Second Shift 2.0
Intensifying Housework in Platform Urbanism

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Introduction

Digital platforms which allow people to earn extra income, sometimes glossed as the *gig economy*, have given rise to forms of commodified labor which may not be new in terms of the tasks undertaken but have entered spaces that may not have been previously accessible and enrolled workers who were not necessarily previously involved in these tasks. Spaces of work and of leisure in the city are transformed through these platforms, including the home as a workplace, such as in the case of short-term rental platforms like Airbnb. These transformations are modulated by race, class, age, and gender, not only of the positionality of individuals participating in platform-mediated labor, but also through the attitudes and ideologies that inform the ways the work itself is imagined.

With this chapter we wish to contribute to the burgeoning literature on the politics and practices of labor in platform urbanism (Barns 2020; Chen 2017; Ravenelle 2019; Richardson 2016; van Doorn 2017; 2020) and on short-term rental platforms in particular (e.g., Borm 2017; Bosma 2019; 2022; Goyette 2021; Knaus 2020; Roelofsen 2018; Roelofsen/Minca 2018; Saturino/Sousa 2019). Platform urbanism suggests that digital platforms are increasingly central to dynamic socio-spatial processes of urban transformation (Barns 2020). Aside from providing spaces of connection and socialization, platforms have become embedded in and central to urban governance, urban infrastructures, and urban economies (van Doorn 2020). By monetizing domestic space and forms of work that were previously considered *unproductive* (Sadowski 2020), platforms like Airbnb play an important role in further blurring the boundaries between spheres of production and reproduction in cities (Knaus/Margies/Schilling 2021). Yet, digital platforms

tend to reproduce rather than eliminate existing socio-spatial inequalities, both in terms of the economic benefits that are produced through urban platform work (Schor 2020) and the way different types of work and workers are valued socially (van Doorn 2017). Leszczynski (2020: 190) notes that a significant share of platform urbanism scholarship has been dominated by "dystopian critiques of the universal capitalist and/or neoliberal essence of platforms and the platform-mediated city". And indeed, within the Airbnb-centric literature, there tends to prevail a theoretical and empirical tendency to foreground how the platform shapes cities merely by capitalist interest. Instead, in this chapter we focus on everyday interactions and attend to how platform-mediated spaces and places, like the Airbnb-ed home, are always already socially produced (ibid.). We explore how Airbnb hosts approach the labor of operating short-term rental accommodations, a means of earning extra income which has grown rapidly around the world since the platform first launched in 2008. We examine how hosts manage the demands of hosting while balancing this labor with the other duties in their lives such as housework, childcare, and paid employment. Airbnb is unique among gig economy platforms in that not only do hosts "work from home" (Doling/Arundel 2020), but they also welcome other people *into* this major site of social reproduction for their household. By social reproduction labor we refer to "various kinds of work – mental, manual, and emotional – aimed at providing the historically and socially, as well as biologically, defined care necessary to maintain existing life and to reproduce the next generation" (Laslett/Brenner 1989: 383). We will argue that, for those households that turn to hosting to supplement their regular income sources, strategies to accommodate the added social reproduction labor that is required when taking in guests result in divisions of labor which often mirror historical divisions in terms of location, gender, race, and other social categories.

In this study, we draw on over four years of ethnographic work, which was carried out by Maartje Roelofsen over different periods of time between March 2015 and December 2020. In-depth semi-structured interviews were carried out with 33 Airbnb hosts living and working in Bulgaria, Denmark, Ghana, and the Netherlands. The interviews with hosts in Bulgaria were carried out face-to-face, whereas the interviews with the hosts living in other countries were mostly conducted through video-conferencing software. These episodes of data collection relied on *snowball sampling*, meaning that the participants helped us connect with other potential research participants. The participants consist of 16 men and 17 women representing 29 households. Of these 33 hosts,

25 hosts were engaged in full-time paid employment (including self-employment), three hosts were students, two hosts were homemakers, and three hosts were pensioners. All participants in this study were white except for the participants Sally, who identified as a Black woman, and Mahjoub, who identified as a Moroccan-Belgian migrant man. Fourteen households rented out a room within their homes and stayed with their guests on the premises. Out of these households, seven were single-person households of hosts who either identified as widowers, singles, or in a relationship with someone they did not co-habit with. The other seven households who rented out rooms, consisted of hosts who co-habited with their partners, friends, or family members. 14 households rented out their entire primary or secondary homes temporarily (nine) or permanently (five) and did not stay with their guests. Out of these households, eleven lived in a heterosexual co-habiting couple form and three households were made up of single hosts. Three couples were interviewed together, while the other interviews were carried out with an individual household member.

