

# Regulating Innovation in the Collaborative Economy: An Examination of Airbnb's Early Legal Issues

Daniel Guttentag

**Abstract** Airbnb, a service through which ordinary people rent out their spaces to tourists, has become one of the most prominent companies in the collaborative economy. Hundreds of thousands of tourists sleep in Airbnb accommodations every night, yet a large number of these accommodations are actually illegal according to many jurisdictions' regulations on short-term rentals. This situation has made regulatory conflict an omnipresent issue for the company. Such regulatory tensions actually define the early years of many major innovations because the innovations are not perfectly compatible with existing regulatory frameworks. Moreover, Airbnb is a disruptive innovation within the collaborative economy, and operating within a tightly regulated industry, which made regulatory conflicts virtually inevitable for the company. Airbnb's rapid growth has forced policymakers to urgently rethink their applicable regulations by assessing the primary issues and impacts, both positive and negative, surrounding Airbnb—tourism, taxes, consumer protection, and local residents. In response, destinations have taken different approaches to regulating Airbnb, centred on renting restrictions, permits, enforcement, and taxes. As the regulatory landscape continues to evolve, more and more destinations will look to overcome the challenges associated with legalising, regulating, and taxing Airbnb.

**Keywords** Airbnb • Collaborative economy • Innovation • Regulation • Short-term rentals

## 1 Introduction

Often considered a poster child of the collaborative economy, Airbnb ([www.airbnb.com](http://www.airbnb.com)) is an online service through which ordinary people rent out their spaces as tourist accommodation. Airbnb's popularity has grown exponentially in recent

---

D. Guttentag (✉)

Hospitality and Tourism Management, College of Charleston, Charleston, SC, USA

Ted Rogers School of Hospitality and Tourism Management, Ryerson University, 350 Victoria Street, Toronto, ON M5B 2K3, Canada

e-mail: [dguttentag@yahoo.com](mailto:dguttentag@yahoo.com)

years, transforming the service from a niche product into a mainstream one. Nevertheless, a large portion of Airbnb accommodations are actually illegal because they contravene local short-term rental laws, and the company has consequently become embroiled in myriad regulatory battles across the globe. This chapter illustrates that such regulatory issues plague many major innovations, both inside and outside of the collaborative economy, because the innovations often do not fit within existing regulatory structures. The chapter subsequently explores the key issues for and against Airbnb that policymakers must consider as they seek an appropriate regulatory response. The chapter next examines the various approaches different jurisdictions are taking towards regulating Airbnb, as related to renting restrictions, permits, enforcement, and taxes. Finally, the chapter explores several challenges that will impact future Airbnb regulatory discussions, and how the regulatory environment surrounding Airbnb will likely evolve.

## 2 Airbnb and Its Legal Status

Airbnb describes itself as ‘a trusted community marketplace for people to list, discover, and book unique accommodations around the world’ (Airbnb, 2016a). As is characteristic of the collaborative economy, Airbnb has leveraged new internet and mobile technologies to greatly reduce previous trust and communication barriers, and has thereby modernised and popularised the age-old hospitality practice of ordinary people renting out residences to tourists. Airbnb is not the only company occupying this ‘peer-to-peer short-term rental’ sector (others include VRBO, Wimdu, and Onefinestay), but Airbnb is indisputably the most prominent. As with many other of these peer-to-peer short-term rental companies, Airbnb is much more than a simple ‘matchmaker’ platform like craigslist, as Airbnb is involved in numerous aspects of the rental process; for example, Airbnb handles the payments (earning its revenue by charging a commission), promotes security via a host/guest review system and various identity verification measures, offers hosts reimbursement for property damage, and even provides hosts access to free photographers.

Airbnb accommodations range from very modest to luxurious, and usually consist of an entire residence (house or apartment) or a private room in a residence where the host is also present. The level of professionalism ranges considerably, from hosts who periodically list their homes when away on vacation to professionally-managed full-time rental properties. As is typical of the collaborative economy, Airbnb guests are attracted by a combination of cost savings, practical benefits (e.g., household amenities), and an experiential facet based on the opportunity for authentic and unique local experiences and interactions (Guttentag, 2015; Tussyadiah, 2015). Since its inception in 2008, Airbnb’s growth has been so swift that any numbers stated here will quickly be outdated, but by the summer of 2015

well over 500,000 guests were using Airbnb every night (Tsotsis, 2015), and by early 2016 the company boasted over two million listings worldwide (Airbnb, 2016a).

Despite this popularity, Airbnb is actually illegal in many jurisdictions due to zoning ordinances and other laws restricting unlicensed short-term rentals. Such issues have followed Airbnb across the globe, from Barcelona (Pellicer, 2014) to Berlin (Vasagar, 2014), from Malta (Cooke, 2013) to Myanmar (Pasick, 2013), from New York (Whitehouse, 2015) to New Orleans (Sayre, 2014), and from Tasmania (Beniuk, 2015) to Tel Aviv (Elis, 2015). Often, unlicensed rentals of under 30 days are prohibited, as is the case in Denver (Nowicki, 2014), Los Angeles (Morris, 2015), New Orleans (where the minimum increases to 60 days in the popular French Quarter) (Sayre, 2014), New York City (which permits such rentals only if the owner is also present) (Whitehouse, 2015), and Vancouver (Gallagher, 2014). Moreover, some jurisdictions have more specific limitations on short-term rentals, such as regarding areas where they can be located, their ratio within the community, the number of times they can be rented annually, or the number of allowable guests (Gottlieb, 2013). In addition to frequently being illegal, Airbnb also generally does not collect and remit the accommodation taxes that traditional forms of accommodation often charge.

Such issues were mostly trivial not long ago, but now that Airbnb and the broader peer-to-peer short-term rental sector have quickly become so immense, government bodies (mostly municipal) around the world are grappling with the question of how to respond. Airbnb's plan clearly was to establish itself as firmly as possible before confronting its regulatory concerns, and simply wait for policymakers to catch up (Yglesias, 2012a). This philosophy and the motives behind it were encapsulated nicely by the co-founder of Lyft, a ride-hailing company in the collaborative economy: 'If we took the approach of, "Hey, let's wait and see what the government does to create a path that is very, very clear for this new industry" ... then we wouldn't be operating anywhere' (Dubner, 2014).

### 3 Innovation vs. Regulation

Major innovations, by their very nature, often challenge regulatory structures by introducing novel products, services, and business models for which the most pertinent regulations—devised only for what previously existed—do not adequately apply. For example, today there are major regulatory debates surrounding innovations like food trucks, driverless cars, and drones. Airbnb has unsurprisingly argued that the regulations prohibiting its rentals are outdated and have not adapted to reflect modern technologies (e.g., Pedler, 2016), and there is some truth to this claim. As an amusing example, the Ontario Innkeepers Act still devotes significant space to describing when a hotel owner can place a lien on or sell a guest's horse (Johal & Zon, 2015). In addition to often lagging behind innovation, regulations can also unquestionably hinder innovative activities and will more generally limit personal freedoms (Chase, 2015). Nonetheless, regulations are (at least in theory)

intended to foster the overall public good (Chase, 2015; Koopman, Mitchell, & Thierer, 2014) and few would question their overall importance. For instance, Airbnb surely would desire regulatory protection against the (hypothetical) emergence of a rival service named Aerobnb. However, finding an ideal level of regulation is challenging, as policymakers must consider a variety of goals including ensuring consumer protection, guaranteeing intellectual property, and fostering competition.

Innovations may also prompt regulatory action based on rent-seeking behaviour, as competitors encourage regulation and enforcement to protect their market position and hinder the innovation. Such manoeuvring is perhaps inevitable because innovations can pose an existential threat to incumbent products and businesses. Joseph Schumpeter, an influential Austrian-born economist who is widely recognised as the father of innovation studies, termed this process ‘creative destruction,’ and describes it as an intrinsic feature of capitalism (Schumpeter, 1942/2008). As he summarises, ‘The competition from the new [innovation]... strikes not at the margins of the profits and the outputs of the existing firms but at their foundations and their very lives’ (p. 84). Clearly fearing newfound competition from Airbnb, numerous hotel organisations and hotel workers unions, including the American Hotel & Lodging Association (O’Neill, 2014), the British Hospitality Association (Meyer, 2015), the French hotel union UMIH (Jenne, 2015), and the Australian Hotels Association (Ironside, 2015), have publically criticised Airbnb and advocated stricter regulations and enforcement. Such appeals parallel those made by restaurant associations against food trucks (e.g., Carman, 2013) and by taxi commissions against ride-hailing services such as Uber and Lyft (e.g., Greenfield, 2012).

Uber and Lyft, like Airbnb, form part of the collaborative economy, many aspects of which make it ripe for regulatory tensions. Firstly, collaborative economy innovations are based on rapidly advancing internet and mobile technologies, making it difficult for policymakers to keep pace. Secondly, several of the most popular collaborative economy services exist within highly regulated industries, such as Airbnb (short-term accommodation), Uber (transportation), and Prosper (finance). Thirdly, as Airbnb’s CEO has highlighted, the collaborative economy has precipitated the emergence of micro-entrepreneurs who are challenging the distinction between businesses and people (Kessler, 2014). This blurring of traditional boundaries raises difficult questions regarding consumer protection (e.g., Should Airbnb accommodations meet the same safety standards as hotels?), where taxation and other liabilities lie (e.g., Is Airbnb liable if a guest is injured in an Airbnb accommodation?), and the employment status of collaborative economy workers (e.g., Should Uber drivers receive employee benefits?).

Moreover, Airbnb represents a specific type of innovation, known as a ‘disruptive innovation’ (Guttentag, 2015). This term is often overused to describe any novel product that ‘disrupts’ a market in a more colloquial sense (Yglesias, 2013). However, it really refers to a product whose appeal derives not from improved performance, as one may expect, but it rather underperforms in comparison with prevailing products’ key attribute(s) while introducing an alternative package of benefits

generally centred on being cheaper, simpler, smaller, or more convenient. In other words, disruptive innovations are inferior 'good enough' products (Christensen, 1997; Christensen & Raynor, 2003). This notion seems to apply directly to Airbnb, which appears to underperform in comparison with traditional accommodations' key performance attributes (e.g., cleanliness, security, and quality assurance), but provides an alternative value proposition centred on its relatively low cost, practical benefits, and experiential authenticity (Guttentag, 2015). Because disruptive innovations are customarily simpler than existing products, they often will not meet existing standards within tightly regulated industries, which has led to regulatory clashes in industries including healthcare (Christensen, Grossman, & Hwang, 2009; Curtis & Schulman, 2006) and legal services (Campbell, 2012). In some cases, strict regulations may even prevent the emergence of disruptive innovations, as these inferior products, though 'good enough' for consumers, are not 'good enough' to meet established regulatory standards (Curtis & Schulman, 2006). Airbnb provides an excellent example of this issue, as Airbnb accommodations often will not meet the safety standards imposed on hotels and other traditional accommodations, and Airbnb emerged by simply ignoring the existing regulatory regime that would have otherwise suffocated it.

## **4 The Policymaker's Perspective: Airbnb's Issues and Impacts**

Being a disruptive innovation within both the collaborative economy and a highly regulated industry, Airbnb's regulatory problems were virtually inevitable. As policymakers are forced to reassess their jurisdictions' relevant regulations in response to Airbnb's rise, they must consider a broad range of issues and impacts, both for and against Airbnb.

### ***4.1 Tourism: Visitors, Traditional Accommodations and DMOs***

Airbnb's most direct impacts are on the tourism sector. From a visitor perspective, Airbnb is essentially an unqualified benefit, as it has introduced new accommodations that differ from most existing options by being cheaper and providing a more authentic local experience. Even visitors who stay elsewhere may enjoy lower prices due to the new competition Airbnb offers. Nonetheless, tourism is a business, so from a destination perspective a central question is the potential economic impacts of Airbnb, as economic benefits could help compensate for other drawbacks. Unfortunately, the economic benefits of Airbnb are largely unknown. Airbnb has sponsored economic impact studies in various major cities, touting tens of

millions of dollars in economic activity (Airbnb, 2016b), but such studies are inherently biased (Crompton, 2006). Airbnb indisputably is lodging huge numbers of money-spending tourists, but this money may have been spent in a destination anyways, as Airbnb guests may simply use it as a substitute for traditional accommodations. Airbnb therefore may even allow visitors to spend less money overall by spending less on accommodation, although Airbnb contends the majority of its guests spend their accommodation savings elsewhere in a destination (e.g., Airbnb, 2015a, 2015b). Airbnb also touts its economic impacts by boasting that its guests tend to stay longer and spend more money than hotel guests (Airbnb, 2016b). However, it is possible that these behaviours are not actually influenced by Airbnb, and may simply result from Airbnb accommodations being particularly appealing for travellers on relatively long trips.

