media articles (Google Alert and Google News for the keyword "Airbnb" plus purposeful search of	To familiarize ourselves with the context and to

Type of data	Method	Data sources	Purpose
		relevant keywords in Factiva (e.g., “Airbnb search algorithm”, “Airbnb head of community”, “Airbnb reviews”) (more than 70 articles reviewed)	contextualize researchers’ observations
Reflexive data	Keeping field notes	18 text-based entries	To describe observations and to capture researchers’ thoughts and reflections about the observations and emerging theorization

Our analysis, guided by our research questions, centred on developing ordering theory (Sandberg and Alvesson, 2020), which can help us grasp the diverse range of governance technologies and power modalities at play in an Airbnb context. We used open and axial coding (Corbin and Strauss, 2008) to develop the core constructs (Fischer and Otnes, 2006). First, we mapped out individual technologies (i.e., forms, mechanisms) that Airbnb uses to shape and control the behaviour of their guests and hosts. Through comparing, contrasting, and mapping how one technology relates to another we clustered individual technologies into categories of governance technologies. We then focused our analysis on examining the *logics* of governance – the organizing principles of power and control according to which the diverse clusters of governance technology operate. To develop and distinguish the types of logics we looked for variations in (1) the power dynamics underpinning the different governance technologies (e.g., technologies were compared on factors such as the nature of authoritativeness, reliance on sanctions, and degree of codification), and (2) how different technologies of governance shape the users (i.e., what kind of user they help construct). Such analysis allowed us to identify three distinctive logics and to determine the dominant one(s) for each governance technology. While in the early stages the coding was done independently by one researcher, the research team held several meetings to audit, confirm and adjust the coding frameworks and emerging interpretations. We stopped collecting data once new information did not alter our identified higher-level categories of market-based governance (i.e., logics of governance and associated power modalities and subjectivities).

Findings

Our analysis reveals a rich array of forms of governance that Airbnb designs and deploys to align the conduct of its users (i.e., hosts and guests) with institutional norms, values, and interests of the platform. This colourful complex of market-based governance is underpinned by distinct, yet co-existing logics of governance, wherein the term logics denotes the organizing principles according to which the conduct of users is governed. We identify the following three organizing principles, underpinning the governance technologies in the context of Airbnb: *the regulatory logic, the competitive logic, and the communitarian logic* (see Figure 1). These multiple logics are manifested through diverse modalities of power (*sovereign power, disciplinary power, and pastoral power*) at play in cultivating a triplex of overlapping user subjectivities (i.e., *the compliant subject, the entrepreneurial subject, and the community member*). In the discussion that follows we outline the three logics, substantiate and illustrate them with specific examples of technologies of governance in which they are inscribed, and outline the user subjectivities and power modalities underpinned by these logics of governance (see Appendix B for corresponding data sources, Appendix A for further illustrative examples and Appendix C for a visual overview of technologies corresponding to each governance logic).



1
2
3 **Figure 1.** The logics, power modalities, and subjectivities of market-based governance at
4 Airbnb.
5

6 *The regulatory logic of market-based governance*
7

8
9 We locate a rich assortment of governance technologies rooted in what we term the
10 *regulatory logic* of governance. These technologies rely on the *sovereign power* (Foucault,
11 1977; Fougère and Skålén, 2013) of the platform to set and enforce institutional norms and
12 regulations. The platform deploys these technologies of governance to construct users as
13 *compliant subjects* whose participation in the marketplace is contingent upon obeying the
14 norms and regulations set by the platform.
15
16
17
18
19
20
21

22 We identify six sets of technologies that correspond to the regulatory logic of
23 governance: 1) rules and standards, 2) safety catch features, 3) verification technologies, 4)
24 monitoring technologies, 5) sanctions, and 6) mediation technologies. The *rules and*
25 *standards* specify what users are permitted or are forbidden to do while using the platform.
26 They are outlined in documents such as the ‘Community Standards’, ‘Terms of Service’ and
27 ‘Privacy Policy’ that aim to direct and circumscribe users’ conduct in a diverse set of
28 domains. For instance, the ‘Community Standards’ present a wide variety of instructions that
29 guide user conduct in relation to matters of safety, security, fairness, authenticity, and
30 reliability (ACS). These rules and standards are further specified in individual policies. For
31 example, Airbnb’s ‘Nondiscrimination Policy’ explicitly states that “Airbnb host may not:
32 decline a booking based on race, color, ethnicity, national origin, religion, sexual orientation,
33 gender identity or marital status” (APN).
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49

50 One way of enforcing such norms is by encoding them as *safety catch features* –
51 algorithmic interfaces and (choice) architectures that pre-empt undesirable user behaviour by
52 restricting what users can access and do. For example, to prevent discrimination on the part
53 of hosts and to “prevent people from making biased decisions”...“guests’ profile photos
54 aren’t displayed to hosts until after a booking is confirmed” (ARC1), and “[t]o encourage
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 impartial and honest comments, reviews are posted only after both parties have completed
4 their review”, or when the 14-day review period has ended (AHC10). While safety catch
5 features shape users’ conduct by pre-emptively shaping their choices, norms and standards
6 are also enforced through surveillance and the sanctioning of user misbehaviour.
7
8
9

10
11
12 *Verification technologies* are deployed to ensure the trustworthiness of user and property
13 representations on the platform (i.e., to verify their accuracy and veracity). For instance,
14 Airbnb asks users to provide their legal name and address, a photo of government ID
15 documents and a profile photo (AHC5) to ensure that “everyone is who they say they are”,
16 and (in the USA) runs “background checks against public records for criminal convictions
17 and sex offender registrations” (AHC5). To ensure that hosts do not misrepresent their
18 properties and that the guests can be confident that “what they see is what they’ll get”
19 (AHC6), Airbnb has announced the launch of a listing verification process that will include
20 recent guests verifying pieces of information (CP) and utilizing computer vision technologies
21 that can “determine whether the amenities advertised online match the actual ones” (AEDS).
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34

35 While verification technologies verify representations before the exchange and service
36 provision take place (e.g., prior to the booking), *monitoring technologies*, such as noise
37 detectors (ACC6), help the platform and hosts to detect potential rule-breaking guest
38 behaviour during the period of service provision (i.e., during the stay). The monitoring is
39 sometimes delegated to the neighbours, who are invited to “submit their concerns about
40 unauthorized parties, excessive noise, unsafe behavior, excessive trash, unallowed parking
41 and other disturbances” to the Neighbourhood Support Page (AN1).
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50

51 The outlined technologies jointly contribute to the shaping of users as compliant
52 subjects who are compelled to observe Airbnb’s rules and standards to be able to participate
53 on the platform. Some rules are followed because they allow access to Airbnb’s services
54 (e.g., the need to provide a real ID when registering an account), others are obeyed to avoid
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 *sanctions* – threatened or imposed negative consequences that might follow when users break
4 the rule. Airbnb uses a variety of punishments that temporarily or permanently constrain
5 users' access to the platform (e.g., suspension of the account for repeatedly receiving poor
6 reviews), impose financial costs on the user (e.g., fees for late cancellations), or deprive users
7 of their advantageous status, such as the hosts' automatic loss of the 'Superhost' status when
8 their response rate to guest drops below 90% (AHC18).
9

10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17 The outlined technologies of governance primarily rely on Airbnb's sovereign power
18 to set and enforce certain norms and standards. Even in the example of the somewhat softer
19 *mediation technologies* to help resolve disputes between hosts and guests, the presence of
20 sovereign power is evident. For example, at the 'Airbnb Resolution Centre', where the
21 platform helps mediate disputes regarding payments, refunds, reviews, etc. (AHC19), it is
22 unsurprisingly Airbnb that has the ultimate decision-making power in determining what
23 amounts to an honest review (ACC4), what counts as reasonable grounds for a refund
24 (ACC5), or whether a host can use the security deposit to cover the costs of a mattress that a
25 guest has urinated on (ACC14). While the platform's regulatory technologies and actions
26 often displease users, the latter need to nonetheless comply with them if they wish to retain
27 their access to the platform's services and avoid sanctions.
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42

43 *The competitive logic of market-based governance*

44
45 Our analysis reveals a diverse set of technologies that guide user conduct by fostering
46 competition among users, including self-directed competition (i.e., striving to outcompete
47 one's own past or current version of the self). These *competitive-logic* technologies are
48 predominantly used to govern the behaviour of Airbnb hosts. Such technologies rely on
49 *disciplinary power* (Foucault, 1977; Fougère and Skålen, 2013), wherein people who use the
50 platform's services come to discipline themselves and behave in institutionally desirable
51 ways. In contrast to regulatory-logic technologies that construct users as subjects who have to
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 comply with the rules and norms of the platform, competitive-logic technologies shape the
4
5 users as *entrepreneurial subjects* who voluntarily self-govern their behaviour to become, or
6
7 remain, competitive and successful in the marketplace.
8
9

10 We identify four sets of technologies underpinned by the competitive logic: (1)
11
12 reviews and ratings, (2) certifications, (3) search rankings, and (4) progress reporting. Some
13
14 of these technologies function as forms of monitoring and examination that render platform
15
16 users and their actions visible, detectable and knowable (Foucault, 1977; Fougère and Skålen,
17
18 2013). In this respect, two of the key governance technologies are *reviews and ratings* which
19
20 refer to publicly available, user-generated evaluations of experiences with hosts or guests.
21
22 According to the platform's CEO, 70% of guests leave a review (CP). In addition to written
23
24 reviews, guests can submit an overall star rating of their overall experience, as well as
25
26 separate ratings on cleanliness, accuracy, value, communication, check-in, location, and
27
28 amenities (AHC11). Hosts, on other hand, rate guests on "their cleanliness, courteousness,
29
30 and communication" (AW2). These reviews not only establish certain 'truths' about the
31
32 performance of users, but also help establish the norms for appropriate and desirable
33
34 behaviour. High scores on individual ratings and positive reviews are interpreted as a sign of
35
36 hosts exhibiting good conduct, such as providing good value for money, or accurately
37
38 representing their place in online listings (AHC11). Rather than being coerced by the
39
40 platform, hosts voluntarily strive to meet and exceed expectations, and to learn from bad
41
42 evaluations (ACC8) in order to remain competitive. High(er) reviews and ratings lead to a
43
44 better reputation, which in turn inspires trust and attracts users (in the case of hosts). High
45
46 ratings enable hosts to improve their position and visibility in relation to the (often very
47
48 numerous) competitors on the platform (e.g., more a favourable position on the search result
49
50 lists, or improved opportunities for obtaining the certifications discussed below). The
51
52 pressure to compete is typically much less intense when it comes to guests. Nonetheless, low
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 ratings and unfavourable reviews could result in guests not being able to secure a booking
4
5 with hosts who are, in principle, in a position to reject the booking.
6