In this chapter, we examine the complexities of power, privilege, and representation that shape Airbnb work by considering how the dynamics between gender and other social categories are reflected in who is assigned the various types of labor involved in taking guests. We highlight how this labor is distributed within different household compositions, including couples, singles, families, and cohabiting friends, when accommodating the extra social reproduction labor that hosting Airbnb guests demands.

Intensifying housework in short-term rental platforms

Airbnb and other short-term rental platforms transform the home-as-workspace by creating a monetary incentive to bring guests into the home, adding their social reproduction needs and the emotional labor of hosting on to the existing household reproduction. Home sharing, as Airbnb calls its service, therefore intensifies the social reproduction labor of the household. Since guests pay for these services, it could be tempting to read this as an incarnation of the feminist campaign of the 1970s, *Wages for Housework* (Dalla Costa/James 1975): rather than housework being an unpaid *labor of love* expected of a housewife (the architype at the center of the critique), they are instead materially compensated with money. But the goal of Wages for Housework was not to provide houseworkers with a wage (Federici 1975);

housework had already been paid in many instances, but these workers, often racialized women, remained in exploitative and subordinate positions despite earning a wage (Glenn 1991; 1992; Collins 1990). The Wages for Housework campaign attacked the ways in which housework – and by extension all female-coded labor – was *ideologically* devalued despite being integral to male-coded *productive* labor (Federici 1975; Weeks 2011). That housework is not *really* work, despite its obvious necessity, is a notion that persists in short-term rentals. Housework is often still seen as incidental or even absent in media representations, where Airbnb stays tend to be romanticized as mere 'experiences' of local life and space. Similarly, some hosts in this study brushed off Airbnb housework as merely part of their regular household activities. Yet the interviews also suggest that the additional labor of hosting is enough to require specific social and economic (re-)arrangements to address this added work.

An intensification of social reproduction labor in short-term rentals is created through the extra labor created by the guest(s), as in the physical and emotional labor that their presence demands, but also through increased standards of cleanliness related to hosting. On the most basic level, rooms must be prepared for use by the guest, and rounds of communication assure their needs are met. Additionally, some strenuous and/or undesirable tasks that were usually only done occasionally in the household must now be done for each guest. Some hosts viewed this in a positive light, as illustrated by Maggie, a 29-year-old self-employed social worker in Sofia, Bulgaria who rented out a room in her apartment on Airbnb for additional income: "I'm not crazy about cleaning, but I don't mind it, like, I clean my flat anyways. So, yeah, I just make sure it's like even cleaner when there's someone else. Which is quite nice, to have the house, like spotless, cause when it's just me it's like 'ok I'm not going to do the dusting right now'." The gratification that Maggie felt from doing the household tasks that she usually found undesirable was echoed by other hosts such as Rose, a 75-year-old pensioner in Aarhus, Denmark, who rented out a room in her rental apartment: "What I really do like with having the guests is, when you become a pensioner, you can get quite lazy and you can have stuff lying about the kitchen and haven't washed the dishes. But when they are here, I am happy about the fact that I actually get the dishes washed. So, it really has some benefits." Although these women interpret having a clean house as a benefit of being pushed to do this work, it is nonetheless an investment of their time that they might not otherwise make

to attain a standard of cleanliness higher than what they find acceptable in their everyday.

This higher standard of cleanliness when taking in guests is reinforced in Airbnb's platform through the listing's cleanliness rating. Joanna, a 30-year-old self-employed tour guide in Sofia, Bulgaria who would sleep in her living room when she rented out her room on Airbnb, noted the difference between hosting through a free home sharing platform and Airbnb: "For me, [non-paying] Couchsurfers can say about my place that it is dirty and I don't care about it. But if Airbnb guests rate my place as dirty then I'm going to lose opportunities. I mean if my rating drops down then… it's a business after all. I'm doing it for money." Unlike the Couchsurfing platform, on Airbnb the cleanliness rating is an important factor determining the listing's position in Airbnb's search results and influences whether they are selected (or passed over!) by guests (Minca/Roelofsen 2021). Success on the platform is tied to the cleanliness expectations of the guests who rate them, whether the hosts get satisfaction from having a clean home or not. The added work that hosts face to prepare for and sustain an Airbnb stay, between two to four hours per turnover according to our participants, must be addressed without an increase in hours in the day. What are the strategies hosts use to address them? And who does the housework in short-term rentals?