Nevertheless, regulations should not simply be fashioned to squeeze as much money as possible from tourists, and Airbnb certainly may strengthen the tourism economy in other ways. Airbnb accommodations tend to be spread throughout residential neighbourhoods rather than concentrated in a tourism core, so Airbnb may help to disperse tourist spending (Porges, 2013; Smerd, 2014). Airbnb also may reduce leakage from the local economy, as money is paid to local hosts (minus Airbnb's commission) rather than corporate hotels headquartered elsewhere. Additionally, Airbnb provides 'invisible infrastructure' (Capps, 2014) that can help support major events or seasonal tourist influx without the need for traditional accommodations that may not be sustainable. For example, Airbnb is the official 'alternative accommodation' sponsor of the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro, helping to ease the city's bed shortage (Associated Press, 2015). In addition to such economic benefits, Airbnb stays are purportedly more environmentally-friendly than hotel stays (Snyder, 2014), and the Airbnb host-guest interaction may promote intercultural understanding.

The question of whether Airbnb guests are regularly using Airbnb as a substitute for traditional accommodations has particularly salient implications for the regulatory debate. Airbnb has repeatedly denied that it competes directly with hotels, arguing that it draws a different type of tourist (e.g., Conley, 2014; Titcomb, 2014; Trenholm, 2015). Moreover, hotels in the U.S. have recently enjoyed exceptional performance despite Airbnb's emergence (Griswold, 2015b; Solomon, 2014), and some hoteliers and industry analysts claim Airbnb is too small and distinct from hotels to have a major impact (e.g., Grant, 2013; Karmin, 2015; Marcin, 2014). Nonetheless, while Airbnb's clientele may not perfectly resemble that of hotels, many of the hundreds of thousands of guests using Airbnb every night undeniably would have otherwise stayed in existing accommodations (hotels, hostels, bed-and-breakfasts, etc.). Furthermore, very early on Airbnb did in fact present itself as a hotel alternative (Airbnb, 2016c), and Airbnb is increasingly pushing into the hotel market by targeting business travellers (Newcomer, 2015). In addition, analyses of hotel metrics in Texas (Zervas, Proserpio, & Byers, 2015b), San Francisco (Swig, 2014), and New York City (Vivion, 2015) have concluded Airbnb is hurting hotel occupancy rates and prices, particularly in lower-priced hotels without a strong business clientele.

As was previously noted, the perceived threat of Airbnb has begun to mobilise the traditional accommodation sector, which has called for tighter regulations and stricter enforcement against Airbnb. The common refrain from these incumbents is that they desire a 'level playing field' in which Airbnb pays its taxes and is held to similar regulatory standards (e.g., Carney, 2015; Deese, 2015; Kenney, 2015a). Moreover, if Airbnb is hurting hotels then there could be a negative impact on hotel employment, which some policymakers may wish to protect (Dubner, 2014). This employment issue is partly offset by the money hosts earn and the ecosystem of businesses that have sprung up to serve Airbnb (Shankman, 2014), but collaborative economy jobs have been criticised for being precarious and offering no benefits (e.g., Keen, 2015). Also, Airbnb may have a particularly significant impact on non-hotel accommodations like bed-and-breakfasts (e.g., Kenney, 2015b) and hostels.

Hotels' opposition to Airbnb creates an awkward situation for local destination marketing organisations (DMOs) tasked with destination promotion, as DMOs are largely funded by hotels (via accommodation taxes) and hotels often feature prominently on DMO boards of directors (Sheehan & Ritchie, 2005). Therefore, even if a DMO feels Airbnb benefits a destination (e.g., by facilitating event hosting, fostering a destination's image as hip and trendy, engaging local residents with the local tourism sector, or simply providing a desirable accommodation alternative), the DMO may avoid publicly supporting Airbnb. San Francisco's DMO recently became the first to forge an official partnership with Airbnb (Sciacca, 2015) and Philadelphia followed shortly after (Hilario, 2015), whereas Baltimore's DMO has taken the opposite stance and sought stricter short-term rental restrictions (Munshaw, 2015). However, for the most part DMOs seem to have avoided Airbnb debates and allowed their two main stakeholders—hotels and municipal governments (Sheehan, Ritchie, & Hudson, 2007)—to confront the issue.

## 4.2 Taxes

In jurisdictions where Airbnb remains illegal and unregulated, it also is generally untaxed. Therefore, policymakers have an economic incentive to legalise, regulate, and tax Airbnb. In major destinations like San Francisco, the tax revenue from Airbnb can reach many millions of dollars (Green, 2015a). Moreover, taxing Airbnb eliminates the 'free rider' problem in which Airbnb and its hosts benefit from destination promotion without contributing to it via an accommodation tax.

Several years ago, Airbnb resisted accommodation taxes, arguing that accommodation tax laws needed to be updated for innovative services like Airbnb (Coté, 2012) and Airbnb hosts should individually be responsible for collecting and remitting the taxes (Levy & Goldman, 2012). However, as Airbnb's regulatory battles heated up, particularly in New York City, Airbnb wisely accepted its tax obligations and began using the promise of tax dollars as a bargaining chip for

regulatory acceptance (Hantman, 2014b; Wohlsen, 2013). For example, Airbnb recently sent a letter to all 213 New York State Legislators lamenting the millions of dollars in tax revenue that Airbnb could contribute if the laws were revised (Kerr, 2015). Amusingly, when Airbnb changed its stance on taxes, its hotel industry opponents in New York City, who had previously criticised Airbnb for not paying its taxes, were forced to similarly reverse course and began to oppose Airbnb taxation, worried that tax payments would grant Airbnb more formal legitimacy (Griswold, 2015a; Hantman, 2014c).

### **4.3 Consumer Protection**

Beyond the tax question, when hotels demand a level playing field with Airbnb or when policymakers question its merit, they often reference consumer safety concerns including security, health, and fire safety (e.g., King, 2015; Sreenivasan, 2015; Valencia, 2014). Such concerns are understandable, and in fact one Airbnb guest has died after falling from a broken rope swing (Stone, 2015), another died from carbon monoxide poisoning (with several accompanying guests hospitalised) (Hill, 2015), two separate sexual assaults have reportedly been committed against Airbnb guests (Joshi, 2014; Lieber, 2015b), one guest was bitten by a host's Rottweiler (Lieber, 2015a), and another found a hidden camera in her rental (Brandom, 2015). However, while Airbnb can do more to prevent such tragedies, it must be acknowledged that given the massive number of Airbnb users it is almost unavoidable that some crimes and injuries would occur, and such incidents obviously occur in hotels as well (e.g., Hussain, 2015; Leland, 2015; MacBride & Flores, 2015). Also, the vast majority of Airbnb crimes actually seem to be property crimes perpetrated against hosts rather than guests (e.g., Nerman, 2015; Sernoffsky, 2015), and many Airbnb accommodations are in buildings that already abide by various safety standards.

Airbnb promotes security via identity verification measures and a review system, the latter of which is a defining security feature in many collaborative economy enterprises. Such systems serve the dual purpose of allowing two parties to learn more about one another before agreeing to a transaction, and creating an incentive for both parties to conduct themselves acceptably (Jøsang, Ismail, & Boyd, 2007). Several authors have posited that these self-regulatory reputation-based feedback mechanisms are more effective than traditional government regulatory regimes, and the latter are therefore mostly anachronistic and inefficient (Cohen & Sundararajan, 2015; Grossman, 2015; Koopman et al., 2014; Sundararajan, 2012, 2014). Grossman (2015), for example, envisions a new regulatory paradigm centered on accountability rather than permission, as information accessibility replaces the need for traditional licensing, and companies share data with regulators to help prevent and respond to problems. Koopman et al. (2014) similarly argue that information accessibility has minimised the need for traditional regulations, which should be relaxed for both incumbent businesses and new entrants, and Sundararajan (2014)



and Cohen and Sundararajan (2015) advocate almost wholly self-regulatory agencies with limited government oversight.

There is no question that regulatory agencies should exploit the copious real-time data now generated by consumers, which presents some obvious advantages over the information that can be gathered by a licensed inspector. However, one must be careful about overstating the collaborative economy's ability to use reputational feedback mechanisms for self-regulation. Advocating reliance on review mechanisms for consumer protection would seemingly suggest TripAdvisor is sufficient to regulate hotels, which is a notion that Sundararajan (2012) actually presents, but one with which most people would quickly disagree. The problem with relying on user reviews as a regulatory mechanism is that review systems like Airbnb's can exhibit numerous weaknesses. To begin, Airbnb reviews predictably focus on issues like cleanliness, location, and host friendliness, rather than issues like fire safety, the presence of carbon monoxide detectors, or the host's criminal record, which are the sort of issues most likely to be considered by government regulations. Additionally, several aspects of the Airbnb review system may artificially inflate the positivity of reviews: firstly, guests may not wish to post a negative review because it could signal pickiness that would lead future potential hosts to reject reservation requests (Mulshine, 2015); secondly, a guest must complete a stay in order to leave a review, and therefore cannot review a place that was so terrible the guest left early (Paris, 2015); thirdly, guests may be disinclined to criticise an individual person (i.e., the Airbnb host) despite having no issue criticising a faceless hotel property (Ho, 2015); and fourthly, until a recent policy change that postdates many existing reviews, Airbnb published hosts' and guests' reviews immediately, so each were discouraged from criticism out of fear of a retaliatory negative review (Rubin, 2014). Given such issues, it is unsurprising that research has found Airbnb reviews to be extremely positive, as compared with accommodation reviews on other websites (Díaz Armas, Gutiérrez Taño, & García Rodríguez, 2015; Zervas, Proserpio, & Byers, 2015a). In fact, Zervas et al. (2015a) looked at 600,000 Airbnb listings and found 95% enjoyed a 4.5 or 5 star rating, and virtually none had fewer than 3.5 stars. Consequently, rather than providing a substitute for traditional regulations, review systems are better suited to simply complement and bolster traditional regulatory practices, like in New York City where health authorities have used Yelp to help detect outbreaks of foodborne illness (Knox, 2014).

### 4.3.1 Hosts and Residents

Short-term renting permits Airbnb hosts to leverage what is likely their largest asset to generate additional income, which may help to cover mortgage payments and avert foreclosures (Gottlieb, 2013). In fact, Airbnb often boasts that a large percentage of its hosts use their earnings to help cover mortgage or rent payments and other basic expenses (Airbnb, 2016b). Restricting such economic activity requires a strong justification, and interestingly few have considered whether short-term rental

regulations constitute violations of individual property rights, although a recent lawsuit in Tennessee makes this very claim (Garrison, 2015c). Jefferson-Jones (2015) provides the most focused analysis on this question, connecting it to the long history of boarding houses in the U.S. and arguing that short-term rental restrictions do, in fact, represent an unconstitutional ‘taking’ of private property (i.e., ‘inverse condemnation’) without just compensation.

Nevertheless, Jefferson-Jones (2015) glosses over some serious concerns with Airbnb accommodations. Whereas Airbnb may provide a net benefit for both the host and guest, it produces a negative externality in terms of its impacts on the host’s neighbours, which is notably absent from most other collaborative economy services (e.g., ride-hailing). This concern is a basic reason for zoning laws—much like many people would not want their neighbours hosting weekly garage sales, or opening a mechanic business in their driveway, or running a beauty salon from their living room, it is understandable for people to not want to live across the hall from what is essentially a hotel room. Tourist guests, who may behave more hedonistically when on vacation (Carr, 2002) and have no long-term vested interest in the community, may prove disruptive for nearby residents. For instance, unknown transient guests may raise safety concerns or disturb neighbouring residents by noisily coming and going late at night or partying loudly (e.g., Leland, 2012; Lu, 2015; Shute, 2014). As one Airbnb critic scribbled on an Airbnb subway ad in New York City, ‘The dumbest person in your building is passing out a set of keys to your front door!’ (Pressler, 2014). Additionally, in neighbourhoods where Airbnb accommodations are abundant—like New York City’s East Village (Fermino, 2015) or Paris’s Marais (French, Schechner & Verbergt, 2015)—they can more generally harm the fabric of the community by filling purportedly residential areas with throngs of tourists. Consequently, while Airbnb is beloved by many, it has also led to conflicts between neighbours (e.g., CBC News, 2015; Coltrain, 2015) and triggered both informal and organised protests from some community activists (e.g. Curth, 2015; Dzieza, 2015; Langfield, 2014). In effect, Airbnb has produced a sort of ‘NIMBYism<sup>1</sup>’ in which Airbnb is popular in theory, but many people do not want it near them. In fact, an online poll found that when asked if people should be permitted to rent their rooms to strangers, 26% of respondents answered it should be freely allowed and only 12% answered it should be completely banned, yet when asked if their neighbours should be permitted to rent their rooms to strangers only 17% said it should be freely allowed and 20% stated it should be completely banned (Ali, 2015).