7
8 Another competitive-logic governance technology are the so-called *certifications* which
9
10 refer to the institutionalized recognition that the host provides high-quality services. For
11
12 instance, the ‘Superhost’ badge marks outstanding hospitality (AW3), a special highlight on
13
14 the listing page acknowledges hosts “who commit to Airbnb’s enhanced cleaning protocol”
15
16 (ARC2), while the ‘Verified’ badge recognizes hosts who provide accurate listing details and
17
18 basic amenities (AHC6). To receive these special recognitions, hosts must demonstrate an
19
20 ongoing commitment to quality (e.g., in the case of the Superhost badge, an overall rating
21
22 above 4.8 on a 5-point scale), and compliance with the platforms’ standards (AW3, AHC6).
23
24 The manner in which Airbnb communicates and promotes its certifications indicates that
25
26 these technologies are used to shape hosts as entrepreneurial subjects, who can use
27
28 certifications to ensure “more visibility and trust from guests” (AW3).
29
30
31
32

33
34 Our findings attest to the importance of another competitive logic-based governance
35
36 technology, namely *search rankings* which capture host’s listing position in Airbnb’s search
37
38 engine results page. Search rankings have been recognized as one of the platform’s most
39
40 powerful tools of ‘algorithmic management’ (von Richthofen and von Wangenheim, 2021) of
41
42 hosts’ behaviour (Gallagher, 2017). While Airbnb does not disclose exactly how its search
43
44 algorithm works, the platform does offer its hosts several “tips for improving [listing’s]
45
46 ranking” (AW5). For instance, to improve search rankings, hosts are invited to consider
47
48 “featur[ing] high-quality photos”, “offer[ing] amenities that guests want”, “setting a
49
50 competitive price”, “open[ing] additional availability”, and not “cancelling [confirmed]
51
52 bookings” (AW5). While hosts can use these tips to increase the visibility of their listings in
53
54 the search results, they also recognize that much of the search algorithm “remains a black box
55
56 of which hosts can only guess” (N1). Questions about the workings of the search algorithm
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 frequently appears on the ‘Community Center’ page where hosts can inquire about and
4
5 discuss how to “boost [their] listing in search results” (ACC17):
6
7

8 I update at least one picture on my listing every two weeks, which has been enough to keep
9 views and bookings coming in until now. I'm concerned because it is now high-demand season,
10 so I'm wondering if I'm doing something wrong. ...or perhaps should be doing something I am
11 not . . . It seems to me I should be able to [increase my listing’s rank in search results] by
12 proactively taking key actions. I'm trying to figure out what the actions should be, and I deeply
13 appreciate any guidance you have to offer. (ACC17)
14

15
16 Not knowing exactly how the search algorithm works while simultaneously perceiving
17
18 this algorithm to be “an invisible hand that can make or break [their] business” (N1) further
19
20 illustrates how competitive logic-based technologies cultivate entrepreneurial subjects who
21
22 continually question their proficiency and performance in fear of missing out on
23
24 opportunities to become/remain competitive in the marketplace.
25
26

27 While the disciplinary power of search algorithms revolves around a user’s competition
28
29 with other users, governance technologies such as *progress reporting* enable users to compete
30
31 and compare with their own past selves. *Progress reporting* includes technologies that track
32
33 the users’ performance as Airbnb guests or hosts. Both guests and hosts have an opportunity
34
35 to check their past reviews (AHC10), while hosts can also track their progress on Airbnb’s
36
37 performance dashboard (AHC14). The platform’s professional hosting tools allow hosts to
38
39 “search, filter, and compare historical performance over the past 12 months” across business
40
41 metrics, such as conversion, quality, and views (AHC4). Such governance technology
42
43 promotes a certain institutionally desirable framing of performance (i.e., by determining how
44
45 performance and progress are to be measured) and aims to provide insight into what users
46
47 have been doing well, and what to work on in the future in order to improve performance
48
49 (AW4). Revealing the gaps between hosts’ past/current performance and possible future
50
51 goals (i.e., the norm), competitive logic-based technologies exert their disciplinary power by
52
53 orienting users’ behaviour towards (and beyond) the norm. To close the gap, users must self-
54
55 govern their capacities and behaviours. Such subjectivity shaping is particularly evident in
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 the case of hosts who are more exposed to the pressures of market competition (i.e., a larger
4 number of competitors for bookings, higher financial consequences if outcompeted, fewer
5 comparable alternatives with regard to gaining an income).
6
7
8
9

10 *The communitarian logic of market-based governance*

11
12 Our third set of governance technologies, as mobilized by Airbnb, is rooted in the
13 *communitarian logic* of governance. This logic pertains to organizational principles steeped
14 in the ideals and values of ‘community’. The communitarian logic-infused governance
15 combines elements of *pastoral and disciplinary power* (Foucault, 1977, 1982; Fougère and
16 Skálén, 2013) to construct users as virtuous community members.
17
18
19
20
21
22
23

24
25 We detect the communitarian logic of governance across various technologies of
26 governance. In contrast to the logics of competition and regulation which were often detected
27 as the dominant logic of governance-focused technologies, the communitarian logic is often
28 detected in places and practices that are at first sight less focused on market-based
29 governance. We identify three categories of technologies that Airbnb deploys to govern the
30 user conduct through shaping the community dynamics: (1) community rhetorics, (2)
31 community infrastructures, and (3) community shields. We use the term *community rhetorics*
32 to refer to governance technologies that aim to establish Airbnb as a community and
33 articulate the essential values of this community. After starting out as a “travel site helping
34 guests find accommodation” (AW6) in 2008, Airbnb repositioned itself around ideas of
35 community and belonging by 2014, when the company is said to have realized that “the
36 Airbnb community has outgrown the original Airbnb brand” (CB). Unveiling the brand’s
37 (new) ‘community’ philosophy, the company’s CEO, Brian Chesky, stated:
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54

55 Airbnb is returning us to a place where everyone can feel they belong. Like us, you may have
56 started out thinking you were just renting out a room to help pay the bills. Or maybe you were
57 just booking a bed for a night on an unexpected layover. However we first entered this
58 community, we all know that getting in isn’t a transaction. It’s a connection that can last a
59 lifetime. That’s because the rewards you get from Airbnb aren’t just financial—they’re
60 personal—for hosts and guests alike. (CB)

1
2
3
4
5 Chesky, who refers to himself as Airbnb CEO and *head of community*, presents Airbnb as a
6 community by juxtaposing the transactional financial reward-oriented ethos to the
7
8 community by juxtaposing the transactional financial reward-oriented ethos to the
9
10 communitarian ethos of ‘belonging’ and ‘lasting connection’. The idea of Airbnb as a
11
12 community of committed and connected guests and hosts has been communicated through
13
14 various Airbnb’s marketing campaigns that display ‘real people’ (i.e., actual guests and hosts)
15
16 and their ‘real stories’ (AV1), as well as through the CEO’s regular addresses and ‘letters to
17
18 Airbnb community’, and the company’s ongoing communication on the platform that refers
19
20 Airbnb as a “community based on connection and belonging” (AHC21) and to its users as
21
22 “community members” (CP) who can feel “at home” (CL) when using Airbnb. While such
23
24 promotional activities and ‘on-platform’ rhetoric might arguably serve a very diverse set of
25
26 purposes (e.g., attracting users, legitimizing the platform in response to social and regulatory
27
28 pressures), we argue Airbnb’s expression of community can also operate as a form of
29
30 biopolitical governance (Zwick and Bradshaw, 2016) through which users are cultivated as
31
32 *community members* – subjects with shared consciousness of kind that revolves around a set
33
34 of collectively embraced values and ideals (e.g., human connection, belonging, hospitality,
35
36 inclusion).
37
38
39
40
41

42
43 Second, the notion of community is reinforced through a variety of Airbnb’s efforts
44
45 that foster ‘connections’ among community members by providing places and opportunities
46
47 to meet. We label such technologies community infrastructures. These technologies primarily
48
49 (but not exclusively) target Airbnb hosts, who are, for example, encouraged to use Airbnb’s
50
51 ‘Community Center’ to “share knowledge, get inspired and meet other hosts” (ACC18), and
52
53 to engage in the shared practice of ‘confession’ (e.g., sharing personal stories of
54
55 failure/success) through which pastoral power commonly flows, thus reinforcing the
56
57 institutionally sanctioned values and responsibilities (Foucault, 1982; Martin and Waring,
58
59
60

1
2
3 2018). For instance, on the discussion forum new hosts are encouraged to “[s]hare something
4 about what [their] trouble might be at this point of their journey” (e.g., lack of bookings,
5 missing house rules) (ACC19) and to request “a listing critique” (i.e., a critical appraisal of
6 an Airbnb listing) from experienced community members and Airbnb’s community
7 managers. Through providing constructive criticism experienced hosts and online community
8 managers inspect current host’s past conduct and instruct users on how to improve in the
9 future.
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18