Arlie Russell Hochschild considers similar questions in her book *The Second Shift* (1989), which charts how two-career heterosexual couples with young children in the United States went about the division of social reproductive labor, including housework, childcare, and other aspects of daily life that take place after the paying work was done. Hochschild asked who does the housework when it becomes concentrated in fewer hours – at least in comparison with households where a housewife assumed these responsibilities, a model which had come to be considered the norm in middle-class America until the 1960s when women started to enter the paid workforce in higher numbers. Hochschild called these unpaid tasks at home (which amounted to an extra month of work) the *second shift*, with the *first* shift being renumerated work for an employer. In the cases examined in Hochschild's study, the difference between the first and second shift was clear. The tasks were distinct, either in their location outside the home, or, in the case of those who worked from home, their nature. With short-term rental hosting, however, the nature of the tasks can be identical to those necessary for the household's own social reproduction (e.g., cleaning a toilet, making breakfast). Therefore, the distinction between income-generating social reproduction labor for the Airbnb

guest and the necessary reproduction labor for the household is not always clear. For this reason, we call the added housework that results from hosting on the Airbnb platform the *second shift 2.0*.

Although hosting requires quantitatively more housework, hosts' attitudes toward this labor do not seem to be transformed qualitatively, perhaps because of this blurred distinction. Many participants still consider Airbnb housework as taken-for-granted activities or as a 'natural attribute' of the home, and it is often not seen as *real* work despite being added as part of the income-generating activity of hosting. "You also clean for yourself anyway, so it's not like you do it especially for them. I did not see Airbnb-related work as work. I just made my home available", says Laurens, a 37-year-old former Airbnb host who rented out a room in his apartment in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. Another participant noted that because the money generated from hosting goes directly into supporting the social reproduction of their household, it was unnecessary to make a distinction between housework for Airbnb or for their own needs: "I see cleaning for our Airbnb guests as something that we do for ourselves because in the end we use the money that we earn to go on holidays or to save money, we use that money to treat ourselves. In that sense, I view it as part of our private lives, not as work. I don't experience it as work. It's an extension of how we live and want to live." (Tina, a 39-year-old host who rented out her entire home occasionally with her partner Mahjoub) As these hosts' statements suggest, housework for the household's own needs and housework for guests was generally seen a single category of work regardless of whether it was income-generating or not.

Divisions of Airbnb labor and the role of household members

One important contribution of Hochschild's study was highlighting the role of gender ideologies in the division of labor at home. Even though both partners in the couples studied were working in paid employment, the study concluded that women largely continued to take on more or all responsibility for the unpaid work at home compared to their partners and spouses. It demonstrates that the gendered division of labor in the home is as much social as structural, and that how this work is negotiated between parties is shaped by the ideologies held by the individuals involved. Housework is clearly gendered, but not all women's work is valued equally, and the heaviest, dirtiest work is often pushed off onto racialized women. Critiques of Hochschild's work

point to the way it failed to provide a critical comparative historical analysis of reproductive labor in the United States (Brailey/Slatton 2019). Marginalized groups of working women have throughout history engaged in unpaid, underpaid, involuntary, devalued labor, often doing work in the homes of other women. Mignon Duffy (2007) similarly argued that research which focused on women's entrance in the labor market in the 1970s was important, yet also "obscured the empirical reality that Black women, immigrant women, and poor women had been engaged in paid market work in large numbers for many decades" (ibid.: 314). Dorothy Roberts (1997) conceptualized the racial division of labor in housework as a dichotomy. *Spiritual housework* encompassed such tasks which aligned with white bourgeois femininity, such as educating children, decorating the home, or managing servants. By contrast, *menial housework*, or what Duffy simply refers to as *the dirty work*, was the physically demanding and thankless drudgery like cleaning, cooking, laundry, and daily childcare that women with means chose to delegate. Within the hospitality and tourism sector, cleaning is oftentimes referred to as *back-of-house* work (Zampoukos 2021). Back-of-house work is not only rigidly gender-segregated and oftentimes carried out by racial or ethnic minorities, but it is also spatially segregated: it is work that usually takes place out of the sight of guests, whereas *front-of-house* work signifies work that requires presence and social interaction with guests, such as reception work and hostessing. In the hospitality and tourism industry, most women still occupy lower-level jobs that are typically coded as female and associated with housework, such as cleaning, caring, and maintaining a pleasant ambience (Cole 2018). In the context of platform urbanism, such histories and conceptualizations of labor are likely to persist. Niels van Doorn (2017) astutely outlined ways labor platforms perpetuate historical race and gender inequalities in low-end service work. Specific to short-term rentals, Kiley Goyette (2021) has traced how gender ideologies framed the importance of taking lodgers and boarders for women's supplemental income strategies in early industrial cities and pointed to continuities with platform-mediated short-term rentals in the twenty-first century. Attention to historical practices and attitudes toward this work is crucial to any analysis of how the social reproduction labor for short-term rentals is negotiated. Accounts from the research participants demonstrate a division of labor among household members and outsourcing of labor which sometimes reflect gendered, classed, and racialized conceptions of housework, especially cleaning as women's work and dirty work, which the following sections outline.