Airbnb also may harm local property markets by reducing housing stock and in turn precipitating an increase in housing prices. Such issues primarily result from residences being used as permanent short-term rentals with absentee hosts, yet there are even reports of landlords evicting tenants in order to convert long-term housing into more lucrative short-term rentals (e.g., Aron, 2015). Nonetheless, it is unclear

---

<sup>1</sup>‘Not in my backyard’.

to what extent Airbnb truly reduces housing stock. Airbnb claims to make housing more affordable by providing hosts with supplemental income to help cover high rents or mortgages (Hantman, 2014a), and therefore has recently positioned itself as a champion of middle class economic stability (Said, 2015c). The company also portrays its hosts as ordinary people renting spare rooms (Chesky, 2013) and notes that roughly 80–90% of its hosts rent their primary residences (Airbnb, 2016b). However, this number obscures the much larger proportion of Airbnb inventory owned by hosts operating full-time rentals as a more professional enterprise, as has been illustrated in various independent analyses based on data extracted from the Airbnb website. For example, Slee (2014) looked at 14 of the world's largest cities and found an average of 38% of Airbnb accommodations were managed by hosts with multiple listings. Similarly, at the time of writing, data for 32 major worldwide cities extracted from Airbnb and presented on the website *insideairbnb.com* indicated an average of 64% of the cities' Airbnb listings were for entire homes/apartments, 37% were managed by hosts with multiple listings, and 83% were available for renting at least 90 days per year. Examining the consequences of such patterns, reports by Airbnb-commissioned consultants, government analysts, and a pro-labor advocacy group have reached contradictory conclusions regarding Airbnb's impact on housing, with some finding Airbnb has minimal impact and others concluding that Airbnb is removing substantial levels of housing stock (Green, 2015b; Kusisto, 2015; Rosen, 2013; Samaan, 2015). It is also nearly impossible to tease out the impact of Airbnb from other important variables like job growth or demographic trends (Rosen, 2013), and Airbnb may be receiving blame better directed at other issues like restrictions on housing development or real estate investing by absentee foreign owners (Badger, 2014; Cutler, K.-M., 2014; Yglesias, 2012b).

## 5 Existing Regulatory Approaches

Airbnb's regulatory battles have developed into high-stakes and highly contentious affairs, characterised by heated legislative meetings (e.g., Karni, 2015; Mesh, 2014), high-priced lobbying (e.g., O'Brien, 2015; Thomas, 2015), campaign-style advertising (e.g., Mosendz & Smith, 2014), special interest groups (e.g., Hawkins, 2014; Tam, 2013), and citizen protests (e.g., Dzieza, 2015; Swan, 2014). These battles have resulted in destinations taking vastly different approaches to Airbnb. Some destinations have strongly opposed the service, such as New York City, where enforcement against illegal Airbnb accommodations has increased (Fickenscher, 2015), the State Attorney General subpoenaed Airbnb's data and released a critical report on the company's operations (Schneiderman, 2014), a state legislator sponsored a bill that would fine hosts for merely posting an Airbnb listing (Lovett, 2015), and another state legislator secretly recorded her own undercover Airbnb sting operation (Golding, 2015). Likewise, Berlin recently passed a law banning unregistered short-term rentals (Vasagar, 2014); Barcelona recently began

experimenting with new punishments for unlicensed short-term rental owners (Quijones, 2015) and fined Airbnb for marketing unlicensed listings (AFP, 2015); and Santa Monica, California recently passed new laws prohibiting short-term rentals in which the host is not present, and established a proactive enforcement department (Lepore, 2015). Nonetheless, during the past few years an increasing number of destinations have made moves towards legalising, regulating, and taxing Airbnb, such as Amsterdam (Weber, 2013b), London (Shankman, 2015), Nashville (Garrison, 2015a), Paris (France 24, 2015), Philadelphia (Lattanzio, 2015), Portland (Law, 2014a), Sacramento (Ortiz, 2015), San Francisco (Musil, 2014), and San Jose, California (Rosenberg, 2014). Developments are occurring so quickly that there is little reason to discuss any particular city in significant detail; rather, it is more useful to examine the key facets of the regulatory regimes that are being contemplated by nearly all destinations and will continue to define the Airbnb regulatory framework well into the future.

### ***5.1 Renting Restrictions: Quotas and More***

Much of the new short-term rental legislation focuses on capping the number of nights an entire home can be rented out annually. This focus addresses the concern that a plethora of casual hosts conceal a smaller number of commercial multi-unit operators who receive a large portion of Airbnb's bookings and remove housing stock (Cutler, 2015). For example, Amsterdam now permits renting an entire home for up to 60 days per year (Zabludovsky, 2014); London permits up to 90 days (Shankman, 2015); Paris permits up to four months (Schechner & Verbergt, 2015); Philadelphia permits up to 90 days unlicensed or 180 days with a license (Lattanzio, 2015); Portland requires homeowners to reside on-site at least nine months per year (Law, 2014a); San Francisco permits up to 90 days per year, while also only allowing one rental per host (Brustein, 2014); and San Jose permits up to 180 days per year (Rosenberg, 2014). Taking a much tougher stance on short-term renting, New York City (Whitehouse, 2015), Catalonia (Zillman, 2015), and Santa Monica (Lepore, 2015) allow short-term rentals only if the host is present during the stay, with Catalonia also limiting such rentals to four months annually.

Some destinations are also enacting laws relating to more detailed aspects of short-term renting. For instance, Amsterdam limits rentals to four guests simultaneously (Zabludovsky, 2014); Nashville mandates the number of guests can be no more than twice the number of sleeping rooms (Garrison, 2015a); Portland permits hosts to rent up to two bedrooms (Law, 2014a); and Carlsbad, California restricts rentals to coastal neighbourhoods (Seaside Courier, 2015). Moreover, several cities have taken the stance that the government should not subsidise properties that are used to earn short-term rental profits; for example, Amsterdam prohibits short-term rentals in rent-controlled properties (Dutch News, 2015), a New York City judge

evicted a tenant for renting his rent-stabilised apartment on Airbnb (Plautz, 2015a), and Boston ordered the owner of an affordable housing unit to stop renting it on Airbnb (Rocheleau, 2015).

## 5.2 *Permits and Safety*

In order to promote consumer safety and community wellbeing, many destinations have enacted licensing systems and/or other safety requirements. For instance, Grand Rapids, Michigan requires hosts obtain a \$287 rental license (Sidorowicz, 2014), Louisville requires hosts pay a \$250 annual licensing fee and comply with health and safety requirements, although the license requirement is waived for hosts who rent out no more than twice per year (Roldan, 2015a); Roanoke, Virginia has created a new 'homestay' permit for short-term renting (Chittum, 2015); Philadelphia requires a rental license for hosts renting out their homes for over 90 days annually (Lattanzio, 2015); Portland requires hosts obtain a \$178 permit (that involves a basic safety inspection), acquire a business license, and inform their neighbours and neighbourhood association of their rental intentions (Njus, 2014); and San Francisco requires hosts register in-person at City Hall and pay a \$50 fee (Weinberger, 2015). However, initial compliance with licensing regulations has been limited—after roughly one month in Grand Rapids only four of approximately 70 listings were properly licensed (Sidorowicz, 2014); after about six months in Portland only about 10% of its roughly 1600 rentals were properly licensed (Peltier, 2015); and after nearly 1 year in San Francisco only about one-fifth of the city's more than 6000 rentals had applied for a registration (CBS, 2015).

## 5.3 *Rule Enforcement*

Enforcement may be needed to pressure hosts into complying with licensing requirements and other regulations, but destinations have struggled considerably to institute enforcement measures that are both appropriate and practical. When initially confronted with the rise of short-term rentals, several destinations took an initially tough stance that was later tempered. Some, including Sydney (McKenny, 2014), Perth (Hennessy, 2015), Tasmania (Beniuk, 2015), and the Canary Islands (Perthen, 2012), threatened hosts with excessively large fines of up to hundreds of thousands of dollars, yet it does not appear the violators have ever actually been forced to pay these amounts. Likewise, city officials in both Boulder, Colorado (Kuta, 2015) and Louisville (Lopez, 2015) sent numerous hosts cease-and-desist letters, but in both cases such actions were dropped in favour of re-examining the old short-term rental laws. In fact, reports from numerous destinations—including Amsterdam (Weber, 2013a), Malibu (Stevens & Groves, 2014), and San Diego

(Halverstadt, 2015)—of imminent crackdowns against Airbnb actually preceded more formal regulatory discussions.

Nonetheless, even new regulations have proved extremely difficult to enforce, as illustrated by the non-compliance with licensing requirements. For instance, a Louisville Assistant County Attorney described short-term rental enforcement as ‘a nightmare’ that has strained staff resources (Roldan, 2015b), the Amsterdam City council claimed its 22 full-time inspectors were not enough to cope with the city’s short-term rental complaints (Dutch News, 2014), and San Francisco’s short-term rental laws were deemed unenforceable by the department originally tasked with enforcing them (Matier & Ross, 2015b). In response, several locations have significantly expanded their enforcement bodies—San Francisco has created a six-person Office of Short Term Rental Administration (Kokalitcheva, 2015); Santa Monica created a new three-person enforcement department (Lepore, 2015); Quebec has planned to increase its number of inspectors (Presse Canadienne, 2015); and New York City, dealing with a significant rise in complaints (Gartland, 2015), has doubled the budget and more than doubled the staff of its enforcement department (Fickenscher, 2015). Enforcement is challenging because it is often difficult to definitively prove regulatory violations, even though rentals are publicly listed on the Airbnb website. For example, it can take significant time and effort to prove an Airbnb host is not living in a rental property, or that the property is exceeding an annual night quota. Enforcement has traditionally focused on investigating complaints, but numerous places, including New York City (Fickenscher, 2015), Paris (Schechner & Verbergt, 2015), Berlin (Nezik, 2015), and Santa Monica (Lepore, 2015) have transitioned to a more proactive approach in which violators are actively sought out using short-term rental websites.

Some jurisdictions have also considered requiring Airbnb to cooperate with enforcement efforts, either through sharing data or incorporating restrictions into the website. For example, in 2014 Portland’s Revenue Division Director proposed requiring Airbnb to provide names and addresses for all local hosts in order to ensure licensing compliance, but the requirement was never established (Law, 2014b). Somewhat similarly, a California law proposed in early 2015 would require Airbnb to provide information on addresses being used for short-term rentals, the nights rented, and the revenue earned (Rosenhall, 2015). Airbnb predictably has resisted such efforts intensely, citing privacy concerns and the burden associated with compliance (e.g., Mason, 2015; Schaal, 2013). Nevertheless, in November 2015 Airbnb somewhat softened its tone by pledging to be ‘transparent with our data and information’ as part of a broader ‘Airbnb Community Compact’ (Airbnb, 2015c; Chesky, 2015). The following month Airbnb released anonymous New York City data and promised to make similar releases elsewhere (Isaac, 2015), including San Francisco (Nevius, 2015). Nonetheless, some policymakers criticised the endeavor, arguing that anonymous data was not actionable in terms of aiding enforcement of the existing regulations (Kulwin, 2015). Even without data sharing, there is also the potential for Airbnb to incorporate restrictions directly into its booking engine. For example, San Francisco legislation proposed in early 2015

would have prohibited Airbnb from listing units not in good standing (Cutler, 2015), and the proposed California law mentioned above would require Airbnb to prohibit bookings in jurisdictions where short-term rentals are banned (Mason, 2015). Additionally, Portland demanded Airbnb begin posting host license numbers on the website, threatening a fine of \$500 for each host violation, but Airbnb refused to comply and the city did not follow through with the fines (Walters, 2015).

## 5.4 Taxes

As was previously discussed, Airbnb initially resisted calls to collect and remit taxes, but as its regulatory battles intensified the company changed its attitude and began using taxes to gain acceptance and legitimacy. Indeed, taxation agreements have often closely coincided with moves to legalise Airbnb, such as in Amsterdam (Lomas, 2014); Nashville (Garrison, 2015a); Philadelphia (Lattanzio, 2015); Portland (Law, 2014a); San Jose (Rosenberg, 2014); and San Francisco (Musil, 2014), where Airbnb also agreed to pay back-taxes for several prior years (Matier & Ross, 2015a). It is therefore reasonable to assume that regulatory acceptance will soon come in destinations where Airbnb had recently begun collecting taxes at the time of writing, including Florida (Perry, 2015); Illinois (Ecker, 2015); Malibu (Sawicki, 2015); North Carolina (Knopf, 2015); San Diego (Horn, 2015); Washington, D.C. (Badger, 2015); and Washington state (Plautz, 2015b). These taxation agreements virtually all involve Airbnb collecting and remitting standard accommodation taxes, which means Airbnb and its hosts now contribute towards destination marketing and can no longer be criticized as 'free riders.' Taking taxation a step further, Tucson, Arizona recently raised the property tax rate for short-term rental hosts by reclassifying their properties from residential to commercial (McNamara, 2015), which is a development traditional bed-and-breakfasts have previously fought in some destinations (Stankus, 2012). Also, due to the housing concerns that Airbnb raises, Nashville has earmarked some of its short-term rental tax revenue for an affordable housing fund (Garrison, 2015b), and in early 2016 the mayor of Chicago proposed a 2% surcharge on vacation rentals that would be similarly dedicated towards affordable housing (Spielman, 2016).