19 To foster the mutual support and sharing of knowledge among the hosts, and to
20 strengthen their sense of belonging to a community, Airbnb helps users in finding a “local
21 Host Club Facebook group[s]” and “local meetups” (ACC20). Through actively supporting
22 the interactions among the hosts, Airbnb cultivates users as community members who will
23 voluntarily self-regulate their own behaviour and actively support other users to do the same.
24
25
26
27
28
29

30 The third and final category of community-governance dynamics relates to what we
31 term *community shields* – i.e., technologies to ensure user commitment to, and defence of, the
32 values and ideals of the Airbnb community. Through advertising, the CEO’s community
33 addresses, and to certain extent policies and regulations (e.g., community standards), both
34 guests and hosts are encouraged to, for instance, embrace and protect the idea that “anyone
35 can belong anywhere” (AN5), to accept marriage equality (AV2), and “to treat all fellow
36 [community] members regardless of race, sex, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation,
37 disability, national origin and age with respect and without judgement and bias” (AV3).
38 These appeals to shared values and responsibilities to uphold them are accompanied by
39 demonstrations of Airbnb’s readiness to ‘sacrifice’ its own financial gains for the benefit of
40 the community. Such pastoral-like displays of commitment and sacrifice in the name of
41 community values can be found in Airbnb’s proclaimed readiness to lose a significant share
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 of users who disagreed with the platform's new anti-discrimination policy. In the words of
4
5 Chesky:

6
7
8 We had discrimination on the platform in 2016, there was a hashtag, #AirbnbWhileBlack,
9 where people of color felt like they're being discriminated against, and they were. And this
10 was an existential crisis. How could you have a mission where everyone can be accepted in
11 homes all around the world if people are being discriminated against? (CI1) ... One of the
12 things that we ended up doing was creating a mandatory community commitment. All you
13 have to do is attest that you will not discriminate on the base of race, religion, gender
14 orientation (CI1) . . . Since 2016 more than 2.5 million have been denied access to, or have
15 been removed from, the platform for not agreeing to our Community Commitment. (AN6)
16
17

18
19 Airbnb casts discrimination as an aberration that endangers the community's "mission where
20 everyone can be accepted in homes all around the world" (CP). It is important to note that
21 while the anti-discrimination policy in several respects functions as a centrally imposed
22 regulative measure (i.e., a mandatory standard that the hosts must conform to), Airbnb
23 decided to frame it as a "community commitment", thus positioning hosts as community
24 members beholden to community values of acceptance and inclusion (AN6). This case
25 exemplifies Airbnb's attempts to assume the role of a pastoral 'authority' devoted to
26 protecting community ideals and values and encouraging users to self-govern their behaviour
27 in a manner that upholds the spirit of the community.
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39

40 *The intertwinement of logics in market-based governance*

41
42 To outline the core logics of market-based governance at work in the case of Airbnb, the
43 preceding sections primarily focused on technologies that best exemplify a singular logic.
44
45 However, our didactic choice to highlight technologies underpinned by a (more or less)
46 clearly dominant logic should not lead the reader to discount the technologies and dynamics
47 of market-based governance in which multiple logics are at play. Indeed, as we saw in the
48 preceding section, regulatory and competitive logic technologies might also be infused with
49 the logic of community (e.g., the framing of anti-discrimination policy as a community
50 commitment), and our analysis shows that market-based governance can rely on multiple co-
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 existent logics of governance. For instance, the majority of the host-certification technologies
4 presented above are underpinned not only by the dominant competitive logic of governance,
5 but to a lesser degree also by the regulatory demands for compliance (i.e., the badges granted
6 also reflect the users' enduring compliance with the platform's standards). The dominance of
7 the competitive logic is reflected by the prevailing framing of the badges (by Airbnb and
8 hosts alike) as a competitive resource, rather than as a sign of compliance.
9

10
11
12 In this section, we wish to highlight some examples of the more balanced
13 intertwinement of multiple logics, wherein no single logic of governance can be argued to
14 dominate. Take the example of technologies of *notifications* and *general advice*. The
15 platform shares regular announcements to inform and remind users about current and new
16 regulations, such as the availability of the new elevator-related safety guidelines from the
17 'Consumer Safety Product Commission' (AN4) and the activation of the 'Extenuating
18 Circumstances Policy' in relation to COVID-19 (AW). On the one hand, notifications can be
19 seen as a regulatory logic technology. On the other hand, the platform also deploys
20 notifications to intervene into competitive dynamic by sharing reminders of bookings and
21 reservation requests (ACC16) that encourage users to be more responsive and deliver higher
22 quality service. The notifications are commonly accompanied by *general advice* that
23 promotes responsible behaviour (see Appendix C) both in terms of observing good business
24 practices (i.e., the competitive logic) and abiding by the rules (i.e., regulatory logic).
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46

47 Other technologies such as *professional training* are underpinned by a combination of
48 competitive and communitarian logics. They are deployed by the platform to teach users how
49 to be both competent and competitive hosts, as well as good community members. For
50 instance, to make listings "more competitive" Airbnb suggests that hosts provide "a clear,
51 accurate description of what guests will get", and to "set competitive prices" (AHC15).
52
53
54
55
56
57
58 Training resources are also shared by the hosts themselves, who, for instance, coach others on
59
60

1
2
3 “[t]he 5 things that [they] shouldn’t be doing as an Airbnb host in 2020” (AAP3) and on
4 handling “bad” guests (AAP2). Common in these training efforts is the belief that a
5 competent/competitive host can become more “successful” (AAP3) while at the same time
6 advancing the communitarian values of belonging and inclusion (AB3). Such examples
7 further illustrate the co-existent nature of governance logics and suggest that users of sharing
8 economy platforms are in any given moment subjected to multiple types of power and
9 subjectivities.
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19

20 **Discussion**

21 We have introduced the concept of market-based governance as an umbrella term that
22 recognizes and amplifies the value of the growing research on markets as sites of both
23 governance and the constant development of new technologies of governance. In contrast to
24 the colloquial understanding of governance (i.e., as a matter of how state authorities govern
25 citizens), market-based governance draws attention to the efforts of companies to shape and
26 control the conduct of their constituents and invites scholars to explore the intricate power
27 dynamics underpinning these efforts.
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38

39 We enrich research on market-based governance and governmentality by exploring
40 the full range of governance technologies deployed by Airbnb. Our study uncovers three co-
41 existent logics of governance: the regulatory, competitive and communitarian. Our concept of
42 *governance logics* aims to capture the meso-level organizing principles of power and control
43 that underpin the diverse and quickly multiplying technologies of market-based governance
44 deployed by market actors seeking to govern the conduct of their constituents. In contrast to
45 marketing scholarship on institutional logics (Dolbec et al., 2022; Ertimur and Coskuner-
46 Balli, 2015; Skålén and Edvardsson, 2016), we do not aim to theorize the ways markets are
47 embedded in and subject to competing society-level or field-level institutional logics. Instead,
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 our concept of governance logics aims to capture the organizing principles of power and
4 control that underpin market-place governance.
5
6

7
8 We show that the three identified logics entail distinct power modalities (sovereign
9 power in the case of regulatory logic, and disciplinary power in the case of competitive
10 logic), or a combination of multiple power modalities (pastoral and disciplinary power in the
11 case of communitarian logic). Our study indicates that rather than replacing one form of
12 governance with another (e.g., top-down, coercive governance with bottom-up, self-
13 disciplining governance (Moisander et al., 2010), companies such as Airbnb combine
14 multiple power modalities that differ in their nature of authoritativeness, reliance on
15 sanctions, degree of codification, and teleo-affective structuring (as summarized in Table 2).
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

26 We argue that each logic contributes to the cultivation of distinct, yet co-existent
27 subjectivities through which users are simultaneously shaped as compliant, entrepreneurial
28 and communitarian subjects. Whereas extant research has primarily focused on how
29 governmentality and disciplinary power shape consumers as free, self-realizing subjects, who
30 voluntarily self-discipline (Giesler and Veresiu, 2014; Shankar et al., 2006), we show that
31 consumer responsabilization can also rely on pastoral power and the interpellation of
32 consumers as community members.
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41

42 Moreover, we show that in the context of powerful platforms such as Airbnb, market-
43 based governance is no stranger to sovereign power. Airbnb not only exercises various forms
44 for sovereign power governance, but also finds creative ways to leverage its sovereign power
45 by inscribing it in self-disciplinary dynamics. For instance, by tying competitive resources
46 (e.g., badges, certifications, search engine advantages) to compliance requirements, the
47 platform essentially intertwines the entrepreneurial subject and compliant subject positions.
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56 Put bluntly, the platform makes sure that the only way to be a successful entrepreneurial
57 subject is by also being a compliant subject.
58
59
60

Table 2. Modalities of power at work in market-based governance.