Divisions of labor among ethno-racially mixed couples

This study's participants included two ethno-racially mixed couples: Sally, a Black woman and full-time housewife in a relationship with Joost, a white man who has a paid full-time job; and Mahjoub, a Moroccan-Belgian man full-time who has a paid full-time job and is in a relationship with Tina, a white woman, who also has a paid full-time job. Sally and Joost have class privileges which are evident in the way housework was organized in their primary home as well as their second home which they rented on Airbnb on a full-time basis. In their primary home they maintained what might be considered a 'traditional' gendered division of housework. Sally took on tasks associated with women's work such as cooking, educating the children, and bringing them to school, while Joost predominantly worked his paid full-time job, doing almost no housework other than helping to get the children ready for school. But Sally and Joost also hired a woman to carry out the more physically demanding, menial housework like cleaning. In their Airbnb Sally maintained both front- and back-of-house work but was also supported by another woman hired for back-of-house tasks. Concierge work was also outsourced to the guards who were always on site and ready to assist their Airbnb guests during their stay. Joost, on the other hand, took care of the administration and finances in relation to their Airbnb-ed home, and was in charge of the online, written communication with guests and how their home was visually and textually represented on the platform. Sally took on the majority of the second shift at home and part of the back-of-house work of the second shift 2.0 of their Airbnb, which is consistent with the gendered and racialized ideologies of housework. As a relatively affluent woman, however, she did so with the assistance of hired help, reflecting her class position, and allowed her to take on front-of-house work in the Airbnb.

In a contrasting example, Tina and Mahjoub – the other ethno-racially mixed couple in our study who both worked full-time paid jobs – considered their division of housework at home and Airbnb work to be "egalitarian". They aimed to spend the same amount of time preparing their home for the Airbnb guests' stay as well as for their regular housework. The division of cleaning tasks was arranged based on their individual preferences. However, Mahjoub's work is intentionally obscured from the guest's view. As he explained:

> "We do everything in Tina's name. The listing is in Tina's name, it shows her head, a blond woman. I do communicate with the guests, but I always un-

> dersign with her name. But if for some reason I have to do the check-in by myself, I will send the last message to our guests in Tina's name and tell them Tina can't be there but Tina's partner Mahjoub will be there."

He explained that although there were certain administrative reasons to keep Tina's profile as the host at first, they also felt guests might find a white woman's profile more trustworthy compared to Mahjoub's with his foreign-sounding name and racialized appearance. Although Mahjoub engaged in typically male front-of-house work by communicating with the guests, he remained hidden as if he were in the back-of-house, out of sight as a racialized worker, through the virtual interface and Tina's avatar.

Divisions of labor and household relations

The Airbnb households interviewed in this study represent a diversity of household structures beyond the normative nuclear family that were the focus of Hochschild's study. Some hosts lived in co-habiting couples, but some were also singles, friends, adult children, or intergenerational households. Even in non-couple households, starkly gendered divisions of labor can be seen. Coco, a 33-year-old clinical psychology student in Sofia, Bulgaria, worked as a freelance journalist and rented out the apartment she shared with her male housemate. Although they split the income from Airbnb, Coco estimated that she did 90 % of the work related to hosting. In part, this was due to her work as a freelancer being more flexible, so she was able to be available when guests arrived and to do the turnover between. But Coco was clear that her housemate did not like cleaning and when he did, it was not well done: "I share the Airbnb money with the roommate. But he does not put in as much effort as I do. So, we have fights about this sometimes. But he's a man. Sometimes he will say 'ok, I will clean this time' and then I check and the cleaning is not so…" Gender ideologies related to cleaning work appear to be clearly expressed here. Coco explained that she is fine with doing the work although she doesn't love cleaning, but she felt "pissed off" because she did it alone. Their apartment was large and in poor condition, which made cleaning more difficult. But the standards of cleanliness imposed by the platform also meant she could not rely on her housemate's poor-quality work if she hoped to make a reliable income through taking guests.

