

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF:

# PEER-TO-PEER ACCOMMODATION RENTALS IN COPENHAGEN

- A RESIDENT PERSPECTIVE



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## ABSTRACT

Given the rapid growth of the collaborative economy, this thesis gives particular focus on short-term P2P accommodation rentals in Copenhagen, typified by Airbnb and other accommodation rental services. The collaborative economy is framed as mobile but accommodation is by nature situated in place, associated with laws and regulations, communities, local services and local social practices. Previous research has failed to address those place bound implications in Copenhagen.

From mainly a resident perspective, the study seeks to give locals a voice by adding their views and behaviours to the debate. With a case study approach, on the basis of an online survey targeting Copenhagen residents and email correspondences with local governments around Denmark, combined with an extensive review of the literature, the study critically discusses the scope and drivers of the P2P accommodation rental market in Copenhagen.

The study found that P2P accommodation rentals are in general positively viewed amongst the respondents even though they are affected by the global actions around the P2P accommodation rental market. The market is not yet regulated in Denmark, but heavily discussed. Furthermore, the study found the place to play a crucial role for the development potential of the P2P accommodation market and the city of Copenhagen should embrace the potential of the P2P accommodation market further.

This study contributes to academia by identifying the challenges and consequences of the P2P accommodation sector in a different cultural and societal context and provides a framework for city planners and policy-makers for the future development, as well as an agenda for future research.

Keywords: Collaborative economy, P2P accommodation rentals, tourism, residents, drivers, actions, regulations, Airbnb, development

## CLARIFICATION LIST

In order to prevent misunderstandings, the purpose of this list is to clarify the meanings we ascribe the following terms, which will be used through the thesis. The mentioned terms are:

**Collaborative economy**, which by The European Commission is defined as 'a complex ecosystem of on-demand services and temporary use of assets based on exchanges via online platforms' (Goudin, 2016, p. 9).

**P2P platforms** consist of online platforms, such as mobile applications or websites build on new modes of market organisation with the purpose of digitally mediate transactions between producers and consumers. It is worth noting that there in the EU Court of Justice is a pending case seeking to establish clear criteria to determine to which legal category digital platforms belong: should they be considered information society services, or industry-specific businesses? (Goudin, 2016).

Large hotel chains, hostels and bed and breakfasts have traditionally provided accommodation services, also referred to as **the traditional industry**.

**P2P accommodation rentals** are short-term accommodation services where you pay a fee to stay at someone's property, such as Airbnb, which excludes free accommodation services, such as Couchsurfing (Belk, 2014a).

A **community** is a social unit of any size that shares common values, or that is situated in a given geographical area, e.g. a village or town (Wikipedia, 2016). In this thesis a community, is understood, as the social unit a neighbourhood constitutes.

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# 1

## INTRODUCTION

# 1 INTRODUCTION

*“While popular tourist destinations like London and Amsterdam have embraced room-sharing, other European cities like Paris and Berlin are moving to stop out-of-towners from overrunning neighbourhoods and displacing local residents.”*

Berton and Wecker, 2015

Tourism services have traditionally been provided by businesses such as hotels, taxis or tour operators. Recently, a growing number of individuals are proposing to “share” temporarily with tourists what they own. This is not limited to tourism only and can be found in many areas of social and economic activity, although tourism has been one of the sectors most impacted (Juul, 2015). Thus, short-term peer-to-peer accommodation rentals are on the minds of a lot of people these days, as Internet sites, such as Airbnb, Homeaway, Flipkey, which allow individuals (homeowners or apartment residents) to rent out their properties on a weekly, or daily basis, have grown rapidly in the last years.

Following the definition provided by Belk (2014a), this study focuses on peer-to-peer (P2P) accommodation rentals, where you pay a fee to stay at someone’s property and excludes free P2P accommodation platforms, such as Couchsurfing, and other forms of nonreciprocal, uncompensated social sharing practices. P2P accommodation rentals are typified by online markets such as Airbnb, Homeaway, Flipkey, VRBO, Travelmob, Wimdu and 9Flats, and are forming part of what is known as the ‘collaborative economy’, ‘sharing economy’ or ‘new economy’. At its heart, it is the idea of collaborating in new ways to consume, learn, finance and produce (Stokes, Clarence, Anderson and Rinne, 2014). For the purposes of this study, we are describing this global phenomenon as the collaborative economy.

Introduction ►

## 1.1 Problem Area

The P2P accommodation market is driven by a new generation of travellers with the ambition of following the unbeaten track and thus they meet on digital platforms to find information and recommendations from fellow travellers and local residents (ITB Berlin;

World Travel Market, as cited in Dredge and Gyimóthy, 2015, p. 1-2). Airbnb and other short-term P2P accommodation rental platforms match the desire of the “new travellers”, as these platforms offer stays in “treehouses, refurbished jumbo jets, concrete drain pipes, vintage caravans and ski jumps, thereby meeting postmodern demands” (Dredge and Gyimóthy, 2015, p. 9).

Yet, the collaborative economy has both positive and negative impacts on tourism (Juul, 2015). Its advocates claim that it provides easy access to a wide range of services that are often of higher quality and more affordable than those provided by traditional businesses, while its critics claim that the collaborative economy provides unfair competition, reduces job security, avoids taxes and poses a threat to safety, health and disability compliance standards (Juul, 2015).

With a particular focus on P2P accommodation rentals, there are multiple results or consequences that can impact a neighbourhood positive and negative when a significant number of residential units are turned into short-term vacation rentals (Gormlie, 2015). According to Widener (2015) cities are offered several advantages in an entirely new development scheme, beginning with creating mixed-use areas out of strictly residential neighbourhoods. Some of the more negative concerns are that P2P accommodation companies are without basic safeguards to protect guests, homeowners, and surrounding neighbourhoods (AirbnbWATCH, 2016). These issues are hotly debated in the moment, especially in North America and bigger European cities and warrant further investigation.

A plethora of cities around the world is in the current moment experiencing the effects of P2P accommodation rentals. In American cities like New Orleans, Los Angeles and San Diego, P2P accommodation rentals have rapidly proliferated in residential zones (Gormlie, 2015). This has resulted in complaints about the rentals having to do with noise, trash, more congestion, more traffic, the unruliness of vacationers living it up in quiet, residential neighbourhoods and the loss of community (Gormlie, 2015). In cities like Vancouver and New York, Airbnb is being blamed for contributing to a growing housing crisis because a significant number of homes and apartments are being taken out of the traditional rental market for local residents (Mok, 2016). One can suppose that this especially impacts lower socioeconomic residents’ ability to find long-term rentals. In Europe, Airbnb and other P2P accommodation platforms have faced similar issues regarding housing and

zoning laws and regulations. In Barcelona the local government have banned P2P accommodation rentals in certain areas, and in Berlin, Airbnb is blamed for increasing rents and housing shortages, why the Berlin's state court 1 May 2016 passed a new law "Zweckentfremdungsverbot" that bans short-term lets of entire apartments to tourists without a city permit (The Guardian, 2016). While other destinations, such as Amsterdam and the United Kingdom have adapted their legislations to become "Airbnb-friendly" (Coldwell, 2014).

So far the media have paid less attention to the issues of the collaborative economy in Scandinavia. Yet, we did discover some similar issues highlighted in media, as for example in Stockholm where more than 200 apartments let out via Airbnb, according to the Swedish police, have been used to prostitution, a tendency that has also reached Copenhagen (Christensen, 2016). But Scandinavian countries are still behind when it comes to the collaborative economy and it is usual that the bigger countries, such as the United States, are five years in front of the Danish development (Knudsen, 2015). As such, those issues related to P2P accommodation rentals in bigger cities might not yet be an actual problem in Scandinavia or it might be that the social welfare system characterising Scandinavia play a role as it possibly reduces the need for supplementing incomes (Erichsen, 2015). This argument will be further taken into account in the study's analysis.

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## 1.2 Motivation

As Global Tourism Development students, the collaborative economy's influence on the tourism industry is especially interesting, as it is a mobile global phenomenon affecting destinations worldwide differently, as they have different cultural, economic, environmental and political roots. We cannot understand the context of P2P accommodation rentals unless we grapple with its complexity and seek to better understand how stakeholders such as government, industry and community act around the world.

Grounded in our study programme, the complexity of the global-local nexus within the collaborative economy definitely directed our research choice. The interest in the specific

topic rose from our internship stay in Auckland, New Zealand, where we experienced P2P accommodation rentals up close, as we found accommodation via Airbnb. It was expensive and it turned out that our host constantly was in the search for a roommate, but instead of long-term leasing, he used Airbnb to rent out his two spare rooms. By being Airbnb guests ourselves, we started reflecting on how P2P accommodation rentals affect the local community. Our host, Brandon's neighbours also constantly had short-term renters, which meant that he actually did not know who he lived next to. We engaged heavily in the local community by doing our grocery shopping in the area, mostly in the nearby dairy, using the local park and we went to local restaurants, bars and shops. Places we would not have gone to if we would have been living in another area. Yet, we also threw parties in the house, which most likely made unexpected noise in the neighbourhood. Besides our Airbnb experience in Auckland, the two of us have also been respectively Airbnb host and guest in Copenhagen, where the latter used P2P accommodation as an alternative to long-term rentals, due to difficulties in finding an affordable long-term lease. That is why we both have a special interest in the topic and a unique knowledge other researchers do not bring.

Introduction ►

### 1.3 An Under-Researched Area

Although much has been written about the promise of the collaborative economy and its potential, it is still an “under-researched area and relatively little is known about its true impact on society, the economy and the environment” (Olmeda and Cassidy, 2016, p. 4). It is obvious that much literature often is strongly advocating or against it. The reason for that might be that much of the available literature consists of grey literature and blogs, which are written by people, who share and are embedded in propagating the message that it is a good thing or by people who have experienced negative impacts and are against it.

Many studies on its impacts have been published in the United States, where many of the platforms began their activity (Juul, 2015). Thus, independent studies of the collaborative economy in the European Union are still in its early stages (Juul, 2015). Especially the accommodation segment has not been covered sufficiently as most of the literature

appears to focus only on the large accommodation sharing platforms such as Airbnb or Couchsurfing, leaving out smaller in size accommodation initiatives.

In this study, we identified a gap in the existing research literature, as not much research has addressed the community impacts and resident perspectives with respect to P2P accommodation rentals. We seek to fill that gap, by approaching the scope and drivers of P2P accommodation rentals in Copenhagen. As such the study offers a distinct contribution to knowledge as it provides an opportunity to better understand the P2P accommodation market in a different cultural and societal context with different housing market dynamics in contrast to for example North America, where most research is conducted.

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## 1.4 Research Question

Following the identified problems and research gap, the aim of the study is to critically discuss how the development of P2P accommodation rentals has impacted Copenhagen communities and residents. From a resident perspective and framed by the presented conceptual considerations, the research is led by the question:

*What is the scope and drivers of the P2P accommodation rental market in Copenhagen, and what are the positions and perspectives of local residents with respect to its current and future development?*

In order to answer the main research question in the most comprehensible way, we formed the following sub-questions, which shaped our choice of literature, methods and analysis through the research process. The following areas of interest shall be illuminated:

1. How has the P2P accommodation rental market developed in Copenhagen and is this development comparable to other European cities as described in the literature?

2. How have Copenhagen residents and policy-makers responded to the development of P2P accommodation rentals?
3. What are the challenges and consequences of the emergence of the P2P accommodation sector?
4. What if anything should be done about P2P accommodation rentals from a regulatory perspective (in Copenhagen)?

The range of Copenhagen residents and policy-makers' perceptions, thoughts, or actions are in this study defined as the scope (American Heritage Dictionary, 2011). The term drivers are in the context of this study used when we refer to the motivational drivers among our survey respondents and to the factors that drive the development of the collaborative economy. By illustrating some general tendencies of the P2P accommodation rental market outside of Copenhagen as discussed in the literature, it will be examined if and how the development of the market in Copenhagen displays similar issues. The responses from Copenhagen residents and policy-makers help us define the scope of the market, and the challenges and consequences are of interest as they most likely affect residents' positions and perspectives. Connecting the first three sub-questions to the study's literature review (ch.2) and case context (ch.3), while the fourth sub-question allows us to provide recommendations in regard to the future development of the P2P accommodation market in Copenhagen.

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## 1.5 Research Scope

The collaborative economy is framed as mobile, but research shows it has place bound implications. Accommodation is by nature situated in place, associated with law and regulations, communities, local services, local social practices and the impacts of P2P accommodation rentals can thus be regarded as slippery global practices that possibly collides with the embeddedness of a community. Our focus is on that interface between the global/mobile and the local, and that is why we narrow down the research scope from

investigating a global phenomenon, the collaborative economy, to investigate only the accommodation sector in a place-specific context.

Copenhagen is selected as the study's case, as the city in February 2016, on Airbnb had 7,607 active listings (Airdna, 2016e), compared to 2,054 in Stockholm (Airdna, 2016i) and 2,224 in Oslo (Airdna, 2016g), making Copenhagen a forerunner in terms of P2P accommodation rentals in Scandinavia.

We exclude much literature concerned with the broad spectre of the collaborative economy in order to specify our research. Yet, because independent academic research is limited, we still rely heavily on grey literature and news articles, blogs and websites. We do not consider this as a limitation as we acknowledge that knowledge is never neutral, unbiased or complete (Ellingson, 2009) and different sources of information can provide different insights. This aspect will be further discussed in chapter 4 - Methodology. Moreover, because Airbnb has such a significant part of the P2P accommodation market share, P2P accommodation rental have become synonymous with Airbnb. Yet, we do acknowledge the wide range of other companies in this space, such as Wimdu, 9Flats and Homeaway, and acknowledge the assumption that we are generalising P2P accommodation rentals. But given the emergent nature of P2P accommodation research in tourism and given the fact that Airbnb dominates the market, much of the literature we rely on is based on Airbnb and not other P2P accommodation rental companies.

We do not aim to provide concrete suggestions on how to regulate P2P accommodation industry, but as a result of our findings, we will discuss the possibilities and implications of regulating P2P accommodation rentals in Copenhagen. Instead, we aim to analyse the scope and drivers of P2P accommodations that influence Copenhagen communities and residents' perceptions, which should play a crucial role for policy considerations and the future development of P2P accommodation rentals in Copenhagen. Additionally, we found the case study approach with a particular focus on residents suitable, as we aim to give the locals a voice, by adding their experiences and attitudes to the debate.

On the basis of an online survey targeting Copenhagen residents and email correspondences with local governments around Denmark, combined with an extensive

review of the literature, the study contributes to a clarification of the current landscape of P2P accommodation rentals in Copenhagen.

Introduction ►

## 1.6 Audience

We believe that P2P accommodation rental companies operating in Denmark, academia and policy makers could benefit from this research. P2P accommodation rental companies could use the thesis to gain a solid understanding of the industry they are a part of and the market they penetrate. Policy makers can use our research to gain insights of the scope and drivers of P2P accommodations in Copenhagen. Academia might find the framework presented in the thesis suitable for further research.

Introduction ►

## 1.7 Structure

The thesis begins with chapter 1 - which introduces our research area, followed by a literature review discussing the global issues connected to the collaborative economy and especially P2P accommodation rentals. In chapter 3, we narrow down the research scope and present the local issues of the case context. Then the study's methodological approach is presented in chapter 4. The analysis and discussion are taken place in chapter 5, chapter 6 concludes on the study's findings, while we in chapter 7 point out the identified implications and suggest areas for future research.

2

LITERATURE  
REVIEW

## 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

*“Short-term P2P accommodation rentals in certain areas might contribute to nonparticipant externalities, where local residents become subjects to “noise, cleanliness, and public safety issues.”*

Zervas, Prosperio and Byers, 2014

The aim of this chapter is to provide a conceptual framework of P2P accommodation rentals. The literature review was carried out in March and April 2016 and even though the topic is becoming more and more researched, the amount of independent academic literature directly related to the impacts of P2P accommodation rentals are still limited. Hence, this chapter mainly includes academic articles but is at times supported by the grey literature. The literature review employs a narrative funnel approach with the purpose of providing first a global context, setting the scene to explore how the phenomenon is experienced in a local context. As such, the following chapter 3 - The Case Context provides an overview of the cultural characteristics and dynamics influencing the P2P accommodation sector in Copenhagen.

Literature Review ►

### 2.1 Contemporary Tourism

The study of tourism and indeed the tourism industry is changing constantly. The extent of tourism activities across the globe and the sheer number of people who travel mean that tourism is often described as one of the world’s largest industries (Cooper and Hall, 2008). In the following sub-sections, the study will review literature that offers an insight into how the contemporary world is understood and how structural industry changes have affected the transformation of the tourism industry and tourist. The sections seek to provide a basic understanding of the core elements, which have led to the contemporary tourism, collaborative consumption and the development of P2P accommodation platforms.

### 2.1.1 A Sociological Shift Affecting Tourism

Tourism is a complex and transversal phenomenon of social-economic importance that in the last few years has entered the phase of globalisation and internationalisation (Russo, Lombardi & Mangiagli, 2013). Thus, a sociological shift has led international researchers to perform research on the social trends and historical events influencing tourism (Cohen and Cohen, 2012; de Esteban, Cetin and Antonovica, 2015; Tribe, Dann & Jamal, 2015).

According to Cohen and Cohen (2012), the last quarter century has been marked by major technological innovations and far-reaching social and cultural changes in both the Western and non-Western parts of the world. They argue that the nature of tourism, its relationship with society, as well as the sociological approaches to its analysis and interpretation underwent a widespread transformation (Cohen and Cohen, 2012). Drawing on insights from Bauman (2000, as cited in Cohen and Cohen, 2012, p. 2177), the contemporary world is understood as marked by a high degree of fluidity or liquidity, where a world of accelerated economic, social and cultural changes are driven by the process of globalization, rapid technological progress, and the communication and information revolutions. All processes that have resulted in a restructured tourism industry.

These forces have led to an increase in the tempo of life, a collapse of time and space, a cultural pluralisation, a de-differentiation of social domains, and a fragmentation of lifestyles (Cohen and Cohen, 2012). This thought is shared by Cloke and Johnston (2005, as cited in Tribe, Dann & Jamal, 2015, p. 32) whom argue, that maybe “one of the biggest shifts in tourism thinking has been away from binaries to a much more fluid and messy understanding of their underlying phenomena”. The collaborative economy, e.g. challenges and reworks the traditional ideas of guests and hosts, home and away, backstage and frontstage, as well as work and leisure (Tribe, Dann & Jamal, 2015).

Other research has addressed postmodernism more closely (de Esteban, Cetin and Antonovica, 2015). They (de Esteban, Cetin and Antonovica, 2015, p. 11) stress that among the leaders of this stream are Urry (1990), McCabe (2002) and Smith (2003). Inspired by these, de Esteban, Cetin and Antonovica (2015) argue, that a postmodern

view of the world offers an epistemological breakthrough and conceptualises tourism in terms of diversity, hybridization and local discourses rather than homogenous terms. Even though postmodernism can be criticised for applying a theory of knowledge of tourism, it appears appropriate, because globalisation has caused tourists to travel more than ever, which forces the industry to fulfil a broader range of interests and tastes, and thus to change (de Esteban, Cetin and Antonovica, 2015). De Esteban, Cetin and Antonovica (2015) hence claim that because of the multidisciplinary nature of tourism, the new and profound transformations, and tourist interactions with the culture of their own time, postmodernism theory is more appropriate for accepting more widespread definitions of the tourism phenomenon. Thus, in the following section, the study reviews the literature on the structural industry changes that also have affected the transformation of the tourism industry.

Literature Review ► Contemporary Tourism

### 2.1.2 Structural Industry Changes

In the 1940s and 1950s the view was that governments had the knowledge of what was best for their citizens, and they were strong and dominant (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007). But the globalisation, the growth of multinational companies, and the movement of capital investments across international borders made governments become interested in offering the right conditions for attracting investment, as well as maximising growth opportunities (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007). The governments that were affected by the ‘Dutch disease’, or economic “neo-liberalism” embraced free market capitalism and limited their own interventions in many areas of public policy (Bramwell & Lane, 2010). Governments cut their expenditures and reduced taxation in order to assist businesses to promote their growth agendas, as well as to encourage employees to work harder in order to put more money into the economy to stimulate the consumption, which then called for more production (Bramwell & Lane, 2010). In addition, the reduction of government involvement through de-regulation was made to make markets more competitive (Bramwell & Lane, 2010).

The declining direct involvement of government and the increasing involvement of the communities became a trend characterised as a shift from government to “governance”

(Bramwell & Lane, 2010). The traditional policy development has changed from the strong, paternalistic government focus to a work done by different groups of policy actors (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007) and when new governing activities do not occur only through governments, Yee (2004, as cited in Hall, 2011, p. 439) calls it “new governance”. Giddens (1999) argues that governments no longer have direct control over the economic well-being of their citizens, and they have to work in collaboration with the private sector in order to leverage benefits for the citizens. For the collaborative economy, an industry with multiple stakeholders that blurs the line between private use and business, it means that the companies had more development “freedom”, as direct state involvement was not considered necessary to start with. Most of the companies are self-regulating, and besides that many of the big collaborative companies, such as Airbnb and Uber make up a group of policy actors themselves.

Drawing on insights from mobility studies, destinations are socially, politically, spatially and economically mobile, thus they comprise a number of interlocking production systems, such as urban, tourism, infrastructure, transport and environmental systems, functioning together, but on the other hand being subject to very different global-local spatial entanglements and governance regimes (Dredge & Jamal, 2013). In different destinations around the world we do find locally dependent issues of the collaborative economy, but because there is no single actor responsible for taking action as different stakeholders, such as hotel associations, taxi drivers, P2P companies, political parties and groups of individuals all try to affect the current decision-making process. Besides that one can argue that without direct control, Airbnb and other collaborative economy services, give power to its suppliers (users) in that they control the supply and set the price through a collective, decentralised decision-making (Zervas, Proserpio and Byers, 2014).

Literature Review ► Contemporary Tourism

### 2.1.3 Trends and Changes in Tourism Patterns

The structural changes of society and industries have affected the scope, origins and destinations of tourist flows, the motives and styles of travel, the structure of the tourist industry, and the relationship between tourism and ordinary life. The tourism industry has

been transforming from mass standardised and packaged form into a new industry of flexibility, segmentation and diagonal integration (Poon, 1989, as cited in Poon, 2003). Poon (1989, as cited in Poon, 2003) describes this transformation as 'old tourism' and 'new tourism'. Old tourism of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s is characterised by mass, standardised and rigidly packaged holidays, hotels and tourists, whereas new tourism is characterised by flexibility, segmentation and more authentic tourism experiences (Poon, 1989, as cited in Poon, 2003). In 1993 Poon (as cited in Poon, 2003) referred to tourists as 'old' and 'new' types, when old tourists, for example, travelled in groups, searched for the sun, followed the masses, and just showed that they had been on a vacation. The new type of tourists, on the other hand, became individuals, who experienced the nature, affirmed the individuality, and travelled because of the fun of it (Poon, 1993, as cited in Poon, 2003).

However, Jenkins (1995) criticises Poon's thoughts, even though the changes were prevalent and important. The problem was that the analysis focused mainly on the tourist as a consumer, and did not pay attention to the role of the travel trade as a provider of holiday services (Jenkins, 1995). Jenkins (1995) argues that the international travel industry did not only react to the changing customer preferences but were also proactive in shaping them. For example "new tourists" are not so new since there have always been specialist tour operators offering vacations for small groups who were visiting long-haul destinations, but the real question was the price (Jenkins, 1995).

In addition, Voase (2007) argues that the new tourism is not replacing the old, and for example the beach holidays are as popular as they have always been. The new tourism did not just emerge as a growing, but as a conspicuous sector, and has also attracted the attention of academics (Voase, 2007). Urry (1990, as cited in Voase, 2007, p. 542) terms the change as 'postmodern' referring to a cultural change. Similarly, Cohen and Cohen (2012) refer to the new types of tourists as the postmodern tourist. According to Airbnb (2014), P2P accommodation rentals are often located outside of the central hotel districts and thus provide an opportunity to access what MacCannell (1973) describes as tourists' desire for experiencing the 'back regions'. MacCannell (1973, p. 589) states that tourists want to share the real life of the places they visit, or at least see how the life is really lived in these places, and that "tourists try to enter back regions of the places they visit because these regions are associated with intimacy of relations and authenticity of experiences".

In a similar vein to MacCannell (1973) who believes travellers are looking for genuine local experiences. Dredge and Gyimóthy (2015) argue that the preference of the postmodern tourist has extended beyond the streamlined and impersonal experiences, services and products often associated with the traditional industrial tourism system. They argue that consuming travel is closely related to identity construction and narratives of authentic encounters with local cultures (Dredge and Gyimóthy, 2015). Instead of using the sources that the traditional market intermediaries offer, the new generations of travellers exploit the digital platforms to retrieve recommendations and information from other travellers and local residents in the search of more personal and alternative experiences (ITB Berlin, 2014, as cited in Dredge and Gyimóthy, 2015, p. 9). This might explain why P2P accommodation rental services such as Airbnb are experiencing popularity booms.

Also, Aziz and Ariffin (2009, as cited in Russo, Lombardi & Mangiagli, 2013, p. 1) regard contemporary tourists as in a constant search for experiences based on authenticity and sustainability, without sacrificing the conveniences that they are used to. In their wake, modern travellers are replacing more and more traditional tourists who enjoy staying in locations that they are familiar with or famous destinations, in their search for non-traditional cultural experiences (Aziz & Ariffin, 2009, as cited in Russo, Lombardi & Mangiagli, 2013, p. 1).

Throughout the above-presented theories, we have sought to provide a brief introduction to the meta-sociological changes that have influenced tourism and show our understanding of contemporary tourism. The de-industrialisation raised new types of travellers and gave more freedom to travel. It raised new demands from the new travellers, which the traditional tourism industry may not be able to accommodate, but rental services such as Airbnb may fill this new demand. Thus, in the next section, we will take a closer look at the phenomenon, collaborative economy, which is then followed by a section specifically about the P2P accommodation rental market.

## 2.2 The Rise of the Collaborative Economy

The collaborative economy has been widely discussed in grey literature the past years, but today also academic researchers have discovered the phenomenon. There have been heavy discussions about whether it is a new phenomenon or if it is an old form of sharing that only has been enabled by technological innovations. In this section, we will first take a closer look at the digital society to see how this has led to a new economy and innovation, which the collaborative economy is (Guttentag, 2015). This is then followed by a discussion of the collaborative economy and consumers' motivations to participate. We believe motivations are expressions for attitude and direct behaviour towards specific goals, why it is important when we study the scope of the P2P accommodation rentals in Copenhagen.

### 2.2.1 A Digital Society and Innovation

Helbing (2015) argues that the current economy is in the middle of a major transformation, which only occurs every 100 years. The invention of the computer, the Internet and social media are about to redefine the ways things are done, and the institutions the economy and societies are based on (Helbing, 2015). Helbing (2015) refers to this as the digital revolution. Similarly Barnes and Mattson (2016, p. 2) state that in the 1990s the Internet provided a conduit for new digital commercial activities and forms of e-commerce, and in the 2000s it "provided a new platform for digitally-mediated social interaction via social network services (SNS), such as Facebook and Twitter". Business models have further applied these social networking technologies to share goods and services, such as residential spaces (Botsman and Rogers, 2011).

Furthermore, Helbing (2015) argues that the world today is so complex, that it cannot be optimized in real-time and no markets or political regulations have solved the problems such as "overfishing, environmental exploitation, climate change, or international conflicts, and the financial system can still not be considered to be under control" (Helbing, 2015, p. 2). Thus, he argues that the world must realise that top-down solutions are not flexible

enough, and therefore cannot satisfy the diverse local needs (Helbing, 2015). Yet, it is not a solution to reduce diversity by laws, norms or standards, as diversity is a key for “innovation, cultural evolution, economic prosperity, societal resilience, and happiness” (Helbing, 2015, p. 2).

