



## AIRBNB AS PLATFORM URBANISM: OVERVIEW AND PATHWAYS FOR A MULTI-SCALAR APPROACH\*

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### RESUMO

Este artigo apresenta aspectos que se sobressaem em estudos científicos sobre o Airbnb enquanto expressão do “urbanismo de plataforma” e indica processos que podem ser observados nas dinâmicas socioespaciais e econômicas estimuladas pelo aluguel de temporada mundo afora, visando formular caminhos para uma investigação multiescalar. Para isso, o artigo foi dividido em três partes. Na primeira, analisamos estudos sobre o Airbnb que englobam o conceito de urbanismo de plataforma, indicando os principais aspectos por eles apontados. Na segunda, são apresentados acontecimentos vinculados às atividades do Airbnb em cinco países (Estados Unidos, México, Canadá, Japão e China), apreendidos a partir de notícias de jornais. E na terceira, são elencados quatro processos relacionados a esses acontecimentos: a complexificação do sistema imobiliário; novos fluxos definidos pelo nomadismo digital; novos arranjos no setor privado; e a expansão das companhias de aluguel de temporada segundo lógicas políticas e econômicas preexistentes.

Palavras-chaves: Urbanismo de plataforma. Plataforma digital. Cidades inteligentes. Aluguel de temporada. Espaço urbano.

### ABSTRACT

This article presents aspects highlighted in scientific studies on Airbnb as an expression of “platform urbanism” and indicates processes that can be observed in socio-spatial and economic dynamics stimulated by short-term rentals worldwide, aiming to formulate paths for a multi-scalar investigation. The article is divided into three parts. In the first, we analyze studies on Airbnb that encompass the concept of platform urbanism and indicate the main aspects they point out. The second part presents events related to Airbnb’s activities in five countries (United States, Mexico, Canada, Japan, and China), gathered from newspaper reports. And in the third part, four processes related to these events are listed: the complexification of the real estate system; new flows defined by digital nomadism; new arrangements in the private sector; and the expansion of vacation rental companies according to pre-existing political and economic logics.

Keywords: Platform urbanism. Digital platform. Smart cities. Short-term rental. Urban space.



## INTRODUCTION

Initially named *AirBed & Breakfast*, Airbnb emerged in 2007 from a partnership between three friends from San Francisco, one of the cities that make up the Silicon Valley region in the United States, on the occasion of an event that had exhausted local hotel capacity. Officially founded in 2008 and coming from the same cradle of startups that emerged as unicorn companies—that is, privately-held companies valued at more than US\$1 billion, such as Instagram, Ifood and Uber—Airbnb has stimulated debate about the *shared economy* practiced by neoliberal capitalism and the impacts of digital platforms on urban space.

Popularized with the slogan “Travel like a Human,” Airbnb from its early years has been based on *connections between people*, stimulating the local experience of its users on their travels, as indicated in 2009 by Joe Gebbia, one of its founders (TRAVEL LIKE A..., 2009). Under this slogan, it has consolidated itself as a sharing economy platform and, as we will see, it is interpreted as one of the expressions of the so-called *platform urbanism*, anchored in the notions of collaboration and digital democracy. This approach stood out in a scenario of generational and technological transition between the analog and the digital and was strongly supported by the millennial generation, that is, those born between 1981 and 1995 and who experienced the rise of the internet.

Humanizing the impersonality of the digital and meeting an ever-increasing need of the 21st century individual, that of connection, Airbnb has established itself as a highly personal network, in which it is possible to choose an accommodation not only for its physical characteristics, but also for the stimuli it can generate, based on a variety of preferences, such as the personality of the host and the profile of the neighborhood. The ideas that underlie Airbnb helped to align it with today’s neoliberal practices and ensure its success, as did the period of recession that the United States faced, which culminated in the real estate collapse of 2008 (GALLAGHER, 2018, p. 9-10). During this

period, property sharing served as an alternative that continued the idea of the house as an investment, through which its owner could generate extra income and access social assistance services (VAN DOORN, 2020, p. 1819).

Currently, according to data from December 2022, Airbnb has 6.6 million active listings, located in 100,000 cities and municipalities, in turn distributed in more than 220 countries and regions (ABOUT US..., 2023). The platform advocates the integration of its users, encouraging notions of *belonging and community*, through a virtual Community Center that facilitates the creation of independent home sharing clubs.