While Coco took on the second shift 2.0 largely by herself, a common strategy among hosts dealing with the intensification of housework was to seek help from family members or to hire help. Although the focus of Hochschild's study was the division of labor of couples, she observed that her participants sought help from (usually female) relatives and outside help, especially to meet the demands of childcare. Among the Airbnb hosts interviewed, many relied on their parents for help, or occasionally siblings or older children. Vera, a 26-year-old IT specialist, relied on her mother to clean their Airbnb, as did Niko, a 27-year-old marketing executive, both hosting in Sofia. These young people, fluent in English and tech savvy, retained most of the front-of-house work, while they described their mothers as being suited to the cleaning work, either "enjoying" it or at least being "used to it". They also saw preparing for guests as a way for their mothers to pass their time, earn a little money, and interact with people from around the world.

It was not only the hosts' mothers who helped with the second shift 2.0, such as in the case of Jeny, a 25-year-old student who rented out her sister's old room in her family home in Sofia. Both her mother and father helped her prepare for and take care of the guests, but rather than a division of labor by gender, what work each person contributed depended mainly on their work schedule. As Jeny's mother was often out of town for work, it was her father who helped the most with the cleaning and welcoming guests. The flexibility of a family member's schedule was a common reason for the division of labor, particularly for those who rented out their homes full time, as the cleaning between check-out of one guest and check-in of the next usually needed to take place in the middle of the day. Bruna, a teacher, was only able to help her husband Bobo with hosting duties in their Sofia apartment if there was an extra day between bookings or if the checkout was on the weekends. Some hosting households dealt with pressures related to the second shift 2.0 by intentionally keeping time between bookings. Jamilla, a 28-year-old social worker, decided to spread out the time between guests and limit the number of stays per month in order to keep the workload "fair" for her mother, who cleaned her Airbnb in Copenhagen, Denmark, while she was abroad. Other hosts reported a similar strategy when faced with the more strenuous cleaning requirements of the COVID-19 pandemic. Peter, a 58-year-old student counsellor who hosted in Aarhus with his partner, explained: "It is a pleasure to welcome the guest. Cleaning has been challenging though […]. That is why we have often made sure to block one day in the calendar, so it will not become stressful for us to take care of cleaning." Allowing more time

for cleaning clearly reduced the stress of this work and may also help accommodate those with less flexible work schedules.

Outsourcing Airbnb labor to waged workers

Some hosts hired outside help to address the cleaning for their Airbnb. The majority of the hosts who rented out entire homes outsourced the cleaning and other back-of-house labor to independent cleaners, agencies, or family members, unlike hosts who only rented out rooms who mostly took care of the cleaning work themselves (see also Bosma 2022). Of the hosts in our study, the ones who hired cleaners for their Airbnb already employed a cleaner for their own home. Hiring a "cleaning lady" (as all the interviewees called their cleaners) was an investment of money that some hosts felt was too great a cost, but it ensured a quality cleaning. "The one time that I did not get a five-star review was when I had cleaned the apartment myself. So, I will never do that again", laughed Iannos, a 33-year-old man who rented his secondary apartment in Sofia, Bulgaria. Flexibility was sometimes an issue with hired cleaners as well, as some would not be available for last minute bookings, which is how Iannos and other hosts who hired cleaners would on occasion find themselves doing the cleaning.

Significantly, the front-of-house work that ensures Airbnb encounters are amiable or emotionally satisfying was usually still carried out by the hosts who outsourced the cleaning work. There were various motivations for retaining these tasks. Hosts used the moment of welcome to vet their guests and to nudge them towards responsible behavior in their homes. According to Tim, a 42-year-old project manager who occasionally rented out his entire home in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, which was already cleaned by a woman he hired, but now was also cleaned by her before and after an Airbnb stay, commented:

> "I only asked the cleaning lady once to do the check-in as well as my brother and mother but did it myself usually. I found it more reassuring. […] Usually, I would communicate with [the guests], see how they responded when I would say 'please be nice to my neighbors'. I would have some time to have a brief chat with them. Usually things were OK."