The collaborative economy is characterised by sharing, communicating and exchanging, enabled by technological developments (Botsman and Rogers, 2011). One may question if it could be seen as an innovation in tourism development. Even though the collaborative economy does not only occur in the tourism sector, it is still part of it offering tourists an alternative way, for example, to sleep, move and consume during their holidays. Also, Hjalager (2015, p. 3) has addressed the developments that happen in tourism as a “consequence of scientific, technological, institutional and other innovations outside the tourism sector”. On a general level, Hjalager (2015) argues that tourism development is greatly dependent on innovations that take place in science and technology, which affect consumer behaviour and the competitive environments (Hjalager, 2015). Hall and Williams (2008) also stress the importance of understanding how tourism is situated in relation to broader economic, social and political changes. They emphasise Gershuny’s (2000, as cited in Hall and Williams, 2008, p. 3) idea on how the changes in the organisation of work, leisure time and in absolute and relative income distribution affect the tourism industry.

Guttentag (2015) states that the service or product emerging from the collaborative economy usually is a disruptive innovation. According to theory on disruptive innovation, a term originally posited by Schumpeter and later popularised by Christensen (Bower & Christensen, 1995; Christensen, 1997; Christensen & Raynor, 2003, as cited in Guttentag, 2015, p. 1194), new innovations transform the market, sometimes to the point of upending previously dominant companies, and the disruptive product usually offers cheaper, more convenient and simpler option compared to the original one. Whether peer-to-peer accommodation platforms can be considered as disruptive innovations, is discussed later in this chapter.

As we have seen, de-industrialisation, individualisation, the digital society has opened up opportunities for new innovations. And according to Botsman and Rogers (2011) and based on the above theories, we consider parts of the collaborative economy to be

innovative, as we believe it has disrupted traditional industry structures all over the world. In the next sub-section, we will more in-depth present the collaborative economy, and the motives for consumers to participate in it.

Literature Review ► The Rise of the Collaborative Economy

### 2.2.2 Collaborative Economy

The collaborative economy has been referred to in the literature as among other the sharing economy, peer-to-peer economy, access-based economy or collaborative consumption. Piscicelli, Cooper and Fisher (2015, p. 21) define collaborative consumption as “an emerging socio-economic model based on sharing, renting, gifting, bartering, swapping, lending and borrowing”. In addition, Botsman and Rogers (2011) include in the definition also trading, and emphasis the profits consumers gain through access over ownership, which are monetary, practical and social, such as saving time and space, social interaction and allowing people to become active citizens. Yet, Belk (2014a) argues that most of the terms used for the collaborative economy are only partially appropriate, as the majority fail to fully capture the collaborative phenomena or tend to obscure the original socio-cultural implications of sharing. Nevertheless, Dredge and Gyimóthy (2015) found the term ‘collaborative economy’ difficult to define, since it is related both to historical concepts such as the sharing, gift and barter economies, as well as with contemporary collaborative business logic, including digital intermediation and interconnectedness, temporary access and exchange of possessions, and the effective mobilization of idle resources.

In the current study, we follow the definition by Belk (2014a) and focus only on P2P accommodation rentals, which exclude free P2P accommodation rentals and other forms of nonreciprocal, uncompensated social sharing practices. The market of the collaborative economy has grown rapidly and it includes a plethora of applications throughout the economy, such as worker support, learning, wellness and beauty, municipal, money, goods, health, space, food, utilities, mobility services, services, logistics, vehicle sharing, corporations and analytics and reputation (Owyang, 2016).

A few academic research projects have already sought to identify the drivers for the beginning of the collaborative economy. First of all, it is argued to be a result of the recent global economic, social and environmental problems (Barnes and Mattson, 2016). But, the collaborative economy can also be considered a more efficient use of already existing resources, as an improved social benefit, and as a reduced environmental pollution (Agyeman, McLaren and Schaefer-Borrego, 2013; Botsman and Rogers, 2011).

Similarly, Barnes and Mattson (2016) argue that the main drivers for the rise of the collaborative economy are economic, social/cultural, technological and environmental issues, the first one being the most influential. On the other hand, the authors' state that the inhibitors for the collaborative economy are closely related to social/cultural, political, business, technological, legal and environmental issues (Barnes and Mattson, 2016). According to Barnes and Mattson (2016, p. 209), it seems that in order to increase the engagement in the collaborative economy the biggest barrier to overcome is the "social and cultural features of the attitudes and behaviours of consumers". In the following subsection, we will take a closer look at the different motivations for the consumers to participate in the collaborative economy.

Literature Review ► The Rise of the Collaborative Economy

### 2.2.3 Motivations to Participate in the Collaborative Economy

Our understanding of motivation is based on the definition from (Dictionary.com, 2016) and motivation is in this study understood as having a strong reason to act or accomplish something. Thus, in this section, the economic, social and environmental motivations for consumers to participate in the collaborative economy are presented.

#### *Economic motivations - saving time and money*

Studies have claimed that collaborative economy appeals to consumers as a low-cost alternative to the traditional industry (Botsman and Rogers, 2011; Gansky, 2010; Guttentag, 2015; Lamberton & Rose, 2012). Tussyadiah and Pesonen (2016) argue that in the accommodation sector the cost saving factor is notably correlated with the likelihood of using collaborative economy services also in the future.

In addition, Ikkala and Lampinen's (2015) study explored individuals' motivations to monetize network hospitality and how the presence of money ties in with the social interactions related to network hospitality. From a host perspective, Ikkala and Lampinen (2015) conducted a qualitative study comprising 11 in-depth semi-structured interviews with, all in all, 12 participants from 11 households who had listed space for short-term rental via Airbnb in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area, Finland. The research proved that participants were motivated to monetize network hospitality for both financial and social reasons (Ikkala and Lampinen, 2015). Ikkala and Lampinen (2015) bring a refreshing voice, as the study was conducted in a Nordic context, however as Airbnb hosting can take on different social roles in different geographical and cultural settings, one can make no claims of generalizability to Airbnb hosts.

Hamari, Sjöklint and Ukkonen (2015) also found economic benefits significant, such as saving money and time, but they do not believe it affects people's attitudes towards collaborative consumption. Matzner, Chasin and Todenhöfer (2015) on the other hand studied both the users and providers of the collaborative economy and therefore state that the intention to provide sharing services come from a perceived demand, as well as perceived economic benefits. Furthermore, the motivations for using peer-to-peer rental services were identified as the perceived availability and perceived cost advantage (Matzner, Chasin and Todenhöfer, 2015). However, Tussyadiah and Pesonen (2016) argue that the collaborative economy does not attract only budget-conscious consumers, but also the high-income tourists. One might then leave out economic benefits as the only reason for participation and it might be supposed that also other factors play a role. However, Airbnb's own research suggests that for various middle-class families Airbnb is an economic lifeline, which generates supplementary income making it possible for them to pay bills (Airbnb Action, 2015b).

#### *Social motivation - because it is fun*

Based on two online surveys targeting travellers from the United States and Finland, Tussyadiah and Pesonen (2015) identified social and economic appeals as the primarily driving factors for using P2P accommodation (Tussyadiah and Pesonen, 2015). More specifically they found that their respondents used P2P accommodation rentals because of a desire "to get to know, interact, and connect with local communities in a more

meaningful way; to experience tourism destinations as a local; and to contribute to local residents” and “to get quality accommodation with lower cost” (Tussyadiah and Pesonen, 2015, p. 8). No significant difference was found in the social appeal factor between the respondents, but American travellers rated significantly higher on economic appeal than the Finnish respondents (Tussyadiah and Pesonen, 2015). It is important to note that this study is conducted from a traveller’s perspective, so their findings might differ from ours as we study the use of P2P accommodation rentals from a resident perspective.

Also, Hamari, Sjöklint and Ukkonen (2015) found that some people engage in the collaborative economy because they find it fun, and because it provides a meaningful way to interact with other consumers (Hamari, Sjöklint and Ukkonen, 2015). Others are driven by the experience of domesticity and sociality thinking in that the collaborative economy provides travellers more authentic experiences (Sigala, 2015).

As the literature shows, there is much discussion on whether the collaborative economy is a sharing and a social phenomenon, or if it is simply a way to save and earn money. Similarly, Dredge and Gyimóthy (2015, p. 14) question whether the phenomenon “really is a social movement that solves pressing socio-economic global problems”, or if it is “a business consultancy fad orchestrated by self-interested intermediaries and other who are positioned to gain”. A lack of independent research leaves this question open at the moment. But, there has been much discussion on people engaging in collaborative economy initiatives for sustainable reasons, which is further addressed next.

#### *Sustainability motivation - to save the planet*

Besides the economic and social motivations to engage in the collaborative economy, the phenomenon has also been considered to be popular among environment enthusiasts (Hamari, Sjöklint and Ukkonen, 2015; Felländer, Ingram and Teigland, 2015) and ecologically conscious consumers (Hamari, Sjöklint and Ukkonen, 2015). Other research (Tussyadiah & Pesonen, 2016) found similarly that consumers are increasingly concerned about the environment, and the threat that (over) consumption poses to the environment, drives them to engage in the collaborative economy. In contrary to most of the included studies, Tussyadiah and Pesonen (2016) partly conducted their study in a Nordic context, and according to Felländer, Ingram and Teigland (2015), the Nordic populations are

attaching higher importance to sustainability. This claim will be discussed in the study's analysis.

Botsman and Rogers (2011) have also state that the collaborative economy lessens the development of new products, and Felländer, Ingram and Teigland (2015) state that there are a variety of reasons for more negative consumption behaviours among individuals, such as reduced disposable income, environmental and sustainability concerns, and a backlash against consumerism and major brands. Similarly, they have noticed that the Swedish market has taken on a unique perspective for promotion because for example some home-grown services tend to justify sharing on the basis of sustainability, rather than cost-effectiveness or efficiency (Felländer, Ingram and Teigland, 2015). One might although question whether it is just a marketing tactic used in the Nordic context because individuals are known to make more environmentally conscious decisions, but the true reason for using the sharing platforms would still be the same as in every other studied context, convenience or economic savings. On the other hand, many of the Swedish platform supporters for the collaborative economy activities are run by non-profit organisations and supported by networks of volunteers (Felländer, Ingram and Teigland, 2015).

Quite similarly, Hamari, Sjöklint and Ukkonen (2015) argue that perceived sustainability positively influences consumers' attitudes towards the collaborative economy, but it plays a smaller role when people consider actual participation in the economy. In contrast, a practitioner study of about 90,000 individuals in the U.S., Canada, and the U.K. found that convenience, better price and product and service quality were the top three reasons for using a P2P site or app on the respondent's most recent sharing transaction (Owyang, Samuel and Grenville, 2014). Notably, sustainable lifestyle was relatively low on the list, as the sixth reason (Owyang, Samuel and Grenville, 2014).

Martin (2016) has further addressed the paradoxes around the collaborative economy. He states that the collaborative economy "can be viewed as a niche of socio-digital experiments, with the paradoxical potential to: promote more sustainable consumption and production practices; and, to reinforce the current unsustainable economic paradigm" (Martin, 2016, p. 159). Thus, he suggests researching how the collaborative economy could be guided to a pathway aligned with sustainability (Martin, 2016). It is interesting to

see if the findings of this study indicate that people use P2P accommodation rentals to live out a more sustainable lifestyle, as Felländer, Ingram and Teigland (2015) examined in the Swedish context.

As it is presented in this sub-section, the collaborative economy is built on a digital society and consumers have different motives to engage. Barnes and Mattson (2016) further suggest that also in the future the technological, social and cultural developments will be substantial for the collaborative economy to improve. However, they further state that there is not much to expect of the progress in developing political or business solutions in the next 10 years, or to solve the legal issues completely, but the environmental issues may be expected to be more important in the next decade (Barnes and Mattson, 2016).

Literature Review ►

### 2.3 P2P Accommodation Rentals

The travel and housing sector of the collaborative economy has seen a great growth, giving ways to start-up businesses offering P2P accommodation rentals, as for example Airbnb and Wimdu, which enable individuals to rent out spare bedrooms, apartments, or entire homes (Ferenstein 2014, as cited in Tussyadiah and Pesonen, 2015, p. 1). As such, in what follows, the study is reviewing literature focused on P2P accommodation rentals and the following sub-sections are dedicated to providing a contextual frame for the P2P accommodation market and to explore the issues and impacts for society.

Airbnb is the most prominent company in the travel and housing sector of the collaborative economy, but it also represents part of a more general development of internet-based companies that allows ordinary people to offer and rent tourism accommodation (Guttentag, 2015). Most of the competitors offer identical services, such as Wimdu, 9flats, Roomorama, HomeAway, VRBO, Flipkey, Vacation Rentals, Travelmob, and House Trip functioning similarly to Airbnb. However, as many studies are only using Airbnb as a case study, the following literature review heavily draws on research focused on Airbnb, which leaves out research on other P2P accommodation platforms. The reason for this is unknown, perhaps because it is the largest and most visible platform in the moment. Thus, we note that the findings and conclusions we draw from the literature mainly are

based on Airbnb research, and therefore might not be generalizable for the entire P2P travel and housing sector.

Literature Review ► P2P Accommodation Rentals

### 2.3.1 Historical Development

Although more and more studies about the collaborative economy are appearing, the literature indicates that not much is written about the development of the housing segment in a historical context. An exception is Jefferson-Jones (2015a), who investigates the historical rise of the housing segment of the collaborative economy. Jefferson-Jones (2015a) argues that sharing and barging housing resources is nothing new, as it is also argued by Belk (2014a). Historically, the concept of house sharing has long existed in the context of lodging purchased at a time- or space- limited basis in inns and boarding houses, rooms for rent, housing cooperatives, and informal arrangements (Faflik, 2012, as cited in Jefferson-Jones, 2015a, p. 561). Also, Black (1985, as cited in Guttentag, 2015, p. 1195) describes eighteenth-century tourists on a Grand Tours through Europe sometimes finding lodging in private homes.

Jefferson-Jones (2015a) argues that in its historical context, modern home sharing is a predictable phenomenon. Drawing on insights from historian Wendy Gamber, Jefferson-Jones (2015a) stresses that in the United States, prior to the civil war the number of individuals “boarding out” experienced a great growth and by the mid 1800s, three-quarters of all adults in Manhattan were boarding house guests (Gamber, 2002, as cited in Jefferson-Jones, 2015a, p. 562). The phenomenon was driven by the migration of people to urban centres from small towns and rural areas, as well by the fast-growing amount of new European immigrants (Jefferson-Jones, 2015a). This type of housing sharing grew as the urban centres became more crowded and the commodity of affordable housing more scarce (Jefferson-Jones, 2015a). This practice of ‘taking in boarders’, was widespread and crossed class boundaries and it was for example not unusually that a widow going through tough times transformed her home into a boarding house (Jefferson-Jones, 2015a). The boarding houses were diverse “establishments that often catered to residents of particular class, gender, racial, ethnic occupational, regional, political moral, or religious identities” and they were always owned and operated by

members of the same communities, such as women, minorities and immigrants (Jefferson-Jones, 2015a, p. 563).

It is noteworthy that Jefferson-Jones' (2015a) historical account of the development of the housing segment in the collaborative economy is based on American history and therefore not represents a generalised worldwide picture. However, the historical development of boarding houses in the United States seems similar to the Danish development.

Researcher Mette Mortensen (2015) has investigated the historical rise of boarding houses in a Danish context and found that boarding houses like in the United States, emerged as a reaction to the industrialisation and urbanisation, where mostly young people moved to the cities to work, study or purchase a better life. As a result, a need for cheap housing occurred in the cities, which led to the development of boarding houses (Mortensen, 2015). Mortensen (2015) describes the boarding houses as very different with varying types of people of all ages. Yet, the typical boarding house lodged young single women and men, as the lack of affordable housing for singles, was the main reason for them staying at boarding houses. Boarding houses were social communities, where friendships and love bloomed, but also places of conflicts about money and house rules (Mortensen, 2015). The typical host was often a middle-aged woman, who supported herself or her husband's income by running a boarding house (Mortensen, 2015).

New enterprises arrive with resources and capabilities that derive from their historical antecedents (Helfat and Lieberman, 2002). As with any innovative change, also P2P accommodations are rooted in the past and in this case the antecedents lie in the system of boarding houses (Jefferson-Jones, 2015a). In a tweet, Airbnb is putting a positive spin on the boarding houses and Airbnb hosts, who in their wake are upholding the proud tradition of renting out rooms to people who otherwise could not afford to go to New York (Bloomgarden-Smoke, 2015). Clearly Airbnb is taking advantage of the positive view boarding houses have in history (Bloomgarden-Smoke, 2015). Thus, the historical antecedents become relevant as they provide an opportunity to consider the conditions under which new innovations such as P2P accommodation platforms enter the market and shapes the industry characteristics.

### 2.3.2 P2P Accommodation as a Disruptive Innovation

The process of disruptive innovation can occur in any economic sector, and tourism is no exception (Guttentag, 2015). Guttentag (2015) explores the emergence of Airbnb and the potential the company have to significantly disrupt the traditional accommodation sector. Guttentag (2015) understands a disruptive product, as a product with the ability to transform a market and sometimes to a point where it overturns already existing dominate companies. He argues that Airbnb has shaken up the traditional market for tourism accommodation, where tourists rent rooms from formal businesses such as hotels, by providing an online marketplace that permits the large-scale rental of spaces from one ordinary person to another (Guttentag, 2015). He continues that disruptive products most often offer a distinct set of benefits, typically focused around being cheaper, more convenient, or simpler (Guttentag, 2015). In regard to Airbnb and other P2P accommodation rentals, he argues that the companies provide various benefits to the consumers, as you can stay in a private residence, and some tourists might prefer the homey feeling over a hotel and Airbnb offers the guests practical residential amenities, such as a full kitchen, a washing machine, and a dryer (Guttentag, 2015).

Another work (Zervas, Prosperio and Byers, 2014) suggests that the growth of P2P accommodation rentals present challenges to the existing business models as well as to the social fabric that makes up the communities. Zervas, Prosperio and Byers (2014) have estimated that the increase in Airbnb listings causes a decrease in quarterly hotel revenues in the state of Texas, mainly with budget hotels being affected. However, as it will be outlined in chapter 3 - The Case Context the same impact does not seem to be current for Copenhagen, where the hotel businesses are experiencing a boom in a number of guests at the moment (Kjær, 2015).

### 2.3.3 Policy Considerations and Legal Grey Areas

A body of relevant related research consider the legalities issues of the accommodation sector in the collaborative economy, including zoning, taxes, insurance, health and public

safety, and employment (Guttentag, 2015; Jefferson-Jones, 2015a; Gottlieb, 2013; Shuford, 2015). Yet, most of the articles are again based on an American context and the discussed issues are prevalent in the particular contexts. Hence, the next chapter 3, will discuss the regulatory issues in a Danish context.

Literature indicates that in a contemporary context, it is the way in which, “sharing” is facilitated by technology and how it is causing innovation in sharing, which creates the challenges for housing regulation (Jefferson-Jones, 2015a). Jefferson-Jones (2015a) argues that laws were designed to regulate relationships in a competitive economy and not in a collaborative one. Because the relationships in the collaborative economy often are horizontal (involving peers) rather than vertical (involving a powerful participant and a measurably weaker one), it poses a regulation challenge (Jefferson-Jones, 2015a). She argues that old regulations are often “unduly burdensome given that they are designed to protect the powerless against the powerful and such protections are often unnecessary when relationships are horizontal” (Jefferson-Jones, 2015a, p. 562). Furthermore, she points out that many states and local governments historically have relied on their inherent policing powers to regulate short-term housing in residential areas for the purpose of preserving or improving public safety, property values, and the “character” of residential neighbourhoods (Jefferson-Jones, 2015a).

Guttentag (2015) found that due to the widespread illegality of Airbnb many cities have prohibited short-term rentals without special permits. He argues that cities have many legitimate reasons for maintaining such laws, for example wanting tourist accommodations to satisfy health and safety standards, and submitting to applicable inspections (Guttentag, 2015). In a similar vein, Gottlieb (2013) indicates that other restrictions include limiting short-term rentals to certain geographic areas, limiting the nearness of short-term rentals to one another, or limiting the number of times per year a residence can be rented out. Richard and Cleveland (2016) found that in addition to challenging the illegal rentals, local governments are also addressing the issues with landlords who are avoiding paying accommodation taxes on otherwise legal P2P accommodations.

Shuford (2015) argues that exactly taxation may be an issue for those operating in the sharing economy, as taxation often relies on how the law classifies persons or businesses

and for the collaborative economy participants those classifications remain unclear. In relation, Guttentag (2015) argues that because Airbnb occurs mostly in the informal sector, guests can avoid paying taxes that are typically charged in the traditional accommodation sector. Thus, he argues that the regulatory and tax environment will remain a difficult area for years to come as destinations have first started to respond to the rise of the informal P2P accommodation sector (Guttentag, 2015).

Other research has sought to identify how both state and local governments should address regulating the collaborative economy (Shuford, 2015; Gottlieb, 2013). To provide some recommendations for the General Assembly in North Carolina, Shuford (2015) examines some of the regulatory concerns associated with the collaborative economy and evaluates some potential Constitutional challenges regulations might face. Shuford (2015) argues that if a state or local government desires to provide different legislation or regulation for collaborative economy companies than for traditional companies, the laws or regulations should focus on the method the company uses instead of the ultimate outcome of the service. Recently local governments in Denmark have been seeking to address the taxation issue, which will be further elaborated in the following chapter.

Gottlieb (2013) argues that as a result of increasing rentals, municipalities are left wondering whether they should regulate the short-term rental industry. He suggests that local governments need to examine the pros and cons of short-term residential rentals and identify any adverse impacts on the community (Gottlieb, 2013). More specifically Gottlieb (2013) suggests that destinations may apply regulations that restrict short-term rentals to specific areas, limit the number of days per year a property can be rented, limit the number of people who can stay in a property, place some responsibility on the hosts for the conduct of their guests, or require hosts to obtain a short-term rental permit. He continues that local governments should decide whether to encourage, ban or limit short-term rentals through regulation (Gottlieb, 2013).

In relation, Shuford (2015, p. 326) points out that one of the most noticeable regulations passed, is the San Francisco ordinance, which was adopted to strike a balance between allowing short-term rentals for people that need extra money and tries to eliminate that apartment complexes are turned into “de facto hotels”. In short, the law became effective on February 1st, 2015 and it creates a public registry of hosts who have to pay a one-time

\$50 fee every two years and register with the city-planning department (Sf-planning, nd). Furthermore, hosts have to pay hotel taxes to the P2P accommodation rental companies, which the companies then have to remit to the city (Shuford, 2015).

According to Guttentag (2015) developments like this in San Francisco may provide a blueprint for other places. A table 2.1 below illustrates what regulatory responses other destinations have already made. We believe these examples can provide guidance to other destinations, such as Copenhagen, but as Guttentag (2015) states every destination has unique characteristics, and also Copenhagen must weigh the benefits and costs of the short-term rental market in its own cultural and societal context.

Table 2.1 Regulations and restrictions for renting out via P2P accommodation platforms	
Destination	Regulations and restrictions
Berlin, Germany  3,4172 Mil. residents (Statistics Berlin, 2016)  9,305 active Airbnb listings (Airdna, 2016c)	High: Renting out entire properties via P2P accommodation platforms banned from May 2016 (Juul, 2015; Goudin, 2016; Payton, 2016).
Barcelona, Spain  1,604,555 residents (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2015)  12,479 active Airbnb listings (Airdna, 2016b)	High: Renting out properties via P2P accommodation platforms strictly regulated since 2007, banned in certain areas, and requires a licence (Finnigan, 2014; Juul, 2015; Goudin, 2016; Tun, 2016;).
Paris, France  2,240,621 residents (Insee, 2012)  22,884 active Airbnb listings (Airdna, 2016h)	Medium-Low: Renting out entire residential properties for longer via P2P accommodation platforms allowed, but required to apply relevant permits and register the property as commercial if the owner does not live in by herself (Goudin, 2016; Coldwell, 2016).
Amsterdam, Netherlands  779,808 residents (Brinkhoff, 2016)  7,670 active Airbnb listings (Airdna, 2016a)	Low: Renting out entire properties via P2P accommodation platforms allowed, but with certain restrictions and the owner is obliged to pay relevant taxes (Coldwell, 2014; Juul, 2015; Goudin, 2016).
London, United Kingdom  8,539 Mill. residents (UKPopulation, 2016)  24,205 active Airbnb listings (Airdna, 2016f)	Low: Renting out entire properties via P2P accommodation platforms is allowed up to three months a year (Juul, 2015; Goudin, 2016; Tun, 2016).

It can also be supposed that Danish governments must act on the short-term rentals market if it continues to grow, and ponder on their interest in the P2P accommodation market. Yet, it is worth investigating how the housing situation in especially Copenhagen affects the actions of both government and community. A brief introduction to Copenhagen housing is given in the following chapter.

Literature Review ► P2P Accommodation Rentals

### 2.3.4 Community Issues and Impacts

According to Airbnb (2015, as cited in Tussyadiah and Pesonen, 2015), P2P accommodation has been shown to positively impact local hosts in income generation, local neighbourhoods, tourism destinations in tourism spending, and it is also believed to generate induced travels and create changes in travel patterns and behaviours. However, a study conducted by Zervas, Prosperio and Byers (2014) does not correspond to Airbnb's rosy claims. They found that the short-term P2P accommodation rentals in certain areas might contribute to nonparticipant externalities, where local residents become subjects to "noise, cleanliness, and public safety issues" (Zervas, Prosperio and Byers, 2014, p. 3). Thus, they argue that P2P accommodation rentals may contribute negatively to the sense of community (Zervas, Prosperio and Byers, 2014).

Other research has identified similar externalities. Gottlieb (2013) argues that Airbnb and other P2P accommodation rentals have become subject to a conflict because permanent residents are complaining about increased traffic, noise and residential maintenance. Gottlieb (2013) stresses that impacts like those can lower the community bond in a residential neighbourhood, as short-term tenants are not connected to the community or local government and therefore not interested in investing and protecting the neighbourhood. Yet, he underlines that P2P accommodation rentals are more noticeable in vacation destinations that already rely on tourism as a large part of the local economy (Gottlieb, 2013).

A study by Horton (2015) claims that the most substantive critique of Airbnb is that the company allows hosts to impose a cost on their neighbours, particularly in apartment

buildings. Horton (2015) argues that if Airbnb hosts bring in loud or disreputable guests and still collect payment then it creates a case of un-internalized externalities, where the hosts get the money and their neighbours get the noise. Horton (2015) stresses that these issues might be of greater significance in apartment buildings where individuals live closely together and depend on common space. We should not forget another type of nuisance, such as illegal brothels (Christensen, 2016) or strangers on the property (LearnAirbnb, 2016).

Also, Jefferson-Jones (2015b) has done research on the impacts of short-term P2P accommodation rentals on neighbourhood character and home values. She argues that communities in residential neighbourhoods justify restrictions of short-term leasing for example with restrictions of which (1) focus on issues related to taxation and revenue; (2) are public safety-based; or (3) relate to protecting property values and the character of the neighbourhood (Jefferson-Jones, 2015b). The last argument is putting the permanent residents against the short-term guests and the P2P hosts, as the permanent residents are arguing that the short-term guests do not have ties to the community, and therefore cannot sustain the values of the certain community (Jefferson-Jones, 2015b).

Literature Review ►

## 2.4 Sum Up

The identified research shows a gap in the existing literature, as not much independent research is concerned with the positions and perspectives of local residents with respect to the development of P2P accommodation rentals. To summarise, the table 2.2 below encloses the identified academic literature, which clearly shows the gap. In this study, we seek to fill that gap, by approaching P2P accommodation rentals from a resident perspective in a Nordic context. In the next chapter, we, therefore, account for the case being studied, by examining the current scope of the collaborative economy in Denmark, with a particular focus on P2P accommodation rentals. Additionally, the case study of Copenhagen can provide insights into the interplay and connection between P2P accommodation on a global and local level.

