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SHAPING EMOTIONAL LABOR PRACTICES IN THE SHARING ECONOMY*

Eliane Bucher, Christian Fieseler, Christoph Lutz and Gemma Newlands

ABSTRACT

Independent actors operating through peer-to-peer sharing economy platforms co-create service experiences, such as shared car-rides or homestays. Emotional labor among both parties, manifested in the mutual enactment of socially desirable behavior, is essential in ensuring that these experiences are successful. However, little is known about emotional labor practices and about how sharing economy platforms enforce emotional labor practices among independent actors, such as guests, hosts, drivers, or passengers. To address this research gap, we follow a mixed methods approach. We combine survey research among Airbnb and Uber users with content analysis of seven leading sharing economy platforms. The findings show that (1) users perform emotional labor despite not seeing is as necessarily desirable and (2) platforms actively encourage the performance of emotional labor practices even in the absence of direct formal control. Emotional labor practices are encouraged through (hard) design features such as mutual ratings, reward systems, and gamification, as well as through more subtle (soft) normative framing of desirable practices via platform and app guidelines, tips, community sites, or blogs. Taken together, these

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findings expand our understanding of the limitations of peer-to-peer sharing platforms, where control over the service experience and quality can only be enforced indirectly.

Keywords: Emotional labor; sharing economy; service co-creation; online platforms; control; peer-to-peer sharing

INTRODUCTION

Organizations have a vested interest in encouraging positive behaviors among their workforce, such as engagement, commitment, and citizenship behaviors (Katz, 1964; LePine, Erez, & Johnson, 2002; Mowday, Steers, & Porter, 1979; Organ, 1988; Smith, Organ, & Near, 1983). These behaviors, in turn, positively impact outcome variables, such as service quality (Bienstock, DeMoranville, & Smith, 2003) and customer satisfaction (Koys, 2001). In contexts where workers interact directly with customers, organizations may also encourage individuals to display specific emotional expressions toward relevant audiences and even alter their feelings. Here, frontline staff such as receptionists, waitresses, or customer service representatives may be expected to display positive emotions such as happiness, interest, or kindness (Hochschild, 1983; Leidner, 1999). Other professions, such as bailiffs or undertakers, may be expected to display neutral or negative emotions such as aggression or sadness (Brook, 2009; Hochschild, 1983). The collective practices of emotion and expression management for organizational purposes have been discussed in the academic literature under the umbrella term emotional labor (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996, 1997).

In the peer-to-peer sharing economy, platform-mediated service experiences are provided by private individuals offering their own assets (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012; Botsman & Rogers, 2010; Guttentag, 2015). An Airbnb host, for instance, offers their own home to a guest, while an Uber driver ferries passengers around in their private vehicle. Rather than being framed as a purely economic transaction, such service experiences are imbued with the norms of social hospitality and accordingly expectations of positive interpersonal interaction on both sides (Bucher, Fieseler, Fleck, & Lutz, 2018). A successful sharing experience, therefore, depends on the readiness of providers (hosts, drivers) and consumers (guests, passengers) to manage their feelings and emotional displays. This is because misalignment between provider and consumer expectations regarding the level and modality of social interaction can reduce perceived service quality, user satisfaction, and future use-intention (Kim, Park, & Lee, 2019).

As a new paradigm of commercial peer-to-peer social interaction emerges, academic research has started to investigate emotional labor practices in the sharing economy. While initial work focused on the specific context of Uber drivers (Raval & Dourish, 2016; Rosenblat & Stark, 2016; Stark, 2016), more recent research has expanded to also consider emotional labor across a variety of sharing economy platforms, as well as among both providers and consumers (Lutz, Newlands, & Fieseler, 2018; Marquis, Kim, Alahmad, Pierce, & Robert, 2018; Newlands, Lutz, &

Fieseler, 2019). However, there is limited academic research into how organizations instill such emotional labor practices in contexts where organizations act as mediators between independent actors. Unlike traditional organizations, which can communicate objectives to employees, monitor performance, and punish problematic behavior (Lindsay, Lindsay, & Irvine, 1996; Otley & Berry, 1980), service experiences in the sharing economy are delivered not by employees, but by independent actors outside of formal organizational boundaries. Accordingly, there is a significant tension between, on the one hand, desired platform control over the quality of social interaction and, on the other hand, the expected autonomy of providers who participate with their own assets and of consumers who are unaccustomed with being the subject of such expectations (Lutz et al., 2018).