	Regulatory logic	Competitive logic	Communitarian logic
Distribution & trajectories of power	Centralized Top-down	Diffused Bottom-up	Diffused Bottom-up
Source & valence of sanctioning /rewarding	Platform enacted Negative valence – heavily relies on sanctions	Enacted via user choice/market pressures and self-disciplining Primarily positive valence – relies on promises of success	Enacted via community interactions and self-disciplining Mixed valence – a blend of implicit sanctions and rewards
Degree & nature of codification	Highly codified, explicit, formalized norms and standards	Less codified with the exception of performance indicators (e.g., reviews, host certificates)	Less codified, predominantly informal and implicit
Type of authority exercised by the platform	Legal-bureaucratic (Platform as norm setter and enforcer)	Professional (Platform as expert facilitator of user success)	Communitarian-pastoral (Platform as community catalyst and protector)
Teleo-affective structure (imagined outcomes that motivate & legitimize governance)	User safety Fairness	User success (e.g., host revenue) Quality & satisfaction (e.g., happy guests)	Belonging & a sense of community
Focal targets/subjects of power in the case of Airbnb	Hosts and guests	Primarily hosts	Host and guests
Similarities to Foucauldian modes of power	Elements of Foucault's 'sovereign power' (authoritative interventions, coercive measures)	Elements of Foucault's 'disciplinary power' (self-disciplining according to entrepreneurial ideals, reviews as a form of ongoing surveillance)	Elements of Foucault's 'pastoral power' (invoking care, and the protection and nurturing of community), as well as 'disciplinary power' (self-disciplining according to community ideals)

Dilemmas of multi-logic governance

Our contribution lies not only in theorizing and outlining the multiple logics of governance and the power dynamics and subjectivities associated with them, but just as importantly in directing the theoretical imagination towards the manifold dilemmas of multi-logic governance. Why does Airbnb (need to) deploy diverse logics of governance? Are there synergies and complementarities, or incompatibilities and tensions among these logics of governance? Are all logics of equal importance? Does their significance vary across time, different practices, and different groups (i.e., host vs. guests)? These types of questions have

1
2
3 not been raised in past research. For instance, governmentality research has largely focused
4
5 on uncovering specific, previously less visible, often counter-intuitive, dynamics of power
6
7 and governance, rather than developing ordering theories that can help us grasp the diverse
8
9 range of governance technologies and power modalities at play in specific market settings.
10
11 As such, questions regarding how varied technologies might differ and relate to each other, as
12
13 well as how they relate to the overall system of governance, have largely remained
14
15
16
17 unaddressed.

18
19 While answering the manifold questions listed above will require much additional
20
21 research, some preliminary reflections can be shared here to further explicate the value of our
22
23 ordering concepts as springboards for future work. Why do platforms, such as Airbnb (need
24
25 to) deploy diverse logics of governance? A short answer to this is because each logic has
26
27 certain limitations. For example, the regulatory logic is resource intensive for both the
28
29 platform and its users. It can be difficult and costly for the platform to develop formalized
30
31 rules, standards, monitoring, administration, and enforcement that can span exceedingly
32
33 diverse eventualities, and distances (e.g., across geographically dispersed host and guests, in
34
35 the absence of physical proximity between the platform and its users). What is more,
36
37 excessive reliance on rules and punishments can crowd out intrinsic motivations to do what is
38
39 right (Lederman, 2018), and being asked to keep up with and comply to a long list of rules
40
41 can impose significant costs on the hosts and guests. Similar limitations can be observed with
42
43 the competitive logic, which works only when there is sufficient pressure and/or motivation
44
45 to compete, and which, when taken too far, can have adverse effects on competing parties,
46
47 their social relations, and the environment.

48
49 Finally, the power of community logic is particularly limited. As pointed out by
50
51 Zwick and Bradshaw (2016), online customer communities often barely exist outside of the
52
53 ‘ideological gymnastics’ of market actors who benefit from expressing them. While the
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Airbnb community does exist through concrete practices, structures and relations, we should
4
5 not overestimate the strength of community ties and the commitment of its members. The
6
7 ‘transactional’ outlook bemoaned by Chesky is much more pervasive among users than
8
9 Airbnb’s ‘head of community’ and other ‘sharing economy’ leaders would care to admit
10
11 (Schor, 2020). It also seems that Airbnb’s liberal use of the term ‘community’ speaks more to
12
13 the corporate needs and desires for image and legitimation than it does to the strength of
14
15 community ties and commitment. For example, referencing ‘community’ when naming
16
17 regulatory tools (‘Community Standard’, ‘Community Commitment’) can be interpreted as
18
19 an attempt to soften and legitimize the platforms use of sovereign power and formalized
20
21 norms and obligations that might be redundant in a more vigorous community characterized
22
23 by a strong sense of commitment and responsibility. This example also raises questions with
24
25 regard to the logics complementarity, compatibility, and equivalence.

26
27
28
29
30 In the case of Airbnb, the three logics seem complementary in several respects. This
31
32 is indicated by the manifold technologies of governance that combine multiple logics, as well
33
34 as the willingness of users to simultaneously embrace the multiple logics and the
35
36 subjectivities associated with these logics. However, that does not necessarily mean that all
37
38 logics are created equal, or that they are of equal importance to different user groups. For
39
40 example, even though our analysis did not aim to measure the prominence of specific logics
41
42 of governance, judging from the number of technologies of governance developed we can
43
44 note that in the context of Airbnb the communitarian logic seems to play a less central role in
45
46 market-based governance than the other two logics.

47
48
49
50
51 The logic of competition seems to be particularly prominent as it is the dominant
52
53 logic in tools that are central to the users’ interaction with the platform (rating and review
54
55 systems) and to their status on the platform, while also playing a prominent role in several
56
57 regulatory- and communitarian-logic technologies. For instance, Airbnb commonly motivates
58
59
60

1
2
3 host compliance with standards by designating them as necessary conditions for obtaining the
4
5 certifications and badges required by hosts to compete on the platform. Likewise, Airbnb's
6
7 use of pastoral power via various community-logic practices and events, often predicated on
8
9 the hosts' concerns and desires to be successful, and the sermonic and confessional practices
10
11 of governance are often steeped in discourses of entrepreneurial failure and success.
12
13

14
15 The inscription of the language of community in regulatory-logic technologies, the
16
17 coupling of regulatory compliance and competitive-logic certification, and the
18
19 pastoral/disciplinary use of communitarian-logic practices of confession, are examples
20
21 reminiscent of what Dolbec et al. (2022) refer to as nested coupling – the integration of a
22
23 competing logic into organizational contexts dominated by another logic. Similar to how
24
25 Dolbec et al. (2022) find the logic of the market readily integrated into settings dominated by
26
27 other logics, we find that the governance logic of competition to be nested in both
28
29 communitarian and regulatory-logic governance. Likewise, communitarian-logic governance
30
31 often relies on nesting disciplinary power dynamics into pastoral power dynamics, such as
32
33 when confessional practices double as tools for the hosts' entrepreneurial self-development.
34
35
36
37

38 39 *Uneven 'geographies' of governance*

40
41 The competitive logic is also a good example of the strikingly unequal distribution of
42
43 governance and its logics across the different user groups. As evident from Appendix A,
44
45 Airbnb's technologies of governance more commonly target the hosts than the guests. This
46
47 discrepancy likely reflects Airbnb's vested interests and limitations. For example, given that
48
49 both Airbnb and the hosts can be seen as the suppliers of services, the hosts' inappropriate
50
51 conduct will likely do more damage to the Airbnb brand than the guests' (e.g., guests will
52
53 more likely blame Airbnb if hosts make a mistake or act incorrectly, than hosts will if the
54
55 guests do). Due to the hosts' relatively close contact with the guests, and a shared interest
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 between Airbnb and the hosts to curtail the guests' misbehaviour, Airbnb has effectively
4
5 'delegated' some of its governance efforts to the hosts.
6

7
8 What is more, the hosts are arguably more dependent on Airbnb than the guests, who
9
10 have a better range of alternatives (e.g., a guest can choose to stay at a hotel or hostel,
11
12 postpone their stay, visit another country, etc.) and are less dependent on the platform. This
13
14 restricts Airbnb's ability to demand compliance, or to leverage the power of competition
15
16 among guests (i.e., a guest seldom competes with other guests for a specific reservation,
17
18 whereas a host often compete with other hosts to attract a guest).
19

20
21 As a consequence, the governance dynamics differ across the two user groups.
22
23 Arguably, only two of the three outlined subject positions are relevant for guests (the
24
25 compliant subject and the community member) and even these two impact guests much less
26
27 forcefully than they do hosts (e.g., the risk of punishment or expulsion is much lower for
28
29 guests compared to hosts, and community structures, activities, and events are more
30
31 commonly oriented towards hosts than guests). Moreover, one would also expect that hosts
32
33 who are less invested in, and less dependent on the platform, will be less susceptible to the
34
35 platform's governance than hosts who and earn a significant proportion of their income via
36
37 Airbnb and have few or no alternative sources.
38
39
40

41
42 In sum, there is an asymmetric 'geography' to market-based governance in the case of
43
44 Airbnb that can be even more pronounced in the cases of 'gig economy' platforms, such as
45
46 Uber, where the corporate hold over drivers is even tighter than in the case of Airbnb (Schor,
47
48 2020). Future research can further explore the variable geographies of governance across
49
50 customer groups, and across diverse market settings, platform-based or otherwise (e.g.,
51
52 Airbnb vs. Couchsurfing, Airbnb vs. hotels).
53
54

55
56
57 *Beyond the Airbnb context*
58
59
60

1
2
3 Although our empirical investigation is limited to the context of Airbnb, we argue that the
4 logics and dynamics of governance we outline are relevant to other sharing economy
5 organizations, as well as to many other market contexts. The governance challenges faced by
6 Airbnb are hardly unusual, and other platforms have also been quick to embrace similar
7 ‘solutions’ (Schor, 2020). For example, governance technologies corresponding to the logic
8 of competition and the regulatory logic have been observed on platforms such as YouTube
9 (Bajde et al., 2015; Burgess and Green, 2009; Morreale, 2014), and commercial gaming
10 platforms have been shown to combine regulatory and community logics in their framing of
11 punishments (e.g., permanent bans of users) as a form of “community purification” achieved
12 by removing ‘toxic’ individuals (Kou 2021). In addition, marketing and consumer culture
13 studies have shown that the recurrent destabilizations and (re)combinations of plural subject
14 positions, such as that of a competitive producer and a tribal consumer, have become a
15 common feature of contemporary markets (Cova et al., 2011; Cova and Dalli, 2009;
16 Hartmann, 2016; Ritzer and Jurgenson, 2010).