Table 2.2 Academic literature reviewed	
<b>Collaborative Economy</b>	
Definition of collaborative economy	Piscicelli, Cooper and Fisher (2015); Botsman and Rogers (2011); Belk (2014a; 2014b); Dredge and Gyimóthy (2015); Agyeman, McLaren and Schaefer-Borrego (2013)
Drivers in collaborative economy	Barnes and Mattson (2016); Botsman and Rogers (2011); Agyeman, McLaren and Schaefer-Borrego (2013);
Inhibitors in collaborative economy	Barnes and Mattson (2016)
Future of collaborative economy	Barnes and Mattson (2016); Guttentag (2015); Tussyadiah and Pesonen (2016)
Motivations to participate in collaborative economy	Botsman and Rogers (2011); Gansky (2010); Guttentag (2015); Lamberton & Rose (2012); Tussyadiah and Pesonen (2015; 2016); Ikkala and Lampinen (2015); Hamari, Sjöklint and Ukkonen (2015); Matzner, Chasin and Todenhöfer (2015); Sigala (2015); Felländer, Ingram and Teigland (2015); Owyang, Samuel and Grenville (2014); Martin (2016)
Attitudes about collaborative economy	Hamari, Sjöklint and Ukkonen (2015); Matzner, Chasin and Todenhöfer (2015)
<b>P2P accommodation rentals</b>	
Historical rise of the housing segment of the collaborative economy	Jefferson-Jones (2015a)
Airbnb as a disruptive innovation	Guttentag (2015)
Positive and negative impacts of Airbnb to destinations	Guttentag (2015)
Impacts of P2P accommodation to traditional accommodation industry	Zervas, Prosperio and Byers (2014)
Legalities issues in P2P accommodation rentals	Guttentag (2015); Jefferson-Jones (2015a); Gottlieb (2013); Shuford (2015); Richard and Cleveland (2016)
Impacts of P2P accommodation rentals on local communities	Gottlieb (2013); Horton (2015); Jefferson-Jones (2015b)

3

CASE STUDY  
CONTEXT

### 3 CASE STUDY CONTEXT

In continuation of the literature review, this chapter is touching down on the local issues and provides insights into the specific context of the study's case - P2P accommodation rentals in Copenhagen. The context knowledge is to a great extent based on grey literature such as reports, and news articles and blogs, as independent academic literature, mostly has addressed the phenomenon on a global level. The chapter provides an overview of the cultural characteristics and dynamics influencing the P2P accommodation sector in Copenhagen.

The chosen case study is the city of Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark and is divided into 10 districts and has around 579,634 inhabitants (Københavns Kommune, 2014). Copenhagen has more than once been ranked amongst the top on the most liveable, best and happiest city in the world rankings (Booth, 2014; Denmark, nd.; Rychla, 2016). The Danish welfare state gives the country some advantages in this regard. The state provides a safety net, which implies that all citizens have equal rights to social security, hence, a number of services are available to citizens, free of charge (Wikipedia, 2015). The Danish welfare state is also premised on the idea that individuals are "employed" by a larger firm and self-employment is the exception rather than the norm (Carrasco and Erjnæs, 2012). In contrast to other places, like for example the United States, its inhabitants rely on private firms and other middlemen to provide private insurance paid-for higher education (Felländer, Ingram and Teigland, 2015) and self-employment continues to be an important source of jobs in the United States (Hipple, 2010). In regard to the collaborative economy, the Danish labour context is very different than the North American one and might play a role in the popularity and adoption of collaborative services.

Case Study Context ►

#### 3.1 Tourist Accommodation in Denmark

Denmark is the most popular holiday destination in the Nordic Region among foreign tourists, with a high ranking within Europe when comparing the number of tourists against the number of inhabitants (VisitDenmark, 2015). Throughout Denmark, there is a wide range of accommodation options, including marinas, hostels, holiday resorts, camping,

holiday homes and hotels, yet, tourists are also staying with friends and family and are using Airbnb and other types of accommodation (VisitDenmark, 2015).

The collaborative economy is nothing new within the area of tourism, as people in Denmark for decades have let out their private summerhouses (VisitDenmark, 2016). The newness is the growing global market for the exchange of different types of private services (VisitDenmark, 2016). However, regarding P2P accommodations, Airbnb is an increasingly popular option, in 2015 every tenth person living in Denmark have within the last year used Airbnb or similar P2P accommodation services to let out a rented home, while 3% have let out an owner-occupied home; room, apartment, house or holiday house (Danmarks Statistik, 2015b). P2P accommodations seem to be most popular amongst the young (25-38), where 7% have used the opportunity to let out a private home, while the comparable share among the 35-54 years old is 3% (Danmarks Statistik, 2015b). Geographically P2P accommodation services are most popular in the capital region (Danmarks Statistik, 2015b).

Case Study Context ►

### 3.2 Housing Dynamics

According to housing market researcher Maja Bruun (nd.), 1/3 of the total housing mass in Copenhagen consist of cohousing flats. Those apartments types are the Danish equivalent of shared ownership, you own an apartment, and the value is determined based on the entire value of the apartment building (Norwood, 2013). This apartment type is especially interesting for this study as it intentionally, like P2P accommodation rentals, illustrates a social experiment. Different generations live under the same roof; the community is pursued through shared workdays, social intercourses in the yard, and the shared responsibility for operation and maintenance of the building (Bruun, nd). Bruun (nd.) points out that the Danish housing cooperatives compared to the private coops in America historically have been less market orientated and professionalized, because Denmark have more than 100 years of experience with managing private ownership collectively through different forms of unions, housing cooperatives, house-owners' association and homeowner's association, where different forms of community emerged.

However, she concludes that the communities in the housing cooperatives are changing in that market conditions and capital profit plays a growing role (Bruun, nd).

The Danish housing dynamics are also characterised by Danes being eager to move. 34% of Danes have moved within the last five years and this amount is the second highest in EU (Jørgensen, 2016). It is especially popular to move amongst young people between 25-34 years in the bigger cities (Jørgensen, 2016). In 2015, in Copenhagen, 31,230 residents (22%) between 25-34 years old moved from one place to another within the city (Danmarks Statistik, 2015a). In regard to P2P accommodation rentals, this movement might become important for people's attitude as it can be supposed that people are used to movings in their buildings and neighbourhood, and it might, therefore, be more acceptable that you do not know your neighbour. Furthermore, Copenhagen is experiencing a growing shortage of student accommodation, as the amount has not followed a number of student places and the pressure on the rented housing market is, therefore, growing (Biener, 2015). P2P accommodation may provide a solution, which could help to explain the higher amount of available listings on Airbnb's website in Copenhagen compared to some of the other Nordic capitals.

Case Study Context ►

### 3.3 Politics and Business

The collaborative economy seems to be growing at more or less the same pace in Denmark as in other European countries, with certain areas, such as the travel and housing sector and car sharing growing faster than others (Nielsen, 2015a). In the media debate, advocates of the collaborative economy are arguing for new growth opportunities built on a social and sustainable sharing community, which is good for the environment, the consumer, the society and the economy (Business, 2015). On the other side of the debate is the traditional industry associations exemplifying less positive stories about taxi drivers and hotels loosing their customer base (Business, 2015). It problematizes the collaborative economy with its low costs outmatching existing businesses, and has strong arguments for the collaborative businesses to be regulated as the traditional businesses (Business, 2015; Nielsen, 2015b). The industry association for hotels, hostels and

vacation centres in Denmark – Horesta, has several times asked the politicians for regulation on the area (Nielsen, 2015b).

In 2015, the Danish business board (Erhvervsstyrelsen) and the Green Conversion Foundation (Grøn Omstillingsfond) started a pilot project to map out the collaborative economy in Denmark. The goal was to provide an overview of the digital collaborative economy services available for people in Denmark. In collaboration with the Danish innovation think tank Innovationlab, they mapped out more than 100 collaborative economy platforms and companies operating in Denmark “sharing” everything from cars and services to clothes and knowledge (ilab, 2015). Yet, as the economy is still young new companies emerge all the time.

VisitDenmark (2016) states that in some countries the hotel industry has lost market share due to new players, such as Airbnb. However, they stress that this does not seem to be the case in Denmark, where the hotels still are experiencing growth (VisitDenmark, 2016). They claim that even though the collaborative economy is increasing competition with the classic tourism operators, both commercial operators and DMO's, it also creates a new product, which has the potential to increase the number of tourists visit or create tourism in new areas (VisitDenmark, 2016). They, for example, argue, that a lot of homes are let out on the outskirts of Copenhagen, where the supply of hotels are sparse (VisitDenmark, 2016). The attitude of VisitDenmark towards the collaborative economy is advocating and they argue in a similar vein as Airbnb, and one might think that their attitude is simply based on Airbnb's self-produced data.

Despite its growth, Airbnb and other P2P accommodation services remains unregulated throughout Denmark. As of today, no official strategy for the collaborative economy exists for Denmark, but several political parties have been presenting their attitudes towards the phenomenon. Most parties (Denmark's Liberal Party, Socialist People's Party, Red-Green Alliance, The Conservative People's Party, The Danish People's Party, Danish Social Liberal Party) seem to consider the development of the collaborative economy as positive, as long as the competition is fair (Information, 2015). In a vision paper for the Conservative party, it is stated that in 2034, the collaborative economy should be an established part of the economy, in that the rules in the area should be de-bureaucratized and all Danes should have tax exemption on the income from collaborative economy

services, such as let of rooms up to an amount corresponding to an average monthly salary (Det Konservative Folkeparti, 2016). In spring 2016, business and growth minister Troels Lund Poulsen is supposed to present the government's national strategy for the collaborative economy (Fischer, 2016). It is told that the strategy is inspired by the British national strategy, which has a clear ambition of making Great Britain a forerunner nation for collaborative consumption (Fischer, 2016).

In Denmark, some of the most talked-about issues concerning P2P accommodation services are about competitive fairness and especially taxation rules have gotten a lot of attention. According to the Danish taxation authorities SKAT (nd.), one has to pay the tax on his rental, if his property is let out. The rules cover all accommodation services, and bed and breakfasts or Airbnb lets are no exceptions (SKAT, nd.).

Tax spokesman of the Danish Socialist People's Party does not believe the current legislation to take collaborative services into account (Bøttcher, Munch, Bentsen and Herschend, 2016). He is not alone with this viewpoint, together with several other parties and Horesta (the industry association for hotels, hostels and vacation centers in Denmark) they suggest to implement automatic obligation to report for the companies, so the tax authorities automatically will be informed about who is earning money on the platforms (Bøttcher, Munch, Bentsen and Herschend, 2016). In contrast, tax Minister Karsten Lauritzen (Denmark's Liberal Party) argues that regulations might kill the new industry, but insists on being open for dialogue with the industry to find solutions that make it easy and effortless for people to pay taxes (DenOffentlige, 2016). Although it seemed like a political majority was for 'the obligation to report' regulation for collaborative companies, as e.g. Airbnb, a recent voting (April 2016) in the national parliament resulted in the majority of the parties not supporting the introduced bill (Denofftellige, 2016).

Case Study Context ►

### 3.4 Research

Not much research focused only on the accommodation sector of the collaborative economy in Denmark exists. But few reports about the collaborative economy in its great extent can be found. The report 'The climate potential of the collaborative economy'

produced by the environmentally conscious Danish think tank CONCITO, analyses to which degree the collaborative economy meets the expected climate and environmental profits (Madsen, 2015). The report concludes that the collaborative economy per definition does not benefit the climate and environment, but that some initiatives have great potential if they are utilised correctly (Madsen, 2015).

The Danish bank Nordea has also produced a report 'Collaborative Economy 2015', about collaborative consumption in Denmark (Erichsen, 2015). Erichsen (2015) estimates that within the last year, the collaborative economy has tripled in Denmark. 9% of the Danish population have participated in collaborative services, especially young people (18-25), in this segment 18% have participated, making them the most "collaborative experienced" (Erichsen, 2015). From 40 years old and up the amount of Danes participating decreases and Erichsen (2015) claims that age is crucial to one's participation in the collaborative economy. It is also found that the phenomenon is most popular in the bigger cities, and it is more popular among high-end income households (16%) to participate in the collaborative economy, as opposed to low-end income households (12%) (Erichsen, 2015).

Furthermore, the Nordea research (Erichsen, 2015) found that the leading driver for participating in the collaborative economy is to save or earn money, and only around every fourth argued that they participate in the collaborative economy on environmental grounds. Erichsen (2015) argues that this is in conflict with the popular perception of an awareness of the environment driving the collaborative economy. She (2015) adds that the same drivers are evidence in other Scandinavian countries and might be related to the welfare societies, where economic incentives are not as important as in other countries. It can, therefore, be supposed that Scandinavian people have the luxury to choose not to participate in the collaborative economy. However, Felländer, Ingram and Teigland (2015) argue that the Nordic populations do attach higher importance to sustainability and that the phenomenon is popular among environment enthusiasts in Sweden. This conflict will be further discussed in the study's analysis on the basis of our own collected data as well.

As in most other European countries, Airbnb is also the most prominent P2P accommodation platform in Denmark. According to Airbnb's own research (Airbnb,

2015b), 21,000 people in Denmark have been hosting within the last year. The average age for hosts is 37, and the typical yearly income from hosting is 13,800kr (Airbnb, 2015b). Airbnb furthermore claims to expand the tourism industry and attract new travellers, who else wise would not have come to Denmark and who stay longer (Airbnb, 2015b). According to the report (Airbnb, 2015b), the average length of stay in Copenhagen is 4,2 days per guest, 21% of the guests visiting Copenhagen would not have visited if it was not for Airbnb, and 92% of those surveyed would recommend Airbnb to a friend. Furthermore, the report shows that 59% of guests staying in Copenhagen visit local shops based on their host's recommendations (Airbnb, 2015b). In this study, it is interesting to see, if our respondents are recommending P2P accommodation rental platforms to others and if the hosts really recommend local services in their neighbourhood to their guests. Moreover, when investigating the scope and drivers, we will discuss whether our respondents use P2P accommodation rentals as a way to earn an extra income, or as a way to be able to pay the normal household costs.

However, we did not find any statistical evidence on the direct economic flows from the use of P2P accommodation rentals in local environments in Copenhagen, as we suppose it also must be very difficult to measure. Besides that it is important to remember that Airbnb wishes to be considered an addition rather than a competitor in the tourism accommodation market (Airbnb, 2014) and we believe it is important to look beyond their position and branding attempts portraying them as "good corporate citizens" (Airbnb Action, 2015a). Thus, Airbnb's claim on its effect and the argument of them expanding the tourism industry must be considered carefully. The results produced by Nordea and Airbnb share similarities. It is important to note that the Nordea report examined the whole collaborative economy market and the Airbnb results are based on only Airbnb data. Even though the studies are not really comparable, they still cover the same area of research and highlight similar findings.

Case Study Context ►

### 3.5 Sum Up

As independent researchers, who have unique personal experiences with P2P accommodation rentals, this study adds another dimension to the understanding and

knowledge than the commercial research. With the history of Danish housing cooperatives and sharing and the housing dynamics, Copenhagen provides a critical case for a single case study (Yin, 2014, p. 51) for exploring the scope and drivers of P2P accommodation rentals and its impact on locality.

Together with the previous chapter, we have provided the study's literature framework, which provides the study's theoretical insights and an overview of the current collaborative economy activities going on in Denmark. The complexity of the collaborative economy, with multiple stakeholders and a socially constructed policy space, required the studying of actions and opened up for questions about the future. The literature provided guidance for our empirical approach, which consisted of email interviews and an online survey, where we sought to contribute to the colourful debate by adding a new dimension to the discussion when asking local residents for their motivations, behaviour and opinions on the topic. Grounded in the literature and our data, we will in the study's analysis, discuss how our survey respondents and policy-makers have responded to the development of P2P accommodation rentals and what the challenges and consequences of the sector are.

# 4

## METHODOLOGY

## 4 METHODOLOGY

*“The term Methodology refers to the way in which we approach problems and seek answers.”*

Taylor, Bogdan & DeVault, 2015

In this chapter, we argue for our research design, paradigm and approach, and the theoretical, methodological and analytic considerations and decisions, which together form the thesis’s methodological field of study. The task of studying P2P accommodation rentals was particularly difficult since, up to now, no independent and recognised methodology for measuring the impacts of collaborative economy services exists (Olmeda and Cassidy, 2016). During the research process, we faced certain challenges, such as the lack of access to data, platform secrecy, limited communication with P2P accommodation providers, and a lack of awareness of the collaborative economy among local municipalities and local residents. Thus, we had to think creatively in order to answer our research question best possibly: *What is the scope and drivers of the P2P accommodation rental market in Copenhagen, and what are the positions and perspectives of local residents with respect to its current and future development?*

Faced with the challenges and time constraints we adopted a pragmatic approach inspired by Flyvbjerg (2004) and Goldkuhl (2004). We drew on the following techniques for data collection: Literature review, case study, e-interviews, an online survey, grey literature and news articles, blogs and websites. In terms of analysing and verifying the data, we were inspired by Ellingson’s (2009) crystallization, which we used as a strategy to validate our research process through cross verification from several sources in order to create the credibility of our analysis.

Methodology ►

### 4.1 Case Study Design

The study’s research design refers to the overall strategy we applied “in order to link the data to be collected and conclusions to be drawn to the initial questions of the study” (Yin, 2014, p. 2). As our research was focused on a contemporary phenomenon within a real-

life context, P2P accommodation rentals in Copenhagen, the research design can be classified as a case study. The case study research design was a useful strategy to compare our results with existing theory and data.

Our study was exploratory by nature, as we reformed our questions and answers to the research questions along the way since we did not know beforehand what we would detect from the collected data. Furthermore according to Dredge and Jenkins (2007, p. 450), exploratory research may end up in offering “policy implications” which suits our purpose very well, as the collaborative economy and P2P accommodation rentals are hotly debated in current Danish politics.

The case study design is clamped together with the crystallization strategy we adopted to analyse and validate our research. This will be explained in detail in section 4.6. - Crystallized Analysis. Next, we discuss the philosophical assumptions behind the thesis and the study’s pragmatic approach.

Methodology ►

## 4.2 Philosophical Assumptions and Research Approach

In order to overcome the encountered research obstacles, we decided to conduct a mixed method case study. During the research process, we constantly collected new information and generated new knowledge through different phases. Creswell (2003, p. 9) argues that social constructivists "generate or inductively develop a theory or pattern of meanings" throughout their research process. Social constructivists are therefore more likely to rely on qualitative data collection methods or a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods, where the data supports, expands and deepens the description (Creswell, 2003).

According to Ågerfalk (2013) finding an appropriate paradigm for research that is mixing quantitative and qualitative approaches may become a concern. Yet, many mixed methods researchers draw strong associations with mixed methodology and pragmatism (Bazeley, 2003; Greene & Caracelli, 1997 & 2003; Maxcy, 2003; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004, as cited in Cameron, 2011, p. 101) and Cameron

(2011, p. 100) states that pragmatists argue “against a false dichotomy between the qualitative and quantitative research paradigms and advocate for the efficient use of both approaches”. Thus, pragmatism was chosen as a suitable approach for this study.

According to Denzin (2012), pragmatism is a practical and applied research philosophy that supports mixed methods of social science inquiry, as the focus is on the consequences of action and not on combining the methodologies. He further argues that for pragmatists, reality is ever-changing and based on our actions, so attempts to find a lasting, external reality are doomed to failure (Denzin, 2012). Other researchers share the thoughts: (Berger and Luckmann, 1967; Yefimov, 2003, as cited in Pansiri, 2005), who argue that in pragmatism, knowledge and social reality are based on beliefs and behaviours, which are socially constructed by processes. Truth cannot, therefore, be determined once and for all (Pansiri, 2005). Even though in pragmatism the primary concern in the empirical world is actions, it does not mean that it is the only one, thus disregarding other issues (Goldkuhl, 2004). Actions appear as something significant and fundamental for pragmatists to study, and other important matters to study is then centred around actions as that being the primary unit of analysis (Goldkuhl, 2004).

Consequently, pragmatism becomes an approach to make sense of the world in multiple ways, which allowed us to focus on the way issues are socially constructed and on the actions taken by different stakeholders in regard to P2P accommodation rentals, such as residents and government authorities, and how they are dealing with the emerging issues. Furthermore, the P2P accommodation rental market is emerging now, and in need of pragmatic exploration that tries to uncover the actions, which have led to the current situation, challenges and controversies in Copenhagen.

The pragmatic approach enabled us to enlighten the actions within our study field from different angles using multiple methods, and as Patton (2002, p. 71-72, as cited in Cameron, 2011, p. 101-102) argues a pragmatic researcher can increase the concrete and practical methodological options, by “judging the quality of a study by its intended purposes, available resources, procedures followed, and results obtained, all within a particular context and for a specific audience”. Thereby, the epistemological orientation of this study is both objective and subjective, but more subjective than objective, because even though our quantitative data will concentrate on description and explanation, we still

view it as measurements that are expressed in language, grounded in culture, and represent one form of knowledge construction (Ellingson, 2009). Finally, based on above, this study inclines towards a social constructivist paradigm, taking on a pragmatic approach using mixed methods.

Methodology ►

### 4.3 Mixed Methods

Mixed methods were chosen as a methodological approach to answering the research question as sufficient as possible, combining both quantitative and qualitative methods. In this case qualitative email interviews and an online survey combining both quantitative and qualitative questions. Mixed method research in social and human science have gained popularity, because it is a step forward from quantitative versus qualitative research methods, and it utilizes the strengths of both methods, as well as minimizes the weaknesses in single research studies (Creswell, 2009; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner, 2007). As Creswell (2009) states, combining different methods provides an expanded understanding of the research problem and gives more insights to the researchers. In relation, Driscoll, Appiah-Yeboah, Salib and Rupert (2007) stress that mixed methods designs are able to provide pragmatic advantages when exploring complex research areas, which we consider our field of research to be, and as it crosses national, cultural, organizational as well as personal boundaries, it requires a holistic, multidisciplinary and multi-method approach (Hurmerinta-Peltomäki and Nummela, 2006).

Mixed methods are furthermore suitable for relatively new fields of research as it offers several avenues of exploration, where theoretical roadmaps do not yet exist or are inadequate (Hurmerinta-Peltomäki and Nummela, 2006). As our literature review revealed independent research on the collaborative economy in the tourism sector and especially on P2P accommodation rentals is still limited. Thus, we needed to collect both quantitative and qualitative data along the research process as new issues emerged during our data collection. In addition to our collected data, we utilised information from reports, news articles and blogs in the analysis.

Hurmerinta-Peltomäki and Nummela (2006) and Ellingson (2009) argue that a combination of different data or analytical techniques increases the validity of the results, as well as produces new, often surprising findings and thus creates knowledge that would not have emerged otherwise. In this study, the data collected from the interviews was used both as a ground for the quantitative data collection and as a way to better scope, explain and build on the results of the emerged quantitative data. Hence, the data collection consisted of two phases, which included (1) email interviews with municipalities in Denmark and P2P accommodation rental companies and (2) an online survey targeting Copenhagen residents. We furthermore attempted to get in contact with the Danish political parties, but it proved to be very difficult.

Inspired by Flyvbjerg (2004) we formulated our research sub-questions:

1. How has the P2P accommodation rental market developed in Copenhagen and is this development comparable to other European cities as described in the literature?
2. How have Copenhagen residents and policy-makers responded to the development of P2P accommodation rentals?
3. What are the challenges and consequences of the emergence of the P2P accommodation sector?
4. What if anything should be done about P2P accommodation rentals from a regulatory perspective (in Copenhagen)?

The questions are action focused, as also Goldkuhl (2004, p. 3) states for pragmatists “a recognition of human actions (what people do) is a fundamental way of letting social world become meaningful”. It was important to identify the actions of the different stakeholders in order to fully understand what the development of P2P accommodation rentals means for a city like Copenhagen.

Grounded on those questions, we drew on insights from Creswell’s (2009) mixed methods research strategy, which consists of four aspects: (1) timing, (2) weighting, (3) mixing, and (4) theorising. The empirical data was gathered within a relatively short time frame (February 9 - April 30, 2016), which resulted in it being both sequentially and concurrently collected. Even though we had time constraints, it helped us that we both were familiar

with qualitative methods and recently had been working with quantitative data analysis as well. We took into account the weight given to the various data (Creswell, 2009), but since the study turned out to be more qualitatively driven we used weighting more as a way to distinguish the value of the different sources of the data. Furthermore, the online survey mixed both quantitative and qualitative questions, and all of the different types of gained knowledge was then crystallised and mixed in the study's analysis. Finally, the whole research process was used as an orienting lens, shaping the questions throughout the phases, all the way from the critical literature review to the online survey, crystallising the data through the different phases.

Methodology ►

## 4.4 Data Collection

In the following sub-sections, we discuss the data collection process. By keeping in mind the study's pragmatist approach, we seek to account for the methods used to address the presented research problem, which will be fully answered in chapter 6 - Analysis and Discussion.

Methodology ► Data Collection

### 4.4.1 Email Interviews

This section discusses the first phase of our data collection, which consisted of several email interviews with different municipalities around Denmark. We find it important to mention that we did also contact several P2P accommodation companies and Danish political parties, but the replies we received were very limited. It seems like at present, the P2P platforms do not seem prepared to be as transparent as is necessary. We alone are not experiencing these challenges, larger research projects have also experienced low response rate when studying collaborative platforms (Olmeda and Cassidy, 2016). As such this section will be more focused on the email correspondences with the municipalities, which provided the first inputs and assisted us in scoping the research, determine the research possibilities and shaping our first understanding of P2P accommodation rentals' impacts on locality.

An email interview (e-interview) is a qualitative research method, which seeks to “improve understanding of social and cultural phenomena and processes rather than to produce objective facts about reality and make generalizations to given populations” (Fidel, 1993; Pettigrew, Fidel, & Bruce, 2001; Wang, 1999, as cited in Meho, 2006, p. 1284), and according to Meho (2006) email interviews can be a vital alternative to face-to-face and telephone interviews. We chose to interview the municipalities and P2P companies via email, as it gave us the opportunity to reach participants, which we otherwise would not have had access to because they were not easily accessible and they were geographically far apart. It decreased the cost of transcribing, as the data were generated in electronic format and only required a little editing before it was ready for use in the analysis.

The questions for the municipalities concerned the attitudes and current and potential impacts of P2P accommodation rentals in the different municipalities around Denmark (see appendix 1). The selection of municipalities for the e-interviews was done by identifying the municipalities with the highest concentration of P2P accommodation listings around Denmark. This was done on maps we found on the different P2P accommodation rentals’ websites (Airbnb, 2015b; VRBO, nd.; FlipKey, 2016; Vacation Rentals, 2016; Travelmob, 2016; House Trip, 2016; Wimdu, nd.; 9Flats, 2016; HomeAway, nd.; Roomorama, 2016; Bed y Casa, 2016). We believed these municipalities would have more to say about the topic than municipalities without any active P2P accommodation listings. Although the insights from the other local governments were not pointed specifically at Copenhagen, they provided the study with valuable insights, our data else wise would not have been able to provide. As such we used their insights to interrogate our Copenhagen findings and provide new perspective with regard to the market’s current position and future development. 17 municipalities (see appendix 2) were chosen for an e-interview, but we only received six replies from Copenhagen, Odense, Syddjurs, Aalborg, Esbjerg and Vejle (see appendix 3). These municipalities will be referred to in the analysis as “municipality” + the name of the city, followed by A3 indicating the appendix number. It is important to mention that the replies from Syddjurs and Vejle came from the local DMO’s as the municipalities had forwarded our request to them. Furthermore, in order to get a more holistic view of the P2P accommodation rental market, we also sent out e-interviews to six different P2P accommodation companies operating in Denmark. Only two companies replied; 9Flats had some statistics on Denmark and FlipKey replied that they

could not help us at all. From the parties, we only received one answer referring to news articles instead of answering our questions. We believe this underlines the difficulties of studying the collaborative economy, and especially in a country like Denmark, where the impacts are still not so obvious as in other cities around Europe. The table 4.1 below summarises our email interview process.