In this chapter, we follow a mixed methods approach which combines survey research and correspondence analysis with content analysis to better understand how emotional labor practices are instilled among providers and consumers of the sharing economy. In particular, we show (1) how pronounced emotional labor is in home-sharing and ride-hailing and how the propensity to engage in emotional labor is influenced by a variety of antecedents (user side) and (2) how sharing platforms with limited direct power over their participants encourage and enforce emotional labor practices (platform side). Here, we put a special emphasis on the role of (a) platform design choices, such as rating and review systems and (b) narrative frames of desirable practices, as conveyed through guidelines, communities, or blogs. This contribution will inform future work on instilling behavioral practices, such as emotional labor, outside the traditional spheres of organizational influence. The results may further enrich the current debate on inequality, power, and exploitation in the sharing economy, placing particular emphasis on the potential individual costs and externalities associated with emotional labor. We also expect our results to add to the ongoing debate on provider classification (Newlands, Lutz, & Fieseler, 2018), which may inform current debates in regulation and policymaking.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Emotional Labor

The ability to regulate internal emotional responses, as well as the corresponding outward affective display, may be a prerequisite for successful participation in both society and organizations. When our emotions stand in contrast to a given situation or norm, we try to regulate our emotional responses so that they better serve our goals (Gross, 2002). For instance, instead of displaying a state of boredom during a monotonous meeting, we may either attempt to take a genuine interest in the content (cf. Hochschild, 1983: "deep acting"; Gross, 1998: "antecedent focused emotion regulation") or otherwise adopt an outward display of interest (cf. Hochschild, 1983: "surface acting"; Gross, 1998: "response focused emotion regulation"). Gross (2002, p. 282) defines emotional regulation as "processes by which we influence which emotions we have, when we have them, and how we experience and express them." Emotion regulation strategies may entail

efforts to influence (increase, maintain, or decrease) negative emotions, such as anger, jealousy, or boredom, as well as positive emotions, such as joy, contentment, or love (Parrott & Schulkin, 1993). However, not all emotion regulation is consciously performed. Emotion regulation practices range from "explicit, conscious, effortful, and controlled regulation to implicit, unconscious, effortless, and automatic regulation" (Gross, 1998, p. 275). These can be referred to as "explicit" and "implicit" display rules, highlighting the contrast between external performance and internal moderation.

In the context of organizational psychology and work sociology, emotion regulation is often referred to as emotional labor (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Brook, 2009; Grandey, 2000, 2003; Grandey & Melloy, 2017; Harris, 2002; Hochschild, 1983). Workers perform emotional labor when they have to follow certain display rules in order to fulfill the organizational requirements of their role (e.g., a waiter smiling to a customer). Emotional labor is also performed when workers are rated on the quality of their affective delivery, by either customers or superiors (e.g., through tips or promotions). Building on earlier theoretical work on emotional labor (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Hochschild, 1983), Grandey (2000, p. 97) proposes an integrated definition of emotional labor as "the process of regulating both feelings and expressions for organizational goals." In this contribution, we are interested in emotional labor practices outside the direct influence-sphere of the mediating organization. Therefore, we propose to frame Grandey's (2000) integrated definition more generally so that it can be applied to various social actors and contexts. Accordingly, we understand emotional labor as the "process of regulating both feelings and expressions for a specific goal."