Despite not having originated from an idea considered innovative (there were already similar proposals, such as Vrbo, for example) and having been discredited by many (GALLAGHER, 2018, p. 5), Airbnb experienced significant growth in its first years, and also became stronger after a crisis in the early months of the COVID-19 pandemic. Soon after, the platform went public with an initial public offering (IPO) valued at US\$47 billion (GRIFFITH, 2020). Thus, despite the loss of revenue due to the restrictions of the pandemic, the company asserted itself as a symbol of resilience and inserted its capital into a digital and highly abstract financial system.

Given this context, this article starts with the following questions: which aspects stand out in scientific studies on Airbnb as an expression of platform urbanism and which processes can be observed in the dynamics stimulated by vacation rentals around the world?

To this end, a qualitative analysis is presented of a set of recent studies that debate vacation rentals via Airbnb, focusing on research that addresses in some way the concept of *platform urbanism*. In general, this concept has been developed by researchers from different areas, who have investigated the impacts of digital platforms in urban space.

Platform urbanism is understood as stated by Barns (2019), as an offshoot of *platform capitalism* in the production of urban space in the context of neoliberalism. Platform capitalism manifests itself, in turn, as the configuration of the capitalist system in the context of *platform society* (VAN DIJCK; POELL; DE WAAL, 2018), that is, a society in which digital platforms integrate and impact the social structures.

According to Barns (2019, p. 3-4), there is a need for different epistemologies to debate platform urbanism, taking into account the capacity of platforms to extend and scale social interactions, expanding the capacity for social participation, but also intensifying the accumulation of capital. This investigation process ranges from theoretical research to case studies on different existing platforms, such as Uber, Deliveroo, Ifood, Amazon, and Airbnb.

In addition, it analyzes how Airbnb has stimulated socio-spatial and economic dynamics in different countries, defining and consolidating disputes on different scales. These dynamics are captured through local events in each country chosen for analysis, identified in newspaper reports, helping to formulate research paths on the topic from a multi-scale approach.

## Methodology

This article is divided into two initial parts, built from a qualitative approach based on the methodology of historical-dialectical materialism and which unfold into a third part, which presents paths for a multi-scalar approach to the topic. In general, relational aspects are considered between the micro and the macro, between the *local* and *global* scales, and between the *urban* and the *economic*. The procedures adopted to collect the set of scientific articles and news are detailed below.

– *First part*: Synthesis and analysis of approaches to Airbnb, based on studies that encompass the concept of platform urbanism.

It presents a set of studies on Airbnb and its relationship with the production and management of

contemporary urban space, based on a search carried out in May 2023, with the application of terms in titles, abstracts and keywords in two journal databases. The terms were chosen through tests carried out on Scopus and the Web of Science (WoS), with different expressions, such as “urban space,” “urbanism,” “platform urbanism,” and “real estate market.”

Finally, we chose the search “Airbnb” AND “urbanism platform,” prioritizing studies that somehow encompass the concept of “platform urbanism.” We then stacked the results obtained from the two databases (18 hits in Scopus and 16 in WoS) with the help of RStudio, resulting in a set of 16 articles, excluding duplicates, one document in book format and two articles without open access.

– *Second part*: A summary of news relating to Airbnb’s activities in the following countries: United States, Mexico, Canada, Japan, and China.

It presents events narrated by different newspapers regarding Airbnb’s activities. The first three countries were chosen on the basis of dynamics preliminarily noted in the context of North America, such as those indicated by Navarrete Escobedo (2020) on transnational gentrification processes observed in Mexico and related to the practice of vacation rentals. The fact that Airbnb was created in the United States was also one of the criteria that supported the choice. The examples from Japan and China were consulted to expand the analysis to the Eastern context, which made it possible to note particularities in local economic strategies and technological and business development linked to the practice of vacation rentals.

The news items were consulted between May and July 2023 by means of an integrated search for the name of the country and the term “Airbnb” on Google News. We chose to feature a variety of internationally recognized newspapers, such as The New York Times, BBC, Japan Today, as a means of circumventing biased narratives and unreliable information. Finally, it is important to point out that this second part takes a narrative approach and therefore does not summarize

all the experiences of each country or continent, but serves above all as a way of understanding how different locations in the world are coping, each in their own way, with vacation rentals via digital platforms and their impacts.