## 6 The Challenging Future of Airbnb Regulation

Because Airbnb has grown so rapidly, policymakers have been forced to tackle this innovation urgently and with little warning. Many cities undoubtedly wish to quickly establish a workable regulatory framework, and presumably Airbnb is similarly eager to be legalised and regulated, as there is widespread speculation that the company will go public in the relatively near future, and major regulatory



question marks would complicate an initial public offering (Logan & Alpert Reyes, 2015). The clear trend regarding Airbnb's regulatory landscape is one of increased legalisation, regulation, and taxation. In 2014, the U.S. Conference of Mayors even adopted a resolution in support of 'shareable cities' in which services like Airbnb are legalised with appropriate regulatory controls (Cutler, J., 2014). As Airbnb's current hockey stick growth curve eventually levels off, and the company is further brought into the regulatory fold, Airbnb will be seen less as a maverick service and more of a traditional one. This increased acceptance will likely lead to open competition with hotels, representation on DMO boards, and increased partnerships with other tourism firms (airlines, meeting organizers, etc.). It has become quite apparent that Airbnb has a long-term place in the tourism accommodation market, and it is sensible that policymakers are mostly focusing on using regulation to mitigate negative impacts rather than prohibit the service. To date, however, destinations have struggled to craft suitable regulatory controls that overcome the many challenges posed by Airbnb.

One major complication is that the public holds very mixed opinions toward Airbnb. For example, in November 2015 San Francisco voters rejected a proposed tightening of restrictions on short-term rentals, but the vote was relatively close (55–45%) even though the Airbnb-funded winning 'No' side spent over 15 times as much money campaigning as did the opposition (Said, 2015b). Around the same time, Boulder, Colorado residents voted at a similarly close margin (57.5–42.5%) to accept an ordinance that permitted and taxed short-term rentals (Burness, 2015). Also, a 2015 survey found that the proportion of prospective renters in New York City who were more likely to lease in an Airbnb-friendly building nearly doubled from 10% to 19% within the previous year, yet a slightly larger percentage (20%, down from 25%) still indicated they would be less likely to lease in such a building (Clarke, 2015). Moreover, as was described previously, when asked in an online poll if 'people' should be allowed to rent their rooms to strangers the response was generally positive, but when asked about 'neighbours' more respondents felt the activity should be banned than allowed. Finally, in a 2014 poll in New York City, 56% of respondents agreed that residents should be permitted to rent rooms in their homes to strangers, while 36% felt the practice should be banned (Fischer, 2014; Parry, 2014). In other words, Airbnb is a highly divisive issue and, quite simply, large numbers of people will be displeased with any potential regulatory framework. Nevertheless, the public seems more amenable than not towards allowing and regulating short-term rentals, thus generally paving the way for their continued acceptance, both via legislation and residential policies (e.g., condominium bylaws).

However, shaping a workable short-term rental regulatory framework remains very challenging in large part because Airbnb listings are extremely varied. A spare bedroom that is rented out occasionally and a full property that is rented out year-round are highly distinct, making it very difficult to discuss Airbnb as a whole. As a result, two people can perceive Airbnb on very different terms, with neither being completely right or wrong. Such complications certainly impacted the results from two of the surveys just described, as the question prompts merely asked about



renting 'rooms' and avoided mention of entire residences (Fischer, 2014). In fact, some of Airbnb's peer-to-peer short-term rental competitors, like VRBO, only involve renting full residences. Also, as was stated earlier, many Airbnb listings are owned by more professionally-oriented multi-unit operators, and these hosts unsurprisingly account for a disproportionate share of Airbnb revenue. For example, Slee's (2014) analysis of 14 of the world's largest cities found that on average only about 15% of hosts managed multiple listings, but this cohort represented 38% of the total inventory and was estimated to receive about 45% of all bookings. Likewise, a study (sponsored by the American Hotel & Lodging Association) analysing 12 major U.S. markets found hosts operating three or more listings represented just 7% of the hosts but generated 25% of the revenue (O'Neill & Ouyang, 2016), and New York City data released by Airbnb showed that hosts with three or more listings represented just 2% of all hosts but received 24% of all revenue (Popper, 2015). In other words, a large percentage of Airbnb's business derives from permanent operations that often violate local laws, such as annual night quotas, even in places where Airbnb has been legalised (e.g., Brustein, 2014). Though Airbnb would obviously loathe losing this portion of its business, this issue arguably represents many regulators' biggest concern about short-term rentals, and it likely must be sorted out to some degree prior to an Airbnb initial public offering.

Permanent vacation rentals certainly deserve their place in destinations, but it is natural for regulations to distinguish full-time vacation rentals with absentee hosts from other short-term rental properties. Not surprisingly, some destinations, including Nashville (Nashville.gov, 2016); Austin, Texas (AustinTexas.gov, 2016); and Raleigh, North Carolina (Specht, 2015) have enacted or are considering multi-tiered regulatory systems that differentiate between rentals that are and are not owner-occupied principal residences. Even for permanent rentals, Airbnb will likely prompt a general easing of regulations that may ultimately affect other forms of tourism accommodation. Koopman et al. (2014), for example, argue that rather than applying old regulations to new innovations, 'The better alternative is to level the playing field by "deregulating down" to put everyone on equal footing, not by "regulating up" to achieve parity' (p. 19). In particular, bed-and-breakfasts may have their often fairly onerous regulations (Staley, 2007) eased significantly, quite likely to the point that bed-and-breakfasts are not even legislatively distinguished from other peer-to-peer short-term rentals. Hotels will always receive greater regulatory oversight than smaller accommodations, but even they may enjoy an easing of regulations.

Regardless of how their new regulatory frameworks are crafted, as destinations increasingly revise their laws to legalise short-term rentals, they will become less hesitant to prosecute violators, as has occurred in San Francisco (Barmann, 2015). Likewise, destinations will undoubtedly bolster their ability to field and respond to complaints, and more and more destinations will seek out violators proactively. Such actions will further push Airbnb to better comply with local ordinances.

However, the question remains to what degree Airbnb will cooperate directly with local governments, particularly with regards to multi-unit operators. To date, Airbnb has resisted such cooperation, combining open defiance with an appeal for

self-regulation. In late 2015 Airbnb's CEO claimed, 'We succeeded not because of [the professional hosts] but in spite of them,' (Said, 2015a), and the company's previously mentioned Community Compact pledged that in cities with long-term housing shortages the company would ensure 'hosts agree to a policy of listing only permanent homes on a short-term basis' (Airbnb, 2015c). Indeed, when comparing New York City Airbnb data subpoenaed by the New York State Attorney General covering the period of January 2010 to June 2014 (Schneiderman, 2014) with data later voluntarily released by Airbnb covering the period of November 2014 to November 2015 (Popper, 2015), the percentage of hosts with at least three unique listings had dropped from 6% to 2% and their share of the total revenue had dropped from 37 to 24%. Also, Airbnb has removed listings from some of its professional operators managing large numbers of properties in New York City (Newcomer, 2016; Walker, 2014), Los Angeles (Logan & Alpert Reyes, 2015), and Amsterdam (Pieters, 2016). Nevertheless, one must appreciate the context of these gestures before perceiving Airbnb as eager to fully cooperate with local regulatory bodies. The New York State Attorney General originally had to subpoena Airbnb to receive its data; full access to the voluntarily released data required an in-person appointment at Airbnb's New York office (Griswold, 2015c); shortly before releasing both the subpoenaed data and the voluntary data Airbnb manipulated its numbers by removing thousands of illegal listings, and the company only acknowledged the second purge after it was discovered by independent analysts (Cox & Slee, 2016; Kerr, 2014; Newcomer, 2016); many of the listings removed in the second purge were soon re-listed by their hosts (Clark, 2016; Cox & Slee, 2016); and bulk removals of professional hosts have only occurred in a few places and only following intense pressure and scrutiny (Kerr, 2014; Kidd, 2015; Logan & Alpert Reyes, 2015).

In other words, it is naive to think Airbnb will readily begin removing illegal accommodations that generate a sizeable portion of its revenue. Nonetheless, it also seems likely that Airbnb will eventually cooperate more closely with local governments by sharing data that can be used to monitor both impacts and regulatory violations, and by taking a more proactive stance in prohibiting listings that egregiously violate local laws. Data sharing is critical to a regulatory system that uses consumer-generated data (Grossman, 2015), and Airbnb undoubtedly understands its need to cooperate more on this front in order to obtain the more modernised regulatory frameworks it has encouraged. Also, while an intervention forcing Airbnb to delist illegal properties would not be unprecedented—U.S. state attorneys general previously pressured craigslist into eliminating its 'adult services' section (Associated Press, 2010)—it is much more probable that greater enforcement against hosts and the threat of stricter regulations will prompt Airbnb to become more proactive in its efforts to limit major violations (e.g., Said, 2016). Indeed, Airbnb's about-face on taxes and the recent softening of its tone on data sharing demonstrate the company is willing to pragmatically shift positions in its quest for greater legitimacy, so although Airbnb will clearly fight hard to defend its turf from regulators, increased future pressure will likely lead to increased compromise. In the end, a world full of outraged policymakers, hosts incurring hefty

finances, and public referendums with questionable outcomes is not the ideal environment for Airbnb to thrive, and the company is certainly cognizant of this reality.

## 7 Conclusion

When considering the regulatory issues surrounding Airbnb, it is also important to remember that Airbnb is a global company operating in diverse destinations with different traditions and needs. Urban destinations with rent-controlled housing are different from beach communities with a long-standing vacation rental tradition; small destinations like Yellowknife, Canada, which is eager for more visitors (Williams, 2015), are different from major destinations like the Canary Islands, which is already so overrun with tourists that it is considering instituting visitor caps (Hutchinson, 2015); and countries with a tradition of significant government intervention are different from countries with a more neoliberal regulatory tradition. Consequently, there is not a one-size-fits-all regulatory framework for all destinations, and policymakers must independently assess the issues surrounding Airbnb in order to formulate the most sensible approach for their communities.

Nonetheless, destinations will often face many of the same questions regarding Airbnb, such as how it impacts tourism, how the service should be taxed, how guests' and hosts' safety can be assured, and how negative externalities can be minimised. These issues have challenged policymakers, but such circumstances often follow major innovations like Airbnb that shake up the status quo. The regulatory challenges created by Airbnb clearly demonstrate how the emerging collaborative economy has produced important and difficult questions about regulation in the digital age. It is a fascinating future, and one which is still being written.

## References

- AFP. (2015, December 22). Airbnb fined for offering lodgings without permits in Barcelona. *The Local*. Accessed March 14, 2016, from <http://www.thelocal.es/20151222/barcelona-city-hall-fines-airbnb>
- Airbnb. (2015a). Overview of the Airbnb community in Austin, Texas. *Airbnb*. Accessed March 14, 2016, from <http://publicpolicy.airbnb.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/AustinImpactReport1.pdf>
- Airbnb. (2015b). Overview of the Airbnb community in New Orleans, Louisiana. *Airbnb*. Accessed March 14, 2016, from <http://publicpolicy.airbnb.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/NewOrleansImpactReport.pdf>
- Airbnb. (2015c). The Airbnb community compact. *Airbnb*. Accessed February 23, 2016, from <http://publicpolicy.airbnb.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Airbnb-Community-Compact.pdf>
- Airbnb. (2016a). About us. *Airbnb*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <https://www.airbnb.ca/about/about-us>
- Airbnb. (2016b). Airbnb economic impact. *Airbnb*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://blog.airbnb.com/economic-impact-airbnb/>