17
18
19 The outlined logics and dynamics of governance seem highly relevant to service-
20 dominated market contexts, in which consumers significantly impact the provision and
21 quality of services. For example, in a pedagogic case study Frei and Rodriguez-Farrar (2005)
22 point out that service models in which consumers take over some of the service provision
23 duties typically reserved for company employees expose companies to significant risks due to
24 the sheer number of ‘consumer-suppliers’, their varying and often limited abilities, and the
25 company’s limited control in selecting and managing these. Frei and Rodriguez-Farrar (2005)
26 propose that companies such as Zipcar look to diverse means, some with a more instrumental
27 nature (e.g., explicit rewards and penalty fees) and others more normative (e.g., social
28 approval and disapproval), to manage employees and consumers. Our framework of market-
29 based governance provides additional tools for marketing scholars to examine more closely
30

and critically not just the multiplying technologies of market-based governance, but just as importantly the logics of governance and the power dynamics that underpin them, and the customer subjectivities they help shape.

References

- Airbnb (2019) In The Business Of Trust. In: *Airbnb Newsroom*. Available at: <https://news.airbnb.com/in-the-business-of-trust/> (accessed 10 November 2020).
- Airbnb (2020) About Us. In: *Airbnb Newsroom*. Available at: <https://news.airbnb.com/about-us/> (accessed 5 November 2020).
- Airbnb Automated (n.d.). Available at: <http://airbnb-auto.com/> (accessed 14 November 2020).
- Bajde D and Rojas-Gaviria P (2021) Creating Responsible Subjects: The Role of Mediated Affective Encounters. *Journal of Consumer Research* 48(3): 492–512. DOI: 10.1093/jcr/ucab019.
- Bajde D, Kos Koklic M and Bajde J (2015) Back to consumption and production? Prosumers negotiating the WMG lockdown on YouTube. *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* 14(5): 297–306. DOI: 10.1002/cb.1520.
- Beckett A (2012) Governing the consumer: technologies of consumption. *Consumption Markets & Culture* 15(1): 1–18. DOI: 10.1080/10253866.2011.604495.
- Beckett A and Nayak A (2008) The reflexive consumer. *Marketing Theory* 8(3): 299–317. DOI: 10.1177/1470593108093558.
- Botsman R and Rogers R (2010) *What's Mine Is Yours: The Rise of Collaborative Consumption*. New York, NY: HarperCollins.
- Burgess J and Green J (2009) The entrepreneurial vlogger: Participatory culture beyond the professional/amateur divide. In: Snickars P and Vonderau P (eds) *The YouTube Reader*. Sweden: National Library of Sweden, pp. 89–107.
- Charitsis V, Yngfalk AF and Skålen P (2019) 'Made to run': Biopolitical marketing and the making of the self-quantified runner. *Marketing Theory* 19(3): 347–366. DOI: 10.1177/1470593118799794.
- Cherrier H and Türe M (2022) Tensions in the Enactment of Neoliberal Consumer Responsibilization for Waste. *Journal of Consumer Research*: ucac037. DOI: 10.1093/jcr/ucac037.
- Corbin JM and Strauss AL (2008) *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. 3rd ed. Los Angeles, Calif: Sage Publications, Inc.

- 1
2
3 Coskuner-Balli G (2020) Citizen-Consumers Wanted: Revitalizing the American Dream in
4 the Face of Economic Recessions, 1981–2012. *Journal of Consumer Research* 47(3):
5 327–349. DOI: 10.1093/jcr/ucz059.
6
7
8 Cova B and Cova V (2009) Faces of the New Consumer: A Genesis of Consumer
9 Governmentality. *Recherche et Applications en Marketing (English Edition)* 24(3):
10 81–99. DOI: 10.1177/205157070902400304.
11
12 Cova B and Dalli D (2009) Working consumers: the next step in marketing theory?
13 *Marketing Theory* 9(3): 315–339. DOI: 10.1177/1470593109338144.
14
15 Cova B, Dalli D and Zwick D (2011) Critical perspectives on consumers' role as 'producers':
16 Broadening the debate on value co-creation in marketing processes. *Marketing Theory*
17 11(3): 231–241. DOI: 10.1177/1470593111408171.
18
19
20 Cram WA, Wiener M, Tarafdar M, et al. (2022) Examining the Impact of Algorithmic
21 Control on Uber Drivers' Technostress. *Journal of Management Information Systems*
22 39(2). Routledge: 426–453. DOI: 10.1080/07421222.2022.2063556.
23
24 Dean M (1999) *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*. London ; Thousand
25 Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications.
26
27 Dean M (2017) Governmentality. *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social Theory* Turner
28 BS, Kyung-Sup C, Epstein CF, et al. (eds). Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell. Available
29 at: <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118430873.est0657> (accessed 21 December 2020).
30
31
32 Dolbec P-Y, Castilhos RB, Fonseca MJ, et al. (2022) How Established Organizations
33 Combine Logics to Reconfigure Resources and Adapt to Marketization: A Case Study
34 of Brazilian Religious Schools. *Journal of Marketing Research* 59(1): 118–135. DOI:
35 10.1177/0022243721999042.
36
37
38 Echeverri P and Skålén P (2021) Value co-destruction: Review and conceptualization of
39 interactive value formation. *Marketing Theory* 21(2). SAGE Publications: 227–249.
40 DOI: 10.1177/1470593120983390.
41
42
43 Ert E and Fleischer A (2019) The evolution of trust in Airbnb: A case of home rental. *Annals*
44 *of Tourism Research* 75: 279–287. DOI: 10.1016/j.annals.2019.01.004.
45
46
47 Ertimur B and Coskuner-Balli G (2015) Navigating the Institutional Logics of Markets:
48 Implications for Strategic Brand Management. *Journal of Marketing* 79(2): 40–61.
49 DOI: 10.1509/jm.13.0218.
50
51 Fischer E and Otnes CC (2006) Breaking new ground: developing grounded theories in
52 marketing and consumer behavior. In: Belk RW (ed.) *Handbook of Qualitative*
53 *Research Methods in Marketing*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, pp. 19–30. DOI:
54 <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781847204127>.
55
56 Fischer E and Parmentier M-A (2010) Doing Qualitative Research with Archival Data:
57 Making Secondary Data a Primary Resource. In: *NA - Advances in Consumer*
58 *Research* (eds MC Campbell, J Inman, and R Pieters), Duluth, MN, 2010, pp. 798–
59 799. Association for Consumer Research.
60

- 1
2
3 Foucault M (1977) *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York, NY: Vintage
4 Books.
5
6 Foucault M (1982) The Subject and Power. *Critical Inquiry* 8(4): 777–795.
7
8 Foucault M, Burchell G, Gordon C, et al. (eds) (1991) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in*
9 *Governmentality: With Two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel Foucault*.
10 Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
11
12
13 Fougère M and Skålén P (2013) Extension in the Subjectifying Power of Marketing Ideology
14 in Organizations: A Foucauldian Analysis of Academic Marketing. *Journal of*
15 *Macromarketing* 33(1): 13–28. DOI: 10.1177/0276146712461507.
16
17
18 Frei FX and Rodriguez-Farrar H (2005) *Zipcar: Influencing Customer Behavior*. Harvard
19 Business School Case 605-054. Boston, MA: Harvard Business Publishing.
20
21 Gallagher L (2017) *The Airbnb Story: How Three Guys Disrupted an Industry, Made Billions*
22 *of Dollars ... and Plenty of Enemies*. 1st edition. London: Virgin Books.
23
24 Giesler M and Fischer E (2017) Market system dynamics. *Marketing Theory* 17(1): 3–8.
25 DOI: 10.1177/1470593116657908.
26
27 Giesler M and Veresiu E (2014) Creating the Responsible Consumer: Moralistic Governance
28 Regimes and Consumer Subjectivity. *Journal of Consumer Research* 41(3): 840–857.
29
30
31 Hartmann BJ (2016) Peeking behind the mask of the prosumer: Theorizing the organization
32 of consumptive and productive practice moments. *Marketing Theory* 16(1): 3–20.
33 DOI: 10.1177/1470593115581722.
34
35 Lederman L (2018) Does Enforcement Reduce Voluntary Tax Compliance? *BYU Law*
36 *Review* 2018(3): 623–694.
37
38
39 Martin GP and Waring J (2018) Realising governmentality: Pastoral power, governmental
40 discourse and the (re)constitution of subjectivities. *The Sociological Review* 66(6):
41 1292–1308. DOI: 10.1177/0038026118755616.
42
43 Moisander J, Markkula A and Eräranta K (2010) Construction of consumer choice in the
44 market: challenges for environmental policy. *International Journal of Consumer*
45 *Studies* 34(1): 73–79. DOI: 10.1111/j.1470-6431.2009.00821.x.
46
47
48 Morreale J (2014) From homemade to store bought: Annoying Orange and the
49 professionalization of YouTube. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 14(1): 113–128. DOI:
50 10.1177/1469540513505608.
51
52 Richard A and Rudnycky D (2009) Economies of affect. *Journal of the Royal*
53 *Anthropological Institute* 15(1): 57–77. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9655.2008.01530.x.
54
55
56 Ritzer G and Jurgenson N (2010) Production, Consumption, Prosumption: The nature of
57 capitalism in the age of the digital ‘prosumer’. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 10(1):
58 13–36. DOI: 10.1177/1469540509354673.
59
60