– *Third part*: It highlights processes raised in the previous stage, presenting paths for a multi-scale approach.

Processes from the second part of the article are highlighted, presenting paths for a multi-scalar approach to Airbnb as an expression of platform urbanism, in an increasingly networked society.

### **Perspectives on airbnb based on its relationship with platform urbanism**

Digital platforms emerged from the development of the internet and its mass use, so that some of today's main technology companies, as well as the platforms that stand out the most, are no more than three decades old—Google, for example, was founded in 1998; Facebook, in 2004; Uber, in 2009; Instagram, in 2010. Even in such a short time, the changes brought by them have had an intense impact on the lifestyle of the world's population and generate exorbitant amounts of money.

On the scientific scene, interest in investigating such phenomena is growing, and even new fields of study are emerging, such as Digital Humanities. With regard to Airbnb, the studies are also incipient—just like the platform itself, which is in full development. Souza and Leonelli (2021) indicate trends in the investigation of Airbnb in urban studies in the global context, defining thematic groups and signaling an agenda for research on the topic in the Brazilian context. According to these authors, there are three thematic groups on the study of Airbnb around the world: Group 1 – Research on sociability, hospitality, and trust in Airbnb ; Group 2 – Research on the impacts and externalities of Airbnb in cities; and Group 3 – Research on types of Airbnb regulation (SOUZA; LEONELLI, 2021, p. 4-8).

Against this backdrop, here we present an analysis of 16 articles on the relationship between Airbnb and ur-

ban space, based on the methodology described previously. This analysis covers aspects that cut cross the research within the proposed scope, presenting itself as a way to understand Airbnb within what has been interpreted as platform urbanism.

In the set of studies analyzed, the oldest text was written by Aalbers, in 2018. In it, the author analyzes the stages of gentrification and relates the current stage to the activities of digital platforms, addressing what he calls the fifth-wave gentrification, or “[...] urban materialisation of financialised or finance-led capitalism” (AALBERS, 2018, p. 2), in which global investment, through the financial sector, increasingly supplements State action. The author, understanding Airbnb as an expression of this process rather than an isolated phenomenon, contributes to a totalizing reading of the functions of platforms in the context of urban and capitalist development.

Borghys *et al.* (2020, p. 4) are more optimistic in relation to this process and address the “quadruple helix” cooperation model, based on the integration of four agents (university, industry, government, civil society), and implementation practices of smart cities, seeking adjustments for this collaboration. Meanwhile, Van Doorn (2020, p. 1809) understands integration with civil society as an Airbnb strategy to strengthen its ability to intervene in urban legislation, a characteristic of regulatory entrepreneurship.

Thus, these authors interpret the democratization of innovation via smart cities (BORGHYS *et al.*, 2020) and the democratization of capitalism defended by Airbnb (VAN DOORN, 2020) differently: while the former bets on collaboration to achieve democratization, the latter interprets it as fallacious. Prien and Graz (2021), in the same vein, address the injustices in the distribution of digitalized urban infrastructures, such as vacation rentals, from the concept of the right to the city. These perspectives, each in their own way and all in the context of the field of Human Geography, face the impasse between the possibility of greater social participation and the intensification of socio-spatial inequalities.

It is also possible to notice the centrality that the concept of tourism presents in some studies. In Reykjavik, Iceland, Söderström and Mermet (2020, p. 6) highlight the government's difficulties in regulating and inspecting vacation rentals, due to the lack of control and access to platform data. Colomb and Souza (2023) also address the difficulties of controlling seasonal rentals, relating the digitalization of urban infrastructure with old and new forms of informal housing in the European context. Wilson, Garay-Tamajon and Morales-Perez (2021), in turn, indicate narratives and counter-narratives around Airbnb, especially during the implementation of tourist accommodation regulation policies in Barcelona and Madrid, demonstrating the dissent on the topic.

Cerreta *et al.* (2021) analyze the touristification of Naples and formulate an intervention proposal. Drawing on the circular economy, they aim to promote a community of hosts with a state partnership, the implementation of a card to stimulate the redistribution of tourist activities in the city and urban acupuncture interventions (CERRETA *et al.*, 2021, p. 160- 161). These authors are betting on local action as a way to overcome the impacts of Airbnb, through collaborative action between the State, the private sector and society. Hof and Smigiel (2020) and Smigiel *et al.* (2020), with related articles, study the city of Salzburg, Austria, analyzing its touristification process associated with Airbnb, in order to describe the different profiles of hosts and types of accommodation, the professionalization of some of these hosts and the impacts of this on long-term housing stock.