- Airbnb. (2016c). Obama O's: Hope in every bowl. *Airbnb*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <https://www.airbnb.com/obamaos>
- Ali, R. (2015, February 5). Americans are generally OK with Airbnb unless their neighbors are doing it. *Skift*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://skift.com/2015/02/05/americans-are-generally-ok-with-airbnb-unless-their-neighbors-are-doing-it/>
- Aron, H. (2015, August 19). Why Venice Beach is ground zero for the Airbnb backlash. *LA Weekly*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.laweekly.com/news/why-venice-beach-is-ground-zero-for-the-airbnb-backlash-5928207>
- Associated Press. (2010, September 4). Craigslist removes adult services section. *MSNBC*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/39005873/ns/technology\\_and\\_science-tech\\_and\\_gadgets/t/craigslist-removes-adult-services-section](http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/39005873/ns/technology_and_science-tech_and_gadgets/t/craigslist-removes-adult-services-section)
- Associated Press. (2015, March 28). Airbnb to sponsor 2016 Rio Olympics. *ESPN*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [http://espn.go.com/blog/olympics/post/\\_/id/4527/airbnb-to-sponsor-2016-rio-olympics](http://espn.go.com/blog/olympics/post/_/id/4527/airbnb-to-sponsor-2016-rio-olympics)
- AustinTexas.gov. (2016). Rental types: Three types of short-term rentals. *AustinTexas.gov*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <https://www.austintexas.gov/page/short-term-rental-types>
- Badger, E. (2014, May 20). Foreign investors are making housing more expensive. Should we tax them for it? *The Washington Post*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonkblog/wp/2014/05/20/foreign-home-buyers-are-making-housing-more-expensive-should-cities-tax-them-for-it/>
- Badger, E. (2015, January 29). Airbnb is about to start collecting hotel taxes in more major cities, including Washington. *The Washington Post*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonkblog/wp/2015/01/29/airbnb-is-about-to-start-collecting-hotel-taxes-in-more-major-cities-including-washington/>
- Barmann, J. (2015, December 14). City cracks down on Airbnb/VRBO law violators, issues \$400,000 in penalties. *SFist*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [http://sfist.com/2015/12/14/city\\_cracks\\_down\\_on\\_airbnbvrbo\\_law.php](http://sfist.com/2015/12/14/city_cracks_down_on_airbnbvrbo_law.php)
- Beniuk, D. (2015, July 26). Kentish Council swoops on Airbnb pensioner. *News.com.au*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.news.com.au/national/tasmania/kentish-council-swoops-on-airbnb-pensioner/story-fnn32rbc-1227456969278>
- Brandom, R. (2015, December 16). A woman is suing Airbnb over an alleged hidden camera. *The Verge*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.theverge.com/2015/12/16/10318300/airbnb-hidden-camera-lawsuit-california>
- Brustein, J. (2014, October 8). Airbnb gets off easy in San Francisco. Hosts? Not so much. *Bloomberg*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.bloomberg.com/bw/articles/2014-10-08/airbnb-gets-off-easy-in-san-francisco-dot-its-hosts-not-so-much>
- Burness, A. (2015, November 3). Boulder voters support tax on Airbnb, reject City Council pay raise. *Daily Camera*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [http://www.dailycamera.com/local-election-news/ci\\_29067073/early-returns-voters-support-tax-airbnb-vrbo-reject](http://www.dailycamera.com/local-election-news/ci_29067073/early-returns-voters-support-tax-airbnb-vrbo-reject)
- Campbell, R. W. (2012). Rethinking regulation and innovation in the U.S. legal services market. *New York University Journal of Law & Business*, 9(1), 1–70.
- Capps, K. (2014, September 29). The sharing economy could drive down the price of mega-events. *Citylab*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.citylab.com/tech/2014/09/the-sharing-economy-could-drive-down-the-price-of-mega-events/380908/>
- Carman, T. (2013, June 5). Its status quo on food trucks after D.C. Council's vote. *The Washington Post*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/going-out-guide/wp/2013/06/05/its-status-quo-on-food-trucks-after-d-c-councils-vote/>
- Carney, T. P. (2015, April 17). Maine innkeepers call for 'level playing field' with Airbnb; governor offers to deregulate everyone. *The Washington Examiner*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/maine-innkeepers-call-for-level-playing-field-with-airbnb-governor-offers-to-deregulate-everyone/article/2563215>
- Carr, N. (2002). The tourism–leisure behavioural continuum. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(4), 972–986.

- CBC News. (2015, September 16). Airbnb causing condo conflict in Vancouver. *CBC News*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/airbnb-condo-vancouver-1.3231426>
- CBS. (2015, March 4). Most of SF's Airbnb listings technically illegal as homeowners struggle with rigorous new application process. *CBS San Francisco*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://sanfrancisco.cbslocal.com/2015/03/04/most-of-sfs-san-francisco-airbnb-listings-technically-illegal-as-homeowners-struggle-with-rigorous-new-application-process/>
- Chase, R. (2015). *Peers Inc: How people and platforms are inventing the collaborative economy and reinventing capitalism*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Chesky, B. (2013, October 3). Who we are, what we stand for. *The Airbnb Blog*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://blog.airbnb.com/who-we-are/>
- Chesky, B. (2015, November 11). Our commitment to communities around the world. *The Airbnb Blog*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://blog.airbnb.com/our-commitment-to-communities-around-the-world/>
- Chittum, M. (2015, July 6). Roanoke eases way for AirBnB rentals. *The Roanoke Times*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [http://www.roanoke.com/news/local/roanoke/roanoke-eases-way-for-airbnb-rentals/article\\_e8e7209c-b622-5727-b577-0090d8ca98d7.html](http://www.roanoke.com/news/local/roanoke/roanoke-eases-way-for-airbnb-rentals/article_e8e7209c-b622-5727-b577-0090d8ca98d7.html)
- Christensen, C. M. (1997). *The innovator's dilemma: When new technologies cause great firms to fail*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.
- Christensen, C. M., & Raynor, M. E. (2003). *The innovator's solution: Creating and sustaining successful growth*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.
- Christensen, C. M., Grossman, J. H., & Hwang, J. (2009). *The innovator's prescription: A disruptive solution for health care*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Clark, P. (2016, February 25). Airbnb's purged listings are already coming back. *Bloomberg*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-02-25/airbnb-s-purged-landlords-are-relisting-their-apartments>
- Clarke, K. (2015, August 18). An increasing number of NYC renters want to live in Airbnb-friendly buildings: Survey. *New York Daily News*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.nydailynews.com/life-style/real-estate/nyc-renters-live-airbnb-friendly-buildings-article-1.2329388>
- Cohen, M., & Sundararajan, A. (2015). Self-regulation and innovation in the peer-to-peer sharing economy. *The University of Chicago Law Review Dialogue*, 82, 116–133.
- Coltrain, N. (2015, August 30). Vacation rentals pit neighbor against neighbor. *The Coloradoan*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.coloradoan.com/story/news/2015/08/30/vacation-rentals/71337842/>
- Conley, C. (2014, August 29). Airbnb is an old idea with a new tech twist. *Hotel News Now*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.hotelnewsnow.com/Article/14343/Airbnb-is-an-old-idea-with-a-new-tech-twist>
- Cooke, P. (2013, October 13). Unlicensed room letting risks penalty of €23,000. *Times of Malta*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20131013/local/Unlicensed-room-letting-risks-penalty-of-23-000.490062>
- Coté, J. (2012, April 4). Airbnb, other sites owe city hotel tax, S.F. says. *San Francisco Chronicle*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/Airbnb-other-sites-owe-city-hotel-tax-S-F-says-3457290.php>
- Cox, M., & Slee, T. (2016, February 10). How Airbnb's data hid the facts in New York City. *Insideairbnb.com*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://insideairbnb.com/reports/how-airbnbs-data-hid-the-facts-in-new-york-city.pdf>
- Crompton, J. L. (2006). Economic impact studies: Instruments for political shenanigans? *Journal of Travel Research*, 45(1), 67–82.
- Curth, K. (2015, May 28). Bywater neighbors fed up with airbnb rentals. *Fox 8 WVUE*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.fox8live.com/story/29185366/bywater-neighbors-fed-up-with-airbnb-rentals>
- Curtis, L. H., & Schulman, K. A. (2006). Overregulation of health care: Musings on disruptive innovation theory. *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 69(4), 195–206.

- Cutler, J. E. (2014, October 21). Cities grappling with challenges of how to tax, regulate short-term rentals. *Bloomberg BNA*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.bna.com/cities-grappling-challenges-n17179897258/>
- Cutler, K. M. (2014, November 2). So you want to fix the housing crisis. *TechCrunch*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://techcrunch.com/2014/11/02/so-you-want-to-fix-the-housing-crisis/>
- Cutler, K. M. (2015, June 11). Airbnb and the problem of data. *TechCrunch*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://techcrunch.com/2015/06/11/airbnb-and-the-problem-of-data/>
- Deese, H. (2015, January 3). Airbnb, VRBO offer parallels to online music. *The Daily News*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.memphisdailynews.com/news/2015/jan/3/airbnb-vrbo-offer-parallels-to-online-music/>
- Díaz Armas, R. J., Gutiérrez Taño, D., & García Rodríguez, F. J. (2015). Airbnb como nuevo modelo de negocio disruptivo en la empresa turística: Un análisis de su potencial competitivo a partir de las opiniones de los usuarios. *Análisis Turístico*, 12. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://congresoaeicit.org/uploads/public/files/modules/congress/18/papers/29.pdf>
- Dubner, S. (2014, September 4). Regulate this! Full transcript. *Freakonomics*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://freakonomics.com/2014/09/04/regulate-this-full-transcript/>
- Dutch News. (2014, October 12). Amsterdam admits it can't cope with Airbnb inspections. *DutchNews.nl*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [http://www.dutchnews.nl/news/archives/2014/10/amsterdam\\_admits\\_it\\_cant\\_cope](http://www.dutchnews.nl/news/archives/2014/10/amsterdam_admits_it_cant_cope)
- Dutch News. (2015, February 3). Airbnb starts collecting Dutch tourist tax, but no one knows how much. *DutchNews.nl*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.dutchnews.nl/news/archives/2015/02/airbnb-starts-collecting-dutch-tourist-tax-but-no-one-knows-how-much/>
- Dzieza, J. (2015, January 21). Airbnb comes under fire in New York City. *The Verge*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.theverge.com/2015/1/21/7865959/airbnb-under-fire-new-york-city-city-council>
- Ecker, D. (2015, December 10). Airbnb to begin collecting full Illinois hotel tax. *Crain's Chicago Business*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.chicagobusiness.com/article/20151210/NEWS09/151219991/airbnb-to-begin-collecting-full-illinois-hotel-tax>
- Elis, N. (2015, June 14). Hoteliers demand Tel Aviv taxation on Airbnb room. *The Jerusalem Post*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.jpost.com/Business-and-Innovation/Hoteliers-demand-Tel-Aviv-taxation-on-Airbnb-room-406018>
- Fermino, J. (2015, July 29). Airbnb taking up 1 out of 5 vacant apartments in popular New York City zip codes: study. *New York Daily News*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/airbnb-takes-1-5-apartments-popular-nyc-zip-codes-article-1.2307521>
- Fickenscher, L. (2015, July 16). City beefs up unit probing Airbnb abuses. *The New York Post*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://nypost.com/2015/07/16/city-beefs-up-unit-probing-airbnb-abuses/>
- Fischer, B. (2014, September 2). Q-Poll doesn't quite say what Airbnb wants it to say. *New York Business Journal*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.bizjournals.com/newyork/blog/techflash/2014/09/q-poll-doesnt-quite-say-what-airbnb-wants-it-to.html>
- France 24. (2015, February 26). Airbnb vows to comply with Paris lodgings tax. *France 24*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.france24.com/en/20150226-paris-airbnb-cooperate-home-rental-hotels-chesky-france/>
- French, J., Schechner, S., & Verbergt, M. (2015, June 26). How Airbnb is taking over Paris. *The Wall Street Journal*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://graphics.wsj.com/how-airbnb-is-taking-over-paris/>
- Gallagher, M. (2014, November 19). Airbnb causing condo conflict in Vancouver. *CBC*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/airbnb-causing-condo-conflict-in-vancouver-1.2839010>



- Garrison, J. (2015a, February 24). Metro Council approves regulations for Airbnb in Nashville. *The Tennessean*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.tennessean.com/story/news/politics/2015/02/24/airbnb-nashville-regulations-metro-council/23976931/>
- Garrison, J. (2015b, April 7). Plan to boost housing fund with Airbnb tax revenue advances. *The Tennessean*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.tennessean.com/story/news/politics/2015/04/07/plan-boost-housing-fund-airbnb-tax-revenue-advances/25443033/>
- Garrison, J. (2015c, December 3). Tennessee AG: Airbnb rentals subject to hotel, sales tax. *The Tennessean*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.tennessean.com/story/news/2015/12/03/tennessee-ag-airbnb-rentals-subject-hotel-sales-tax/76739660/>
- Garland, M. (2015, January 21). Neighbors' complaints to 311 over Airbnb are on the rise. *The New York Post*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://nypost.com/2015/01/21/neighbors-complaints-to-311-over-airbnb-are-on-the-rise/>
- Golding, B. (2015, January 12). NYC City Council schedules hearing over Airbnb safety concerns. *The New York Post*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://nypost.com/2015/01/12/nyc-city-council-schedules-hearing-over-airbnb-safety-concerns/>
- Gottlieb, C. (2013). Residential short-term rentals: Should local governments regulate the "industry"? *Planning & Environmental Law*, 65(2), 4–9.
- Grant, M. (2013, March 27). Airbnb.com poses only a small threat to hotel industry. *Euromonitor International*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://blog.euromonitor.com/2013/03/airbnbcom-poses-only-a-small-threat-to-hotel-industry.html>
- Green, E. (2015a, April 10). Airbnb, S.F. trade accusations on tax collection. *The San Francisco Chronicle*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/Airbnb-SF-double-dipping-on-taxes-SF-Airbnb-6190442.php>
- Green, E. (2015b, May 19). New reports differ on impact of Airbnb on S.F. *The San Francisco Chronicle*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/New-reports-differ-on-impact-of-Airbnb-on-S-F-6271923.php>
- Greenfield, R. (2012, September 5). Uber runs up against big taxi in New York now. *The Atlantic Wire*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.theatlanticwire.com/technology/2012/09/uber-runs-against-big-taxi-new-york-now/56529/>
- Griswold, A. (2015a, February 13). Why Airbnb desperately wants to pay hotel taxes. *Slate*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [http://www.slate.com/articles/business/moneybox/2015/02/airbnb\\_hotel\\_taxes\\_why\\_does\\_the\\_sharing\\_economy\\_startup\\_want\\_to\\_pay\\_them.single.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/business/moneybox/2015/02/airbnb_hotel_taxes_why_does_the_sharing_economy_startup_want_to_pay_them.single.html)
- Griswold, A. (2015b, July 6). Airbnb is thriving. Hotels are thriving. *Slate*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [http://www.slate.com/articles/business/moneybox/2015/07/airbnb\\_disrupting\\_hotels\\_it\\_hasn\\_t\\_happened\\_yet\\_and\\_both\\_are\\_thriving\\_what.single.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/business/moneybox/2015/07/airbnb_disrupting_hotels_it_hasn_t_happened_yet_and_both_are_thriving_what.single.html)
- Griswold, A. (2015c, December 15). Airbnb has a really convoluted process for being "transparent" with New York City. *Quartz*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://qz.com/571165/airbnb-is-sharing-more-data-but-in-a-really-convoluted-way/>
- Grossman, N. (2015). Regulation, the internet way: A data-first model for establishing trust, safety, and security. *Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation*. Retrieved from <http://datasmart.ash.harvard.edu/news/article/white-paper-regulation-the-internet-way-660>
- Guttentag, D. (2015). Airbnb: Disruptive innovation and the rise of an informal tourism accommodation sector. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 18(12), 1192–1217.
- Halverstadt, L. (2015, February 9). San Diego's cracking down on Airbnb hosts. *Voice of San Diego*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.voiceofsandiego.org/topics/news/sandiego-cracking-down-on-airbnb-hosts/>
- Hantman, D. (2014a, February 13). Airbnb and housing. *The Airbnb Public Policy Blog*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://publicpolicy.airbnb.com/airbnb-housing/>
- Hantman, D. (2014b, April 14). \$21 million more for New York. *The Airbnb Public Policy Blog*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://publicpolicy.airbnb.com/21-million-new-york/>
- Hantman, D. (2014c, April 17). New York hotel lobbyists flip-flop on taxes. *The Airbnb Public Policy Blog*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://publicpolicy.airbnb.com/new-york-hotel-lobbyists-flip-flop/>