- 1
2
3 Rose N, O'Malley P and Valverde M (2006) Governmentality. *Annual Review of Law and*
4 *Social Science* 2(1): 83–104. DOI: 10.1146/annurev.lawsocsci.2.081805.105900.
5
6 Rosenblat A (2016) The Truth About How Uber's App Manages Drivers. *Harvard Business*
7 *Review*, 6 April. Available at: [https://hbr.org/2016/04/the-truth-about-how-ubers-app-](https://hbr.org/2016/04/the-truth-about-how-ubers-app-manages-drivers)
8 [manages-drivers](https://hbr.org/2016/04/the-truth-about-how-ubers-app-manages-drivers) (accessed 29 September 2021).
9
10 Sandberg J and Alvesson M (2020) Meanings of Theory: Clarifying Theory through
11 Typification. *Journal of Management Studies* 58(2): 487–516. DOI:
12 10.1111/joms.12587.
13
14 Schor J (2020) *After the Gig: How the Sharing Economy Got Hijacked and How to Win It*
15 *Back*. Oakland, California: University of California Press.
16
17 Shankar A, Cherrier H and Canniford R (2006) Consumer empowerment: a Foucauldian
18 interpretation. *European Journal of Marketing* 40(9/10): 1013–1030. DOI:
19 10.1108/03090560610680989.
20
21 Skålén P and Edvardsson B (2016) Transforming from the goods to the service-dominant
22 logic. *Marketing Theory* 16(1): 101–121. DOI: 10.1177/1470593115596061.
23
24 Soneryd L and Ugglä Y (2015) Green governmentality and responsabilization: new forms of
25 governance and responses to 'consumer responsibility'. *Environmental Politics* 24(6):
26 913–931. DOI: 10.1080/09644016.2015.1055885.
27
28 Stemler A (2017) The Myth of the Sharing Economy and Its Implications for Regulating
29 Innovation. *Emory Law Journal* 67(2): 197–241. DOI: 10.2139/ssrn.2828308.
30
31 Tussyadiah IP and Park S (2018) When guests trust hosts for their words: Host description
32 and trust in sharing economy. *Tourism Management* 67: 261–272. DOI:
33 10.1016/j.tourman.2018.02.002.
34
35 von Richthofen G and von Wangenheim F (2021) Managing service providers in the sharing
36 economy: Insights from Airbnb's host management. *Journal of Business Research*
37 134: 765–777. DOI: 10.1016/j.jbusres.2021.06.049.
38
39 Zwick D and Bradshaw A (2016) Biopolitical Marketing and Social Media Brand
40 Communities. *Theory, Culture & Society* 33(5): 91–115. DOI:
41 10.1177/0263276415625333.
42
43 Zwick D, Bonsu SK and Darmody A (2008) Putting Consumers to Work: 'Co-creation' and
44 new marketing govern-mentality. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 8(2): 163–196. DOI:
45 10.1177/1469540508090089.
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Appendix A

Table A.1 Illustrative examples of market-based governance technologies.

Type of logic	Category of governance technology	Example of governance technology	Place of enactment	Orchestrator of governance technology	Target of governance technology	Data source
Regulatory logic	Rules and standards	Users should not take property that is not theirs. (Security)	Airbnb listing	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	ACS
		Users should not commit sexual assault. (Safety)	Airbnb listing	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	ACS
		Users should not offer experiences that are merely transactions. (Authenticity)	Airbnb listing Airbnb listing page	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	ACS
		Users should not be unresponsive. (Reliability)	Airbnb listing Airbnb webpage	Airbnb	Hosts	ACS
		Users should not wear shoes within the property.	Airbnb listing	Airbnb Hosts	Guests	HR1
		Users should not run in the pool area.	Airbnb listing	Airbnb Hosts	Guests	HR2
		Users should not assist or enable others to breach or circumvent any applicable laws or regulations.	Airbnb webpage Airbnb listing	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	ATOS
		Users should not decline a guest based on race, colour, ethnicity, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity or marital status.	Airbnb webpage Airbnb listing	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	ANP
		Users should not avoid, bypass, remove, deactivate, impair, descramble or otherwise circumvent any technological measures implemented by Airbnb Payments.	Airbnb webpage Airbnb listing	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	APTOS
		Reviews should be unbiased.	Airbnb webpage	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	ARP
		Users of the Community Centre should not post content that is off topic, does not ask a question or does not offer knowledge in response to a question as part of a larger discussion.	Airbnb webpage (Community Centre)	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	ACP
	Safety catch features	Instant book feature.	Airbnb listing page	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	AHC7

Type of logic	Category of governance technology	Example of governance technology	Place of enactment	Orchestrator of governance technology	Target of governance technology	Data source
		Profile photos not being shown to the hosts until a booking is confirmed.	Airbnb webpage	Airbnb	Hosts	ARC1
		6-24 hours activation delay for new listings.	Airbnb webpage	Airbnb	Hosts	AHC8
		Hosts do not have access to all guests' personal information.	Airbnb webpage	Airbnb	Hosts	AHC9
		Collecting taxes on behalf of users.	Airbnb webpage	Airbnb	Hosts	AN
		Reviews are posted only after both parties have completed their review or when the 14-day review period has ended.	Airbnb webpage	Airbnb	Guests Hosts	AHC10
		Users uploading identification information.	Airbnb webpage	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	AHC5
		Hosts asking guests to complete the verification process.	Airbnb webpage	Airbnb Hosts	Guests	AHC5
		Running background checks against public records for criminal convictions.	Third-party software	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	AHC5
		Airbnb Luxe and Airbnb Plus verification process (amenities and design).	Airbnb listing page Airbnb listing	Airbnb	Hosts	AW
	Verification technologies	Airbnb listing verification process (amenities and design) (planned technology).	Airbnb listing page Airbnb listing	Airbnb	Hosts	AHC6
		Computer vision applications such as amenity detection and broad-scope object detection.	Airbnb webpage	Airbnb	Hosts	AEDS1
		Triggering a number of frictions (additional steps that a potentially misbehaving user needs to complete to ensure that they are authorized to use the card).	Airbnb webpage	Airbnb	Guests	AEDS2
		Host removing the option of self check-in, stating that a guest will have to meet with a host to check-in.	Airbnb listing page	Airbnb Hosts	Guest	AAP2
		Noise detectors that track overall noise levels.	Airbnb listing	Airbnb	Guests	CP AN1
	Monitoring technologies	Neighbourhood Support Page allowing neighbours to share concerns about Airbnb listings/users.	Airbnb webpage	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	AW CP

Type of logic	Category of governance technology	Example of governance technology	Place of enactment	Orchestrator of governance technology	Target of governance technology	Data source
	Sanctions	Removal of reviews that do not comply with Airbnb's review policy (e.g., are biased).	Airbnb listing page	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	AHC
		Taking away Superhost status.	Airbnb listing page	Airbnb	Hosts	AHC18
		Charge of a fee for cancellation of reservation.	Airbnb webpage	Airbnb	Hosts	AHC4
		Showing listing as unavailable for a particular time period.	Airbnb listing page	Airbnb	Hosts	AHC4
		Suspension of the listing.	Airbnb listing page	Airbnb	Hosts	AHC AAP1
		Temporary deactivation of account.	Airbnb webpage	Airbnb	Hosts	AA
		Suspension of account.	Airbnb webpage	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	AHC4
		Automatic review notifying about the late cancellation posted on host's profile.	Airbnb listing page	Airbnb	Hosts	AHC4
	Mediation technologies	Airbnb Resolution Centre.	Airbnb webpage Phone	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	AHC19
	Reviews & ratings	User posting a written review after the stay.	Airbnb listing page	Airbnb Hosts Guests	Hosts Guests	AHC10 AHC13
		Users rating each other on cleanliness.	Airbnb listing page	Airbnb Guests	Hosts	AHC11 AW2
Competitive logic	Certifications	Superhost badge allocated to Airbnb's best-rated and most experienced hosts.	Airbnb webpage (Host profile)	Airbnb	Hosts	AW3
		Plus verified badge signifying that the accommodation has been verified for quality, design and exceptional hospitality.	Airbnb webpage (Host profile)	Airbnb	Hosts	AW4
		Airbnb verified badge (planned technology).	Airbnb listing page	Airbnb	Hosts	AHC6
		Special highlights on listing page for hosts who commit to Airbnb's enhanced cleaning protocol.	Airbnb listing page	Airbnb	Hosts	ARC2
	Search rankings	Overview of how search results work.	Airbnb webpage	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	AHC20
	Progress reporting	Dashboard allowing searching, filtering and comparing historical performance over the past 12 months.	Airbnb webpage (Performance)	Airbnb	Hosts	AHC14

Type of logic	Category of governance technology	Example of governance technology	Place of enactment	Orchestrator of governance technology	Target of governance technology	Data source	
Communitarian logic		Display of past reviews.	Airbnb webpage (Account)	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	AHC10	
		“What to work on” to gain Superhost status section on performance dashboard.	Airbnb webpage (Performance)	Airbnb	Hosts	AW4	
	Community rhetorics	Reminding users that “Airbnb is, at its core, an open community dedicated to bringing the world closer together by fostering meaningful, shared experiences among people from all parts of the world”.	Airbnb webpage	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	AHC16	
		CEO Brian Chesky calling himself “Head of Community”.	Airbnb webpage	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	CT	
		“Since then, we’ve grown from two hosts in San Francisco to a community of over four million hosts all over the world. On the surface, what people come to Airbnb for is a new way to travel, but below the surface, what they find on Airbnb is connection. They experience a deeper connection to the communities they visit and the people who live there. This connection is delivered by our hosts, and they provide guests with a deeply personal experience — after all, guests are welcomed in their homes, and they live in their communities.”	Airbnb newsroom (Letter from founders)	Airbnb	Hosts (Guests)	CL	
		Designing the “Bélo” logo that captures the idea of Airbnb as a community and represents the universal symbol of belonging.	Airbnb blog	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	AB5	
		Community infrastructures	Showing Facebook groups and meetups of hosts near your location.	Airbnb Community Centre	Airbnb	Hosts	ACC11
			Offering a chance to send a direct message to another host.	Airbnb Community Centre	Airbnb	Hosts	ACC10
			Organization of social events such as online Community Cooking Meetups.	Airbnb Community Centre	Airbnb Hosts	Hosts	ACC9