Other reasons for retaining the front-of-house work were related to hosts' technology and language skills, which they perceived to be superior to those

who carry out the cleaning work, as in the case of the mothers of Vera and Niko mentioned above. This was not always the case, however, as Bobo took care of the majority of guest interactions despite having weak English, meanwhile his wife Bruna was an English teacher whose schedule largely prevented her from assuming this work.

Concluding remarks

In this chapter, we set out to make visible the work involved in hosting on Airbnb in platform urbanism. We also questioned how gender ideologies and attitudes towards housework shaped the spaces and divisions of Airbnb work, particularly vis-à-vis other forms of paid and unpaid work already carried out in these households. The examples highlighted above illustrate some ways that households address the intensification of housework related to the additional needs of guests and raised standards of cleanliness required for hosting, which we refer to in this chapter as the second shift 2.0. Divisions of Airbnb labor often reflect and manifest existing gender ideologies within the households that consist of both men and women, such as the cohabiting couples, and in the households of men living alone who relied on the help of hired cleaning ladies. In these households, women mostly do the dirty work and men maintain the managerial front-of-house work. Although there were only two non-white, racialized hosts in our study, they both carried out back-of-house work to some extent. Both also took part in front-of-house work in ways that reflect the intersection of gender and class. When communicating with their guests through the Airbnb platform about their future stay, one of these hosts engaged in typically male front-of-house work, but remained *virtually* invisible behind the image of his white partner until guests literally arrived at their doorstep. Likewise, the other racialized host was responsible for tasks typical to her gender, but her class position allowed her to delegate the dirty work to hired help, freeing her to engage in front-of-house work such as welcoming guests.

While some hosts dealt with the second shift 2.0 by hiring cleaning workers, others sought help from family members. Mothers were often assigned responsibility for cleaning Airbnbs, with the work depicted as something that was natural or enjoyable for them. Which family members contributed also depended on whether their work schedule could accommodate the timing of guest departure and arrival. Interestingly, and perhaps unsurprisingly, a gen-

erational division of labor appeared in which the front-of-house work was assumed by young adult children with strong language and technology skills, while the back-of-house tasks were taken on by fathers as well as mothers. This division of labor may have also been related to the schedules of the presumably retired parents, as the hosts saw Airbnb work as a valuable way for their parents to occupy their time. Finally, place and mobility may be a factor in this generational division of labor as well. Parents who helped with the second shift 2.0 often lived in or near the property, which was often the former room or residence of the host who had moved to another neighborhood or was living abroad. Through the platform, many front-of-house tasks can be done remotely, but the dirty work remains fixed in place and relies on workers who are physically present in conjunction with the timing and scheduling demands for busy properties.

These findings reflect ways that the work required for short-term rental platforms like Airbnb intensifies the social reproduction demands on hosting households, whose strategies to accommodate this second shift 2.0 at times reflect and reproduce historical ideologies around housework and at other times organize this labor in different ways. Platform urbanism literature on Airbnb has understandably focused on how such platforms are shaping access to housing and issues of urban governance (van Doorn 2020; Wachsmuth/Weisler 2018). This chapter contributes to platform urbanism scholarship by attending to the mundane reconfigurations of labor relations within the home that are brought about by users' engagement with Airbnb. In so doing, we reaffirm the social reproduction of housework as fundamental to urban life and to platform urbanism, whether done as a labor of love or commodified, for immediate family or complete strangers. For those households that take in guests by hosting through short-term rental platforms like Airbnb, housework is shaped by the conditions that the platforms introduce. Yet, at the same time, platform enterprises depend on the (inter)actions of hosts, hired workers, family members, and co-habitants. The way these households organize this work in response is informed by ideologies around the work and its workers as much as the technologies, but neither is it over-determined by them.

We suggest that future research in platform urbanism could further explore the blurring and intensification of social reproduction labor resulting from participation in short-term rental platforms like Airbnb in different contexts, attentive to both how they reproduce and deviate from historical patterns of labor. Scholarship should continue to investigate how platform

companies benefit from undervalued forms work already taking place within households, and how availing of these platforms shape and reshape social relations and ideologies modulated by gender, race, age, and class.

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