- Hawkins, A. J. (2014, December 4). NYC's anti-Airbnb coalition heads west. *Crain's New York Business*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.crainnewyork.com/article/20141204/BLOGS04/141209910/nycs-anti-airbnb-coalition-heads-west>
- Hennessy, A. (2015, March 22). Perth property owners could face \$200k fines for nightly rentals. *PerthNow*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.perthnow.com.au/news/western-australia/perth-property-owners-could-face-200k-fines-for-nightly-rentals/story-fnhocx03-1227272959129>
- Hilario, K. (2015, August 31). Visit Philadelphia wants Airbnb hosts to be tourism 'ambassadors'. *Philadelphia Business Journal*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.bizjournals.com/philadelphia/news/2015/08/31/visit-philadelphia-airbnb-hosts-tourism-hotel.html>
- Hill, K. (2015, November 9). After a woman was poisoned in an Airbnb, the company started giving out prevention devices. *Fusion*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://fusion.net/story/229589/airbnb-death-safety-regulations/>
- Ho, E. (2015, May 18). Why you should think twice before trusting Airbnb reviews. *Mashable*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://mashable.com/2015/05/18/airbnb-reviews/>
- Horn, J. (2015, July 1). Airbnb to collect San Diego tourist taxes. *The San Diego Tribune*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/news/2015/jul/01/airbnb-taxes-tot-tourism-rentals-hotels/>
- Hussain, A. (2015, December 12). Boy's drowning in RWS Hard Rock Hotel pool in June ruled a misadventure. *The Straits Times*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/boys-drowning-in-rws-hard-rock-hotel-pool-in-june-ruled-a-misadventure>
- Hutchinson, J. (2015, July 1). 'The Magaluf effect': Canary Islands could impose limits on tourism as increase in visitor numbers is 'killing quality in Spain.' *The Daily Mail*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/travel/travel\\_news/article-3162201/The-Magaluf-effect-Canary-Islands-impose-limits-tourism-increase-visitor-numbers-killing-quality-Spain.html](http://www.dailymail.co.uk/travel/travel_news/article-3162201/The-Magaluf-effect-Canary-Islands-impose-limits-tourism-increase-visitor-numbers-killing-quality-Spain.html)
- Ironside, R. (2015, February 6). Rising angst over airbnb operations. *News.com.au*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.news.com.au/travel/travel-updates/rising-angst-over-airbnb-operations/story-e6frfq80-1227210877547>
- Isaac, M. (2015, December 1). Airbnb releases trove of New York City home-sharing data. *The New York Times*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/02/technology/airbnb-releases-trove-of-new-york-city-home-sharing-data.html>
- Jefferson-Jones, J. (2015). Airbnb and the housing segment of the modern sharing economy: Are short-term rental restrictions an unconstitutional taking? *Hastings Constitutional Law Quarterly*, 42(3), 557–576.
- Jenne, A. (2015, August 17). Paris's most prestigious luxury hotels are counting the cost of the Airbnb revolution. *The Independent*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/pariss-most-prestigious-luxury-hotels-are-counting-the-cost-of-the-airbnb-revolution-10459656.html>
- Johal, S., & Zon, N. (2015). *Policymaking for the sharing economy: Beyond whack-a-mole*. Toronto, ON: Mowat Centre, University of Toronto. [http://mowatcentre.ca/wp-content/uploads/publications/106\\_PolicymakingForTheSharingEconomy.pdf](http://mowatcentre.ca/wp-content/uploads/publications/106_PolicymakingForTheSharingEconomy.pdf)
- Jøsang, A., Ismail, R., & Boyd, C. (2007). A survey of trust and reputation systems for online service provision. *Decision Support Systems*, 43(2), 618–644.
- Joshi, P. (2014, December 20). Spain: Man jailed for raping holidaymakers who rented his flat through AirBnB. *The International Business Times*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/spain-man-jailed-raping-holidaymakers-who-rented-his-flat-through-airbnb-1480434>
- Karmin, C. (2015, September 29). Airbnb crimps hotels' power on pricing. *The Wall Street Journal*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.wsj.com/articles/airbnb-crimps-hotels-power-on-pricing-1443519181>
- Karni, A. (2015, January 20). City Council blasts Airbnb executives in contentious hearing. *The New York Daily News*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/city-council-blasts-airbnb-executives-contentious-hearing-article-1.2086252>



- Keen, A. (2015, May 10). Can the sharing economy provide good jobs?—NO: It is a great deal for the owners, but a bad one for workers. *The Wall Street Journal*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.wsj.com/articles/can-the-sharing-economy-provide-good-jobs-1431288393>
- Kenney, A. (2015a, February 24). Key questions over Internet rentals, Airbnb emerge at Raleigh meeting. *The News & Observer*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/local/counties/wake-county/raleigh-report-blog/article11309984.html>
- Kenney, A. (2015b, April 19). Raleigh's last bed-and-breakfast to close, blaming Airbnb. *The News & Observer*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/local/counties/wake-county/article18917151.html>
- Kerr, D. (2014, April 21). Airbnb wipes 2,000 NY listings before court hearing. *CNET*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.cnet.com/news/airbnb-wipes-2000-ny-apartment-listings-before-court-hearing/>
- Kerr, D. (2015, April 15). Airbnb: Let us pay hotel taxes in New York. *CNET*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.cnet.com/news/airbnb-let-us-pay-hotel-taxes-in-new-york/>
- Kessler, A. (2014, January 17). Brian Chesky: The 'sharing economy' and its enemies. *The Wall Street Journal*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052702304049704579321001856708992>
- Kidd, G. (2015, October 28). Court upholds €24,000 fine on Amsterdam Airbnb landlord. *NL Times*. Accessed 26 January 2016, from <http://www.nltimes.nl/2015/10/28/court-upholds-e24000-fine-on-amsterdam-airbnb-landlord/>
- King, D. (2015, June 7). Airbnb's impact critiqued at N.Y. hotel conferences. *Travel Weekly*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.travelweekly.com/Travel-News/Hotel-News/Airbnb-impact-critiqued-at-NY-hotel-conferences>
- Knopf, T. (2015, May 18). Airbnb to collect and pay taxes in North Carolina. *The News & Observer*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/local/counties/wake-county/article21331905.html>
- Knox, R. (2014, May 22). How Yelp can help disease detectives track food poisoning. *NPR*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.npr.org/sections/thesalt/2014/05/22/314933875/how-yelp-can-help-disease-detectives-track-food-poisoning>
- Kokalitcheva, K. (2015, July 2). New San Francisco office will manage and investigate Airbnb landlords. *Fortune*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://fortune.com/2015/07/02/san-francisco-airbnb-office-regulations/>
- Koopman, C., Mitchell, M., & Thierer, A. (2014). *The sharing economy and consumer protection regulation: The case for policy change*. Arlington, VA: Mercatus Center, George Mason University. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://mercatus.org/sites/default/files/Koopman-Sharing-Economy.pdf>
- Kulwin, N. (2015, December 21). Airbnb releases anonymized NYC listing data; city councilors call it 'useless'. *Recode*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://recode.net/2015/12/01/airbnb-releases-anonymized-nyc-listing-data-city-councilors-call-it-useless/>
- Kusisto, L. (2015, March 30). Airbnb pushes up apartment rents slightly, study says. *The Wall Street Journal*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://blogs.wsj.com/developments/2015/03/30/airbnb-pushes-up-apartment-rents-slightly-study-says/>
- Kuta, S. (2015, January 1). Boulder rescinds cease-and-desist orders to homeowners offering Airbnb, VRBO rentals. *The Daily Camera*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [http://www.dailycamera.com/news/boulder/ci\\_27307446/boulder-rescinds-cess-and-desist-orders-homeowners-offering](http://www.dailycamera.com/news/boulder/ci_27307446/boulder-rescinds-cess-and-desist-orders-homeowners-offering)
- Langfield, A. (2014, September 12). Anti-Airbnb coalition aims to counter sharing campaign. *CNBC*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.cnn.com/2014/09/12/anti-airbnb-coalition-aims-to-counter-sharing-campaign.html>
- Lattanzio, V. (2015, June 19). You'll no longer be breaking the law by renting on Airbnb in Philadelphia. *NBC 10*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.nbcphiladelphia.com/news/local/Youll-No-Longer-Be-Breaking-the-Law-by-Renting-on-Airbnb-308272641.html>

- Law, S. (2014a, July 30). City legalizes Airbnb, other short-term home rental services. *The Portland Tribune*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://portlandtribune.com/pt/9-news/228670-92077-city-legalizes-airbnb-other-short-term-home-rental-services>
- Law, S. (2014b, December 18). Airbnb resists city efforts to regulate it. *The Portland Tribune*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://portlandtribune.com/pt/9-news/244479-112102-airbnb-resists-city-efforts-to-regulate-it>
- Leland, J. (2012, July 21). They can list, but they can't hide. *The New York Times*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/07/22/nyregion/stuyvesant-town-sleuths-keep-vigil-against-illegal-hoteliere-in-their-midst.html>
- Leland, E. (2015, February 9). Best Western lawsuit: Carbon monoxide deaths could have been prevented. *The Charlotte Observer*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.charlotteobserver.com/latest-news/article10425248.html>
- Lepore, K. (2015, May 18). How Santa Monica will enforce its Airbnb ban. *89.3 KPCC*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.scpr.org/news/2015/05/18/51728/how-santa-monica-will-enforce-its-airbnb-ban/>
- Levy, A., & Goldman, H. (2012, September 27). Airbnb: To tax or not tax a rented bed. *BloombergBusinessweek*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.businessweek.com/articles/2012-09-27/airbnb-to-tax-or-not-tax-a-rented-bed>
- Lieber, R. (2015a, April 10). Questions about Airbnb's responsibility after attack by dog. *The New York Times*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/11/your-money/questions-about-airbnbs-responsibility-after-vicious-attack-by-dog.html>
- Lieber, R. (2015b, August 14). Airbnb horror story points to need for precautions. *The New York Times*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/15/your-money/airbnb-horror-story-points-to-need-for-precautions.html>
- Logan, T., & Alpert Reyes, E. (2015, April 3). Airbnb cuts ties with vacation-rental firms in Los Angeles. *The Los Angeles Times*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.latimes.com/business/la-fi-airbnb-rift-20150404-story.html>
- Lomas, N. (2014, December 18). Airbnb to start collecting tourist tax in Amsterdam. *TechCrunch*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://techcrunch.com/2014/12/18/airbnb-to-start-collecting-tourist-tax-in-amsterdam/>
- Lopez, A. (2015, March 18). Louisville Council Committee doesn't want citations issued to AirBnB users for now. *WFPL News*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://staging.wfpl.org/louisville-council-committee-doesnt-want-citations-issued-to-airbnb-users-for-now/>
- Lovett, K. (2015, December 21). Exclusive: New York politicians work to ban Airbnb advertising, stamp out illegal hotels. *New York Daily News*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/politicians-work-ban-airbnb-ads-stamp-illegal-hotel-article-1.2472396>
- Lu, V. (2015, March 18). Noisy Airbnb renters raise ire of Willowdale residents. *Toronto Star*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.thestar.com/business/2015/03/18/noisy-airbnb-renters-raise-ire-of-willowdale-residents.html>
- MacBride, M., & Flores, J. (2015, September 29). Man waits inside Ontario hotel room and sexually assaults woman, police say. *ABC7 Eyewitness News*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://abc7.com/news/police-man-waits-inside-ie-hotel-room-sexually-assaults-woman/1009080/>
- Marcin, T. (2014, March 12). Airbnb appeals to the young but the traditional hotel empire is striking back. *Medill Reports Chicago*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://newsarchive.medill.northwestern.edu/chicago/news.aspx?id=228878>
- Mason, M. (2015, April 21). Citing privacy concerns, Airbnb slams bill on short-term rentals. *The Los Angeles Times*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.latimes.com/local/political/la-me-pc-airbnb-legislation-20150421-story.html>
- Matier, P., & Ross, A. (2015a, February 18). Airbnb pays tax bill of 'tens of millions' to S.F. *The San Francisco Chronicle*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/matier-ross/article/M-R-Airbnb-pays-tens-of-millions-in-back-6087802.php>