Type of logic	Category of governance technology	Example of governance technology	Place of enactment	Orchestrator of governance technology	Target of governance technology	Data source
	Community shields	“When the pandemic hit, we knew we couldn’t pursue everything that we used to. We chose to focus on what is most unique about Airbnb — our core business of hosting. We got back to our roots and back to what is truly special about Airbnb — the everyday people who host their homes and offer experiences. We scaled back investments that did not directly support the core of our host community.”	Airbnb newsroom (Letter from founders)	Airbnb	Hosts	CL
		“There is an emerging focus in the business world on serving stakeholders. But there’s a false notion that to give to one, you have to take from another. While in the short run there may be trade-offs, in the long run, and when approached with creativity, we believe that we can design a win-win for all of our stakeholders.”	Airbnb newsroom (Letter from founders)	Airbnb	Hosts	CL
Hybrids of regulatory and competitive logic	Notifications	Announcing that “reservations eligible under the extenuating circumstances policy may be cancelled before check-in without penalties or impact on [the] Superhost status”.	Airbnb webpage	Airbnb	Hosts	AW
		Announcing that the enhanced cleaning protocol is available in 50 countries and regions.	Airbnb newsroom	Airbnb	Hosts	AN
		Informing the hosts about new safety guidance from the Consumer Safety Product Commission (CIISC).	Airbnb newsroom	Airbnb	Hosts	AN4
		Informing users about the 90-night rule.	Airbnb webpage (Help Centre)	Airbnb	Hosts	AHC1
		Sending annual email reminders, informing hosts about their income tax liability.	Email	Airbnb	Hosts	AN
	Informing users that in UK tax forms are due by 31 January each tax year.	Airbnb webpage (Help Centre)	Airbnb	Hosts	AHC1	
	General advice	Suggestion that “it’s usually fastest to communicate directly with [the] neighbour to address concerns related to home sharing”.	Airbnb webpage (Neighbourhood support)	Airbnb	Neighbours	AW7

Type of logic	Category of governance technology	Example of governance technology	Place of enactment	Orchestrator of governance technology	Target of governance technology	Data source
		Suggestions about what information to include in the reviews.	Airbnb webpage (Help Centre)	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	AHC
		Recommendation to “exercise your own judgement about whom to interact with”.	Airbnb webpage (Help Centre)	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	AHC
		Safety tips for guests, such as the need to review whether or not the host has a smoke detector on the property.	Airbnb webpage (Help Centre)	Airbnb	Guests	AHC2
		Recommendation to make a formal agreement with housemates about guest etiquette.	Airbnb webpage (Help Centre)	Airbnb	Hosts	AHC1
		Recommendation to review all the contracts related to the building or property that would be listed on Airbnb.	Airbnb webpage (Help Centre)	Airbnb	Hosts	AHC
		Recommendation to stop using synthetic laundry products and to clean with unscented products (as some users are sensitive to smell).	Airbnb Community Centre	Airbnb Hosts Guests	Hosts	ACC
	Predictive analytics	Risk scoring reservations (a collection of hundreds of signals).	Airbnb webpage	Airbnb	Guests	AW1 CP
		Algorithm that detects the potential use of the listing for parties.	Airbnb webpage	Airbnb	Guests	CP
		Evaluating user trustworthiness based on the assessment of personality traits and digital footprint.	Third-party webpages	Airbnb	Hosts Guests	ES
Hybrids of competitive and communitarian logic	Professional training	Article about “ <i>How do I make my listings more competitive?</i> ”	Airbnb webpage (Help centre)	Airbnb	Hosts	AHC15
		Podcast on “ <i>The 5 things you shouldn't be doing as an Airbnb host in 2020</i> ”.	Podcast on Airbnb hosting	Airbnb Hosts	Hosts	AAP3
		Blog titled “ <i>Your guide to hosting success on Airbnb</i> ”.	Airbnb blog	Airbnb	Blog	AB2
		Resources (toolkits) for hosting on topics such as: <i>Welcome to hosting, Your listing, Before & after the stay, Welcoming guests and Belong anywhere.</i>	Airbnb webpage (Resource centre)	Airbnb	Hosts	ARC
		Blog on “ <i>How hosts can cultivate unbiased hospitality</i> ”.	Airbnb blog	Airbnb	Hosts	AB3
		Personalized pricing tips for hosts.	Airbnb blog	Airbnb	Hosts	AB1
		Cleaning guidelines for private room hosts.	Airbnb webpage	Airbnb	Hosts	ARC4

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46

Type of logic	Category of governance technology	Example of governance technology	Place of enactment	Orchestrator of governance technology	Target of governance technology	Data source
			(Resource centre)			
		Informing users that 88% of Airbnb hosts incorporate green practices into hosting.	Airbnb webpage (Newsroom)	Airbnb	Hosts	AN2
	Comparative statistics	Informing users that hosts who have already tried using Airbnb price tips are seeing great results.	Airbnb blog	Airbnb	Hosts	AB1
		Seventy-eight percent of the people who share their homes on Airbnb have an average rating of 4.5 stars or higher.	Airbnb blog	Airbnb	Hosts	AB2

Place of enactment: Where is the governance technology enacted or put in practice?
Orchestrator of governance technology: Who puts forward, promotes and/or deploys governance technology?
Target of governance technology: Whose behaviour is the governance technology aiming to govern/shape?
Data source: Where did we find the information about the governance technology?

Peer Review

Appendix B

Table B.1. Data sources included in the findings section.

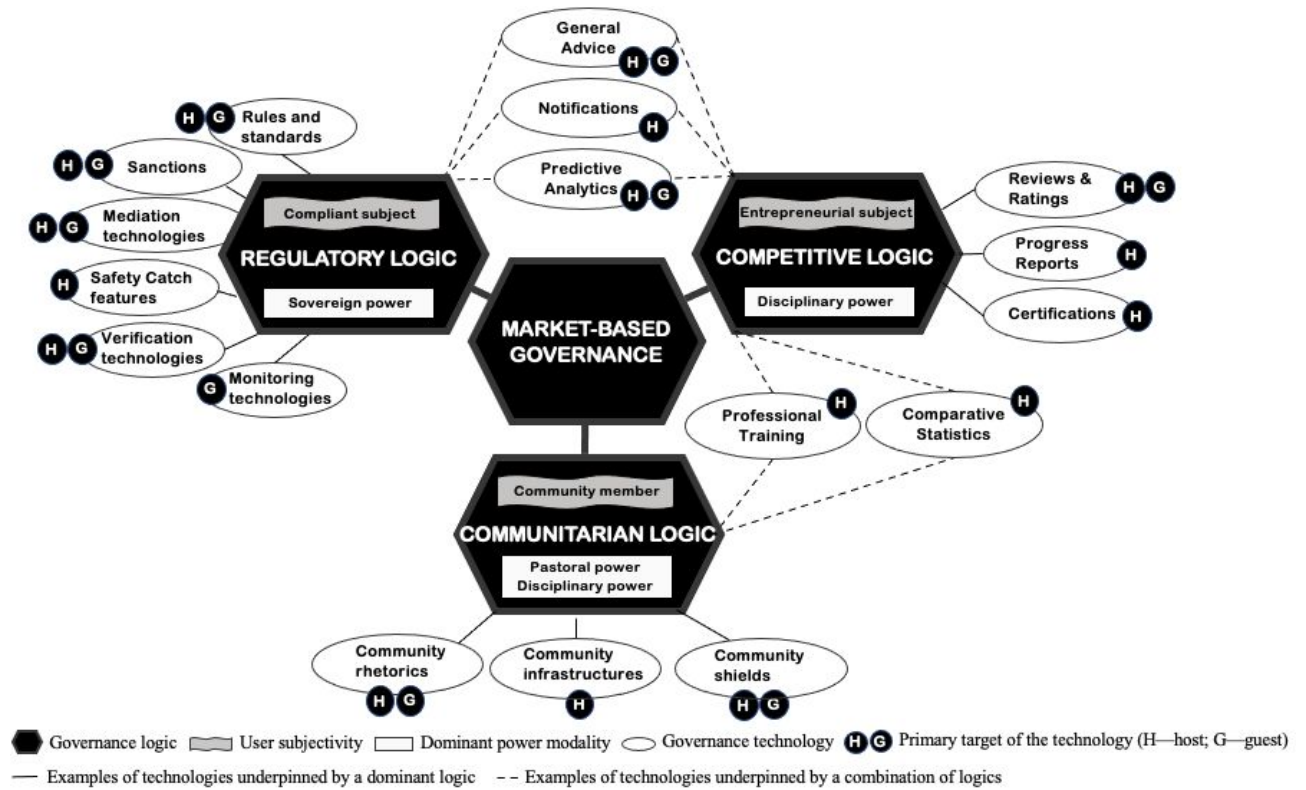
Source Heading	Type of Source	Link to Source	Acronym	Date of publication if available
Airbnb Community Standards	Airbnb webpage	https://www.airbnb.co.uk/trust/standards	ACS	24/11/2020 (Checked)
Nondiscrimination Policy	Airbnb webpage (Help Centre)	https://www.airbnb.co.uk/help/article/2867/nondiscrimination-policy	ANP	24/11/2020 (Checked)
A new way we're fighting discrimination on Airbnb	Airbnb webpage (Resource Centre)	https://www.airbnb.co.uk/resources/hosting-homes/a/a-new-way-were-fighting-discrimination-on-airbnb-201	ARC1	15/6/2020 (Published)
How do reviews work for stays?	Airbnb webpage (Help Centre)	https://www.airbnb.co.uk/help/article/13/how-do-reviews-work-for-stays	AHC10	24/11/2020 (Checked)
How does it work when Airbnb verifies your identity?	Airbnb webpage (Help Centre)	https://www.airbnb.co.uk/help/article/1237/how-does-it-work-when-airbnb-verifies-your-identity?set-bev-on-new-domain=1580385609_BMBoY547JD2yYwRI	AHC5	24/11/2020 (Checked)
Why do I need to verify my listing?	Airbnb webpage (Help Centre)	https://www.airbnb.co.uk/help/article/2828/what-do-i-need-to-verify-my-listing?set-bev-on-new-domain=1580385609_BMBoY547JD2yYwRI	AHC6	24/11/2020 (Checked)
Recode Decode: Brian Chesky	Interview with CEO (Podcast)	https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/brian-chesky-these-9-weeks-were-most-stressful-in-airbnbs/id1011668648?i=1000475440439	CP	22/05/2020 (Published)
How Airbnb is Working to Protect You this Holiday Season	Airbnb webpage (News)	https://news.airbnb.com/how-airbnb-is-working-to-protect-you-this-holiday-season/	AN1	13/12/2019 (Published)
How we're protecting you when things go wrong	Airbnb Community Centre	https://community.withairbnb.com/t5/Airbnb-Updates/How-we-re-protecting-you-when-things-go-wrong/m-p/1191911	ACC6	10/12/2019 (Published)
Airbnb Guests are BAD Lately. Here's How We Handle Them.	Airbnb Automated Podcast	https://open.spotify.com/episode/6AikVQMIZKJf8cR5jpaiMC?si=wUpQE-jBRKi7q9_RnOK5Gg	AAP2	23/07/2020 (Published)
How do I become a Superhost?	Airbnb webpage (Help Centre)	https://www.airbnb.co.uk/help/article/829/how-do-i-become-a-superhost	AHC18	24/11/2020 (Checked)
What is the Resolution Centre?	Airbnb webpage (Help Centre)	https://www.airbnb.co.uk/help/article/767/what-is-the-resolution-centre	AHC19	24/11/2020 (Checked)
Airbnb's flawed resolution system	Airbnb Community Centre	https://community.withairbnb.com/t5/Help/AIRBNB-S-FLAWED-RESOLUTION-SYSTEM/m-p/1291562#M279683	ACC4	05/05/2020 (Published)