Table 4.1 Summary of email interviews with municipalities, P2P accommodation providers and political parties.					
	<b>Selected participants</b>	<b>Responding participants</b>	<b>Interview questions</b>	<b>Benefits</b>	<b>Implications</b>
<b>Municipalities</b>	Copenhagen Frederiksberg Helsingør Gribskov Ordherred Halsnæs Guldborgsud Odense Århus Syddjurs Frederiksbog Aalborg Jammerbugt Thisted Esbjerg Vejle Tønder	Copenhagen Odense Syddjurs Aalborg Esbjerg Vejle	English  Specifying our intentions  Sent out in February 2016  Systematic  Catalyst for our online survey	Decreased the cost of transcribing  Scoped our research	No direct follow-up questions  Difficulties in locating the relevant municipality participant  Low response rate
<b>P2P rentals</b>	Airbnb Vacation Rentals VRBO Travelmob Wimdu 9Flats HouseTrip FlipKey Roomorama Bed y Casa	9Flats FlipKey	English  Specifying our intentions  Sent out in February 2016 Systematic  Catalyst for our online survey	Proved to be a difficult area of research	No direct follow-up questions  Low response rate
<b>Political parties</b>	Denmark's Liberal Party, Social Democrats, Danish Social Liberal Party, Red-Green Alliance, Liberal Alliance, The Alternative	Denmark's Liberal Party	English  Specifying our intentions Sent out in April 2016 Systematic  Generated from our online survey	Proved to be a difficult area of research	No direct follow-up questions  Very low response rate

#### 4.4.2 Online Survey

The second and main phase of our data collection consisted of an online survey. We chose to use an online survey because compared to traditional modes of surveys, it is (1) less expensive; (2) faster to disseminate and respond to; and (3) easier and more versatile to design and guide respondents to further questions based on their previous responses (Fan and Yan, 2010).

##### *Survey design*

The survey questions were designed based on the literature review and the email interviews and inspired by previous studies about the collaborative economy and P2P accommodation rentals. The survey was created and launched via the questionnaire system SurveyXact, and included mainly structured questions, with two unstructured, open-ended questions, and eight partially open questions (see appendix 4). The open-ended questions were included to discover unanticipated findings (Neuman, 1997) as the phenomenon is relatively unstudied in academic literature.

On the other hand, since P2P accommodation rentals might not be a familiarity to the whole target group, as we sought to also reach people who have never used these services, the fixed questions could have clarified the question meaning for the respondent (Neuman, 1997). At the same time the fixed questions could have put ideas into our respondents' heads (Neuman, 1997). We also included few questions covering sensitive topics about government inferences and taxes, which were easier to answer when the options were given (Neuman, 1997). The given response choices were kept as minimal as possible in order to avoid confusions.

Since we had some different questions for people who have been hosting in Copenhagen and for those who have not, a skip and contingency logics were used. These were easy to implement in the online survey and made it possible for respondents to skip unrelated questions (Neuman, 1997). Most of the questions required an answer from the respondent, but because of the sensitivity of a few of the questions, an option "I do not

wish to answer to this question” was given. The questionnaire was pretty long, because, in order to answer the questions, the respondents needed to think about their statements. To complete the survey took approximately 7-12 minutes, depending on whether the respondent had been a host in Copenhagen or not.

The survey was available both in English and in Danish in order not to exclude any locals due to language barriers. And as the case study context is Copenhagen, we felt that it was important to give the respondents possibility to complete the questionnaire in Danish as well. This proved to be a good decision because 69% of the total amount of completed answers was done in Danish. We were aware that we also had to translate the answers, which again was time-consuming. Our Danish member did the translation, and some of the quotes were also modified to become clearer and more understandable. Yet, we are aware that the translation may have affected the meaning of the quotes. The qualitative answers in the analysis are referred to as “the respondent” with a number identification, “A5” indicates the appendix number, and the page number refers to where the quote can be found in appendix 5. In addition, we were not able to identify the respondents’ gender from the answers, and in order to keep the analysis easier to follow, we are always referring to the respondents as “she”, since most (70%) of our respondents are female. The table 4.2 below presents our survey questions and the studies that inspired them.

Table 4.2 Online survey questions and the studies that inspired them	
Question	Inspired study / Reason to include
How did you find out about this survey?	To test our distribution methods
Would YOU rent out your house, apartment or a room in your home via accommodation sharing platforms like Airbnb, VRBO or HomeAway?	Constructed by the authors
Do you think it is okay, if your NEIGHBOUR rents out his/her place via accommodation sharing platforms like Airbnb, Wimdu or HomeAway?	Erichsen (2015)
Are you, or have you ever been, a host on any accommodation sharing platforms, such as Airbnb, Wimdu or VRBO?	LearnAirbnb (2016) Hamari, Sjöklint and Ukkonen (2015)
If person answers “Yes”: How long you have been hosting?	LearnAirbnb (2016)

<p>If person answers “Yes”: What type of property do you rent out?</p> <p>If you rent out more than one, please respond thinking about the accommodation you rent out most frequently.</p>	LearnAirbnb (2016)
<p>If person answers “Yes”: What accommodation sharing platforms have you used as a host?</p> <p>You may tick more than one.</p>	Constructed by the authors
<p>If person answers “Yes”: How many bookings you have per year on average?</p>	LearnAirbnb (2016) Airbnb (2015b)
<p>If person answers “Yes”: How many nights do your guest(s) stay on average?</p>	LearnAirbnb (2016) Airbnb (2015b)
<p>If person answers “Yes”: On average, how much do you charge per night per rental? (DKK)</p>	LearnAirbnb (2016) Airbnb (2015b)
<p>Do you inform the tax authorities of how much you earn on accommodation sharing platforms?</p>	Constructed by the authors
<p>If person answers “Yes”: Please respond to the following statements about why you host.</p>	Tussyadiah and Pesonen (2016) Barnes and Mattson (2016) LearnAirbnb (2016) Erichsen (2015) Stokes, Clarence, Anderson and Rinne (2014) Hamari, Sjöklint and Ukkonen (2015) Airbnb (2015a) Airbnb (2015b)
<p>If person answers “Yes”: Do you recommend to your guest(s) local services in the neighbourhood?</p>	Airbnb (2015b)
<p>If person answers “Yes”: What kind of services do you recommend?</p>	Constructed by the authors
<p>If person answers “Yes”: Have you ever rented out your home or room on a long-term basis permanent contract, but then changed to an accommodation sharing platform instead?</p>	Constructed by the authors
<p>If person answers “No”: Please respond to the following statements about why you have not hosted.</p>	Tussyadiah and Pesonen (2016) Barnes and Mattson (2016) LearnAirbnb (2016) Erichsen (2015) Stokes, Clarence, Anderson and Rinne (2014) Hamari, Sjöklint and Ukkonen (2015)

Have you been affected in any positive or negative way by short-term accommodation sharing rentals in your neighbourhood?	Constructed by the authors
In some neighbourhoods in Denmark short-term accommodation sharing rentals are on the rise. Have you ever experienced any of the following scenarios?  You may tick more than one.	Stokes, Clarence, Anderson and Rinne (2014) LearnAirbnb (2016)
Based on what you know about Airbnb and other accommodation sharing platforms, would you recommend people you know to list their property?	LearnAirbnb (2016) Owyang, Samuel and Grenville (2014) Airbnb (2015b)
Which of the followings describes your feelings towards the future of the sharing economy?	LearnAirbnb (2016)
If you were to host on an accommodation sharing platform, which of the following would you be concerned about?  You may tick more than one.	LearnAirbnb (2016)
Short-term accommodation sharing rentals might be regulated in the future.  Please rate the following statements.	Constructed by the authors
Do you have any other negative or positive experiences you want to share with us?	Constructed by the authors
Demographics	Constructed by the authors

### *Sampling and Distribution*

As this study used a case study design, the target group were people over 18 years old, who live in Copenhagen. Thus, we included The Capital Region of Denmark in the area we studied, which includes the City of Copenhagen, the City of Frederiksberg, Bornholm and Copenhagen County (The Capital Region of Denmark, nda.) We were especially interested in people who are, have been or are potential hosts or who have other experiences with P2P accommodation rentals. However, the main inclusion criteria were that the respondent is over 18 years old and lives in Copenhagen.

The survey was launched on March 13, 2016, and closed on April 17, 2016, so the data collection lasted around one month. During that period with probability and nonprobability sampling (Neuman, 1997) the survey was distributed in various ways. Altogether 186

people began to answer the survey questions, however, 46 of those did not complete it and these answers were disregarded. Another four responses were also disregarded because the respondents lived outside of the studied area. Thus, in total 140 completed responses were included in the analysis. The demographics of the respondents are illustrated in figure 4.1.

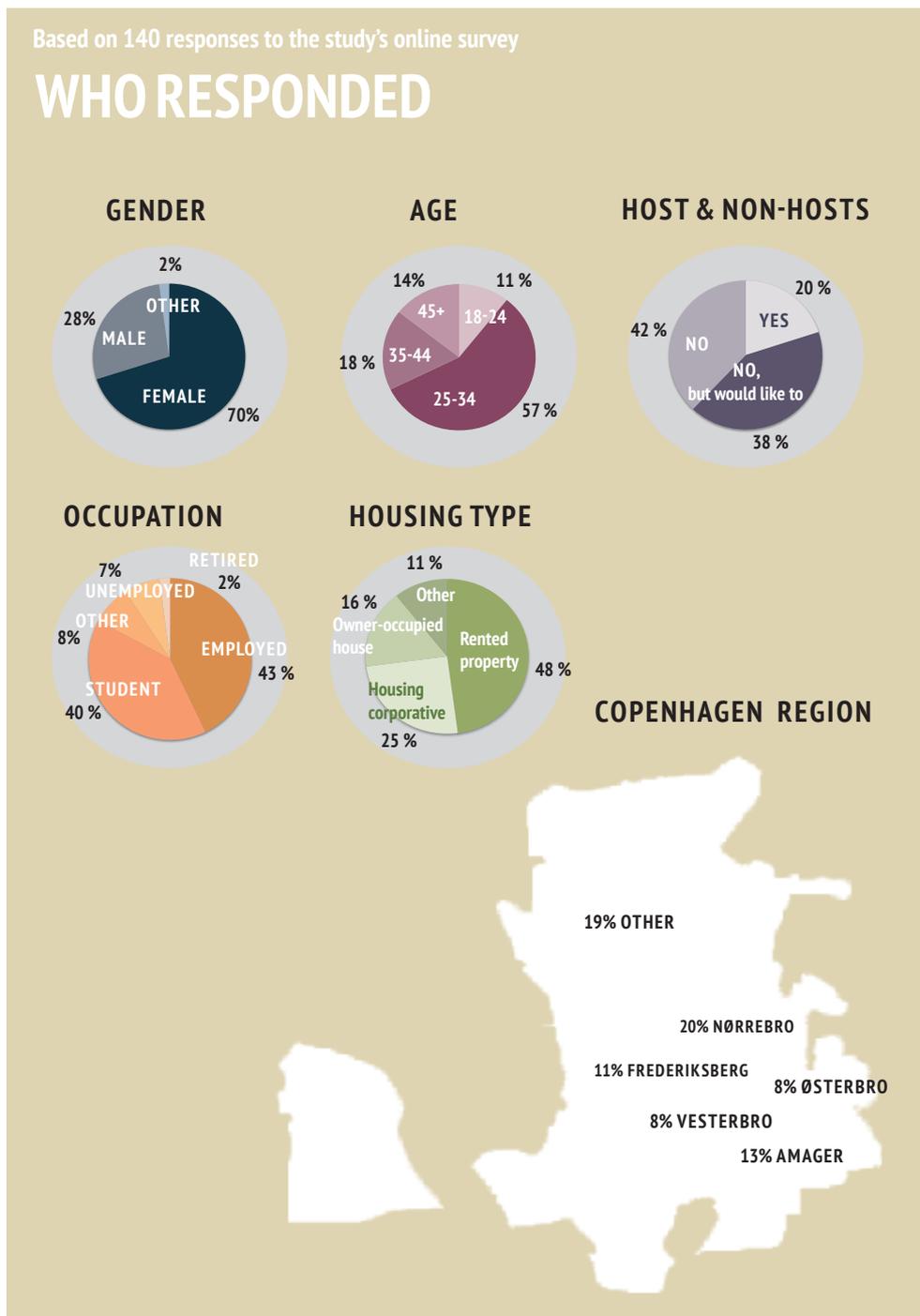


Figure 4.1 Who responded to the online survey

However, the response rate was difficult to measure because of the various distribution methods. The population of the Capital Region of Denmark in 2014 was 1,753,976 (The Capital Region of Denmark, ndb), but since we did not distribute the survey across the entire region, we only included the suburbs where the respondents lived. When calculating the population of those suburbs we only included people over 18 years old (Danmarks Statistik, 2016). Then we still excluded 27% of the population number, because a recent research (Aurby, 2016) states that 73% of Danish residents have either heard at least a little bit about the collaborative economy or knows it really well. Thus, we argue that 27% most likely chose not to respond to our survey, as their awareness of collaborative economy activities is not high enough. Hence, the sampling ratio in this study is  $140 / 693,398 = 0,000201$  or 0,02%. Sampling is a big part of quantitative research, as the replies from the respondents should represent a broader population. We are aware that this is a relatively small sampling ratio, and that the calculation is partially based on an assumption. However, as we conducted an exploratory case study we did not aim for a generalising sampling and as it is not the only data we rely upon, the survey is indicatively only.

Because the survey was online and open for everyone, we tried to inform the target group very clearly about our intention. The survey was chosen to stay open for everyone without restrictions because our distribution methods were versatile (see table 4.3). Moreover, because we made use of various distribution channels, we included a question concerning distribution mode, in order to follow up on which distribution channel worked the best. It is important to mention, that the total amount of responses were more than 140, as this question was a multiple answer question.

Table 4.3 Distribution methods of the online survey		
Distribution method	Channel	Responses
Online - Facebook groups / Online forums	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Forskning i Deleøkonomi (Research in Sharing Economy)</li> <li>• Deleøkonomi Danmark (Sharing Economy Denmark)</li> <li>• Deleøkonomi-Sharesharks (Sharing Economy-Sharesharks)</li> <li>• Airbnbhosts</li> <li>• Global Hosting</li> <li>• Trekronergade 39</li> <li>• 'Fluent` danish speakers</li> <li>• Tourism 2014 Aau-Cph</li> <li>• Suomitytöt Köpiksessä (Finnish girls in Copenhagen)</li> <li>• Deleby</li> <li>• Copenhagen Expats</li> </ul>	41% n=58
8 paper flyers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Aalborg University, Copenhagen</li> <li>• University of Copenhagen</li> <li>• Copenhagen Language School</li> <li>• Copenhagen's main library</li> </ul>	1% n=2
500 paper postcards	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nørrebro</li> <li>• Vesterbro</li> <li>• Book launch: Den nye andelsbevægelse (The new cooperative movement)</li> </ul>	10% n=14
Online - Snowball: Facebook messages and emails to our own network	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 69 persons</li> </ul>	38% n=53
Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• From a friend</li> <li>• I got a postcard at university</li> <li>• A friend shared a link on Facebook</li> </ul>	10% n=14

Our main distribution method was 500 printed postcards (see figure 4.2). We designed the postcards by ourselves using Adobe InDesign. In order to draw recipient's attention to Airbnb, which is the most prominent P2P accommodation provider (Guttentag, 2015), we were inspired by the colours on Airbnb's website.

By taking part in the survey, you can win  
**A 250 KR. VOUCHER**

---

## WOULD YOU SHARE YOUR HOME WITH A STRANGER?

As a Copenhagener, a current or potential accommodation sharing host or someone with other experience with Airbnb or the like, we invite you to participate in a survey.

Who are we?  
Two Tourism students undertaking our final thesis research project, investigating residents' attitudes towards accommodation sharing services like Airbnb and Wimdu, and the impacts of this on local communities.

It only takes 7-10 minutes to complete. Your views are important and your participation is greatly appreciated!

To participate in the survey, click the link below:  
<https://www.survey-xact.dk/LinkCollector?key=9AZWCFAM1591>



Thank you, Nelli Oksanen & Josefine Lorange,  
Aalborg University, Copenhagen

The survey is open until April 17, 2016. Your answers are confidential and you must be at least 18 years old to participate.

Ved at deltage i undersøgelsen, kan du vinde  
**ET GAVEKORT PÅ 250 KR.**

---

## VIL DU DELE DIT HJEM MED EN FREMMED?

Vi vil gerne invitere dig, som er Københavner, vært eller kommende vært, eller har andre erfaringer med Airbnb eller lignende, til at deltage i vores spørgeskema.

Hvem er vi?  
To Tourism kandidat studerende der er i gang med vores speciale, der omhandler Københavnernes holdning til deleøkonomiske overnatningstjenester (f.eks. Airbnb) og deres indflydelse på lokale miljøer.

Det tager kun 7-10 minutter at udfylde skemaet. Dine holdninger og erfaringer er vigtige, og din deltagelse er yderst værdsat!

For at deltage i undersøgelsen, klik på linket:  
<https://www.survey-xact.dk/LinkCollector?key=9AZWCFAM1591>



Tak, Nelli Oksanen & Josefine Lorange,  
Aalborg Universitet, København

Spørgeskemaet er åbent indtil 17. April, 2016. Din besvarelse er anonym. Du skal være minimum 18 år for at deltage.

Figure 4.2 Postcards

Four different options to participate in the survey was given. The options included (1) scanning a QR-code, (2) going to a Facebook group created for this purpose solely, (3) typing in the link to the online survey, or (4) sending an email to us asking for the survey link. With these options, we tried to provide the possibility for everyone to participate in the survey, regardless Facebook membership and technical belongings, such as a smart phone with a QR scanner. We were not able to follow the workability of these given entry points, but we do know that no one sent us an email, and only one person joined the Facebook group.

We delivered the postcards to different houses and apartment buildings in the areas of Vesterbro and Nørrebro in Copenhagen. These neighbourhoods were chosen based on the high concentration of Airbnb listings (see figure 4.3) (Airdna, 2016e). We thought that people living in these neighbourhoods might have had experiences with P2P accommodation rentals, not just as a host, but also as a non-host experiencing changes in the area or apartment building.

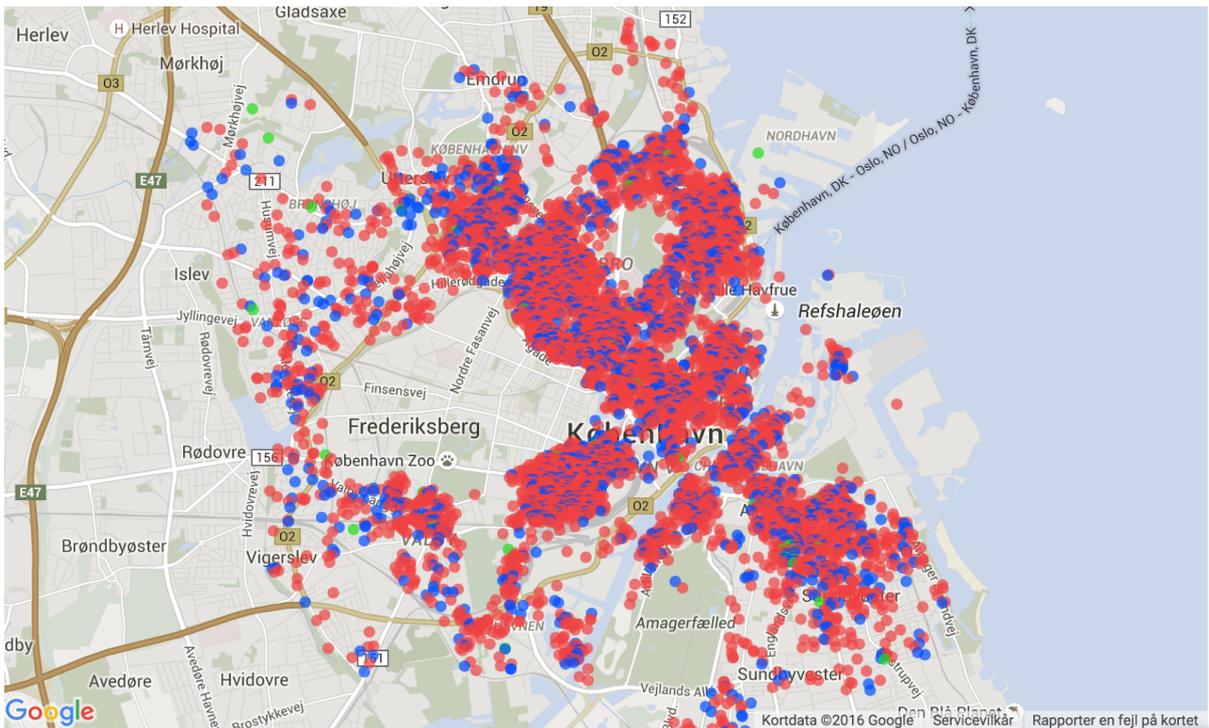


Figure 4.3 Airbnb listings. Source: Airdna (2016e)

We did not have the funds to send the postcards by post, thus we delivered them by ourselves. We used two days (a Tuesday and Sunday) to hand out the postcards. In order to get in the apartment buildings to reach the post boxes, we had to ring the downstairs bells. In the beginning ringing the doorbell was a bit unpleasant, but as we noticed most people were positive and let us in the building, it felt better. Some of the postcards were also handed out at a book launch event about the collaborative economy in Denmark.

Since the postcard printing was not yet done when we launched the survey, we started the digital distribution by sharing a picture with the link to our survey on different Internet forums and Facebook groups. With the digital distribution, we tried to mainly target people who are aware of the collaborative economy, why groups centred on the collaborative economy were chosen to distribute the link.

Furthermore, we used the nonprobability method of snowball sampling (Neuman, 1997; StatPac, 2014), as we both live in Copenhagen and have a large network, as well as interconnected network. We are aware that snowball sampling has its disadvantages, for example in that most of the people in our networks are students or young professionals, which affected the average age of the respondents. While this technique increased the

response rate, it came at the expense of introducing bias, because the technique reduced the likelihood that the sample of the research would represent a good cross section from the Capital region of Denmark (StatPac, 2014). However, we still considered snowball sampling an important addition to our survey distribution, as we did not have the sufficient funds or time to complete for example random phone or on-site interviews. Nevertheless, we promised total anonymity for the respondents, especially due to the sensitivity aspect of some of the questions, thus, an on-site survey would not have worked in our case. Finally, between all the respondents who decided to inform us of their email, two optional 250DKK vouchers were raffled after the survey was closed on April 17, 2016.

### *Reliability*

Because an online survey is within the quantitative tradition, we find it important to discuss the reliability of this specific method in this study. Reliability is an ideal that researchers strive for, and it tells about the indicator's dependability and consistency (Neuman, 1997). In terms of generalizability, our case is only generalised to the people being studied, and we did therefore not undertake a sophisticated statistical analysis. From a quantitative perspective, we acknowledged an issue in that we only received a scarce number of answers (140), and that 57% of the respondents are in the age group between 25-34 years old. Even though they are young, 43% of the respondents identified themselves as employed and 40% as students (see figure 4.1), which may have affected our findings. However, as discussed in the earlier section, this age and student observation is most probably due to the sampling challenges, as we decided to include our local networks. Thus, if we would launch the survey again using a different sampling method, the results may vary.

Nevertheless, this has brought important insights into the challenges of researching the collaborative economy. Even though the topic is hotly debated in media, on social media and blogs, people are not so eager to share their thoughts and actions with researchers, which drove us to utilise the nonprobability sampling method. Maybe the proposed taxes to the collaborative economy have affected on people's participation, despite the promised anonymity.

Furthermore, there were only 28 respondents (20%) who stated that they are or have been P2P accommodation hosts in Copenhagen. We designed a set of questions only for hosts, which mean that some of the findings are based on 28 responses only. When designing this set of questions, we were aware that this might happen, so in order to improve the reliability of this set, we increased the level of measurement, by having a scale of 1-5 (totally disagree - totally agree) instead of a scale of 1-3 when asking the respondents to rate statements. Even though answering according to this scale may have taken more time and required more patience from the respondents, it provided us with more detailed information.

In order to improve the reliability, we also used pretests and pilot studies. Before launching the online survey, we had three friends testing it and then we modified the survey design and questions based on the feedback. The pilot studies did not only provide us with an idea of how to form the questions but also of the different scales for a measure. In this way, we made sure that in the end, it would be easier to compare our results, to the already existing studies.

#### *Limitations and implications of doing an online survey*

As the survey was online, it was thought to give us a larger amount of responses, than traditional (offline) surveys, and that we would reach people more widely in the area studied. But on the other hand, we were aware that by using an online survey we may have lost participants who did not have Internet access, or otherwise were not familiar with the technology, which may result in a biased population or sample (Fan and Yan, 2010). Furthermore, we took into account the sensitivity of some of the questions, why an on-site survey would not have worked for this study, as people probably would not answer thoroughly on-site.

Yet with the online survey, we could not control the participating respondents. We knew that even though we asked about demographics, it would not eliminate the possibility that someone would complete the survey and answer incorrectly on purpose. Furthermore, as already mentioned, we offered an incentive (optional 250DKK voucher) for completing the survey. This was our top-on method to increase the response rate, but on the other hand,

it might have also tempted someone to answer the survey more than once in order to raise his or her chance to win the lottery.

All in all, considered the effort we spend on collecting data, we indeed did not get out of it what we wanted, as only a small amount of the municipalities, platforms and parties we contacted responded, but most did not respond at all. We spent days creating distinctive postcards and more days distributing them in people's mailboxes, but once again the effort spend did not meet the outcome. That is one reason why we rely on already existing data and blogs. However, we did prove that promoting a survey by handing out postcards is not the most effective way. If we could do it again, personal contact or setting up collaboration with the P2P accommodation rental platforms and make them send out our survey would most likely increase the response rate. Yet, it is doubtful whether the big playing platforms would help us as independent researchers as they would not have complete control over the research.

Methodology ►

## 4.5 Methods of Data Analysis

As presented above, this study used a combination of an online survey and email interviews, where statistical techniques were used to analyse the collected data from the survey and an interpretive approach to analyse the qualitative data. At parts, we also analysed some of the qualitative data in a quantitative manner. We gave the quantitative data collection method (the online survey) a higher priority than the qualitative data collection (the email interviews), yet as our sample is not strong enough for testing and generalising, we undertook the analysis process as a way to describe and understand the phenomenon and case being studied.

Methodology ► Methods of Data Analysis

### 4.5.1 Qualitative Data

In the data collection's first phase the data was collected through e-interviews. Yet, some of the data collected through the online survey were analysed the same way as the other qualitative data, as it was generated from open-ended questions and therefore was

textual. The data was coded, but before we began the coding process, we developed a storyline with the purpose of our research question being the analytic thread that would unite and integrate the major themes we located. During the process of data organising, we used colour coding as a technique. We manually coded and began with creating a pre-set of colour codes derived from our theoretical framework and our prior knowledge of the subject.

As we went through all of our textual data in a systematic way, locating themes and patterns across the data sets, another set of codes emerged - emergent codes, which were the ideas, concepts and meanings that came up in the data and were different than the pre-set codes (Saldana, 2009). It was important that the located themes were related to our field of study and associated to the research questions. As such, the recurring themes became the categories for analysis. Finally, while we were coding, we kept a logbook to write down our emerging thoughts. These notes pointed toward questions and issues we looked into as we coded, collected data and analysed, in other words, crystallized.

Methodology ► Methods of Data Analysis

#### 4.5.2 Quantitative Data

In the data collection's second phase the data was collected through an online survey that included both closed and open-ended questions. The numerical data (see appendix 6), collected via the online survey, was coded according to our own codebook, and further transferred to and analysed via SPSS Statistics Software.

We made sure that we did not make any errors when coding the data into a computer because that threatens the validity of measures and causes misleading results (Neuman, 1997). Thus, a possible code cleaning, or wild code checking, was applied (Neuman, 1997) by checking that there were no impossible codes in any of the variable categories. Such as if we found a code 4 from a variable that should only contain the codes 1 and 2, we would notice that we had made an error in the coding process.

In addition, we checked that the maximum and minimum of each question were in accordance with our codebook. Furthermore, some basic frequencies were compared between the analysis made in SurveyXact and in SPSS. After it was made sure that the coding process was completed successfully, we started the analysis process with the SPSS Statistics program. The data was then imported from SPSS to an Excel file in order to create descriptive statistics such as tables, models and figures describing the data findings.

Methodology ►

## 4.6 Crystallized Analysis

Because the analysis is based on a pragmatism paradigm so it meets the purpose of crystallization, analysing the data was one of the most complex steps, as we had to be adept at analysing both the collected quantitative and qualitative data and integrate our results “in a coherent and meaningful way that yields strong meta-inferences” (Onwuegbuzie & Combs, 2010, p. 398, as cited in Onwuegbuzie & Combs, 2011, p. 2). We used both qualitative and quantitative tools to organise and analyse our data, why our analysis can be defined as integrated, consisting of recorded patterns within the data. We chose to conduct a mixed analysis because our research was exploratory, case-based and because our data and literature sources were versatile. Yet, we did not only mix qualitative and quantitative data in the analysis, but we crystallized our own knowledge, the reviewed literature, methods and data in one analysis.