- Matier, P., & Ross, A. (2015b, March 22). 'No way of enforcing' Airbnb law, S.F. planning memo says. *The San Francisco Chronicle*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/matier-ross/article/No-way-of-enforcing-Airbnb-law-S-F-planning-6151592.php>
- McKenny, L. (2014, September 26). Councils threaten home owners with \$1 million fine for renting rooms. *The Sydney Morning Herald*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.smh.com.au/nsw/councils-threaten-home-owners-with-1-million-fine-for-renting-rooms-20140926-10mchq.html>
- McNamara, P. (2015, August 22). Changes put bite on short-term landlords. *Arizona Daily Star*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [http://tucson.com/news/local/govt-and-politics/changes-put-bite-on-short-term-landlords/article\\_b3efb530-237f-5533-8cce-03a7dec4eb63.html](http://tucson.com/news/local/govt-and-politics/changes-put-bite-on-short-term-landlords/article_b3efb530-237f-5533-8cce-03a7dec4eb63.html)
- Mesh, A. (2014, December 22). City Commissioner Nick Fish berates Airbnb lobbyist. *Willamette Week*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.wweek.com/portland/blog-32614-video-city-commissioner-nick-fish-berates-airbnb-lobbyist.html>
- Meyer, D. (2015, February 10). Hotel industry fumes as UK prepares to legalize Airbnb in London. *Gigaom*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <https://gigaom.com/2015/02/10/hotel-industry-fumes-as-uk-prepares-to-legalize-airbnb-in-london/>
- Morris, S. L. (2015, January 22). Airbnb is infuriating the neighbors. Is it time for new rules? *LA Weekly*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.laweekly.com/news/airbnb-is-infuriating-the-neighbors-is-it-time-for-new-rules-5343663>
- Mosendz, P., & Smith IV, J. (2014, July 23). Hiding in plain sight: What Airbnb doesn't want you to know about their new lobbyists. *The New York Observer*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://observer.com/2014/07/hiding-in-plain-sight-what-airbnb-doesnt-want-you-to-know-about-their-new-lobbying-firm/>
- Mulshine, M. (2015, June). After a disappointing Airbnb stay, I realized there's a major flaw in the review system. *Business Insider*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.businessinsider.com/why-airbnb-reviews-are-a-problem-for-the-site-2015-6>
- Munshaw, J. (2015, October 28). Visit Baltimore wants Airbnb rentals to be subject to the city's hotel tax. *Baltimore Business Journal*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.bizjournals.com/baltimore/news/2015/10/28/visit-baltimore-wants-airbnb-rentals-to-be-subject.html>
- Musil, S. (2014, October 7). Controversial 'Airbnb law' approved by SF supervisors. *CNET*. Accessed January 26, 2016. <http://www.cnet.com/news/controversial-airbnb-proposal-wins-ok-by-sf-supervisors/>
- Nashville.gov. (2016). Short term rental property. *Nashville.gov*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.nashville.gov/Codes-Administration/Construction-and-Permits/Short-Term-Rentals.aspx>
- Nerman, D. (2015, April 29). Airbnb nightmare renters leave Calgary home trashed. *CBC News*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/calgary/airbnb-nightmare-renters-leave-calgary-home-trashed-1.3053555>
- Nevius, C. W. (2015, November 6). Airbnb says it might be willing to share some data. *San Francisco Chronicle*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/nevius/article/Airbnb-says-it-might-be-willing-to-share-some-data-6616169.php>
- Newcomer, E. (2015, July 20). Airbnb overhauls service for business travelers. *Bloomberg*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-07-20/airbnb-overhauls-service-for-business-travelers>
- Newcomer, E. (2016, February 24). Airbnb says it removed 1500 listings in New York before data release. *Bloomberg*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-02-25/airbnb-says-it-removed-1-500-listings-in-new-york-before-data-release>
- Nezik, A. K. (2015, April 10). Tourism troubles: Berlin cracks down on vacation rentals. *Der Spiegel*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.spiegel.de/international/business/berlin-cracks-down-on-estimated-18-000-vacation-rentals-a-1026881.html>
- Njus, E. (2014, September 3). Portlanders aren't rushing to legitimize their Airbnb short-term rentals. *The Oregonian*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [http://www.oregonlive.com/front-porch/index.ssf/2014/09/no\\_rush\\_to\\_legalize\\_airbnb-sty.html](http://www.oregonlive.com/front-porch/index.ssf/2014/09/no_rush_to_legalize_airbnb-sty.html)

- Nowicki, A. (2014, April 25). Denver homeowner wants city to alter policies on short-term rental, tiny house. *ABC 7 News Denver*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.thedenverchannel.com/news/local-news/denver-homeowner-wants-city-to-alter-policies-on-short-term-rental-tiny-house>
- O'Brien, R. (2015, July 15). Hotel industry targets upstart Airbnb in statehouse battles. *The Center for Public Integrity*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.publicintegrity.org/2015/07/15/17649/hotel-industry-targets-upstart-airbnb-statehouse-battles>
- O'Neill, S. (2014, April 30). American hotel association to fight Airbnb and short-term rentals. *Tnooz*. Accessed 26 January 2016, from <http://www.tnooz.com/article/american-hotel-association-launches-fightback-airbnb-short-term-rentals/>
- O'Neill, J. W. & Ouyang, Y. (2016). From air mattresses to unregulated business: An analysis of the other side of Airbnb. *Penn State*. [http://www.ahla.com/uploadedFiles/\\_Common/pdf/PennState\\_AirBnbReport\\_.pdf](http://www.ahla.com/uploadedFiles/_Common/pdf/PennState_AirBnbReport_.pdf)
- Ortiz, E. (2015, May 23). Sacramento seeks to accommodate, limit Airbnb rentals. *The Sacramento Bee*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.sacbee.com/news/business/article21511164.html>
- Paris, N. (2015, July 22). Airbnb reviews are untrustworthy, user claims. *The Telegraph*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/travelnews/11756199/Airbnb-reviews-are-untrustworthy-user-claims.html>
- Parry, B. (2014, September 5). Queens backs Airbnb, independent poll finds. *Times Ledger*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [http://www.timesledger.com/stories/2014/36/airbnbpoll\\_tl\\_2014\\_09\\_05\\_q.html](http://www.timesledger.com/stories/2014/36/airbnbpoll_tl_2014_09_05_q.html)
- Pasick, A. (2013, August 8). Myanmar's hotels are full, but it's banning homestays because of unmannered foreigners. *Quartz*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://qz.com/113211/myanmars-hotels-are-full-but-its-banning-homestays-because-of-unmannered-foreigners/>
- Pedler, C. (2016, January 15). The rise of Airbnb has motel owners and Bendigo council concerned. *Bendigo Advertiser*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.bendigoadvertiser.com.au/story/3664583/airbnb-tourism-and-regional-victoria/>
- Pellicer, L. (2014, July 16). Barcelona's crackdown on Airbnb renters. *El País*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [http://elpais.com/elpais/2014/07/16/inenglish/1405501012\\_966041.html](http://elpais.com/elpais/2014/07/16/inenglish/1405501012_966041.html)
- Peltier, D. (2015, February 23). Airbnb faces big fines in Portland if hosts don't get city permits. *Skift*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://skift.com/2015/02/23/airbnb-faces-big-fines-in-portland-if-hosts-dont-get-city-permits/>
- Perry, M. (2015, November 18). Airbnb to start collecting Florida tourist taxes beginning Dec. 1. *Florida Politics*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://floridapolitics.com/archives/194890-airbnb-to-start-collecting-florida-tourist-taxes-beginning-december-1>
- Perthen A. (2012, June 30). Britons facing £15,000 fines in Canaries for letting homes and breaking a law that's not been enforced for years. *The Daily Mail*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2166981/Britons-facing-15-000-fines-Canaries-letting-homes-breaking-law-thats-enforced-years.html>
- Pieters, J. (2016, January 13). Airbnb drops Amsterdam properties for violating hotel laws. *NL Times*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.nltimes.nl/2016/01/13/airbnb-drops-amsterdam-properties-for-violating-hotel-laws/>
- Plautz, J. (2015a, February 20). Judge evicts NYC tenant for listing rent-stabilized apartment on Airbnb. *Mashable*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://mashable.com/2015/02/20/airbnb-nyc-eviction>
- Plautz, J. (2015b, October 1). Airbnb to start collecting taxes in Washington state. *Mashable*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://mashable.com/2015/10/01/airbnb-washington-state/#jtMY5gPIQmqj>
- Popper, B. (2015, December 4). Airbnb's worst problems are confirmed by its own data. *The Verge*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.theverge.com/2015/12/4/9849242/airbnb-data-new-york-affordable-housing-illegal-hotels>

- Porges, S. (2013, January 23). The Airbnb effect: Bringing life to quiet neighborhoods. *Forbes*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.forbes.com/sites/sethporges/2013/01/23/the-airbnb-effect-bringing-life-to-quiet-neighborhoods/>
- Presse Canadienne. (2015, August 9). Quebec will be the first province in Canada to legalize and regulate Airbnb. *The Montreal Gazette*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/quebec-to-legalize-and-regulate-airbnb>
- Pressler, J. (2014, September 23). The dumbest person in your building is passing out keys to your front door! *New York Magazine*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://nymag.com/news/features/airbnb-in-new-york-debate-2014-9/>
- Quijones, D. (2015, August 10). Airbnb and its hosts hung out to dry in Barcelona. *Wolf Street*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://wolfstreet.com/2015/08/10/barcelonas-new-mayor-declares-war-on-airbnb/>
- Rocheleau, M. (2015, August 24). City orders owner to stop renting affordable unit via Airbnb. *The Boston Globe*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <https://www.bostonglobe.com/metro/2015/08/24/city-orders-owner-stop-renting-affordable-unit-via-airbnb/5SsUXOJPKvMQLhKkjFk90M/story.html>
- Roldan, R. (2015a, May 28). Airbnb ordinance heading for council study. *The Courier-Journal*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.courier-journal.com/story/news/local/2015/05/28/airbnb-ordinance-heading-council-study/28120339/>
- Roldan, R. (2015b, August 2). Other cities warn of Airbnb regulation pitfalls. *The Courier-Journal*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.courier-journal.com/story/money/2015/08/03/cities-warn-airbnb-regulation-pitfalls/30896135/>
- Rosen, K. (2013). *Short-term rentals and impact on the apartment market*. Berkley, CA: Rosen Consulting Group. <http://www.rosenconsulting.com/products/rentalreport.html>
- Rosenberg, M. (2014, December 8). San Jose set to legalize, tax Airbnb stays like hotel rooms. *San Jose Mercury News*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [http://www.mercurynews.com/bay-area-news/ci\\_27087863/san-jose-set-legalize-tax-airbnb-stays-like](http://www.mercurynews.com/bay-area-news/ci_27087863/san-jose-set-legalize-tax-airbnb-stays-like)
- Rosenhall, L. (2015, March 17). California lawmakers want to regulate home-sharing businesses like Airbnb. *The Sacramento Bee*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.sacbee.com/news/politics-government/capitol-alert/article15202547.html>
- Rubin, B. F. (2014, July 10). Airbnb to reviewers: Tell us what you really think. *CNET*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.cnet.com/news/airbnb-wants-you-to-be-honest/>
- Said, C. (2015a, October 1). Chesky: Airbnb helps urban middle class make ends meet. *SFGate*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.sfgate.com/business/article/Chesky-Airbnb-helps-urban-middle-class-make-ends-6543832.php>
- Said, C. (2015b, November 4). Prop. F: S.F. voters reject measure to restrict Airbnb rentals. *SFGate*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/Prop-F-Mea-sure-to-restrict-Airbnb-rentals-6609176.php>
- Said, C. (2015c, November 10). Airbnb, Uber cast themselves as saviors of the middle class. *San Francisco Chronicle*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.sfchronicle.com/business/article/Airbnb-Uber-We-are-the-saviors-of-the-middle-6620729.php>
- Said, C. (2016, January 7). City implores Airbnb, other firms, to deactivate illegal listings. *SFGate*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.sfgate.com/business/article/City-implores-Airbnb-other-firms-to-deactivate-6744061.php>
- Samaan, R. (2015). *Airbnb, rising rent, and the housing crisis in Los Angeles*. Los Angeles, CA: Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy. <http://www.laane.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/AirBnB-Final.pdf>
- Sawicki, E. (2015, April 8). Airbnb to begin collecting taxes for city. *The Malibu Times*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [http://www.malibutimes.com/news/article\\_df7955b0-de31-11e4-be52-8bccab199937.html](http://www.malibutimes.com/news/article_df7955b0-de31-11e4-be52-8bccab199937.html)
- Sayre, K. (2014, July 10). New Orleans City Council toughens ban on unlicensed short-term vacation rentals. *The Times-Picayun*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [http://www.nola.com/business/index.ssf/2014/07/new\\_orleans\\_city\\_council\\_tough.html](http://www.nola.com/business/index.ssf/2014/07/new_orleans_city_council_tough.html)