Source Heading	Type of Source	Link to Source	Acronym	Date of publication if available
Unreasonable refund request	Airbnb Community Centre	https://community.withairbnb.com/t5/Hosting/Unreasonable-refund-request/m-p/39861	ACC5	04/03/2016 (Published)
Resolution centre enquiry	Airbnb Community Centre	https://community.withairbnb.com/t5/Help/Resolution-center-enquiry/m-p/1369274	ACC14	31/10/2020 (Published)
How do star ratings work for stays?	Airbnb webpage (Help Centre)	https://www.airbnb.co.uk/help/article/1257/how-do-star-ratings-work-for-stays	AHC11	24/11/2020 (Checked)
Hosting on Airbnb	Airbnb webpage	https://www.airbnb.co.uk/hospitality	AW2	24/11/2020 (Checked)
Review	Airbnb Community Centre	https://community.withairbnb.com/t5/Help/Review/m-p/221906	ACC8	05/10/2016 (Published)
Superhost: Recognizing the best in hospitality	Airbnb webpage	https://www.airbnb.co.uk/superhost	AW3	9/11/2020 (Published)
How to tell your guests about your cleaning process	Airbnb webpage (Resource Centre)	https://www.airbnb.co.uk/resources/hosting-homes/a/how-to-tell-your-guests-about-your-new-cleaning-standards-190	ARC2	4/6/2020 (Published)
How do I track my hosting performance?	Airbnb webpage (Help Centre)	https://www.airbnb.co.uk/help/article/2500/how-do-i-track-my-hosting-performance	AHC14	24/11/2020 (Checked)
As a host, what penalties apply if I cancel a reservation for a stay?	Airbnb webpage (Help Centre)	https://www.airbnb.co.uk/help/article/990/as-a-host-what-penalties-apply-if-i-cancel-a-reservation-for-a-stay	AHC4	24/11/2020 (Checked)
Introducing Airbnb Plus	Airbnb webpage (Resource Centre)	https://www.airbnb.co.uk/plus?set-bev-on-new-domain=1580385609_BMBoY547JD2yYwRI	AW4	24/11/2020 (Checked)
Our story	Airbnb webpage (Way Back machine 2008)	https://web.archive.org/web/20080814154058/http://www.airbedandbreakfast.com/home/story	AW6	2008 (Published)
Belong Anywhere	Brian Chesky Medium Blog	https://medium.com/@bchesky/belong-anywhere-ccf42702d010	CB	16/07/2014
How hosts can cultivate unbiased hospitality	Airbnb blog	https://blog.atairbnb.com/unbiased-hospitality/	AB3	24/11/2020 (Checked)
Residential Elevator Safety	Airbnb webpage (News)	https://news.airbnb.com/residential-elevator-safety/	AN4	08/10/2019 (Published)
Activation of extenuating circumstances policy	Airbnb webpage	https://www.airbnb.co.uk/	AW	05/04/2020 (Checked)
Notifications	Airbnb Community Centre	https://community.withairbnb.com/t5/Help/Notifications/td-p/187047/page/2	ACC16	03/04/2019 (Published)
How do I make my listing more competitive?	Airbnb webpage (Help Centre)	https://www.airbnb.co.uk/help/article/431/how-do-i-make-my-listing-more-competitive	AHC15	24/11/2020 (Checked)
The 5 things you shouldn't be doing as an Airbnb host in 2020	Airbnb Automated	https://open.spotify.com/episode/6F7pFyyHSJmgoIscOB70jx?si=vPcc2-SmSPaEuQEbgP811A	AAP3	21/02/2020 (Published)
Boost your listing in search results by ...	Airbnb Community Centre	https://community.withairbnb.com/t5/Hosting/Boost-your-listing-in-search-results-by/m-p/1627054#M371724	ACC17	23/05/2022 (Published)

Source Heading	Type of Source	Link to Source	Acronym	Date of publication if available
Tips for improving your Airbnb search ranking	Airbnb webpage (Resource Centre)	https://www.airbnb.co.uk/resources/hosting-homes/a/tips-for-improving-your-airbnb-search-ranking-460?_set_bev_on_new_domain=1656420063_YWU2ZmU1Y2JiYzk4	AW5	11/05/2022 (Published)
Airbnb finally opens up on how to rise through its search rankings	Airbnb-related news	https://www.forbes.com/sites/sethporges/2017/10/30/airbnb-finally-opens-up-on-how-to-rise-through-its-search-rankings/?sh=19e311791922	N1	30/10/2017 (Published)
Airbnb CEO Brian Chesky on travel trends and the magic of hosting	Airbnb video (CEO address)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zKXjgPq2nO4&ab_channel=Airbnb	AV1	18/02/2021 (Published)
Getting started with Airbnb	Airbnb webpage (Help Centre)	https://www.airbnb.co.uk/help/article/3113/getting-started-with-airbnb	AHC21	02/07/2022 (Checked)
What makes Airbnb, Airbnb	Airbnb webpage (letter from CEO)	https://news.airbnb.com/what-makes-airbnb-airbnb/	CL	22/02/2021 (Published)
Welcome to a global community of hosts like you	Airbnb Community Centre	https://community.withairbnb.com/t5/Community-Center/ct-p/community-center	ACC18	02/07/2022 (Checked)
How to ask for listing critique on the Community Center	Airbnb Community Centre	https://community.withairbnb.com/t5/New-to-Hosting/How-to-ask-for-listing-critique-on-the-Community-Center/td-p/1487733	ACC19	11/08/2021 (Published)
Connect with Airbnb Hosts in your area	Airbnb Community Centre	https://community.withairbnb.com/t5/Get-Local/ct-p/en_clubs	ACC20	02/07/2022 (Checked)
Airbnb 2019 Business Update	Airbnb webpage (News)	https://news.airbnb.com/airbnb-2019-business-update/	AN5	15/01/2019 (Published)
Until we all belong	Airbnb video (ad)	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xCI16o-svyRk&ab_channel=Airbnb	AV2	2/04/2017 (Published)
Community Commitment	Airbnb video	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OXVRB_u9Y7M&ab_channel=Airbnb	AV3	13/12/2016 (Published)
Axios on HBO: Airbnb CEO Brian Chesky on Discrimination on the Platform	Interview/Podcast with CEO	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f-534M07dXs&ab_channel=HBO	CI1	10/10/2021 (Published)
New inclusion resources for Hosts	Airbnb webpage (News)	https://news.airbnb.com/new-inclusion-resources-for-hosts/	AN6	28/06/2022 (Published)

Appendix C

Figure C.1. The logics, power modalities, subjectivities, technologies and primary targets of market-based governance at Airbnb.



Review

1
2
3 Domen Bajde is professor at University of Southern Denmark, where he works in the
4 Consumption, Culture & Commerce unit. His research has primarily focused on moralized
5 consumption, market formation, and relational theories, such as actor-network theory. His
6 current projects investigate digital transformations, particularly in relation to digital
7 ownership, and consumer governance dynamics, such as consumer responsabilization and
8 market-based governance on digital platforms.
9

10
11 Barbara Culiberg is an Associate Professor of Marketing at the School of Economics and
12 Business, University of Ljubljana. Her research focuses on consumer ethics and behaviour in
13 various contexts, such as sharing economy, sustainable consumption, anti-consumption, and
14 higher education. Her work has been published in several international journals, including
15 Journal of Business Ethics, Industrial Marketing Management, Computers in Human
16 Behavior, Journal of Consumer Behaviour, Business Ethics, Environment and Responsibility,
17 and International Journal of Consumer Studies.
18
19

20
21 Tomaz Kolar is full Professor at the Faculty of Economics, University of Ljubljana. His
22 interests and research work are mainly focused on the consumer behaviour and strategic
23 marketing issues, examined within various service domains, such as leisure, tourism and
24 hospitality. In particular, he is interested in cross-disciplinary and multi-method based insights
25 and managerial implications of contemporary phenomena, emerging socio-cultural practices
26 and market(ing) challenges. His bibliography encompasses numerous papers that were
27 published in marketing, tourism and management journals. Among other in Journal of Business
28 Research, Journal of Advertising, Tourism Management, International Journal of
29 Contemporary Hospitality Management, Journal of Destination Marketing and Management,
30 Current Issues in Tourism, Service Industries Journal, Evaluation review, Marketing
31 Intelligence and planning, and other.
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60