The issue of work is also central to some studies. Spangler (2019), starting from the case of New Orleans in the United States, explains how emotional labor, which includes the unpaid work of reception, guidance and hosting performed by the neighborhood, acquires an important role in the production of surplus value. In the same sense, Bosma (2022) addresses the professionalization of hosts in Berlin, describing some types: the individual host who turns their property into a source of income; the outsourced worker, who provides services to owners; and companies that manage properties on a large scale.

Spangler and Bosma bring up an important aspect of the operationalization of platforms, which refers to the precariousness of work and living conditions of the population, directly linked to real estate dynamics. Furthermore, they demonstrate how housing, when confused with tourist accommodation space, becomes more complex as a commodity, creating new forms of work and exploring the symbolic values of the city through its monetization. This helps to understand why tourism, cultural heritage and local experience are recurring aspects in studies on the platform.

Pollio (2021) provides an ethnographic analysis based on the interface between urban infrastructure and platforms, with a focus on Uber and airports. The study highlights the need to think about the relationship between *online and offline, digital and non-digital* on a local scale, materialized through, for example, check-in boxes, in the case of Airbnb, or parking lots and signage, in the case of Uber.

There are also works focused on racial, ethnic and gender issues. With an article from 2019, Piracha *et al.* present cases of racism on digital platforms in Australia, analyzing the consequences of neoliberalism in this process—such as resistance to regulation and the control of civil conduct through the reputation of individuals (PIRACHA *et al.*, 2019, p. 3-4)—and indicate the unequal distribution of urban resources between racial and ethnic groups due to spatial rearrangements stimulated by platforms. Goyette (2021), in turn, compares the current sharing of properties with accommodation carried out by women in North America, a practice historically established as a source of complementary income and as a response to the crisis of social reproduction in the industrial era.

In the same sense, in 2023, Medvedeva (2023, p. 9) describes romantic “anti-capitalist” narratives about Airbnb in American metropolitan regions, involving racial and ethnic aspects. This is indicated through the figure of the white “small host” who, despite benefiting from vacation rentals, disapproves of the activities of the “investor host,” who, according to her, does not care about the local community and is often associated with Asian owners.

The author also reports how such activities are read as practices of resistance by Black, Asian, and Latino hosts, since, through them, they are able to remain in their homes, even in the face of episodes of unemployment, evictions and increased living costs (MEDVEDEVA, 2023, p. 11). So, Piracha *et al.* (2019), Goyette (2021) and Medvedeva (2023) indicate in their studies how structural aspects of capitalist society, such as racial and gender inequalities, have manifested themselves in the context of platform capitalism and through the sharing economy.

In view of the 16 studies, general aspects of the relationship between Airbnb and urban space are noted, considering its intersection with the study of platform urbanism. They are: the updating of the urban gentrification process, as well as the increase in social, racial, and spatial inequalities; the touristification trends of cities and neighborhoods based on vacation rental activities; the difficulties of controlling and regulating vacation rentals; and the emergence of new work logics made possible by the platform.

### **Sociospatial and economic dynamics stimulated by airbnb in different countries**

Given what has been theoretically developed about Airbnb, we bring events narrated by newspapers and related to socio-spatial and economic disputes stimulated by vacation rentals in different countries. Such events are understood as illustrative of a process that has been faced on a global scale and which, at the same time, presents local particularities that contribute to an integrated analysis between the micro and the macro in an increasingly networked urban, digital and social context, as indicated by Van Dijck, Poell and De Waal (2018).

Within the United States, it is possible to find a range of regulatory attempts that sparked local debates that, in turn, involved different social actors. An example of this occurred near Airbnb's starting point and refers to Proposition F, voted on in 2015 in San Francisco and which aimed to restrict short-term rentals to 75 days a year in the city. Combining diverse interests, the proposal, which failed to be approved, highlighted the real

estate appreciation underway in San Francisco, which, in addition to being Airbnb's city of origin, meets part of the housing demand stimulated by Silicon Valley's high-tech activities.