While emotion regulation in general (Gross, 2002) and emotional labor in particular (Grandey, 2017) are neither good nor bad per se, the conditions in which the emotional work occurs may create situations of conflict when the emotions felt do not match the emotions expected by relevant audiences, such as co-workers, supervisors, or customers. Here, workers may experience "emotional dissonance" (Grandey, 2015; Morris & Feldman, 1996, 1997) which may in turn lead to detrimental outcomes such as burnout, dissatisfaction, cynicism, service misbehavior, or turnover intention (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Grandey, 2000; Hülsheger & Schewe, 2011; Jin & Guy, 2009; Karatepe & Aleshinloye, 2009; Lee & Ok, 2012; Wharton, 1993). In general, detrimental effects of emotional labor may be alleviated by strong role identification. If a particular role reflects a "valued identity", individuals are more willing to engage in emotional labor to fulfill the expectations associated with it (Humphrey, Ashforth, & Diefendorff, 2015). In general, the more consistent the display rules of a specific role (e.g., cheerful waiter, caring nurse, and welcoming hotelier) are with elements of one's own personal identity, the more authentic role-conforming behavior is bound to be. In this case, "being true to the role, […] is tantamount to being true to oneself" (Humphrey et al., 2015, p. 754).

Research into emotional labor throughout various service industries such as retail, aviation, or medical services has burgeoned in the last three decades (Fisher & Ashkanasy, 2000; Götz, 2013; Zapf, 2002). Studies have looked at emotional labor as performed by office assistants (Grandey, 2000), customer service workers

(Dahling & Perez, 2010), barristers and paralegals (Harris, 2002; Pierce, 1999), service personnel (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Ogbonna & Wilkinson, 1990), care workers and nurses (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Henderson, 2001; Lopez, 2006) as well as flight attendants (Williams, 2003), fast-food frontline workers (Leidner, 1999), and university professors and lecturers (Bellas, 1999). While research has mainly focused on face-to-face contexts, some work has also examined emotional labor in e-commerce transactions (Ishii & Markman, 2016).

In the emotional labor literature of the past three decades, the customer is often perceived as a passive audience member whose emotions are there to be managed and influenced (Gountas, Ewing, & Gountas, 2006; Groth, Hennig-Thurau, & Walsh, 2009; Pugh, 2001; Tang, Seal, Naumann, & Miguel, 2013; Tsai & Huang, 2002). In the case of the sharing economy, sharing experiences are inherently co-created by both providers and consumers and thus predicate emotional engagement on both sides.

Emotional Labor in the Sharing Economy

Widespread technological advancements as well as shifts in consumer attitudes toward access enabled the growth of the "sharing economy" (Bardhi & Eckhardt, 2012; Belk, 2013; Botsman & Rogers, 2010; Cohen & Kietzmann, 2014). Although a variety of different exchange relationships have been included within the umbrella of the sharing economy (Arnould & Thompson, 2016; Codagnone, Biagi, & Abadie, 2016), in this chapter, we focus on peer-to-peer sharing of tangible assets, mediated through digital platforms. Key areas of academic investigation into the sharing economy have included conceptual clarifications (Howcroft & Bergvall-Kåreborn, 2019; Sutherland & Jarrahi, 2018), labor issues (Carboni, 2016; Glöss, McGregor, & Brown, 2016; Peticca-Harris, deGama, & Ravishankar, 2018), trust (Wentrup, Nakamura, & Ström, 2019), "algorithmic" management (Möhlmann & Zalmanson, 2017), motivations for sharing (Bucher, Fieseler, & Lutz, 2016; Cheng, 2016; Hamari, Sjöklint, & Ukkonen, 2016; Jabagi, Croteau, Audebrand, & Marsan, 2019), as well as marketing and consumer research (Guttentag, 2015).

Although a handful of studies have considered emotional labor in the sharing economy (Gandini, 2018; Glöss et al., 2016; Lutz et al., 2019; Marquis et al., 2018), most studies have focused on the context of ride-hailing or home-sharing. Raval and Dourish's (2016) survey among Uber drivers, for instance, points toward several instances where providers might be engaging in emotional labor. The authors conclude that being a worker in the sharing economy might require "a combination and alternation of positive and negative emotional display, empathy generation, building one's social capital" (p. 6). Similarly, Rosenblat and Stark's (2016) work on algorithmic labor finds that the metrics and rating systems encourage Uber drivers to employ emotional labor practices as they use "a combination of friendly conversational attempts with eye contact and general demeanor" to gauge whether or not customers want to be entertained or left alone (p. 3775). In his discussion of the social costs of Uber, Rogers (2016) argues that Uber's rating system may require both drivers and passengers to engage in emotional labor, which makes him the first to point toward emotional labor being present

on both sides of the peer-to-peer sharing transaction. This thread of research was expanded by Newlands et al. (2019), who outlined that sharing-economy consumers across both home-sharing and ride-hailing platforms perform emotional labor during sharing experiences, but find the necessity to act in socially desirable ways frustrating and coercive.