As social constructivists, we generated a pattern of meanings, and as pragmatists we studied actions, thus it was important to include different sources in our analysis (Creswell, 2003; Goldkuhl, 2004). Because we embraced a wide range of theories, methods and practices, empirical materials and perspectives, we needed our research to be regulated by some standards such as trustworthiness and authenticity criteria. As such, we were inspired by Ellingson’s (2009) crystallization as a strategy to validate our research process through cross verification from several sources in order to create the credibility of our analysis.

Crystallization is closely related to triangulation, but according to Ellingson (2009), it is not the same, as these two have different goals. While triangulation seeks a more definitive truth, crystallization problematizes the truth it presents and unlike triangulation, crystallization is informed by postmodernism, where no truth exists to discover or get close to, but only partial truths are constructed by the researcher and others (Ellingson, 2009). In our study, we are aware of our own role in constructing the truth, as for example our interviews and survey questions could create thoughts and opinions the respondents otherwise would not have thought of. In such way, we are partially constructing the truth we find.

Another crucial aspect of crystallization is that it includes “a significant degree of reflexive consideration of the researcher’s self and roles in the process of research design, data collection, and representation” (Ellingson, 2009, p. 10). This ongoing cycle of action and reflection are at the heart of our journey as researchers and students, as we have been exploring questions like: What drew us to study P2P accommodation rentals in the first place? What grounds us and makes us keep studying this specific topic? How has the research process evolved and changed so far? Instead of exploring these reflections in isolation, we have used them in our writing process and then used our writings to catalyst conversations with each other that lead us to strengthened insights and topics for discussion and further research.

Because it is a new area in Academia and there is a lack of transparent and reliable data, our analysis relies greatly on grey literature and news articles and blogs in order to compensate for the lack of peer-reviewed academic research and to provide as much possible information on the study’s focus on local actions. By adopting crystallization, the use of non-traditional academic sources can be considered as a validity point and accepted, instead of a limitation as a definitive truth, which involves acknowledging that knowledge is never neutral, unbiased or complete (Ellingson, 2009). Also, Hurmerinta-Peltomäki and Nummela (2006) argue that the combination of different data or analytical techniques increases the validity of the results, as well as produces new, often surprising findings, and thus creates knowledge that would not have emerged otherwise. With this in mind, we did not consider it a problem to include non-traditional sources, as long as we in relation to the texts explored questions like: Who are the persons behind the writings?

When was the source published? Who published the source? And what are the intentions with the writings, how biased it is?

Of course, this raises the question of what counts as grey literature and what does not, as generic boundaries often are blurred. In this study, we understand grey literature in its broad definition, including manifold document types, produced on all levels of government, academics, business and industry, but excludes peer-reviewed books and journals accepted by commercial publishers (Schöpfel, 2010). In other words, the grey literature includes reports, theses, conference proceedings, bibliographies, technical specification and government policy documents, but excludes news articles and blogs, as those often are controlled by commercial publishers.

Hence in our analysis we were dealing with explicit and tacit knowledge (Nonaka, 1994; Nonaka and Konno, 1998), and we utilized three different types of literature: (1) Peer-reviewed published journal articles to which we refer to as academic articles and books, (2) grey literature and (3) news articles, blogs and websites, which we do not classify as grey literature. The latter is “deeply rooted in an individual's actions and experience as well as in the ideals, values, or emotions he or she embraces” making it tacit knowledge not yet transferred into scientific understandings (Nonaka and Konno, 1998, p. 42).

One issue we came across early in the research process concerned the trustworthiness of Airbnb's own data. Airbnb produces data, however, they are not transparent about how the data is collected. We experienced this in our own hands when contacting Airbnb's office in Denmark to ask how they collected the data they used in their Denmark report. However, they could not give us any insights on how the numbers in the report were collected or produced, thus we should not forget that it is the company itself that created the documents and that they do not provide the other side of the story. It must also be noted that Airbnb is a global company and their reports follow standardised templates that are extracted from their data, and as we know, they do not have any technical workers in Copenhagen, as their staff is positioning community and political outreach.

Finally, we utilised crystallization in this study by bridging our collected data, the different theories and sources that involved multiple fields of study such as politics, business, culture, economics, tourism, and our own knowledge as Copenhageners and P2P

accommodation hosts and guests. We made sense of the literature and data through more than one way of knowing, as such crystallization worked as a process of understanding the different bites together. By doing so, we developed a nuanced and reflective framework for organising the case being studied. Our theoretical orientation and sub-questions formed the design of the research and guided the analysis to help focus attention on the relevant areas of the data. The analysis is thematically structured after the located characteristics.

As no illustrations of crystallization exist, we have in our own way visualised the strategy to show how it provided meaning in the study's context. Crystallization enabled us as P2P accommodation researchers to push the envelope of what is possible in terms of integrating different keys of knowledge with our other data and the patterns we found (see figure 4.4 on the following page).

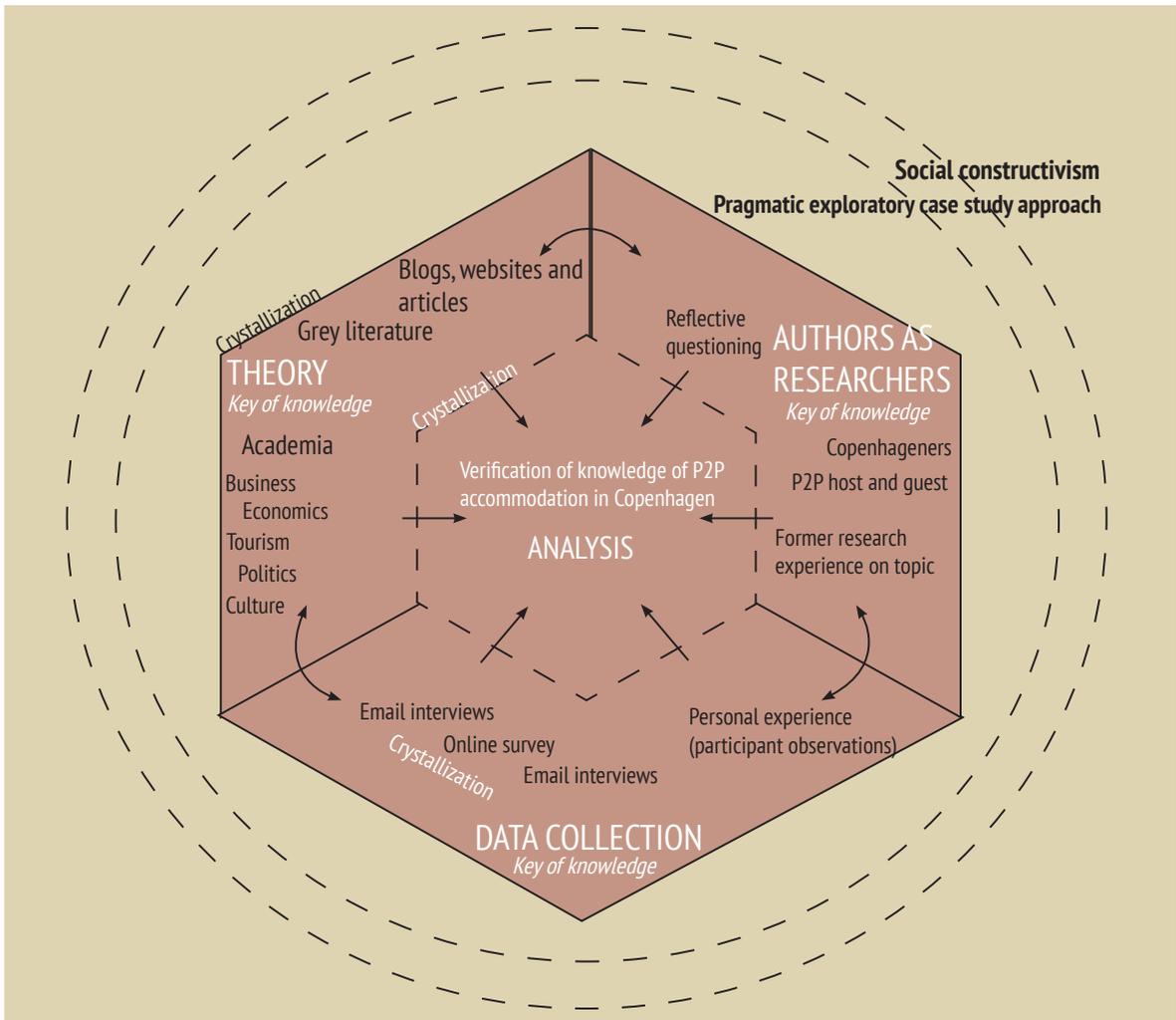


Figure 4.4 Authors' Visualisation of Crystallization

**Key findings:**

- Knowledge is polarized within the study's context
- A nonlinear way of analysis allowed us to move more freely within the framework
- Reflections paved the way for renewed action
- Brought our own voices into work
- The different sources of knowledge and living experiences brought the reality of our study context to our audience

# 5

## ANALYSIS & DISCUSSION

## 5 ANALYSIS & DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the findings of the present research – led by the question what is the scope and drivers of the P2P accommodation rental market in Copenhagen, and what are the positions and perspectives of local residents with respect to its current and future development? – will be analysed, and discussed with the use of the framework, which emerged from the literature in chapters 2 and 3. A pragmatic approach has allowed us to discuss how the decisions and actions of residents and policy-makers globally have impacted the P2P accommodation sector in Copenhagen. The chapter is loosely structured around the four sub-questions that guided our research process:

1. How has the P2P accommodation rental market developed in Copenhagen and is this development comparable to other European cities as described in the literature?
2. How have Copenhagen residents and policy-makers responded to the development of P2P accommodation rentals?
3. What are the challenges and consequences of the emergence of the P2P accommodation sector?
4. What if anything should be done about P2P accommodation rentals from a regulatory perspective (in Copenhagen)?

Guided by these questions, the chapter provides insights into the drivers and potential impacts of P2P accommodations, which both local governments and residents relate to and it is our way to present the current scope and give the locals a voice in the debate about P2P accommodations. In the conclusion, the main research question will then be taken up again by combining the insights of the sub-questions.

The analysis is qualitatively driven, as we undertook the research process to describe and understand, and as pragmatist, we focused on how our findings can be helpful in real-life situations, such as in policy-making situations.

## 5.1 Lack of Data

*“A vital issue is that peer-to-peer short-term rentals are not yet registered in the official statistic for overnights and the area is not as regulated as for example hotels and campsites.”*

Destination Djursland (A3: p. i)

Limited availability and secretiveness of data are characterising collaborative economy platforms, and far from all destinations are measuring its impacts, Copenhagen including. We are aware that Djursland is not a part of our case being studied, but we believe the quote still summaries a vital national issue in regard to P2P accommodation rentals in Denmark. That is why we begin the analysis with some careful considerations on how this may have affected the study's results. Destination Djursland's comment above puts it very well into words. For now, there are no official statistics in Denmark about Airbnb or other P2P accommodation rental companies. This is also emphasised by Copenhagen municipality (A3: p. ii) stating “there is no specific data to suggest tourists travel differently within the city [because of P2P accommodation]”. That makes it difficult for researchers because we miss some vital information and therefore have to rely on other studies, which often are commercially conducted or not fully comparable. As stressed before, much of the existing research have been carried out in the United States, where e.g. the average size of a house differs from the average size of a house in Denmark. This is just one aspect that might affect the comparability of our results to other results from earlier studies.

We have been compelled to include theories on the collaborative economy as a whole, as especially the accommodation segment has not yet been covered sufficiently as most of the literature appears to focus only on the large accommodation sharing platforms such as Airbnb or Couchsurfing, leaving out smaller in size P2P accommodation initiatives. It can be supposed that it is because most people today mainly use Airbnb. Indeed, only two of our hosting respondents have hosted via other platforms next to Airbnb. This raises the question why, since many of the other P2P accommodation companies have existed

longer than Airbnb. Does it mean that people's interest in “sharing” only became a reality because of Airbnb’s good marketing?

We are not the only collaborative economy researchers experiencing difficulties. Olmeda and Cassidy (2016, p. 5) also emphasise that it was particularly difficult to study collaborative consumption, “since, up to now, no independent and recognised methodology for measuring CC impacts exists”. Moreover, projects like Inside Airbnb have popped up to “add data to the debate by offering neighbourhood residents and policy makers an independent set of tools to analyse the numbers, revealing how Airbnb might be affecting the local housing market in dozens of cities around the world” (Mok, 2016). We do of course support initiatives like this, but unfortunately for us, the Inside Airbnb website does not yet include data from Copenhagen.

The research difficulties only confirm that additional research on P2P accommodation services is needed. Thus, we believe that this study provides important insights on the current situation among our respondents in Copenhagen, which can be utilised by communities as for example a cohousing flat association, government officials, P2P accommodation companies and by potential hosts.

Analysis & Discussion ►

## 5.2 P2P Accommodation Rentals are not an Issue

*“Because of the Danish legislation (housing control laws) even people who do own more than one house or apartment will have to find permanent residents for these. Therefore professionalised ongoing short-term rentals is not an issue that we see occurring at this point in Copenhagen.”*

Copenhagen municipality (A3: p. ii)

As expressed by Copenhagen municipality, short-term P2P accommodation rentals are from the local authority’s side not yet considered an issue in Copenhagen. This attitude is shared by other local municipalities around Denmark as for example “Odense municipality has no experience or knowledge of that peer-to-peer short-term rental should have any

social or economic implications for the city” (Odense municipality, A3: p. i). Leading back to the argument by Knudsen (2015) who states that Denmark is usually five years behind the development of collaborative economy than countries like the United States, it can be supposed that some of the current issues they are experiencing might find its way to Denmark in the nearer future. However, another possible explanation may also be that the social welfare system characterising Scandinavia plays a role as it possibly reduces the need for supplementing incomes (Nordea, 2015), which have proved to be a driver in countries affected by the global economic crisis and without a social security network (Airbnb Action, 2015b). In other words, people in Denmark and Scandinavia do not have the need to participate in the collaborative economy to earn extra money, which might be a possible explanation for why it has not gained as solid foothold here as in countries with different labour market dynamics. These aspects are further addressed in the following sections.

The study’s survey showed that 91% have not been affected in any positive or negative way by P2P accommodation rentals in their neighbourhood, while only 9% answered they have. Like this, it shows that P2P accommodation is not affecting our respondents in any negative or positive way. This is in a similar vein with the general municipal attitude, which argues that P2P accommodation is not yet an issue in Denmark. It can also be supposed that most of the respondents probably do not notice the P2P accommodations in their buildings or neighbourhoods. Or if they do, they do not experience any problems on that ground. Our respondents’ (lack of) experiences reinforce the argument that P2P accommodation rentals are not yet a problem in Copenhagen, at least as experienced among this study’s sample.

In relation, our survey also showed that 70% of our respondents do not mind if their neighbour rents out one’s place via P2P accommodation platforms, yet 27% emphasised that they do not mind as long as it only happens a few times per year (see figure 5.1). The respondents seem to be tolerant, however we do not know if it is because they really have not yet experienced any problems in their neighbourhood, or if the result is affected by our sample’s young age, as 57% are between 25-34 years old and they might be more accepting than other more representative samples may be. Nevertheless, our sample shows a positive attitude towards P2P accommodation, as long as the platforms are not used on a regular basis.

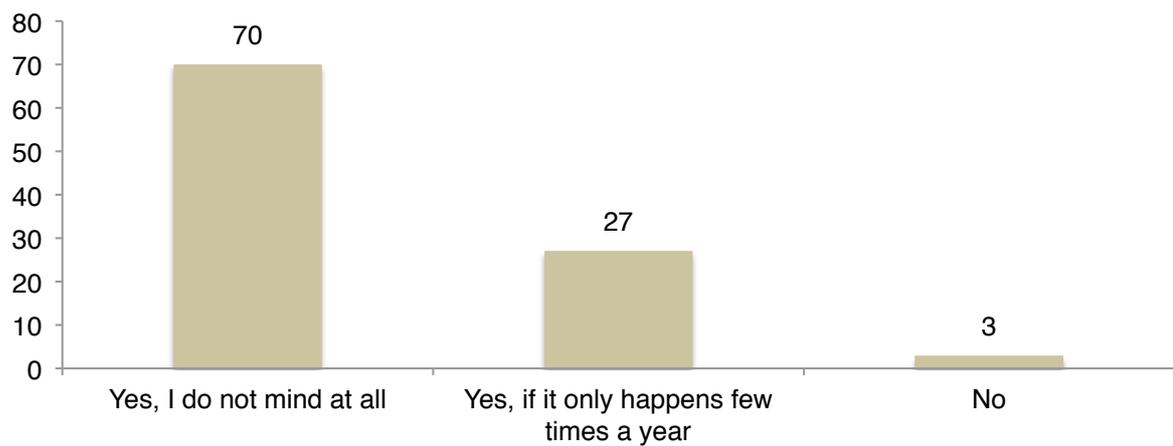


Figure 5.1 Percentage of surveyed respondents by their attitude towards neighbours' use of P2P accommodation rentals (n=140)

A possible explanation might be connected to the Danish housing dynamics and that Danes have a deeply rooted tradition for sharing. Emphasising this, Bruun (nd.) points out that Denmark has more than 100 years of experience with managing private ownership collectively through different forms of unions, housing cooperatives, house-owners' association and homeowners' association, where different forms of community emerged. This historically embedded sharing tradition might help explain why P2P accommodation is not yet an issue for most of our respondents, as it then is not a new phenomenon. However, Bruun (nd.) also points out that the communities in the housing cooperatives are changing in that market conditions and capital profit plays a growing role like the private market orientated and professionalised coops in America. This is an aspect we return to later in the analysis.

Yet another explanation may be the Danes' eager to move as explained in chapter 3. This frequent moving around might play a role in people's attitude as it can be supposed that people are used to meeting new people in their buildings and neighbourhood, and it might, therefore, be more acceptable not knowing your neighbours. Also, in contrast to a majority of detached houses in many U.S. cities, there are more apartment blocks in Copenhagen, which also affect the familiarity one has with neighbours. In other words, we assume that many people living in residential areas consisting of houses, instead of apartments, have a greater knowledge of who their neighbours are.

Even though the survey shows that most of the respondents have not experienced any positive or negative outcomes, 33% of our respondents still stated that they know people who are moving out of their homes to rent them out on P2P accommodation platforms, 31% agreed on that it has become more expensive to rent a place and 30% argued that it has become more difficult to find a place to stay in Copenhagen on a long-term basis. Besides that, some of the respondents also emphasised that they often meet strangers in their buildings (11%), they experienced more noise around their home (9%), there have been problems with cleanliness in their buildings or neighbourhood (6%), their neighbourhood has become more lively (6%) and that they have used Airbnb or other sharing services as a bridge to find long-term accommodation in Copenhagen (5%). The findings show that the respondents, after all, are noticing some changes in Copenhagen, in their neighbourhoods, apartment buildings or housing areas, but they just do not consider them problematic. However, these issues are further discussed in section 5.5 - Negative and Positive Implications of P2P Accommodations.

Only 20% of our respondents have been hosting in Copenhagen through P2P accommodation rentals, why once again one can argue that the services might not cause any community impacts, as it simply is not significant enough. This is also emphasised by Destination Djursland (A3: p. iii), which argued that P2P accommodation rentals are “still so insignificant, but it is an issue to be aware of”. Some of our respondents did put their concerns into words, as for example respondent nr. 33 who found it problematic that the Airbnb hosts she knows entirely works through the black economy so they can avoid paying taxes, which she argues provide them with favourable terms compared to for example conventional hotels. Respondent nr. 58 expressed concerns about the development of P2P accommodation and worried that Copenhagen can experience the same situation as for example London and New York, where a lot of apartments are used for the sole purpose of renting out through these services and not for conventional private let.

Considering this, a key finding of this research is that P2P accommodations are not yet considered a problem in Copenhagen among this study's sample, as 91% of them have not experienced any positive or negative implications in their neighbourhoods. But still the respondents did express some concerns if they were to host, or if the concentration of P2P accommodations increases in Copenhagen. It can be supposed that our respondents'

concerns most likely are shaped by the global issues and media image. Hence, in the following section, we will thoroughly discuss why our respondents choose or not choose to engage in P2P accommodation and how the experienced impacts of P2P accommodation rentals affect their behaviour and surroundings.

Analysis & Discussion ►

### 5.3 Economic Benefits, Unique Experiences and the Service Itself

In order to understand what drives P2P accommodation in Copenhagen, we asked our survey respondents about their reasons for engaging in P2P accommodation. We were interested in their motivations, as we believe motivation directs behaviour towards the specific goals people strive for (Piscicelli, Cooper and Fisher, 2014). As such, to understand the underlying drivers for why the respondents engage in P2P accommodation gives us an idea of how P2P accommodation may affect Copenhagen in the longer term.

A majority (70%) of our sample have not been hosting on P2P accommodation rental platforms in Copenhagen, but 38% of those would like to in the future. This means that only 20% of the respondents have already been hosting in Copenhagen, and the characteristics of them are presented in table 5.1 Airbnb statistics of Copenhagen show that the average age for hosts is 37, the average length of stay is 4,2 days per guest and 92% of those surveyed would recommend Airbnb to a friend (Airbnb, 2015b). The findings from our survey seem to be more or less similar to Airbnb's (2015b) statistics, except for the fact that only 57% of our total respondents would recommend P2P accommodation platforms to a friend. However, again it is important to take into account that our sample results are based on a majority of young aged people, young professionals and students, which may play a role in the variation from Airbnb's research.

Table 5.1 Characteristics of the surveyed hosts (n=28)	
Gender	Female 61% Male 36% Other 4%
Age	18-24 years old 7% 25-34 years old 68% 35-44 years old 14% 45-54 years old 11%
Hosting period	0-6 months 25% 6-12 months 25% 12-18 months 21% 18-24 months 4% 24 months or longer 25%
Type of property rented out	An entire house / apartment that is owned 54% An entire house / apartment that is rented 14% Other 14% A room that is rented 11% A room that is owned 7%
Average number of bookings per year	1-5 bookings 54% 6-10 bookings 36% 11-15 bookings 7% 25-30 bookings 4%
Guests' average length of stay	1-7 nights 93% 8-14 nights 7%
An average price of listing	540 DKK

The following is not only based on the results from the hosts, since we also asked if the respondents would share through P2P accommodation services in Copenhagen, and 89% of the total respondents, including hosts and non-hosts, said yes. The respondents were then asked for their reasons to participate. The five most frequently mentioned reasons included economic benefits (35%), to create local and fun alternatives (22%), because of the service itself (20%), to use resources efficiently (9%) and because it is convenient (7%). The findings are similar to Erichsen's (2015) findings, who also found economic benefits as the leading driver for participating in the collaborative economy in Denmark, while her findings showed that only around one-quarter of the sample participated in the collaborative economy on environmental grounds.

### 5.3.1 Economic Benefits

*“It is a good way to gain the rent money back when you are not at home.”*

Respondent nr. 20 (A5: p. i)

Based on the survey results, 35% of the total respondents do or would share their home through P2P accommodation rentals because of the economic benefits. Furthermore, our findings show that the financial gains P2P accommodation hosting can provide are an important factor driving the hosts’ participation in Copenhagen. Hamari, Sjöklint and Ukkonen (2015) also found economic benefits significant, such as saving money and time. For most of our hosting respondents, the money made through P2P accommodation platforms is not a crucial part of their total income. The findings show that 90% of the hosting respondents agreed that they want to earn *extra* cash so they can pay for something extra while only 22% indicated that they need the extra income to support regular household expenses (see figure 5.2).

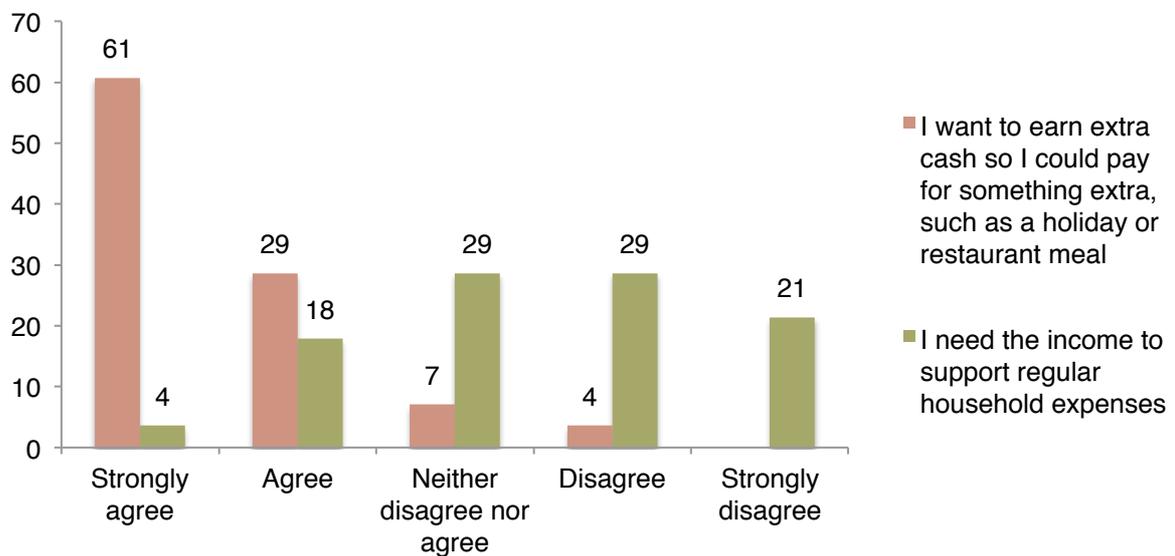


Figure 5.2 Percentage of surveyed hosts by their motivation towards economic benefit (n=28)

Again, it can be supposed that these results are related to the welfare societies, where economic incentives to participate are not as important as in other countries (Erichsen, 2015). While the motivation for our hosting respondents to participate in the collaborative

economy is to gain a supplemental income, the economic incentives in other countries are sometimes more related to *need*, where hosts need the extra income to support regular household expenses. Thus, one of the key findings in this study is that even though economic reasons for participation dominate, the motivations within can still be quite different. In order to fully understand these motivations, further research would be needed.

The economic drivers for participation can also be explained in the perspective provided by Bruun (nd.), who argues that the communities in the housing cooperatives are changing in that market conditions and capital profit plays a growing role. Respondent nr. 85 (A5, p. iv) is a clear-cut example of this, when stating that "it is a nice way to make some extra money, especially here in Copenhagen where there is a high demand for housing". The respondent seems to be very business and money focused, as she emphasised the demand for housing. It can be supposed that P2P accommodation rentals can cause people to change their way of thinking, when it comes to sharing, as P2P accommodation rentals make it easy for the individual to earn money on something you could do without involving money as for example inviting people to stay for free for a couple days like the platform Couchsurfing intermediates. In other words, one can argue that the collaborative economy has the potential to commodify everyday life. This is a point, we will not further discuss in this analysis, but we do believe research on the changes in the customer bases of the nonreciprocal, uncompensated social sharing practices and the P2P accommodation rentals, where you pay a fee would help to explain if P2P accommodation rentals really have this potential.

Yet some respondents did also attach another value to P2P accommodations next to economic benefits. A majority of the respondents attach value to the unique experiences P2P accommodations offer next to the economic benefits, as for example respondent nr. 8 (A5: p. i) explained, "to share your home is a way to boost your personal finance and it creates the opportunity to learn more about the city you visit". Furthermore, respondent nr. 130 (A5: p. x) used Airbnb because of economic reasons, but emphasised the social aspect as well, as the comment shows:

*“We started using Airbnb in 2013, because I had to guarantee for my foreign partner and therefore save up 50.000 kr. [...] it has been fantastic people we have met on that way”.*

On that quote, the next section discusses the social motivations our respondents pointed out for using P2P accommodation rentals.