As reported in news published at the time, Proposal F had the support of residents of Mission, one of the oldest neighborhoods in San Francisco and historically formed by immigrants from Central America (POGASH, 2015). Already at that time, the rise in rental prices, driven by seasonal rentals, was accompanied by new real estate developments and eviction cases, which stimulated the emergence of local movements such as Our Mission No Eviction (POGASH, 2015). The year following the vote on the proposal, a regulation on vacation rentals would be approved in San Francisco, encouraging similar policies in other American cities.

More recently, and still within the United States, this type of regulation has been debated in New York, especially after Airbnb sued the city for restrictions on vacation rentals. This conflict began in 2022, when the city hall implemented the Short-Term Rental Registration Law, which regulates rental activities via platforms and which requires the registration of properties by their owners, with each platform being responsible for checking whether the advertised property is registered, and fines being applied in case of irregularities.

The debate over the law has called into question the city hall's position, which, as it claims, aims to preserve the stock of properties for city residents and guarantee hospitality, security, and coexistence (ZAVERI, 2023). The law is interpreted by part of the population as an obstacle to tourism and as a result of lobbying by the hotel sector. This, in turn, argues that competition with Airbnb is uneven, since hotels pay more taxes and must comply with legal requirements to operate. Airbnb understands that its operations are important for tourism and that it provides an extra source of income for the community (ZAVERI, 2023).

As for the Mexican example, it is possible to identify the impacts of digital nomadism associated with vacation rentals in Mexico City. As a report from *The*

*New York Times* points out, during the pandemic Airbnb's activities were fueled by the presence of digital nomads, mostly Americans and Europeans (SHORTTELL, 2022). These, in general, benefit from economic disparities between countries, which can be noticed, for example, in the difference in the purchasing power of salaries of residents of central countries when transferred to the reality of peripheral countries. Remote work, even after the pandemic, keeps the flow of foreigners high in the city, resulting in evictions and the displacement of Mexican families to suburban areas due to rising rents.

One consequence of this has been the removal of families living in central areas, and the increase in rents to four times the monthly rent previously paid. The city government has also campaigned with Airbnb to promote guided activities, with support from UNESCO and the UN, including information on how to move to Mexico, promoting the city as a “capital of creative tourism,” as well as activities that encourage the touristification of the suburbs—a proposal by the city government to combat the gentrification of central areas (SHORTTELL, 2022).

In Canada, in turn, practices can be seen that summarize some of the main motivations for regulating vacation rentals. In general, the activity is carried out on a large scale by so-called ghost hotels, i.e. properties managed by companies and sometimes advertised by fake profiles (CHEVALIER, 2019). Furthermore, the presence of multi-managers (hosts with several properties advertised) highlights the nebulous process of identifying owners and all of their properties, facilitating the action of corporations that distribute advertisements among fake users. This is not exclusive to the Canadian context: studies such as that by Colomb and Souza (2023) indicate this practice in European cities. A brief consultation of data from the InsideAirbnb project also demonstrates the presence of multi-managers in metropolises around the world.

In Japan, in turn, there are different interests involving vacation rentals and their regulation. In 2018, Airbnb even removed approximately 48,000 listings of accom-

modation available nationwide for seasonal rentals, known as *minpakus*, following the Minpaku Law of 2017, which determines that the properties in question must be registered with the local authorities by their owners. and which restricts vacation rentals to 180 days a year.

The companies Real State Japan, Airbnb Japan Inc. and Matsuri Technologies Inc. entered into a partnership with the aim of expanding property sharing in the Japanese real estate market (REAL ESTATE JAPAN..., 2018). The partnership promotes a hybrid service that facilitates the entry of property owners and managers into the vacation rental market. Accompanying this expansion, chains of convenience stores and technological products, such as FamilyMart, Eleven and Lawson, offer accommodation support services, such as the storage and delivery of keys, verification of the identity of visitors, lock changing services and bilingual call center, with 24-hour service (HOW IS AIRBNB..., 2019). Mizuho Bank, Japan's third largest financial services company, has also set up a loan program for minpakus owners and managers.

In China, Airbnb did not achieve the success it hoped for, but property sharing is nonetheless an intensely explored niche in the country. The Chinese example illustrates the close relationship between vacation rental companies and economic and technological logics at a global level, notably between China and the United States. In the country, there is a national vacation rental company: Tujia, created in 2011, which leads the sector of online property sharing services in China.