- Schaal, D. (2013, October 9). Airbnb files petition to block NY subpoena, cites burden to compile data. *Skift*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://skift.com/2013/10/09/airbnb-files-petition-to-block-ny-subpoena-cites-substantial-burden-to-compile-the-data/>
- Schechner, S., & Verbergt, M. (2015, June 25). Paris confronts Airbnb's rapid growth. *The Wall Street Journal*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB12147335600370333763904581058032330315292>
- Schneiderman, E. T. (2014). *Airbnb in the city*. New York: Office of the New York State Attorney General. <http://www.ag.ny.gov/pdfs/Airbnb%20report.pdf>
- Schumpeter, J. A. (2008). *Capitalism, socialism, and democracy*. Toronto: Harper Perennial Modern Thought (Original work published in 1942).
- Sciacca, A. (2015, July 23). SFTravel forges first-ever pact with Airbnb amid San Francisco hotel crunch. *San Francisco Business Times*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.bizjournals.com/sanfrancisco/blog/2015/07/sftravel-san-francisco-airbnb-hotels-shortage-deal.html>
- Seaside Courier. (2015, April 22). Carlsbad to regulate short-term vacation rentals. *The Seaside Courier*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [http://www.seasidecourier.com/business/carlsbad-to-regulate-short-term-vacation-rentals/article\\_bc13bd52-e94b-11e4-81b9-7fedc054dea6.html](http://www.seasidecourier.com/business/carlsbad-to-regulate-short-term-vacation-rentals/article_bc13bd52-e94b-11e4-81b9-7fedc054dea6.html)
- Sernoffsky, E. (2015, August 3). Suspect pilfers \$35K in loot from Airbnb rental. *San Francisco Chronicle*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.sfgate.com/news/article/Suspect-pilfers-35K-in-loot-from-Airbnb-rental-6421626.php>
- Shankman, S. (2014, November 18). The startup businesses built around the Airbnb ecosystem. *Skift*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://skift.com/2014/11/18/the-startup-businesses-built-around-the-airbnb-ecosystem/>
- Shankman, S. (2015, March 27). The Queen of England signs Airbnb-friendly law for London rentals. *Skift*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://skift.com/2015/03/27/the-queen-of-england-signs-airbnb-friendly-law-for-london-rentals/>
- Sheehan, L. R., & Ritchie, J. B. (2005). Destination stakeholders: Exploring identity and salience. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32(3), 711–734.
- Sheehan, L., Ritchie, J. B., & Hudson, S. (2007). The destination promotion triad: Understanding asymmetric stakeholder interdependencies among the city, hotels, and DMO. *Journal of Travel Research*, 46(1), 64–74.
- Shute, J. (2014, April 9). Sandbanks locals aren't enjoying the loud party houses. *The Telegraph*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/property/10755038/Sandbanks-locals-arent-enjoying-the-loud-party-houses.html>
- Sidorowicz, J. (2014, November 13). Airbnb licensing to pick up speed in GR, city manager promises enforcement. *Fox 17 West Michigan*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://fox17online.com/2014/11/13/airbnb-licensing-to-pick-up-speed-in-gr-city-manager-promises-enforcement/>
- Slee, T. (2014, March 26). The shape of Airbnb's business. *Whimsley*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://tomslee.net/2014/05/the-shape-of-airbnbs-business.html>
- Smerd, J. (2014, September 9). Bed-Stuy's slice of Airbnb. *Crain's New York Business*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.crainsnewyork.com/article/20140909/OPINION/309079984/bed-stuys-slice-of-airbnb>
- Snyder, B. (2014, July 31). Exclusive: Airbnb says it's saving our world with each rented room. *Fortune*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://fortune.com/2014/07/31/exclusive-airbnb-says-its-saving-our-world-with-each-rented-room/>
- Solomon, J. (2014, July 14). No vacancy: Hotels are making a killing. *CNN*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://money.cnn.com/2014/07/14/investing/hotel-business-boom/>
- Specht, P. A. (2015, October 27). Raleigh one step closer to legalizing Airbnb. *The News & Observer*. <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/local/counties/wake-county/raleigh-report-blog/article41612481.html>
- Spielman, F. (2016, January 12). Emanuel proposes regulatory crackdown on Airbnb. *The Chicago Sun Times*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://chicago.suntimes.com/news/7/71/1247298/hold-late-post-emanuel-proposes-regulatory-crackdown-air-bnb>



- Sreenivasan, H. (2015, August 1). Why is New York City cracking down on Airbnb? *PBS NewsHour*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/will-new-york-city-shut-airbnb-2/>
- Staley, L. (2007). Why do governments hate bed and breakfasts? *The Institute of Public Affairs Review: A Quarterly Review of Politics and Public Affairs*, 59(1), 33–35.
- Stankus, J. (2012). *How to open and operate a Bed & Breakfast business* (9th ed.). Guilford, CT: Globe Pequot Press.
- Stevens, M., & Groves, M. (2014, May 27). Malibu to crack down on short-term rentals via Airbnb, other websites. *The Los Angeles Times*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.latimes.com/local/la-me-malibu-renting-20140528-story.html>
- Stone, Z. (2015, November 8). Living and dying on Airbnb. *Medium*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <https://medium.com/matter/living-and-dying-on-airbnb-6bff8d600c04#.poc1jxosx>
- Sundararajan, A. (2012, October 22). Why the government doesn't need to regulate the sharing economy. *Wired*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.wired.com/2012/10/from-airbnb-to-coursera-why-the-government-shouldnt-regulate-the-sharing-economy/>
- Sundararajan, A. (2014, March 3). Trusting the 'sharing economy' to regulate itself. *The New York Times*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://economix.blogs.nytimes.com/2014/03/03/trusting-the-sharing-economy-to-regulate-itself/>
- Swan, R. (2014, October 27). Protesters accuse Airbnb of desecrating San Francisco's neighborhoods. *San Francisco Weekly*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.sfweekly.com/thesnitch/2014/10/27/protesters-accuse-airbnb-of-killing-san-franciscos-neighborhoods>
- Swig, R. (2014, August 29). Alt-accommodation impact felt in San Francisco. *Hotel News Now*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [www.hotelnewsnow.com/article/Pdf/14341/](http://www.hotelnewsnow.com/article/Pdf/14341/)
- Tam, D. (2013, July 31). Airbnb, Lyft partner with new share-economy advocacy group. *CNET*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.cnet.com/news/airbnb-lyft-partner-with-new-share-economy-advocacy-group/>
- Thomas, O. (2015, October 15). With its latest hire, Airbnb gives a clue on how it's going to fight rental laws. *Business Insider*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.businessinsider.com/airbnb-hires-yahoo-david-hantman-2012-10>
- Titcomb, J. (2014, January 28). Airbnb denies it is at war with hotel groups. *The Telegraph*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/newsbysector/retailandconsumer/leisure/10600282/Airbnb-denies-it-is-at-war-with-hotel-groups.html>
- Trenholm, R. (2015, March 3). Airbnb exec denies competition with hotels, says an Airbnb trip 'changes you.' *CNET*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.cnet.com/news/airbnb-exec-denies-competition-with-hotels-says-an-airbnb-trip-changes-you-somehow/>
- Tsotsis, A. (2015, May 27). Airbnb hopes to have almost a million stays a night by summer. *TechCrunch*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://techcrunch.com/2015/05/27/airbnb-hopes-to-have-almost-a-million-stays-a-night-by-summer/>
- Tussyadiah, I. (2015). An exploratory study on drivers and deterrents of collaborative consumption in travel. In I. Tussyadiah & A. Inversini (Eds.), *Information & communication technologies in tourism 2015*. Switzerland: Springer.
- Valencia, J. (2014, December 11). Charlotte, Raleigh, Wilmington wrestle with B&B vs. Airbnb. *WUNC*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://wunc.org/post/charlotte-raleigh-wilmington-wrestle-bb-vs-airbnb>
- Vasagar, J. (2014, April 30). Berlin housing law threatens sharing economy by restricting rents. *Financial Times*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/1e8299a0-d065-11e3-af2b-00144feabdc0.html>
- Vivion, N. (2015, February 11). Is Airbnb responsible for the softening in New York RevPAR?. *Tnooz*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.tnooz.com/article/airbnb-responsible-softening-new-york-revpar>
- Walker, H. (2014, April 21). Airbnb removed thousands of 'illegal' listings after challenge from New York's top lawyer. *Business Insider*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.businessinsider.com/airbnb-purging-thousands-of-illegal-listings-2014-4>

- Walters, A. (2015, February 24). Portland's deadline for Airbnb safety permits passes unheeded, but city won't issue fines. *Willamette Week*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [http://www.wweek.com/portland/blog-32871-portlands\\_deadline\\_for\\_airbnb\\_safety\\_permits\\_passes\\_unheeded\\_but\\_city\\_wont\\_issue\\_fnes.html](http://www.wweek.com/portland/blog-32871-portlands_deadline_for_airbnb_safety_permits_passes_unheeded_but_city_wont_issue_fnes.html)
- Weber, H. (2013a, June 7). After a rough few months, Airbnb receives Amsterdam's blessing. Will other cities follow? *The Next Web*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://thenextweb.com/eu/2013/06/07/four-months-after-its-hunt-for-illegal-hotels-amsterdam-lightens-restrictions-on-airbnb-rentals/>
- Weber, H. (2013b, February 2). Airbnb could be banned in Amsterdam: Local authorities are now hunting for illegal hotels. *The Next Web*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://thenextweb.com/insider/2013/02/02/airbnb-may-be-banned-from-amsterdam-local-authorities-are-now-hunting-for-illegal-hotels/>
- Weinberger, M. (2015, March 23). San Francisco complains it can't enforce its own Airbnb law. *Business Insider*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.businessinsider.com/san-francisco-calls-airbnb-regulations-unenforceable-2015-3>
- Whitehouse, K. (2015, January 20). Airbnb to face grilling by NYC City Council. *USA Today*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.usatoday.com/story/tech/2015/01/19/airbnb-illegalhotels-nyc-renters/21999177/>
- Williams, O. (2015, February 9). Here's why you might want to rent your home to NWT tourists. *My Yellowknife Now*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.myyellowknifenow.com/2200/heres-might-want-rent-home-nwt-tourists/>
- Wohlsen, M. (2013, October 3). Airbnb: Our rooms should be taxed like hotels. *Wired*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.wired.com/2013/10/airbnb-taxes/>
- Yglesias, M. (2012a, June 5). Legalize Airbnb! *Slate*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [http://www.slate.com/articles/business/moneybox/2012/06/is\\_airbnb\\_illegal\\_why\\_hotels\\_are\\_so\\_upset\\_about\\_you\\_renting\\_a\\_bedroom\\_to\\_a\\_stranger.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/business/moneybox/2012/06/is_airbnb_illegal_why_hotels_are_so_upset_about_you_renting_a_bedroom_to_a_stranger.html)
- Yglesias, M. (2012b). *The rent is too damn high: What to do about it, and why it matters more than you think*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Yglesias, M. (2013, May 1). Stop "disrupting" everything: How a once-useful concept turned into a meaningless buzzword. *Slate*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from [http://www.slate.com/articles/business/moneybox/2013/05/disrupting\\_disruption\\_a\\_once\\_useful\\_concept\\_has\\_become\\_a\\_lame\\_catchphrase.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/business/moneybox/2013/05/disrupting_disruption_a_once_useful_concept_has_become_a_lame_catchphrase.html)
- Zabludovsky, K. (2014, May 1). NYC is battling Airbnb, but the home-sharing firm got a green light in Amsterdam. *Newsweek*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://www.newsweek.com/nyc-battling-airbnb-home-sharing-firm-got-green-light-amsterdam-249256>
- Zervas, G., Proserpio, D., & Byers, J. (2015a). *A first look at online reputation on Airbnb, where every stay is above average*. [http://papers.ssm.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2554500](http://papers.ssm.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2554500)
- Zervas, G., Proserpio, D., & Byers, J. (2015b). *The rise of the sharing economy: Estimating the impact of Airbnb on the hotel industry*. <http://people.bu.edu/zg/publications/airbnb.pdf>
- Zillman, C. (2015, July 16). Spain's Catalonia region the latest to slap a tax on Airbnb rentals. *Fortune*. Accessed January 26, 2016, from <http://fortune.com/2015/07/16/airbnb-taxes-spain-catalonia/>