Analysis & Discussion ► Economic Benefits, Unique Experiences and the Service Itself

### 5.3.2 Unique Experiences

*“[...] Airbnb works for me and it is great to stay at other people’s places and experience the culture abroad up close”*

Respondent nr. 42 (A5: p. viii)

Our findings indicate that the respondents also have other motives than only economic ones, as 22% of the total respondents would use P2P accommodation rentals in order to create or stay at local and fun alternatives. The respondents further commented that they, for example, would like to get to know visiting travellers and locals (nr. 140), to make Copenhagen more exciting to visit (nr. 133), and to contribute to the local communities (nr. 68). Also, Ikkala and Lampinen (2015) argue that P2P accommodation participants are motivated for both financial and social reasons.

43% of the hosting respondents strongly agreed or agreed that they use P2P accommodation platforms because they want to meet new people, and 40% strongly agreed or agreed that they use it because it is fun (see figure 5.3). However, what is significant in this figure is that many of the hosting respondents actually are indifferent when it comes to meeting new people and for the fun of it. A possible explanation may be that the true motive still is economic and that the hosting respondents, therefore, consider social reasons as secondary. Or, since most (68%) of our hosting respondents rent out an entire house or apartment they own or rent, it can be assumed that they only meet the guests during the period of key exchange, if at all. They, therefore, do not have any

opinion about the statements, as social interactions are not a part of their hosting experiences.

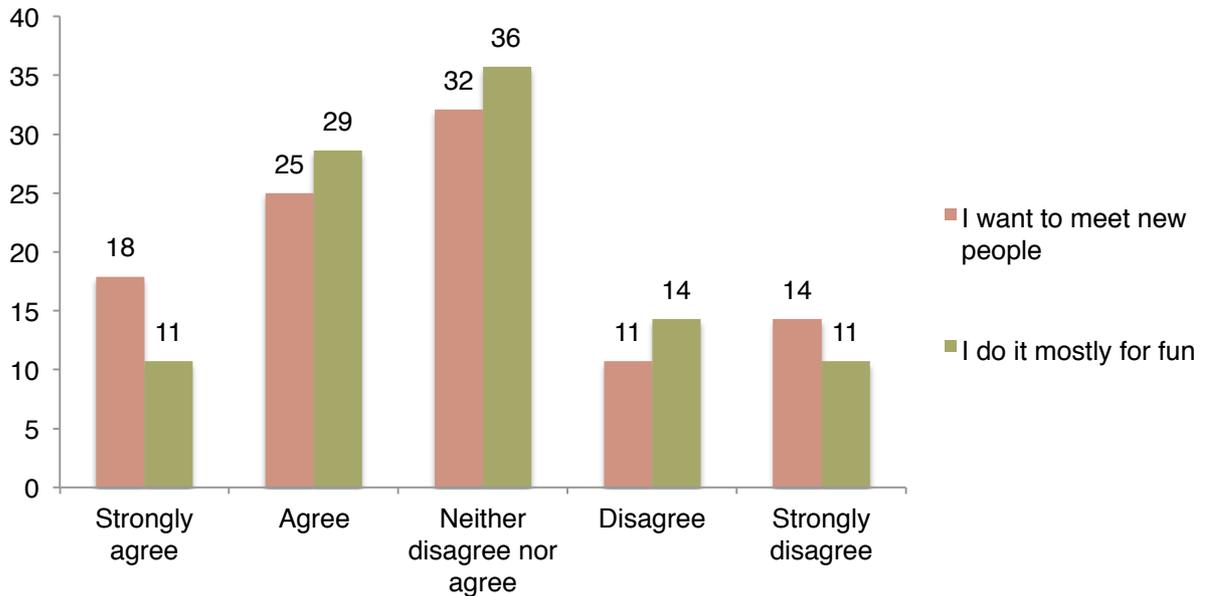


Figure 5.3 Percentage of surveyed hosts by their motivation towards social behaviour (n=28)

Nevertheless, among the total number of respondents, many (nr. 11; nr. 19; nr. 36; nr. 40; nr. 44; nr. 58; nr. 111; nr. 114) emphasised that P2P accommodation is a local and fun alternative to boring and expensive hotels, and thus, they would rent out through P2P accommodation services. Respondent nr. 11 (A5: p. i) argued that "guests can get a cool local experience compared to staying at a hotel", and respondent nr. 58 (A5: p. iii) stated that "it creates an alternative to boring hotels". These findings are much like those argued in other research, which has claimed that the collaborative economy appeals to consumers as a low-cost alternative to the traditional industry (Gansky, 2010; Botsman and Rogers, 2011; Lamberton & Rose, 2012; Guttentag, 2015).

Yet, it can also be supposed that this is a direct reflection of the new consumer or 'postmodern tourist', who has extended beyond the streamlined and impersonal experiences, services and products that are often associated with the traditional industrial tourism system (Dredge and Gyimóthy, 2015). Even though our survey targeted residents and not tourists, we still argue that their attitudes meet the characteristics of modern travellers, who are replacing the traditional tourists that enjoy staying in famous or familiar locations, in their search for non-traditional cultural experiences (Aziz & Ariffin, 2009, as

cited in Russo, Lombardi & Mangiagli, 2013, p. 1). The characteristics are also expressed through respondent nr. 33 (A5: p. ii), who pointed out that P2P accommodation “increase the possibility of getting a close cultural experience”. Respondent nr. 68 (A5: p. iv) argued that P2P accommodations “invites people to visit areas, which not necessarily are so frequently visited and in that way it helps local areas”. Respondent nr. 130 (A5: p. v) stated in a similar vein “it is fun to meet travellers in the city when they for example rent a room at our place”. The fun aspect of P2P accommodations is also emphasised by Hamari, Sjöklint and Ukkonen (2015), who found that some people engage in the collaborative economy because they find it fun, and because it provides a meaningful way to interact with other consumers.

Analysis & Discussion ► Economic Benefits, Unique Experiences and the Service Itself

### 5.3.3 The Service Itself

*“It is a great concept and easy money.”*

Respondent nr. 38 (A5: p. ii)

Another interesting, yet surprising finding we did not intend to investigate, popped up in our survey data, as 1/5 of the total amount of respondents pointed out that P2P accommodation is just a ‘win win’ for both parties and that the service itself is a really good idea. The respondents referred to the greatness of the concept and that it is beneficial for both engaging parties by commenting for example “it is a smart idea” (nr. 50, A5: p. iii) and “it is of benefit to both the landlord and the tenant” (nr. 66, A5: p. iii). As the comments show these respondents are positive minded towards Airbnb and other P2P accommodation services. This leads back to an argument by Owyang, Samuel and Grenville (2014) who found that the vast majority of the respondents in their study on the collaborative economy were very or extremely satisfied with the experience of sharing itself and 91% of their respondents would recommend the last sharing service they used.

Thus, an explanation may be that our respondents would engage in P2P accommodation because they are satisfied with the “sharing” service itself. However, it can also be supposed that this finding is a reflection of a lack of in-depth answers from our respondents or again, the positive attitude is a result of the non-existing problems in

Copenhagen. However, in other cities, where there are a higher amount of tourists, and where the impacts of tourism are more visible, such as in Barcelona or Berlin, the use of Airbnb and other P2P accommodation services have been considered a negative development by both residents and city officials.

The tourism pressure in Copenhagen is not as heavy as in the above-mentioned cities, which may be yet another reason for why 85% of the hosts and 68% of the non-hosts also are positive about the future development of P2P accommodation rentals (see figure 5.4). Yet, it is important to point out that the amount of hosting respondents is smaller, and it most likely affects the comparison of the results, but as we solely use this finding to emphasise the positive attitude towards the future among both host and non-hosts, we believe it to be unimportant. It can, therefore, be assumed that the respondents who are not hosting still value the service itself.

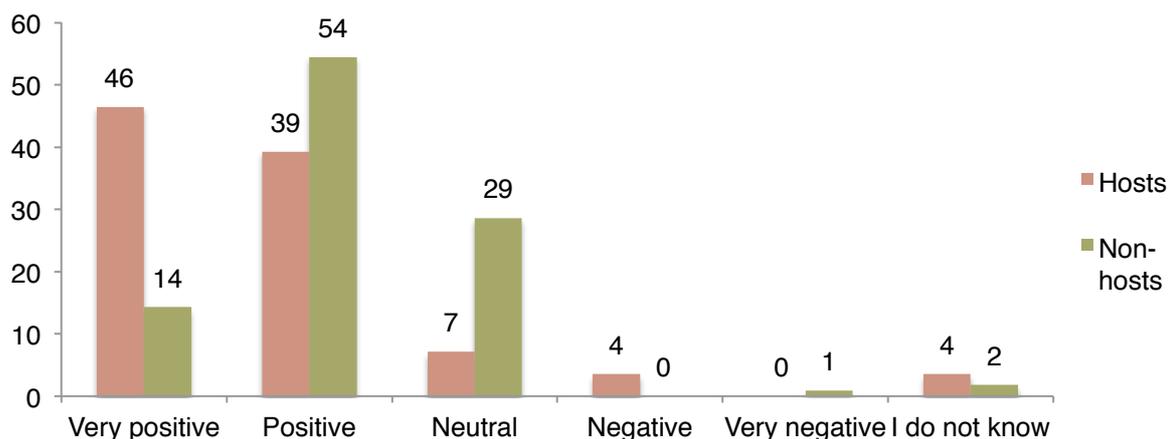


Figure 5.4 Percentage of surveyed hosts and non-hosts by their attitude towards the future development of P2P accommodation rentals (n=140)

Leading back to an argument by Harrill (2004) who suggests that tourism planners should take into consideration the protection of the destination's social, economic, and environmental quality of life that is enjoyed by residents and tourists alike. Hence, it can be assumed that there may be a relationship between the saturation and the negative perceptions of tourism and the P2P accommodation development. Further comparative case studies would be needed to fully understand the turning points and triggers, which could inform the tourism management approaches. However, McGehee and Andereck

(2004, as cited in Guttentag, 2015, p. 1209) wonder if the opposite could also be the case, in that Airbnb hosts “become more engaged with and supportive of their cities’ tourism sectors, being that residents who personally benefit from tourism may exhibit a more positive attitude towards it”. Again, this point would be worth further research.

Analysis & Discussion ► Economic Benefits, Unique Experiences and the Service Itself

### 5.3.4 Use Resources Efficiently

*“The collaborative economy is efficient utilisation of resources.”*

Respondent nr. 21 (A5: p. i)

Besides the economic and social motivations to engage in P2P accommodations, the phenomenon has also been considered to be popular among environment enthusiasts and ecologically conscious consumers (Hamari, Sjöklint and Ukkonen, 2015; Felländer, Ingram and Teigland, 2015). Also, some of our respondents expressed environmental conscious considerations when asked if and why they would engage in P2P accommodations, as for example respondent nr. 28 (A5: p. ii) commented that she believes “in sharing of possessions, spaces, creating positive connections and providing solutions” and respondent nr. 121 (A5: p. v) stated “it is a great way to bring partial not-used resources into play”. Still, they do not form the majority of the respondents’ motivations, as only 9% of the total amount of the respondents would share via P2P accommodation platforms in order to use resources efficiently.

Felländer, Ingram and Teigland (2015) state the Nordic populations do attach higher importance to sustainability. Yet, our findings do not indicate that locals in Copenhagen choose to engage in P2P accommodation to live out a more sustainable lifestyle. Drawing on insights from Erichsen (2015) one might, therefore, argue that our findings are in conflict with the popular perception of an awareness of the environment driving the collaborative economy, especially in a Nordic context. Here it is noteworthy to point out, that the result may again be affected by our respondents’ young age, as Han, Hsu and Lee (2009) argue that older customers make more environmentally friendly decisions when choosing hotels. However, when giving the hosting respondents the possibility to choose to be environmentally friendly with pre-shaped statements, 67% of them agreed or

strongly agreed that they host on P2P accommodation platforms in order to create a greener alternative for tourists, while also 57% agreed or strongly agreed that they host in order to support the local community and economy (see figure 5.5).

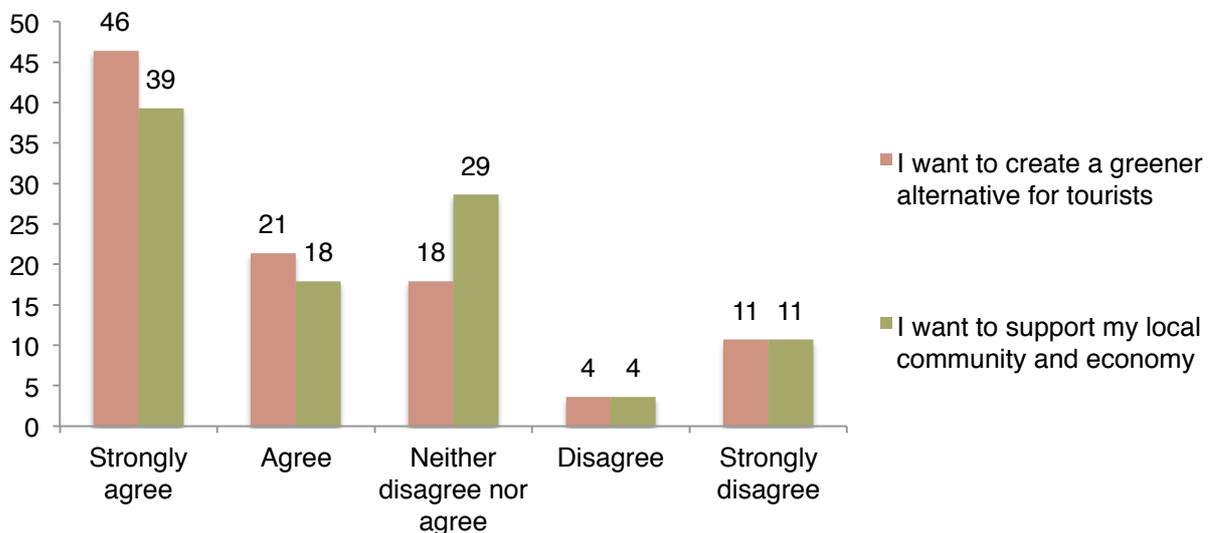


Figure 5.5 Percentage of surveyed hosts by their motivation towards environment (n=28)

These attitudes by the hosting respondents are slightly conflicting with motivations expressed by the total amount of respondents when we asked why they would engage in P2P accommodations. However, it can be supposed that we shaped the hosting respondents reasons by giving them pre-shaped options, and it may be that this perceived sustainability positively influences hosts` attitudes towards the collaborative economy, but plays a smaller role when people consider actual participation in the economy (Hamari, Sjöklint and Ukkonen, 2015). This is for example expressed through respondent nr. 19 (A5: p. i) who commented “it is smart that one can utilise an empty apartment, and as a tourist it is an alternative to expensive hotels”. Also respondent nr. 48 (A5: p. iii) shared similar thoughts:

*“It is great utilization of property. Both for the ones letting out and the ones renting. As landlord one can earn money while being away, which may cover some of one’s travel expenses, and as the one renting a place it is great to experience a private home, and it is often cheaper and better than a hotel room.”*

The comments also illustrate what Hamari, Sjöklint and Ukkonen (2015) refer to as perceived sustainability, as the respondents both mention it is a good way to use resources efficiently and their attitude towards P2P accommodation is very positive, but it also becomes clear that their main motivation still is the economic benefit.

Advocates of the collaborative economy are arguing for new growth opportunities built on a social and sustainable sharing community, which is good for the environment, the consumer, the society and the economy (Business, 2015). However, as our findings show, our respondents' main motivation to participate in the P2P accommodation rental market is not social or environmentally friendly driven. Although one can question, whether the P2P companies are using the sustainability as a marketing tactic, especially now that global warming is on people's mind. Or as mentioned earlier, since Nordic residents are known as environment enthusiasts, who make more environmentally conscious decisions, the aspect is most likely discussed more in the Nordic context (Business, 2015; Erichsen, 2015; Felländer, Ingram and Teigland, 2015). Based on our findings, the idea of people's participation in the collaborative economy being built on a social and sustainable sharing community falls a bit flat. Yet, it might still be good for the environment, the consumer, the society and the economy.

Analysis & Discussion ► Economic Benefits, Unique Experiences and the Service Itself

### 5.3.5 Convenience

*"You help people to go on holiday cheaper. You can give advice on what there is to see in the city and help with questions."*

Respondent nr. 32 (A5: p. ii)

Our findings furthermore show that both our hosting and non-hosting respondents are also driven by convenience and goodwill. When the respondents were asked if they would engage in P2P accommodation rentals and for what reasons, some of our respondents mentioned factors including convenience, price, and to find and to help others to find

accommodation in Copenhagen. Respondent nr. 99 (A5: p. iv) commented that “it is an easier and cheaper way to find accommodation”, and respondent nr. 19 (A5: p. i) stated:

*“It is a smart that one can utilise an empty apartment, and as a tourist it is an alternative to expensive hotels. I think it helps in a way so more people can afford going on holiday.”*

Owyang, Samuel and Grenville (2014, p. 19) argue that “a lot of making and sharing is driven by the same pragmatic considerations that drive conventional forms of consumption and production”, why the collaborative economy is so powerful. It can, therefore, be supposed that what would drive our respondents to use P2P accommodation companies in Copenhagen, is that they “know how to compete on price or quality” (Owyang, Samuel and Grenville, 2014, p. 19). Put differently P2P accommodations are pragmatic and the companies know the interests of today’s consumers and by giving them an often cheaper and easier alternative, people engage.

Some of the respondents, both hosting and non-hosting (nr. 9; nr. 64; nr. 95; nr. 124) also pointed out that P2P accommodations can be a good way to find temporary accommodation or to help others to find accommodation. As respondent nr. 124 (A5: p. v) argued: “I need the money and I know it's impossible to find somewhere to live in Copenhagen”. This finding will be further discussed in section 5.5 – Negative and Positive Implications of P2P Accommodation.

Finally, the top 5 reasons why our hosting or non-hosting respondents would rent out via P2P accommodation platforms in Copenhagen are the economic benefits, to create local and fun alternatives, because of the service itself, to use resources efficiently and because it is convenient (see figure 5.6). These findings are much like other research findings, where the financial gains of P2P accommodation are the most important factors driving participation (Gansky, 2010; Lamberton & Rose, 2012; Owyang, Samuel and Grenville, 2014; Guttentag, 2015; Ikkala and Lampinen, 2015; Hamari, Sjöklint and Ukkonen, 2015; Felländer, Ingram and Teigland, 2015).

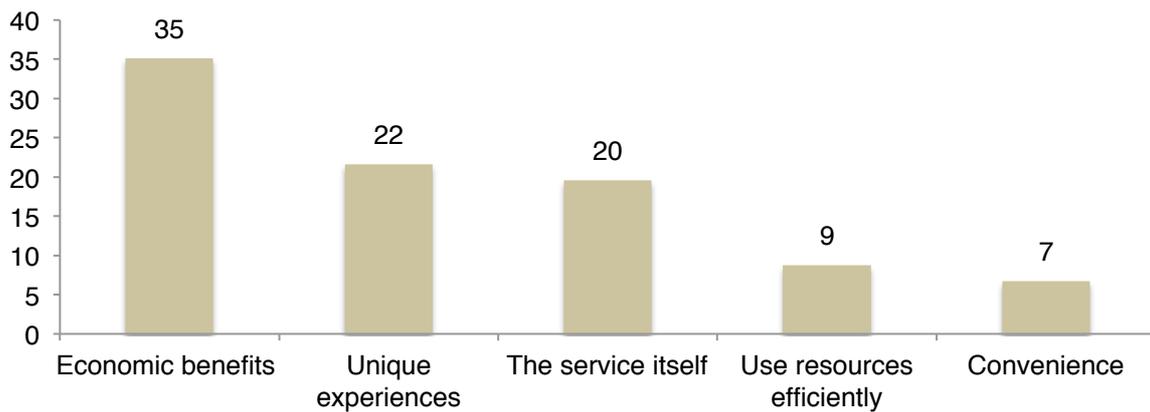


Figure 5.6 Percentage of surveyed respondents by their motivation towards participation in the P2P accommodation rental market (n=140)

Our results are more or less comparable with other international studies, and it can, therefore, be supposed that motivations for engaging in collaborative economy services, as P2P accommodation rentals, are not solely place-bound, but an illustration of a global consumer's way of thinking. Yet, we do not argue that place does not play a role, as the degree of each motivation varies according to the place context. As for example in Copenhagen, where a strong welfare state most likely plays a role in people's economic motivation and a growing shortage of accommodation, makes people resort to these services as a housing bridge.

Analysis & Discussion ►

#### 5.4 Concerns about Privacy and Permission

*"I am a private person and I can't imagine to let a stranger live in my apartment even for a short time."*

Respondent nr. 12 (A5: p. i)

Next to the motivations for wanting to rent out, the non-hosting respondents were asked why they do not host via P2P accommodation platforms. The three main reasons were privacy (45%), safety concerns (44%), and that they are not allowed (43%). Almost half (45%) of the non-hosting respondents mentioned privacy concerns to be one of the reasons for them not to host via P2P accommodation platforms (see figure 5.7). This

aspect was also emphasised when we asked all respondents if and why they would rent out via P2P accommodation platforms. The respondents commented for example that they like their private space (nr. 100), that they would not like to have strangers staying in their home (nr. 116) and as respondent nr. 109 (A5: p. v) stated: “I like my privacy and don’t feel comfortable to share my apartment with strangers”. One respondent (nr. 115, A5: p. vii) even indicated that “sharing a kitchen and toilet with guests” is a reason for her not to rent out via P2P accommodation platforms. The comments show that the respondents would be concerned about privacy issues if they were to host, and for these respondents, it does not seem to make a difference if they would rent out just a room or a whole apartment.

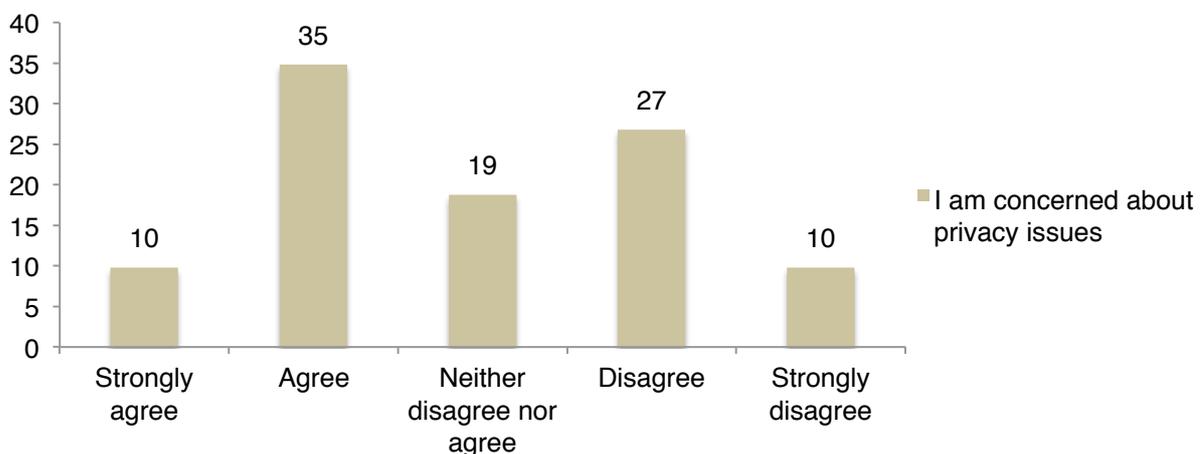


Figure 5.7 Percentage of surveyed non-hosts by their attitude towards privacy issues (n=112)

This finding may be a well-grounded reason not to host on P2P accommodation rental platforms. Leading back to the argument by Guttentag (2015) who argues that the practical residential amenities, such as a full kitchen and a washing machine, are the benefits guests look for in P2P rentals. As such the guests may intrude one’s personal space, when using these amenities in people’s private home, and for private people sharing the amenities might not be pleasing. Also, the P2P accommodation market is argued to have emerged from digitally mediated social network services, such as Facebook and Twitter (Helbing, 2015; Barnes and Mattson, 2016; Botsman and Rogers, 2011). This emphasises that social interactions between hosts and guests should take place and for private people this social pressure might be a reason not to use these services.

It is not only the non-hosting respondents who have concerns about privacy, also some of the hosting respondents expressed concerns based on their previous experiences. For example respondent nr. 10 (A5: p. vii) stated that even though she mostly had positive experiences while hosting and especially remembers those guests who have been open-minded and outgoing, one negative experience particularly stayed in her mind, as the comment shows:

*“It does affect your personal space and freedom to have strangers living in your apartment, and so far only one couple made me highly uncomfortable. They were not socialising and stayed in their room.”*

As mentioned in the previous section, 43% of the hosting respondents stated that they want to meet new people as one reason for hosting. We, therefore, assume that the hosts are aware of the fact that P2P accommodation rentals are “about sharing your private home” and that the guests also “expect a personal environment” (nr. 26, A5: p. vii), which makes a reason for other people not to use the services, as they do not wish to share their space. Furthermore, only 18% of the non-hosting respondents would be concerned about communicating with guests if they were to host. This shows that the respondents might be willing to socialise while hosting, but a bigger barrier to overcome at first would be to let strangers into their home. Similarly, Barnes and Mattson (2016, p. 209) argue that “the social and cultural features of the attitudes and behaviours of consumers” are the biggest barriers to overcome in order to increase the engagement in the collaborative economy. Respondent nr. 45 stated that she does not want strangers to stay in her home, while she is not home herself, indicating that she most likely does not trust the guests. The same aspect was emphasised by respondent nr. 122 (A5: p. v) when stating that she would rent out her home, but only because “I have a lot of friends living near by, so they could check that everything is going fine”.

Besides that, a majority (83%) of our non-hosting respondents know what P2P accommodation rentals are, and 70% trust the online P2P accommodation rental platforms. Considering this, it seems like our respondents do not have trust issues in regard to the P2P accommodation providers, but the trust issues are instead pointed at the potential guests. Yet according to a World Value Survey, people in Denmark are

among the worlds most trusting of people they do not know (SPCC, 2015), which then is in conflict with our findings. However, 20% of our total respondents still host and 38% of the total respondents would like to in the future, which means that this finding only characterises a smaller group of the respondents. It can be supposed that this trust issue is something our respondents worry about, but the factor is not significant enough to stop people from using the P2P services.

In relation Bibb and Kourdi (2004, as cited in Kjaer and Morsing, 2010, p. 17) argue that Danes in particular also have a general trust in corporations and their managers. This trust is most likely an outcome of the welfare society and non-corrupt institutions (SPCC, 2015), which might help to explain why 70% of the total respondents trust in the P2P accommodation companies. Besides that, the trust in the P2P accommodation platforms may also be because of our sample's young age, making them part of a digital generation (IGI Global, 2016) who uses technologically mediated platforms on a daily level, which indicates that they trust in those platforms.

As mentioned above, 43% of the non-hosting respondents stated that they are not allowed to use P2P accommodation rentals. Yet, we do not know if it is a perception of not being allowed, among the respondents, or if they actually have checked out the rules in their building. Both respondent nr. 92 and nr. 110 emphasised that because they do not own the apartment themselves, they do not use the P2P accommodation platforms. But, as figure 5.8 shows, most people who have already hosted (80%) or would like to in the future (43%) live in a rented house or apartment. There are therefore no indications of a connection between P2P accommodation rentals and owner-occupied houses/apartments, as respondent nr. 92 and 110 pointed out. Thus, it can be supposed, that at least their reasons for not hosting are based on a perception of not being allowed.