Thus, in 2022, Airbnb closed its operations in China, six years after arriving in the country in 2016. The platform claimed that the restrictions imposed by the Chinese government to control the COVID-19 pandemic hampered operations in the country, which accounted for 1% of the company's global revenues (JUN; MINGYANG, 2022). In addition to its competitor's activities, the lack of adaptation to local culture appears among the explanations for Airbnb's failure in China, even after changing its name in 2017 to *Aibijing*—“welcome each other with love” in Mandarin (AIRBNB

TO QUIT... , 2022). In this way, this market has been explored by Tujia , accompanied by other companies that started to invest in the sector (MAHAJAN, 2017).

According to Yang, co-founder of Tujia, the company arose from the opportunity to encourage the use of vacant properties in China, a country that in 2017 had around 50 million empty residences. Its difference lies in services adapted to Chinese clients and the care with which it manages properties, even though only 10,000 properties are managed directly by the company, out of a total of 300,000 listed. Yang also reports on Tujia's partnerships with companies such as Ctrip, HomeAway and bike-sharing companies, as well as agreements with more than 160 Chinese cities (MAHAJAN, 2017). The company has focused on its global expansion, especially in autonomous Chinese territories and Southeast Asian countries, such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, Thailand, Indonesia, Korea, and Japan.

### **Thinking about airbnb in a multi-scalar way and in an integrated network society**

Despite being a recent phenomenon, vacation rentals via Airbnb are the subject of varied studies (SOUZA; LEONELLI, 2021). The 16 studies presented here indicate this and bring together a set of factors to be considered when approaching the relationship between Airbnb and urban space, based on platform urbanism.

With this in mind, the events listed above help us to put into practice a multi-scalar approach, in order to articulate the micro and the macro, as is characteristic of historical-dialectical materialism and as is also demanded by studies on platform society (VAN DIJCK; POELL; DE WAAL, 2018). Using this approach, four processes are brought forward that unfold from vacation rental activities and that present paths for debate on the topic:

*a) the complexification of the real estate system through the activities of ghost hotels and multi-managers*

The activities of ghost hotels and multi-managers warn of the development of an increasingly complex and

abstract real estate system. This system allows the concentration of real estate capital in the hands of a few, without this concentration being visible to the eye, since it is physically distributed among properties predominantly intended for the middle class, in turn managed from a digital platform. Examples of regulation in the United States demonstrate that this process does not occur in a homogeneous and peaceful way: on the contrary, it involves the interests of different social actors.

*b) new flows of people and capital from the practice of digital nomadism*

The practice of digital nomadism, illustrated here through the relationship between Mexico and digital nomads from the United States and Europe, also indicates the formation of new flows of people and capital at a global scale, which still require further study.

*c) new arrangements in the private sector*

The example of Japan and China indicate the configuration of new arrangements between vacation rental platforms, tourist companies, and companies that offer diverse additional services, which are now creatively incorporated into rental activities (new tourist experiences, customer service, technical support, etc.). The creation of loan programs aimed at vacation rental activities is also a new arrangement to be further investigated.

*d) the expansion of vacation rental companies according to pre-existing political and economic logics*

Finally, the relationships observed between North American countries and also between Asian countries indicate how the process of expansion of vacation rentals can follow historically defined political and economic logics, which involve, for example, inequalities between central and peripheral countries, as well as disputes between commercial and technological powers at a global scale.

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This article presented an analysis of the relationship between the Airbnb platform and the production of urban space, focusing on studies related to platform urbanism. The analysis in question was based, in turn, on the understanding of platform urbanism as a socio-spatial unfolding of the capitalist system in the context of platform society and neoliberalism. As a result, general aspects of this relationship were identified based on existing studies: processes associated with gentrification and the increase in social, racial, and spatial inequalities; touristification of cities and neighborhoods; difficulties in controlling and regulating vacation rentals; and new work logics.

This article also presented dynamics stimulated by vacation rentals, based on a multi-scalar approach. Based on local events in five countries, four processes were listed: the complexification of the real estate system through the activities of ghost hotels and multi-managers; new flows of people and capital from the practice of digital nomadism; new arrangements in the private sector; and the expansion of vacation rental companies according to pre-existing political and economic logics.

The results achieved, although restricted to just a portion of the scientific production developed regarding Airbnb and the experience of five countries, contribute to the understanding of the platform's relationship with theoretical formulations present in current urban studies, as well as broadening the paths of multi-scalar research on the topic.

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