Sharing platforms, reliant as they are on service experiences co-created by independent actors, face a challenge in that they only have limited direct power when it comes to enforcing specific emotional, cognitive, or behavioral practices among participants. A growing body of research has investigated mechanisms of control available to platforms over the conditions of participation, controlling duration, intensity, and even selectivity (Wentrup et al., 2019). However, direct control is limited as a result of regulatory restrictions. Providers are explicitly classed as either independent contractors or as "consumers" of platform's matching services (Aloisi, 2016; Carboni, 2016; Newlands et al., 2018). As such, implementation of formal managerial requirements over how the sharing experience is executed increases the liability for providers to be re-classified as employees of the platform.

Platforms can approach this problem in two ways. First, to preclude moral hazard and to set a baseline for quality assurance, platforms can establish (hard) reputation-based feedback mechanisms. In Hochschild's (1983) discussion of emotional labor among airline personnel, the presence of passenger feedback, in the form of letters or opinion polls, translated into rewards or punishments. In the sharing economy, emotional labor can be similarly encouraged by the presence of mutual feedback mechanisms, taking the form of reviews, ratings, and rewards. While reputation-based feedback systems provide information about past transactions, increasing mutual trust (Mayzlin, 2016), they also act as a factor in determining the overall success of a transaction. Participants with bad feedback can face negative consequences such as discrimination in future encounters or ejection from the platform (Rosenblat & Stark, 2016). Ratings are thus not only associated with establishing a service mentality among providers (Lee, Kusbit, Metsky, & Dabbish, 2015; Newlands et al., 2019), but also with establishing control in general (Cockayne, 2016; Horton & Golden, 2015; Van Doorn, 2017). While reputation and reward systems are expected to be effective on both the provider and consumer side, the increasing proliferation of services results in a scenario where providers compete in a crowded market and consistently high ratings have become crucial for success (Rosenblat & Stark, 2016; Stark, 2016). Reputation systems combine control mechanisms (Haman and Putnam, 2008), namely managerial control (e.g., rewards for compliant behavior and punishment for non-compliant behavior) and peer-based control, where individual members reinforce organizational culture and enforce behavioral norms among each other (e.g., Barker, 1993; Tracy, 2000).

As a softer way to influence behavior outside their direct sphere of influence, organizations can also use normative messaging such as signs, guidelines, or stories which convey the desired attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions (Cialdini, 2003; Schultz, Khazian, & Zaleski, 2008). The goal of this normative social influence is to alter perceived implicit rules and standards within a group "without the force

of laws" (Cialdini & Trost, 1998, p. 152). Cialdini (2003) has demonstrated the effectiveness of such normative messaging by using the example of energy conservation behavior among hotel customers. Influencing behavior through normative frames is in line with what Haman and Putnam (2008) describe as attempts of cultural control, where organizations try to cultivate a sense of identification with organizational symbols, values, and missions (Kunda & Van Maanen, 1999).

RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter follows a mixed or integrative method approach, where quantitative survey measures (regression analysis, correspondence analysis) are combined with qualitative content analysis (platform content). Mixed methods research is a systematic integration of quantitative and qualitative methods in a single study for purposes of obtaining a full picture and deeper understanding of a phenomenon. Mixed methods combine "more than one kind of technique for gathering, analyzing, and representing human phenomena, all for the purpose of better understanding" (Greene, 2006). In the present contribution, a mixed methods' approach was deemed fitting to allow for the exploration and combination of multiple viewpoints, perspectives, and positions. Given limited previous research on the topic, the research design is exploratory rather than confirmatory. At the same time, we attempt to cover the topic holistically and thus opted for a mixed methods' approach that captures different aspects of the topic. Table 1 shows the overall research design and methodological approach. Data collection took place in three subsequent and complementary phases between June and November 2017. The first phase was a large-scale multi-country survey on the sharing economy more generally (Newlands, Lutz, & Fieseler, 2017b; survey 1 in the remainder of this chapter). Emotional labor was included as one aspect in this survey due to

Table 1. Research Methodology Overview.