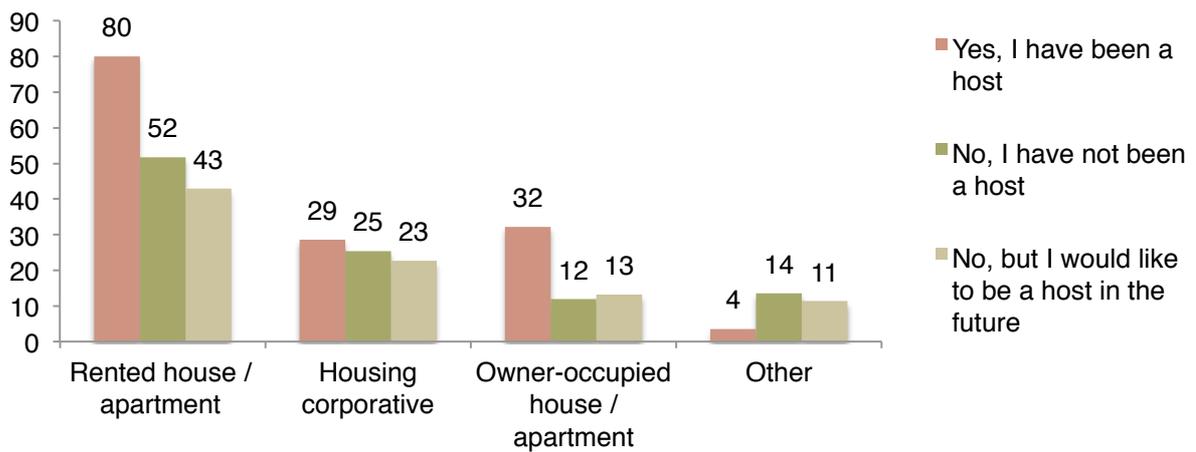


Figure 5.8 Percentage of surveyed hosts, non-hosts and non-hosts who would like to be a host in the future by their type of housing (n=140)

Other reasons not to host on the P2P accommodation rental platforms among our respondents included “we have a cat that would belong to the package, it is a bit too big responsibility for a stranger to give” (nr. 92, A5: p. iv), because of “hygienic standards” (nr. 106, A5: p. v) and because respondent nr. 13 (A5: p. i) had a “baby on the way so we need all rooms”. However, these single cases do not illustrate any patterns, and the key findings presented in this section were the concerns about privacy and the respondents’ perception of not being allowed to host via the P2P services.

Analysis & Discussion ►

## 5.5 Negative and Positive Implications of P2P Accommodations

Other studies about the collaborative economy have shown that the rise of P2P accommodation rentals also raises public safety concerns (Guttentag, 2015; Zervas, Prosperio and Byers, 2014; Jefferson-Jones, 2015a). Even though the impacts of P2P accommodation rentals are not as obvious in Copenhagen as in some other European cities, some of our respondents have noticed both negative and positive changes in Copenhagen and in their own communities. Even though the direct causal relationship between the issues and P2P accommodation rentals cannot be proven, we still believe they are worth monitoring because of the strong and negative reactions we, for example, see in Barcelona and Berlin.

### 5.5.1 Housing Difficulties

*“If one owns several apartments and rent them out via Airbnb, it could become problematic if too many started to do that, because of the general housing shortage.”*

Respondent nr. 138 (A5: p. v)

Even though our findings show that P2P accommodation rentals are not yet an issue in Copenhagen, surprisingly 33% of the total respondents stated that they know people who have moved out of their home in order to rent it out via P2P accommodation platforms. Furthermore, 31% have noticed how rents have been rising, 30% stated that finding a place to stay in Copenhagen has become more difficult, and another 5% mentioned that they have used P2P accommodation platforms as a bridge to find long-term accommodation in Copenhagen (see table 5.2). However, we acknowledge that one cannot be 100% sure whether the given scenarios were caused by P2P rentals.

Table 5.2 Percentage of surveyed respondents by their experiences towards housing difficulties (n=140)		
Scenario	%	n
I know people who are moving out of their home to rent it out via accommodation sharing platforms	33%	46
It has become more expensive to rent a place in Copenhagen	31%	43
It has become more difficult to find a place to stay in Copenhagen on a long-term basis	30%	42
I have used Airbnb or other sharing services as a bridge to find long-term accommodation in Copenhagen	5%	7

As discussed earlier, some of our respondents stated that they would rent out their properties because they know how difficult it is to find a place to stay long-term in the city (nr. 26; nr. 95; nr. 96; nr. 124; nr. 140). In addition, 5% of our respondents have used Airbnb or other short-term rental services as an alternative or bridge solution to find a long-term accommodation in Copenhagen, and some have considered doing so, as respondent nr. 9 (A5: p. vii) commented:

*“In a city like Copenhagen finding an affordable long term accommodation is rather difficult, listings on these home sharing websites can offer a temporary solution. At some point [when] I was looking for a place to move, I even considered finding a short term rental on Airbnb, however I did not do so as I managed to find a long-term accommodation in time.”*

Also Aalborg municipality (A3, p. ii) pointed out that the housing shortage is critical during semester start in the beginning of September “due to the volume of new students in town”, and they assume “some new residents used peer-to-peer as a short-term solution, but we have no statistics on the subject”. Even though it is not in Copenhagen, it still provides valuable insights to our case being studied, as it is not only Copenhagen that is experiencing housing shortage issues, other municipalities experience similar issues and argue that P2P platforms could provide a short-term alternative to long-term rentals. In relation, respondent nr. 141 (A5: p. vii) has noticed that “the pressure on the housing market in Copenhagen is heavy” and also respondent nr. 82 (A5: p. ix) stated, “with skyrocketing housing prices, it is an entirely natural development”. But on the other side, respondent nr. 115 (A5: p. vi) did not believe that “the fact that it is difficult to find a long term rental place in Copenhagen has anything to do with Airbnb or other sharing services”. Thus, it can be assumed that since the housing situation is relatively tricky, and Copenhagen is experiencing a growing shortage of student accommodation (Biener, 2015), some people may try to use P2P accommodation platforms as a short-term solution when looking for a place for long-term.

Some respondents were concerned that the situation in Copenhagen will end up like in London or New York, where rental prices are “extremely high”, partially because “a lot of apartments are used only for rental through these services and not for conventional private let” (nr. 58, A5: p. iii). In relation, respondent nr. 138 (A5: p. v) commented that “it could become problematic if too many started to do that, because of the general housing shortage” referring to renting out a property “with a sole purpose of renting it out”. This shows that our respondents have noticed the critical housing situation in Copenhagen, and even though they do not believe that P2P accommodation rentals are the reason for that, they still do not want P2P accommodation rentals to worsen the situation, as they have seen in other cities.

As mentioned before, it can be assumed that the respondents are affected by the media covering the negative impacts we see in other cities such as in London and New York. It is difficult to compare the issues that have happened elsewhere and the issues emerging in Copenhagen since every destination has its own unique characteristics and it is hard to link these issues in a causal relationship with P2P accommodation rentals. Furthermore because the policy arena is complex, as there are multiple stakeholders, with their own goals and values (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007), no single policy may address everything. Instead, it can be assumed that combining different areas, such as housing and taxing regulations could be a policy solution.

Gamber (2002, as cited in Jefferson-Jones, 2015a, p. 562) argues that in history the number of boarding houses in Manhattan increased when the migration of people to urban centres from small towns and rural areas started, and when the immigrants from Europe moved in as well. As the urban centres became more crowded, and the commodity of affordable housing more scarce, boarding houses became more popular (Jefferson-Jones, 2015a). In the Danish context, the rise of the boarding houses emerged as a reaction to the industrialisation and urbanisation, when mostly young people moved to the cities, and a need for affordable housing occurred (Mortensen, 2015). Also, Airbnb is exploiting the view of boarding houses, since the company posted a tweet on Twitter stating that they are upholding the proud tradition of renting out rooms to people who otherwise could not afford to go to New York (Bloomgarden-Smoke, 2015). Thus, again it can be assumed that like in the time of boarding houses, the shortage of affordable housing in Copenhagen today is one driver for our young respondents to use P2P accommodation rentals in the cities, but we cannot claim that the P2P accommodation rentals have caused the housing shortage in Copenhagen. However, the rising number of P2P accommodation rentals in Copenhagen may influence the increase of the rental prices in the future if no regulations are passed. There is not yet any statistics or data suggesting that the difficult housing situation is worsened by P2P accommodation rentals, but if the concentration of P2P accommodations increases in Copenhagen, we believe its impact on the housing market is warrant further investigation.

### 5.5.2 Community Conflicts

*“It is also sad to experience the environment in your wonderful backyard being destroyed by two Airbnb-hotels. Only two years ago, children could play undisturbed in our backyard. Now we need to be afraid of old men that take photos of our small children in their summer clothes. It is simply “uhyggeligt”, and because of the guests, who never present any kind of ethics and moral, we do not dare to let the school children play alone in the garden. The guests make noise, drink, use drugs and leave food and other garbage (that the rats eat).”*

Respondent nr. 94 (A5: p. ix)

The above comment is quite extreme, but an actual case from Copenhagen. It is an example of what may happen if whole apartments are used solely for renting out via P2P accommodation platforms. However, not only the continually rented out apartments and their guests create concerns for the community. Some respondents also commented on the noise of the neighbours’ guests as a negative aspect (nr. 82; nr. 94; nr. 105). Other issues that concerned our respondents are illegal brothels (nr. 15; nr. 24; nr. 113) as respondent nr. 113 (A5: p. ix) pointed out:

*“The article in Metro Express on Friday 8 April about Airbnb apartments used for prostitution and other things in Denmark does not sound very good. Fortunately, my neighbours do not use Airbnb, but if they would do so very often, then I would be concerned about it.”*

Although it is not in Copenhagen, the DMO - Visit Vejle (A3), also expressed concerns for the private rentals being used inappropriately, such as brothels. We are aware that based on these findings we cannot state that illegal brothels are an issue in Copenhagen, but we still believe they portray an actual concern among our respondents.

There are some indications that the respondents have started noticing changes in their neighbourhood in Copenhagen because of the rise of P2P rentals. For example, 11% of the respondents stated that they often met strangers in their building, 9% have

experienced more noise around their home, and further 6% have had problems with cleanliness in their building or neighbourhood (see table 5.3).

Table 5.3 Percentage of surveyed respondents by their experiences towards community conflicts (n=140)		
Scenario	%	n
I often meet strangers in my building	11%	15
I have experienced more noise around my home	9%	13
There have been problems with cleanliness in my building or neighbourhood	6%	8
My neighbourhood has become more lively	6%	8
Other	4%	5

Also other studies have argued that P2P rentals might contribute to nonparticipant externalities (Gottlieb, 2013; Zervas, Prosperio and Byers, 2014; Horton, 2015; Christensen, 2016; LearnAirbnb, 2016), and that it might result in conflicts, when permanent residents start complaining about increased traffic, noise and residential maintenance (Gottlieb, 2013). Horton (2015) claims that the most substantive critique of Airbnb is related to those issues since the company allows the host to impose a cost on their neighbours. In other words, it can become a public cost since the responsibility is shifted from the host to the community, which is calling upon common pool resources. In relation, these issues might be of greater significance in apartment buildings, where individuals live closely together, and guests using a shared backyard might affect the whole community and not only the host. This is experienced by respondent nr. 94 (A5: p. iv): “in our backyard two houses turned into hotels, which is of great disturbance for all neighbours”. Hence, it can be supposed that the above-mentioned issues may become a concern in Copenhagen in the future if the number of P2P accommodation rentals rise, since according to Bruun (nd.) 1/3 of the total housing mass in Copenhagen consist of cohousing flats, where one partially owns the apartment building, and community is pursued through shared workdays, social intercourses in the yard, and the shared responsibility for operation and maintenance of the building.

In accordance, studies suggest that P2P accommodation rentals may contribute negatively to the sense of community (Gottlieb, 2013; Zervas, Prosperio and Byers, 2014;

Jefferson-Jones, 2015b). The increased noise, litter, strangers, etc. can lower the community bond in a residential neighbourhood, as short-term tenants are not as connected to the community, and therefore not interested in investing and protecting the neighbourhood (Gottlieb, 2013), or protect the values of the community (Jefferson-Jones, 2015b). Indeed these aspects were also identified as concerns by our respondents, since the six most popular concerns selected were theft/damage (71%), maintenance of the property (53%), neighbour issues (46%), strangers on the property (46%), taxes (32%) and city regulations/fines (30%). Another key finding, therefore, is that the respondents are interested in maintaining the sense of community in their neighbourhoods. In other words, a dense increase in P2P accommodation rentals could be a thread to exactly this pursued community as internal conflicts might arise between the occupants in the building due to for example noise and residential maintenance. Future research focusing mainly on these certain issues and community impacts would be interesting as our study indicates that hosts use both private, public and shared assets in order to attract guest and generate a private benefit.

The above sub-sections both illustrated our respondents' negative concerns and experiences in regard to P2P accommodation. But our findings also indicated that P2P accommodation rentals potentially could bring positive effects into a community.

Analysis & Discussion ► Negative and Positive Implications of P2P Accommodations

### 5.5.3 Potential Increase in Tourism

*"Airbnb and other P2P home rental platforms is potentially a welcoming supplement to the existing hotels. Tourist staying in Airbnb flats stay longer (see more, spend more) and in relation to mega events like Eurovision etc. home rental provides extra rooms for tourist that would not otherwise be able to find accommodation within Copenhagen."*

Copenhagen municipality (A3: p. ii)

Like Copenhagen municipality, both Visit Denmark (2016) and Airbnb (2015a) also argue that P2P accommodations have the potential to increase the number of tourists' visits, or to create tourism in new areas. Visit Denmark (2016) for example argues, that a lot of

homes are let out on the outskirts of Copenhagen, where the supply of hotels are sparse. Some of our respondents (nr. 22; nr. 72) also believe that P2P accommodations attract more tourists to Copenhagen and respondent nr. 33 (A5: p. vi) stated that:

*"I believe Airbnb helps increasing the cultural flow in an area, and as a house owner it provides the opportunity to meet new people you else wise would not have met."*

Airbnb's (2015a) own research suggests that 57% of the guests who stayed in Copenhagen in 2015 used the money they saved on the accommodation on for example food and shopping, and 59% of the guests visited local businesses based on their hosts' recommendations. Our results show that 96% of the hosts recommended local services to their guests, including for example restaurants (89%), green areas and parks (82%), cafés (82%), bars (63%), grocery shops (63%) and local shops (63%). It can be assumed that the guests, who stay in a hotel instead of an Airbnb accommodation, would most probably use the similar services in any case somewhere, but P2P accommodation rentals can be a good way to spread the tourist spends towards non-touristy neighbourhoods. However, Copenhagen municipality (A3: p. ii) still pointed out:

*"Available Copenhagen homes on Airbnb is growing rapidly and we see this happening in all of the Copenhagen – even the suburbs. Still there is no specific data to suggest tourist travel differently within the city".*

With no specific data proving that tourists are travelling differently in Copenhagen, we cannot argue that P2P accommodation rentals are spreading the tourist spend towards peripheral, non-touristy neighbourhoods of Copenhagen. Also, just because tourists choose to stay in a non-touristic area does not automatically mean that they spend their time and money in that certain area. It can be assumed that they still travel to the touristic areas and spend more there than in the suburbs. Without concrete data it is difficult to predict if P2P accommodation rentals have any positive economic impacts for Copenhagen, therefore future research on this area could clarify if tourists are travelling differently in Copenhagen due to P2P accommodation rentals and how that affects the economic flows. This would furthermore help to clear the expectations before P2P accommodation rentals may become a problem, such as in Berlin or Barcelona.

Barnes and Mattson (2016) argue that one should not expect much of the progress in developing political or business solutions in the next 10 years, or to solve the legal issues completely, for the collaborative economy, but the environmental issues may be expected to be more important in the next decade (Barnes and Mattson, 2016). Our study indicates that when considering the actual participation in the collaborative economy, money plays the biggest role, but still a perceived sustainability influences the respondents' motivation. Thus, drawing on insights from Barnes and Mattson (2016), it can be assumed that it may be good for the municipality of Copenhagen to embrace the P2P accommodation rentals as a help to achieve its ambition of becoming the first carbon-neutral capital by 2025 (State of Green, nd.). This, of course, raises a question of whether P2P accommodation rentals really offer a sustainable solution. Madsen (2015) argues that collaborative economy itself does not benefit the climate and environment, but some of its initiatives have great potential to do so if they are utilised correctly. In relation Martin (2016) suggests researching how the collaborative economy could be guided to a pathway aligned with sustainability.

The municipality of Vejle (DMO - Visit Vejle, A3: p. i) instead has already thought about the positive implications of the collaborative economy, and are planning to include them in the city's rebranding strategy, as they commented:

*"It can increase the interest and knowledge of Vejle and create a bigger capacity. [...] Peer-to-peer are now included as a possibility in the work we are doing to strategically lift Vejle as a meeting, congress and event city."*

Vejle municipality is working on implementing P2P into the business development strategy. Although this is not Copenhagen, it still brings valid insights for this case, as it points out the potentials in regard to city planning and development in smaller sized destinations. Leading back to an argument by de Esteban, Cetin and Antonovica (2015) who state that in order to fulfil a broader range of interests and tastes the industry must change. Similarly, Dredge and Jenkins, (2007) argue that governments need to adapt to the growth of multinational companies, as well as the movement of capital investments across international borders in order to offer the right conditions for attracting investment

and maximising the growth opportunities. Hence, it can be supposed that integrating collaborative strategies in the city's development strategy could be a way to secure the future of P2P accommodation rentals in Copenhagen, however, the municipalities need to take actions in order to limit the negative implications that may arise due to an extensive amount of P2P accommodation rentals.

Analysis & Discussion ►

## 5.6 Policy Considerations

Concerns about taxes, public safety, and employment in regard to the P2P accommodation sector have affected our respondents' perceptions. We discovered some unanticipated and slightly conflicting areas from our findings, including the personal right, the indistinct line between hobby and business and regulations and the level of government control, which are discussed in the following sub-sections.

Analysis & Discussion ► Policy Considerations

### 5.6.1 Personal Right

*"It is up to oneself whether one wants to share one's apartment or not."*

Respondent nr. 31 (A5: p. ii)

Some of the respondents emphasised the importance of personal right (nr. 23; nr. 31; nr. 35; nr. 41; nr. 51; nr. 54; nr. 52; nr. 71; nr. 139) in regard to the use of P2P accommodation services, when stating that "it is surely up to yourself to open your doors to whomever you want" (n. 54, A5: p. iii) and "your home - you decide" (nr. 139, A5: p. vi). In continuation, some of the comments indicated that especially if people own the apartment or house, it should be a personal right to let out the properties. Two respondents, for example, emphasized that renting out via P2P accommodation platforms would be acceptable, if "it is your apartment" (nr. 41, A5: p. iii), or if "it is your home" (nr. 51, A5: p. iii). We do acknowledge that it is up to our understanding, whether people really meant owning the place, instead of renting, but respondent nr. 105 (A5: p. iv) clearly stated that renting out via P2P accommodation platforms is ok, "if one owns the property",

and respondent nr. 113 (A5: p. v) went even beyond that when stating that it would be acceptable if “the housing association has approved it”.

Furthermore, 33% of our respondents stated that they might not host via P2P accommodation platforms if it was obligatory for the platforms to inform municipalities about the hosts. The reason may again be the young age of our sample, and the increase in young political liberal citizens in Denmark (Raabæk, 2015). Hence, it can be supposed that this attitude is a reflection of liberal core values, such as freedom and less state control, like we see in the United States. In other words, it is about the right for privacy and confidentiality, which indicates that the respondents consider P2P accommodation as a part of one’s private sphere and not as a business, thus they do not wish the state to interfere in their private affairs.

However, even though the respondents expressed concerns about personal right, still most of them (44%) might use the services even though local governments would be informed of the hosts by the P2P accommodation platforms. This indicates that most of our respondents still are open for some degree of government involvement. It can be supposed that they have trust in the Danish systems, which most likely is different in other countries, where the citizens fear the state misuses its resources. The complexity of P2P accommodation rentals is therefore among other things a question about the blurred lines of private use and professional use. This issue was further emphasised by our respondents, and will be discussed in the following sub-section.

Analysis & Discussion ► Policy Considerations

### 5.6.2 The Indistinct Line Between Hobby and Business

*“Those who own the two houses they use for Airbnb, do not care about the problems that has occurred in our backyard, they do not live here anymore, they only want to earn money, they don’t even pay tax of. It is directly unethical.”*

Respondent nr. 94 (A5: p. vi)

Our study indicates that even though some of our respondents believe it is a question of one’s personal right, whether to “share” or not to “share” their home, it still should not

become an unethical business form, as the comment above illustrates. The respondents elaborated that people should recognise the difference between sharing a property, and making it into a business (nr. 94; nr. 130; nr. 132; nr. 139). In general, when renting out an extra room, it is considered sharing, but as respondent nr. 139 (A5: p. x) stated:

*“People who rent out entire homes have nothing to do with sharing. They are basically just renting out their home like people have done for decades, which have nothing to do with sharing. It's a business.”*

Also respondent nr. 130 (A5: p. ix) touched this topic with a comment:

*“When talking about Airbnb it is important to realise that there actually are two business forms: One is that people let out a whole apartment or house and the other model is the one where the family stays and only let out a spare room.”*

Respondent nr. 94 (A5: p. ix) argued that the collaborative economy per se is good, but pointed out that in the accommodation sector “it has gone very wrong and it has become very unethical”. Also respondent nr. 69 (A5: p. viii) commented that it is a shame that P2P rentals have become so “expensive and business-like”, and respondent nr. 85 (A5: p. ix) stated that “it is developing in a negative direction”. Furthermore respondent nr. 26 (A5: p. vii) commented:

*“Since it is about sharing your private home you also expect a personal environment. But what has happened quite often is, that you end up in a totally impersonal flat because people started to do it as business and then they create an artificial “home” which has no spirit, flair or personal character.”*

Some of the respondents have noticed that their neighbours are already renting out continually and that the owners do not live anymore in the apartment that they rent out (nr. 94; nr. 140). Also respondent nr. 140 (A5: p. x) commented that at the moment there are quite many of those who use P2P rentals as a business: “they move out from their apartments to earn money by renting them out, and I would in no way say the prices are cheap”. In accordance respondent nr. 85 (A5: p. ix) commented:

*“If the idea before was to share, save and maybe suppress capitalism and overconsumption, today it is closer to becoming yet another business with the only and most important aim of earning money. It is always about money. It is a pity. We need to go back to the good old 70ties communes.”*

However, these opinions may be again affected by the negative media coverage from other cities, such as San Francisco, New York, Berlin or Barcelona, as most of the respondents' comments reflect perceptions and not personal experiences. This can be emphasised by the characteristics of the hosting respondents practices. Because even though more than half (68%) of the them rent out an entire apartment or house, 54% of the hosts have an average of only 1 to 5 bookings per year, and the rest (36%) 6 to 10 bookings per year. Furthermore, almost all of the hosts (93%) stated that the average length of stay of their guests was between 1 to 7 nights, and the rest (7%) answered the average length of stay to be between 8 to 14 nights. It can, therefore, be assumed that they mainly rent out when they are on a vacation, or otherwise not at home and do not need the place themselves. Hence, our research indicates that the tendency in Copenhagen among our hosting respondents is to rent out the whole apartment or house, but in general, it is not done continually, or the guests do not stay more than 14 nights per stay.

However, the respondents are still concerned about what may happen if the concentration of business-type P2P accommodation rentals rises in Copenhagen. This has happened for example in San Francisco, where a regulation allowing short-term rentals for people that need extra money has been applied, while it tries to eliminate the apartment complexes to be turned into “de facto hotels” (Shuford, 2015, p. 326). In short, the city has a public registry of hosts who have to pay \$50 fee every two years, and register with the city-planning department (Sf-planning, nd). One might question, whether applying same compulsory registration regulation, which according to Dredge and Jenkins (2007) requires high levels of state involvement, would work in Copenhagen since as discussed above, some of the respondents consider the use of the services a personal right. It might be just a question of scale as the negative impacts currently are not so obvious in Copenhagen. But as we see in for example San Francisco and Berlin, groups of P2P

accommodation opponents claiming regulations have formed (AirbnbWATCH, 2016) due to the negative implications. If the impacts would reach similar levels as in those cities, more and more people in Copenhagen would most likely also call for new regulations. It can, therefore, be assumed that the Copenhagen municipality must act on the short-term rentals market if it continues to grow.

Furthermore, the industry association for hotels, hostels and vacation centres in Denmark, Horesta, has already requested the politicians multiple times for regulation on the area (Nielsen, 2015b), as they believe the services are business-oriented and therefore have favourable terms compared to the traditional accommodation industry. In addition, respondent nr. 139 stated she is concerned about hotels losing business or even go bankrupt because P2P rentals are growing without regulations, thus offering an extra income for people who often are already wealthy and have extra rooms to spare.

The issues are complex, and governments need to think about how to behave and what actions to make. P2P rental companies are considered part of the collaborative economy, but on the other hand in cases like above, when the apartments are used as a business, should they then be regulated as the traditional industry? The same complexities are found when the researchers have tried to define the collaborative economy (Botsman and Rogers, 2011; Belk, 2014a; Piscicelli, Cooper and Fisher, 2015; Dredge and Gyimóthy, 2015). One question that still remains open because of the lack of research, is the argument by Dredge and Gyimóthy (2015, p. 14) whether collaborative economy “really is a social movement that solves pressing socio-economic global problems”, or if it is “a business consultancy fad orchestrated by self-interested intermediaries and other who are positioned to gain”.

As our findings show, the policy arena is complex. P2P accommodation rental companies, the users, and the industry associations and advocates all have their separate opinions about how P2P accommodation rentals as part of the collaborative economy should or should not be regulated. Hence, the question is whether the collaborative economy should be regulated in the favour of the companies, the users, or the society. This is why thorough research on the area is important before planning new regulations since policies are planned based on the competitive ideas, interests and ideologies that impel the

political system (Bridgman and Davis, 2004, as cited in Dredge and Jenkins, 2007, p. 6). We will in the following section discuss the challenges of regulation.

Analysis & Discussion ► Policy Considerations

### 5.6.3 Regulatory Challenges

The tourism industry has restructured in time as a result of different economic, social and cultural changes that have been driven by the process of globalization, rapid technological progress, and the communication and information revolutions (Jenkins, 1995; Poon, 2003; Voase, 2007; Russo, Lombardi & Mangiagli, 2013; Dredge and Gyimóthy, 2015). Thus, it may be argued that the rise of P2P rentals are a result of the tourism industry's restructuring, and governments are first now beginning to address the ensuing challenges with new rules and regulations. At the moment, P2P rentals are mostly relying on self-regulations, but they also should take into account regulations from other fields. Such as in Barcelona, where the regional government fined Airbnb and seven other short-term rental platforms accusing the companies to breach the local laws since every flat that is rented to tourists needs to be registered with the Tourism Registry of Catalonia (Kassam, 2014). Airbnb was disappointed in the decision and stated that “Barcelona should stay on the cutting edge of innovation”, and that with this decision the government is holding the city back (Kassam, 2014). The idea that this compulsory policy instrument is holding Barcelona back, is also shared by Keller (2003) who argues that at the destination level, there is a need for more proactive innovation-oriented tourism policy. In similar vein, other researchers (Cohen & Levin 1989; Hall & Williams, 2008; Kotilainen, 2005; Pechlaner et al., 2005a, 2005b; Roberts & Jago, 2005; Scherer, 1999; Schumpeter, 1934, as cited in Mei, Arcodia and Ruhanen, 2012, p. 94) argue that the tourism industry, the government and the private sector, should focus on innovation, because of its link to productivity and competitiveness.

Giddens (1999) argues that governments should work in collaboration with the private sector in order to leverage benefits for the citizens, the same may be the case for P2P accommodation rentals. The traditional policy development has changed to a work done by different groups of policy actors, instead of having a strong and paternalistic government focus (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007). Helbing (2015) states that top-down

solutions are not flexible enough, and therefore cannot respond to the various local needs and Guttentag (2015) states that destinations may provide guidance for other destinations throughout the world, but every location needs to weigh the benefits and costs of P2P rentals that are suitable for the destination's unique characteristics. Drawing on these theoretical insights, the municipality needs to examine the pros and cons of P2P rentals in Copenhagen and identify any adverse impacts on the communities. It might also be important that the different segments of the collaborative economy are regulated independently, in order to meet the best purpose of each segment. We believe that this calls for further research, and is therefore not thoroughly discussed in this thesis.

Indeed, local governments globally have taken vastly different approaches to regulating P2P accommodation rentals. For example, in Arizona, United States, Lines (2015) argues that the municipalities have two options; either using existing regulations or creating new systems that correspond to P2P companies' unique operations and addresses the benefits and problems they might bring to communities. Jefferson-Jones (2015a) argues that the current regulations in the United States are planned for a competitive economy, and not for a collaborative one, creating a regulation challenge. Hence, making new regulations for P2P rental companies would probably be a better choice as it offers the municipalities better flexibility to enrapture the benefits of P2P rental companies, and to mitigate the potential problems (Lines, 2015).