Phase	Method	Sample and Data	Purpose
1 (June 2017)	Online survey (1st wave)	Representative survey in 12 European Countries $N = 6{,}111$ Sub-sample of 985 Airbnb and Uber users	Establish the emotional labor construct and its antecedents among sharing-economy providers and consumers in Europe
2 (October 2017)	Qualitative platform analysis	Analysis of 7 sharing platforms yielded 231 instances where emotional labor practices were suggested	Show how sharing platforms suggest and enforce emotional labor practices among participants
3 (November 2017)	Online survey (2nd wave)	Online survey among four major online communities $N = 726$ Airbnb and Uber users	Confirm emotional labor construct and its antecedents in a different setting and among dedicated communities
	Correspondence analysis	Collection of ideal host/guest, driver/passenger traits in four major online communities ($N = 726$ Airbnb and Uber users)	Provide an overview of perceived ideal character traits of consumers and providers in the sharing economy

an extensive literature review on power-related aspects of the sharing economy (Newlands, Lutz, & Fieseler, 2017a). Survey 1 in general served descriptive purposes and was intended to map under-covered issues in the sharing economy in Europe from a user-centric perspective. In this chapter, the first step of the analysis, including quantitative results from surveys 1 and 2 (phases 1 and 3) through a linear regression analysis, also serves to set the scene and provide an overview of the prevalence and antecedents of emotional labor in a relatively generalizable manner. The second phase was an in-depth qualitative platform analysis. This phase complements the first and third phase, focusing on the role of the platforms rather than user practices and expectations. For more clarity in the argument, the results of the platform analysis are reported after the results of both surveys are presented, even though data collection occurred before the second survey. The third phase was a user-centered and tailored survey that specifically focused on emotional labor (survey 2 in the remainder of this chapter). It accompanied and built on survey 1 by including the same emotional labor questions and antecedents, thus enabling comparability. However, it substantially expanded on survey 1 by including a set of open-ended questions that assessed not only emotional labor practices and antecedents but also expectations and contextual prompts. Survey 2 resulted in a validation of the European findings through a regression analysis and in a correspondence analysis.

QUANTITATIVE SURVEYS

In terms of the quantitative data, we performed (1) a linear regression (How prevalent is emotional labor among consumers and providers?) and (2) a correspondence analysis (Which are ideal traits of consumers and providers?). This two-step approach allows to compare emotional labor practices on the one hand and perceptions, ideals, and expectations on the other hand, revealing a holistic perspective of the phenomenon on the user side.

Linear Regression

Sample and Data

The first wave of data collection took the form of a representative survey conducted in Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, and the UK. The survey was in the field in June and July 2017. For the recruitment of participants, we collaborated with an ESOMAR-certified, globally leading survey provider with experience in recruiting respondents for surveys on the sharing and gig economy. A total of 6,111 respondents was collected, with a nationally representative profile of the age group 18–65 in terms of age, gender, and area of residence. The respondents received a small financial reward. The median response time was 760 seconds and quality assurance on the side of the survey provider guaranteed that low-quality respondents (e.g., those speeding or through-lining) were replaced.

Respondents were grouped into one of four response streams, depending on their answer to a filter question: providers, consumers, aware non-users, and

non-aware non-users. For providers and consumers, we subsequently asked which sharing-economy platform they used most frequently via an open text field. In all, 556 (9%) respondents in our sample were classified as providers, 1,143 (19%) as consumers, 3,818 (62%) as aware non-users, and 593 (10%) as non-aware non-users. In the following, we focus on the provider and consumer groups ($N = 1{,}699$), where Airbnb (645 respondents), Uber (340 respondents), and BlaBlaCar (268 respondents) clearly emerged as the most frequently used platforms. However, on aggregate, a relatively large proportion of users (446 in total) used smaller platforms such as the German Kleiderkreisel or Italian Gnammo most frequently. To be able to compare survey 1 and survey 2 (see below), we only included Airbnb and Uber users in the analysis of survey 1, leaving us with a sub-sample of 985 respondents. Among these 985 respondents, the average age is 36.7 (SD = 12.5). In all, 51.7% are male and 48.3% female.