P2P rentals are often compared to the traditional economy, such as hotels and hostels, maybe because it seems to change the traditional business as we know it, and new hospitality entrepreneurs are emerging and as Juul (2015, p. 4) argues in regard to the collaborative economy "anyone can start a tourism business". At a 2014 Berlin conference, the hoteliers argued that the competition is not fair because hotels have to take care of for example environmental protection, labour law, municipal tourism fees, consumer protection, various taxes, which hosts do not need to comply with (Juul, 2015). Guttentag (2015) argues that many cities in the United States have prohibited short-term rentals without special permits, due to the widespread illegality of Airbnb, further stating that these cities have many legitimate reasons for these laws, such as maintaining health and safety standards of tourist accommodations. In Europe, some regulations for the collaborative economy have already been made at local levels (Juul, 2015). For example, some cities have regulated P2P rentals by limiting the number of rooms that can be

rented, the rental period, or the number of guests that can be hosted at a time (Juul, 2015). On the other hand, some cities have adopted relatively restrictive approaches, like in Brussels, where hosts have to ask for permission from the municipality and co-owners of the building before short-term renting, and in Paris, this is also required, if the rented residence is not the primary residence of the host (Juul, 2015). Berlin has probably taken the most restrictive approach by banning rentals of entire apartments or houses via P2P accommodation platforms in an attempt to protect affordable housing for locals (Payton, 2016). As a result of this Airbnb listings have dropped by 40% (Payton, 2016). Hence, it is in accordance with our findings that indicate that if P2P rental platforms were to be made illegal in Copenhagen, 64% of the respondents would stop using the services, but still 14% would keep on using them, and further 22% indicated no stance.

The regulatory challenges around the world illustrate how destinations have responded differently, due to the significance of the issues. When our respondents were talking about regulations for P2P accommodation rentals in Denmark, their comments were often focused on the issues with taxation. Shuford (2015) states that exactly the taxation may be a problem as it often relies on how the law classifies persons or businesses, but those classifications are still unclear for the collaborative economy participants. In regard, respondent nr. 75 (A5: p. ix) argued:

*“Taxes must be paid. There must be limits for how much can be rented out especially for rental and cooperative housing. And apartments must not be purchased or preserved in order to manage an apartment hotel. Otherwise, I’m a super big fan.”*

Taxes were a concern of 32% of the total respondents when considering to host via P2P accommodation platforms. As mentioned in the previous sub-section, it is present in the respondents’ comments that if apartments or houses are consequently rented out via P2P accommodation platforms, they should be registered as commercial. Respondent nr. 30 (p. vii) stated that she worries about taxation issues since her friends are hosting “entirely through the black economy and thus avoid paying taxes, which means that they can compete on favourable terms against for example the conventional hotels”. In Denmark, the taxation rules for P2P rentals have recently got a lot of attention in the media, which may have affected some of the respondents’ statements.

Today Copenhagen municipality is relying on the existing rent act covering whole Denmark, in that one needs to pay a tax of her rental, if her property is let out, and it covers all accommodation services, giving no exceptions for P2P rentals (SKAT, nd.). According to our study, 75% of the hosts do not inform the tax authorities of how much they earn on P2P accommodation platforms because they do not earn more than allowed (see figure 5.9). This indicates that most of the hosting respondents do not inform the tax authorities of their revenue, but it may be because the sharing through P2P platforms is a relatively new phenomenon, and the rules are only being discussed in the Danish media currently. The P2P platforms, such as Airbnb (2016) also leave it to the hosts themselves to find out the current legislation in their country, city or municipality, thus it may be that the confusion around the rules leave hosts not to inform the tax authorities, as it is simply too much of a hassle to figure it out.

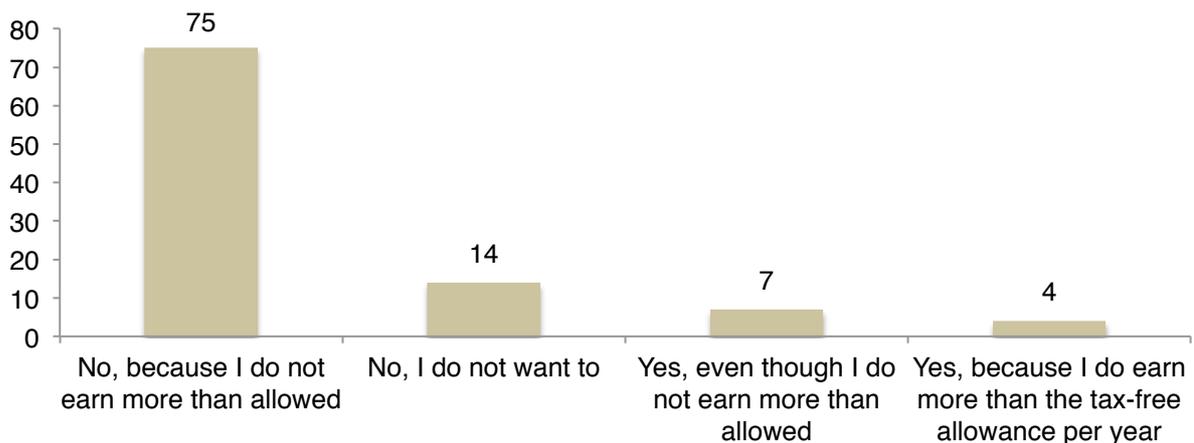


Figure 5.9 Percentage of surveyed hosts who inform the tax authorities of how much they earn on accommodation sharing platforms (n=28)

Furthermore, at the current moment it is up to the hosts to decide whether to inform the authorities or not, and even though some of our respondents stated that individuals should be able to decide themselves whether they want to share their home or not, it is still among other respondents considered a problem that the rental companies are not required to automatically report the revenue of the hosts to the tax authorities. According to our results, if P2P rental companies would be regulated to directly inform the tax authorities of the revenue of the hosts in Copenhagen, half (51%) of the respondents would still continue using the platforms. However, 24% of the respondents would stop

using the platforms for the exact reason, and 25% had no opinion on the matter. This indicates that more than half of our respondents would be ready to have some regulations regarding taxes set for the P2P accommodation services. Surprisingly 24% stated that they would stop using the platforms, which reinforces the study's finding that P2P accommodation rentals among some of the respondents are considered as part of one's private sphere - a space that should not be regulated.

At the moment, no official strategy for the collaborative economy exists for Denmark. However, most parties consider the current development positive, as long as the competition remains fair (Information, 2015), indicating that regulations would be needed. Not all government officials in Denmark are open for regulations, as for example the current tax Minister, who argues that regulations may kill the new industry, but he still is open for dialogue with the industry to find solutions in order to make it easy and effortless for people to pay taxes due (DenOffentlige, 2016). Recently the Danish political party The Red-Green Alliance (Enhedslisten), together with Horesta, suggested implementing this kind of automatic obligation in order to the tax authorities automatically get informed about who is earning money on the platforms (Böttcher et al., 2016). However, in April 2016 a majority of the political parties voted no to the regulation proposal (Denofftentlige, 2016), because they considered the proposal too narrow and several parties pointed out that because Airbnb is an American company, they would not be included in the legislation, and it would only become a symbolic legislation (Skærbæk and Petersen, 2016). Yet the parties in favour for the proposal argued that Airbnb's customers are liable to pay tax in Denmark (Skærbæk and Petersen, 2016). However, it is noteworthy to mention that applying a regulation 'obligation to report' on a private sector company, represents a precedent for private interests to be doing traditional public sector work and there may be commercial privacy laws preventing this, as it is a complex area of law. What then calls for further research is that depending on a destination, local commercial privacy laws would need to be reviewed.

In this section, we pointed out some of the current regulatory responses around the world, the concerns amongst our respondents and policy makers, and discussed the possibilities and challenges of regulating. The complexity of regulating the collaborative economy was illustrated as the respondents expressed concerns about one's personal right and the indistinct line between private sphere and business. A key finding of this study is therefore

that multiple actors and their values and self-interests are shaping a complex policy arena, and because Copenhagen is first starting to respond to the rise of the P2P accommodation sector, finding the right solution for exactly this city will take time and further research on the topic would be beneficial for the decision-making process. Thus, a pathway in between should be found, in order to keep the users, the P2P accommodation rental companies, and the society happy. In the following section, we will discuss the future development of P2P accommodation rentals in Copenhagen.

Analysis & Discussion ►

## 5.7 P2P Accommodation Rentals and the Future

As argued by Goudin (2016) the P2P accommodation rental market emerges as a complex issue, and it remains difficult to predict its development and future. Thus, a pragmatic approach has opened up for the question for new ways of being in the future that can be described as better in regard to the P2P accommodation rental sector.

Analysis & Discussion ► P2P Accommodation Rentals and the Future

### 5.7.1 A Positive View on the Future

*“The general attitude is open – within limits. We welcome and embrace new initiatives as long as they operate in the city in a social, environmental and economical responsible way.”*

Copenhagen municipality (A3: p. i)

The municipality of Copenhagen summarises the thoughts of our respondents quite well. In total 72% of our respondents' feelings towards the future development of P2P accommodations in Copenhagen are positive (see figure 5.10). With only 2% indicating the feelings for the future to be either negative or very negative and 24% as neutral.

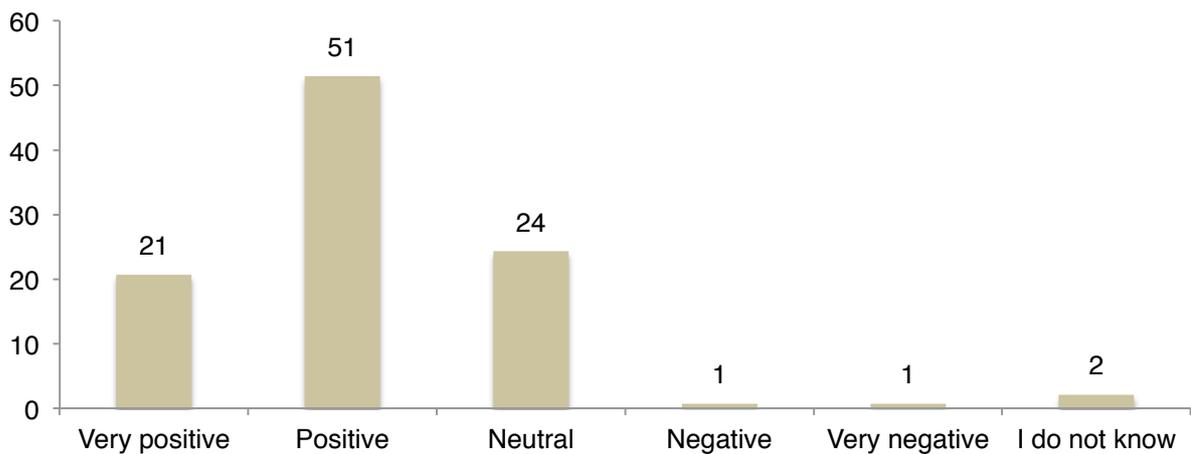


Figure 5.10 Percentage of surveyed respondents by their feelings towards the future (n=140)

It shows that the majority is obviously positive minded about the future development of P2P accommodations. Respondent nr. 82 (A5: p. iv) believed it to be “the future economy”, respondent nr. 37 (A5: p. ii) argued “services that make it easier to share things are positive” and continued that “the collaborative economy is here to stay, and we have to take a stand to that fact in our legislation”. The limited experiences of negative implications among our respondents, most likely affect their positive attitude.

As pragmatic researchers, we believe that it is the decisions and actions we see in regard to P2P accommodation that shape our respondents' attitudes towards the P2P accommodation sector. With a focus on real-life situations, we found that our consulted local municipalities around Denmark and Copenhagen respondents, both hosts and non-hosts, are positive towards the development of P2P accommodation rentals, even though some still worry about privacy, black economy, community conflicts and regulations.

Analysis & Discussion ► P2P Accommodation Rentals and the Future

### 5.7.2 Recommendations

The complexity of the policy arena for the collaborative economy has been illustrated throughout the study as we have explored and described individual hosts and guests, residents, companies and municipalities' actions and perceptions. It is a lot of actions, which all have shaped how governments worldwide until now have engaged in the topic and it has affected the current policy framework for Copenhagen. Pragmatism opened up

the question about what can be done in the future. Yet, based on this study's findings, we are not able to provide concrete regulation recommendations, but we will discuss new ways of being in the future in regard to the P2P accommodation market in Copenhagen.

The cultural context seems to provide yet another playground for collaborative economy services, as for example embedded cultural practices and a welfare state are factors that might hinder uncontrolled negative development in Copenhagen. We, therefore, argue that Copenhagen should try not to get affected by the global happenings, as our research has shown the context in Copenhagen is different and the potential of P2P accommodation may be great here. Still, we suggest that the municipality should take a look at the different regulatory responses for P2P rentals around Europe, but take into account the city's and its residents' unique characteristics and opinions. Thus, a regulation similar to Berlin's, where Airbnb is partly banned, is probably not the solution for Copenhagen since the two cities are not fully comparable, in that for example Berlin is much bigger and have a much higher tourist pressure than Copenhagen (Koens, 2015; Wonderful Copenhagen, 2013). The big question, therefore, is if the rules and regulations we see elsewhere are necessary to implement in the Danish legislation, in order to prevent similar problems from emerging. We believe a discussion or evaluation of the place-bound factors is a good place to start: What factors about Copenhagen could attract the issues we see elsewhere, and what factors may prevent the same issues from emerging in Copenhagen. The following table 5.4 shows the place-bound factors we have identified in this research.

Table 5.4 Factors driving the future development of the P2P accommodation sector in Copenhagen	
Factors that might cause issues to emerge	Factors that might prevent issues from emerging
(1) The changing mind-set of Danes as people are becoming more focused on capital	(1) The embedded history of sharing might prevent Danes from completely turning P2P rentals into a formal industry
(2) The majority of apartment buildings	(2) Moving dynamics
(3) An increasing shortage of affordable accommodation for students	(3) The Danish welfare state, there is no <i>need</i>
(4) Lack of research	(4) Lower touristic pressure than in other European cities
(5) No new regulations for specifically the P2P accommodation market	(5) Already existing regulations for other fields, such as housing and taxing

First of all, taken into account the long tradition of sharing in Denmark and the frequent moving of people in Copenhagen, one might argue that the P2P accommodation market fit the lifestyle and behaviours of especially young people living in Copenhagen, as long as people use the services moderately, as such they do not create a black economy business, which has the potential to disturb their neighbours. However, these issues might also become a great concern since one-third of the total housing mass in Copenhagen consists of cohousing flats, where people live closely together. Hence, when the guests of the P2P accommodations are using the shared facilities of the apartment building, it affects the whole community. In addition, the communities in the housing cooperatives are changing in that market conditions and capital profit plays a bigger role, indicating that the Danes' mind-set is changing to become more capital focused and it can be supposed that more people then will make use of services because of economic reasons and by expanding the scope, it also increases the potential to cause problems.

Yet, in contrast to other cities, our findings show that there is no *need* among our respondents to use P2P accommodations; they simply use it because they like the concept, the opportunity to meet new people and to earn extra cash as the predominant motivation. As long as there is no need to use P2P accommodation services to generate income among our respondents, it can be supposed that the sector will not cause the same impacts as we have seen in for example Barcelona, where locals are forced to move out of certain areas, because of the soaring housing prices due to the properties turned over to short-term holiday lets (Govan, 2015). Leading back to an argument by

Gottlieb (2013) who underlines that P2P accommodation rentals are more noticeable in vacation destinations that already rely on tourism as a large part of the local economy. Such as in some Southern European cities, the mass tourism has been affecting the rising rental prices and caused the locals to move out of certain neighbourhoods (Colau, 2014). Even though the increasing shortage of affordable student housing in Copenhagen is not perceived to be due to the P2P accommodation, the respondents still expressed concerns about the situation to be worsened by the P2P accommodation market, as in other cities. It can be supposed that more and more people will resort to the P2P accommodation market as an alternative to long-term rentals if the shortage increases. Instead of considering the P2P accommodation market as an opponent, in this case, private and public collaborations between city officials and private short-term rental providers could be established and incorporated in the city's development strategy to ease the situations. As such, P2P accommodation rentals could be turned into a practical solution answering to one of the city's problems.

In order to prevent similar issues from emerging, the Copenhagen municipality needs to consider whether the current regulatory framework is enough, or if new regulations precisely for P2P accommodation rentals are necessary. The Danish government has not yet taken any action in regard to regulations, but the area is hotly debated. The concerns we see have seen among the study's respondents seem to be shaped by a global media picture focused on the negative implications. The same may be applicable for why the area is so debated, even though no specific research suggests it has negative implications for Copenhagen.

At the moment, the Copenhagen municipality is relying solely on the existing regulations for other fields, such as the housing control laws and the rent act, and it seems to be enough, as the market still is unproblematic. However, a lack of research among others creates regulatory challenges for policy-makers, as the policy arena is very complex, and multiple stakeholders' values, opinions, and efforts to generate private gains impact the public policy-making. No single policy solution can, therefore, address all these aspects and in this case, it is necessary to include a mixture of for example housing policy, tax regulation and commercial laws. If new regulations are to be passed, they should be favourable for the consumers, as the convenience of using the services should not be destroyed, as it would hinder the development.

Furthermore, the divided perceptions of the study's respondents indicate that there still is a lack of clarity about for example taxation for the P2P accommodation market, and the role of government should be to educate the people, by **expressing clarity** on the rules for the different segments of the collaborative economy, to increase confidence among the users and thus support development. Thus, trying to distinguish between hobby and business use of P2P accommodation platforms, by for example establishing clear guidelines for the amount of days allowed to host via platforms, would be the first step. Concretely, setting up a website providing clear insights on the specific sectors would be a good place to start.

**Better research and data** would be another good place to start, and a way to include residents' voice in the decision-making process and provide their input and feedback, in order to help solve potential problems and create an efficient solution. Also, as mentioned earlier, the potential of P2P accommodation rentals might be great in Denmark, as place and culture have proved to play an important role. Research on municipal level would, therefore, provide insights into the specific implications and potentials at a destination level.

Besides that, **effective partnerships** between policy-makers, industry, hosts, residents and community spokespeople, focusing on the positive implications of P2P accommodation rentals, would better reflect the needs of people at the local level. We, therefore, believe that local governance should be of priority in regard to the P2P accommodation market, as it might create the necessary basis for the future development. Yet, it is important to take into consideration that some groups might have other ways to influence the formal decision making, through channels, local residents for example have not.

With this analysis, we have answered the four sub-questions and developed a framework, which illustrates the scope and drivers of the P2P accommodation sector in Copenhagen through an exploration and explanation of the happenings that have impacted individuals, housing communities and policy considerations. Again that is why we found a pragmatic approach suitable, as it allowed us to explore how the many actions from multiple stakeholders have shaped the P2P accommodation sector globally and locally.

6

CONCLUSION

## 6 CONCLUSION

P2P accommodation rentals are an intriguing phenomenon that has changed both tourism consumption and services, by stepping out of the traditional infrastructure of commercial accommodation settings. The area is hotly debated worldwide, as its popularity is increasing in more and more destinations, Copenhagen being no exception.

The research was guided by the question: *What is the scope and drivers of the P2P accommodation rental market in Copenhagen, and what are the positions and perspectives of local residents with respect to its current and future development?* To answer the question, we read an extensive amount of reports, news articles and blogs. We contacted local municipalities around Denmark and conducted an online survey targeting Copenhagen residents. In other words, we crystallized the different sources, methods and our own knowledge, in order to create the new knowledge.

The result of this study shows that even though the actions that have taken place elsewhere have affected our respondents' perceptions of the phenomenon, P2P accommodations are not yet considered a problem in Copenhagen among this study's sample. As no vital issues caused by P2P accommodation rentals are affecting Copenhagen, nothing indicates that its local residents have responded in extreme ways, as we have seen in other European cities. People are already participating in the market and it is considered a smart and great concept and a positive mind towards the current activities and the future development characterise the current scope of the P2P accommodation market. Like with the traditional industry, the collaborative economy industry is being regulated differently around the world, and so far it has remained unregulated in Copenhagen, making the government counting on the current regulatory framework.

Much like other research, the study found that individual participation in the P2P market in Copenhagen, first of all, is driven by cost savings (economic benefit) and the service itself, but also by a desire for social connections and non-traditional cultural experiences, which revealed conspicuous similarities to the characteristics of the 'postmodern tourist'. Surprisingly, environment reasons seemed unimportant, which is in conflict with the

popular perception of an awareness of the environment driving the collaborative economy in a Nordic context. The factors are significant predictors of changes in consumption patterns, which we believe support the future development of the P2P accommodation rental market in Copenhagen.

A general tendency among the respondents is that P2P accommodation rentals do not affect the residents' daily life in any negative, or even positive way, but they still have sharp opinions and concerns on the matter. They have opinions and thoughts on the P2P services being a matter of personal right, as it is a utilization of private space. They expressed concerns about privacy and confidentiality in regard to state interference, the services being used as a small business, where ordinary people earn a lot of money and not report the income to tax, losing the sense of community in their neighbourhoods and about the P2P accommodation market increasing the rental prices. Still, the study found that a majority of the respondents are open for new regulations that would prevent these issues from emerging in Copenhagen.

The study's findings led to a more overall discussion of the challenges of regulating the P2P accommodation market. The problem arising with the market changes is the indistinct line between occasional use and professional use, which is a complicated case to resolve, regulate and apply to practice. In the context of Copenhagen, the study argues that as long as the market remains insignificant, no new regulations seem to be needed, but new regulations could embrace the development.

The study identified several factors playing a role in the future development of the P2P market in Copenhagen, which should work as a guiding framework for city planners and policy-makers when discussing the development potential of the P2P accommodation market in Copenhagen and Denmark. The identified factors, which potentially could cause similar issues as we see in other cities, are (1) *the changing mind-set of Danes*; (2) *the majority of apartment buildings*; (3) *the increasing housing shortage of affordable accommodation*; (4) *lack of research*; and (5) *no new regulations for specifically the P2P accommodation market*. Next to these, the study identified factors, which on the other hand could prevent issues from emerging (1) *the embedded history of sharing*; (2) *moving dynamics*; (3) *the Danish welfare state*; (4) *lower touristic pressure than in other European cities*; and (5) *already existing regulations for other fields*. There is always a possibility for

the development to go in a negative direction, but based on the study's findings, we believe the preventing factors, in the current moment weigh heavier, and Copenhagen should embrace the development potential of the P2P accommodation market further, instead of letting overwhelming massive information of the negative implications affect its future development.

Therefore, this research recommends (1) a clarification of the rules for the different segments of the collaborative economy, (2) better research and data and (3) effective partnerships on a municipal level. Integrating collaborative strategies in the city's development strategy could also be a way to secure the future of P2P accommodation rentals in Copenhagen, by for example creating a new 'P2P accommodation' friendly legislation.

Throughout the study, we have focused on distinguishing our insights from the overwhelming massive information of the negative impacts affecting other cities. It became obvious that the policy arena we see in regard to the collaborative economy both globally and locally is a complex area, affected by multiple players, advocating for its potentials, and critics, who wish to slow down the development by pointing out the negative implications. As pragmatic researchers, the study's respondents are subjects in a complex policy arena, and as no research suggesting negative implications for Copenhagen so far exists, it is important to remember that the global media picture has derived their opinions and concerns. The positions and perspectives of local residents with respect to P2P accommodation rentals are therefore clearly a reflection of a social constructivist way of thinking. Still, the concerns are real, and worth monitoring, for exact that reason – reality is constructed through shared human social activity, and the strong and negative reactions we see elsewhere, therefore, plays a role in how we understand and respond to for example the P2P accommodation market. Decisions should, therefore, be made based on thorough research of the unique characteristics of the destination, why this research contribute with valuable insights to industry, government and academia. Furthermore, our study proves that place plays a role for the individual drivers, as the research showed that the different types of motivations vary within depending on the cultural context. We could not have discussed our data without the case context knowledge, and a place is, therefore, a crucial factor we need to take into account, as the

drivers and factors defining the specific context are of significance for the development potential of the P2P accommodation market.

In terms of knowledge, this thesis, has provided new independent research on a complex under-researched area by investigating the scope of the P2P accommodation rental market in a Nordic context, and at the same time provided local residents in Copenhagen with a voice in the actual debate. We have produced a noticeable contribution to knowledge by providing a better understanding of the driving forces of the P2P accommodation market in a different cultural and societal context than where most other studies so far have been conducted, which underlined the significance of the unique characteristics of each destination. In terms of practice, this study provides support for better city and tourism planning and management, to predict further impacts of this alternative accommodation.

Moreover, the whole research process was a noticeable contribution to our own knowledge creation of the P2P accommodation market. We had our own impressions of P2P accommodation rentals based on the experiences we have had in the past two years as Airbnb host and guest in Copenhagen, as collaborative economy researchers and as Airbnb guests in Auckland, before we began this research journey. This study has not only broadened our horizon but also changed the way we think of P2P accommodation rentals.

# 7

## IMPLICATIONS & FUTURE RESEARCH

## 7 IMPLICATIONS & FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has a couple of limitations. First, the exploratory research provided empirical support to explain the phenomenon of P2P accommodation in a local context. Because the area still is under-researched, one limitation of this study is the limited availability of theory to draw the measurements for the analysis. The findings of this study could, therefore, be verified by applying the analysis in a different but similar context, such as another Nordic city, with a similar location and culture, as it could provide support for the applicability and generalizability of the findings in this study.

Second, this study captured the scope of the P2P accommodation market in Copenhagen as perceived by the residents, via a self-reported online survey, but did not capture the actual behaviours or scale of the emerging market, as it would require a long-term study. Despite this limitation, the use of the online survey in this research was favoured for its information richness, practicality and useful findings. The concerns of not being present when our respondents answered were addressed in the design of the questionnaire by including several open-ended questions and making the agreement ratings easy to comprehend.

Third, another limitation is that this study only examined the scope and drivers of the P2P accommodation market in Copenhagen from a resident perspective and not from a traveller's perspective. As the P2P accommodation market is a two-sided phenomenon, including both hosts and guests, the study only presents one side of the phenomenon, and not the other side of the story, as for example the specific motivations for choosing P2P accommodation in Copenhagen.

Future research on P2P accommodation rentals is of great importance, as the phenomenon worldwide is increasing in popularity and destinations are just beginning to respond to the impacts and opportunities. Therefore, future studies should consider:

*Housing dynamics and demand:* A lot of research could be done by housing analysts in order to understand how culturally bounded housing dynamics play a role in regard to P2P accommodation rentals, as the markets differ from country to country. For example, the

idea of community surveillance are most likely different in Copenhagen than somewhere else, or the investment on housing may be on a different scale in Copenhagen than for example in Australia. Furthermore, the demand for particular small apartments is great in Copenhagen and other European cities. Is it true that Airbnb and other short-term rentals are worsening the housing shortage?

*The relationship between culture and motivation:* It is interesting to further keep an eye on how culture affects consumers' motivations to participate in the collaborative economy. As we discovered that even though economic reasons for participation characterised our respondents, they still indicated that they do not need the money to make ends meet, which has been the case in some other cities e.g. struggling with the financial crisis, thus motivations can still be quite different in various contexts. So, when and how does culture affect motivation?

*Community impacts:* Our study raised some questions concerned with hosts utilising both private and public shared assets in order to generate a benefit for themselves, which potentially disturbs the surrounding community. Further research focusing mainly on the certain issues and conditions impacting communities and neighbours would be beneficial both for policy planners, and tourism managers.

*Turning points and triggers:* As our study indicated, there may be a relationship between the saturation point and the negative perceptions of tourism and the P2P accommodation development. Thus, comparative research on this particular relationship would be needed in order to fully understand the turning points and triggers, which could be helpful in tourism management approaches. In relation, another comparative analysis could be made between the hosts' private engagement in the cities' tourism sector via the P2P accommodation services and the attitude towards the cities tourism sector and the benefits they gain by hosting.

*Policy:* As the policy arena is very complex, a lot of research needs to be undertaken before new rules and regulations for the collaborative economy will become clear for both residents and companies. Thus, we suggest further research should examine how the different segments of the collaborative economy can be regulated independently and in its' local context, in order to meet the best purpose of each.

*Statistics:* Finally, we do not believe there are enough statistics about the topic in the context of Denmark. It makes it difficult for us to research because we miss some vital information. We, therefore, suggest further quantitative research on the area.

# 8

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