Data collection for survey 2 took place in November 2017. We limited our attention to Airbnb and Uber and used four data sources to survey users of these two platforms: Amazon Mechanical Turk (AMT), Prolific, UberPeople, and Airhostsforum. UberPeople (https://uberpeople.net/) is an online forum for Uber drivers. Airhostforum (https://airhostsforum.com/) is an online community for Airbnb hosts. Online communities are an important space for providers to interact (Reischauer & Mair, 2018) and both of these communities are off-platform and moderated by volunteers rather than Uber or Airbnb community managers. On AMT and Prolific, we posted four separate surveys, targeted at Uber drivers, Uber passengers, Airbnb hosts, and Airbnb guests. Overall, 748 participants were recruited in survey 2. Also, 22 respondents were removed for quality reasons (speeding), leaving a total number of 726 participants. Among those, 283 primarily defined themselves as Uber drivers, 104 as Uber passengers, 144 as Airbnb hosts, and 194 as Airbnb guests. In the survey 2, the average age is 33.3 years (SD = 9.4). In all, 53.7% of respondents identified as male, 45.0 as female and 1.3% either prefer not to say or identify as neither male nor female. Also, 62.7% of respondents reside in the USA (455 in total) and 29.9% in the UK, with the remaining 7.4% residing in a variety of countries.[1]

Measures

We measured emotional labor with four items, adapted from Best, Downey, and Jones (1997). The question prompt for each item was *When you interact with passengers/drivers/guests/hosts, how often do you the following?* The items were, in the respective order: *express feelings of sympathy (e.g., saying you are sorry to hear about something, saying you understand); express friendly emotions (e.g., smiling, giving compliments, making small talk)*; *hide your disapproval about something someone has done*; *and hide your annoyance about something someone has done*. Respondents could answer on a five-point scale ranging from "Not at all" (1) to "Very much" (5). Initial principal component analysis (in SPSS, Kaiser criterion) showed that all items load on one factor (Cronbach's α of 0.75).

For the independent constructs, we included respondents' sharing frequency with the question "How frequently do you provide on the sharing platform?" for

providers and "How frequently do you use the sharing platform?" for consumers. Respondents could answer on a 9nine-point scale. To assess users' motivations for using sharing platforms, we used four items oriented on motive typologies from previous studies (Bucher et al., 2016; Hamari et al., 2016; Hawlitschek et al., 2016). One item captured financial benefit, one the social aspects of sharing (e.g., meeting new people), one hedonic aspects (e.g., having fun), and one social responsibility (e.g., sharing is the right thing to do). For rating system assessment (positive and negative) and rating experience, we did not find suitable established scales. Therefore, these measures were newly developed. Positive rating system assessment was measured with two items: *The rating/review system is fair* and *The rating/review system works well*. In both surveys, the scale had sufficient reliability, with a Cronbach's α of 0.73 in survey 1 and 0.80 in survey 2. Negative rating system assessment was measured with two items: *The rating/review system takes into account elements beyond my control* and *The rating/review system should be removed*. The scale had a Cronbach's α of 0.35 in survey 1 and of 0.28 in survey 2, showing insufficient reliability.[2] Despite the low Cronbach's α, the factor loadings for negative rating system assessment in both surveys were satisfactory (0.78 for both items in survey 1 and 0.76 for both items in survey 2). Finally, we measured critical ratings with three items: *Consumers/providers rate me too harshly*; *The rating/review systems gives consumers/providers power over me*; and *Consumers/Providers have unrealistic expectations*. The Cronbach's α for both surveys was 0.67, close to the threshold of 0.70. However, the composite reliability is substantially higher in both surveys (0.82), showing sufficient convergent validity. Appendix A displays descriptive statistics for the variables included in the regression that are not directly interpreted in the text, and Appendix B displays the correlations between these variables. For all variables consisting of more than one item, we used principal component analysis (SPSS, Kaiser criterion, save "Regression" command) to aggregate the variable across items for the ensuing regression analysis.

Method

We used linear regression to test the influence of the independent variables on the dependent variable of emotional labor. The analysis was conducted with Stata (v.14) and robust standard errors to account for possible heteroscedasticity in the data. We also checked for multicollinearity but none of the VIFs exceeded 2.59, indicating the absence of serious multicollinearity.

Results

Table 2 displays the results of the regression analysis. Consumers in survey 1 perform more emotional labor than providers. Gender is the only statistically significant demographic variable, with women scoring higher on emotional labor than men. Frequency of use has a weak but positive effect. More frequent sharing-economy users report more emotional labor. One of the four motives assessed affects emotional labor significantly: financial motives. The positive sign shows that users who

Table 2. Results of the Regression Analysis.

Independent Variable	Survey 1: EU-12		Survey 2: Users	
	Unstandardized Coefficient (Robust Standard Error)	Beta	Unstandardized Coefficient (Robust Standard Error)	Beta
Group: Consumer (Reference = Provider)	0.177* (0.085)	0.070*	−0.534*** (0.111)	−0.263***
Platform (Reference = Airbnb)	−0.026 (0.063)	−0.013	−0.027 (0.086)	−0.013
Age	−0.002 (0.002)	−0.003	0.004 (0.004)	0.033
Gender (Reference = Female)	−0.288*** (0.056)	−0.150***	−0.234** (0.069)	−0.117**
Education	−0.009 (0.029)	−0.010	0.019 (0.039)	0.019
Country (Reference = Denmark/US)			0.014 (0.082)	0.006
France	−0.078 (0.139)	−0.026		
Germany	0.222 (0.198)	0.046		
Ireland	0.072 (0.122)	0.025		
Italy	−0.041 (0.138)	−0.012		
Netherlands	0.291 (0.170)	0.061		
Norway	−0.026 (0.135)	−0.007		
Poland	0.047 (0.157)	0.010		
Portugal	0.383** (0.126)	0.117**		
Spain	0.002 (0.134)	0.001		
Switzerland	0.184 (0.136)	0.056		
UK	0.023 (0.127)	0.008		
Volunteering	0.046 (0.034)	0.046	0.094* (0.041)	0.094*
Materialism	0.048 (0.032)	0.050	0.092* (0.042)	0.092*
Frequency of Use	0.052** (0.017)	0.103**	0.064** (0.023)	0.147**
Motives: Financial	0.062* (0.029)	0.068*	0.096** (0.034)	0.101**
Motives: Social	0.038 (0.037)	0.046	−0.051 (0.041)	−0.068
Motives: Fun	0.044 (0.035)	0.053	0.019 (0.037)	0.025
Motives: Social Responsibility	0.040 (0.037)	0.047	−0.004 (0.038)	−0.006
Positive Rating System Assessment	0.206*** (0.035)	0.204***	0.087* (0.041)	0.087*
Negative Rating System Assessment	0.078* (0.037)	0.078*	0.104** (0.038)	0.104**
Critical Ratings	0.178*** (0.037)	0.178***	0.105* (0.046)	0.105*
Constant	−0.681** (0.250)		0.253 (0.309)	
R^2	0.217		0.191	
N	985		726	

Note: Dependent variable: emotional labor factor; independent variables F for survey 1 = 11.30, Prob. > F = 0.000; F for survey 2 = 11.73, Prob > F = 0.000.

are more motivated financially will perform more emotional labor. The fact that financial motives are the only significant motivational predictor could point to the increasingly service-oriented and commercial nature of the sharing economy (Martin, Upham & Budd, 2015; Murillo, Buckland & Val, 2017), our focus is on commercial platforms rather than grassroots initiatives, and the high competition and oversupply among providers (Smorto, 2018). Finally, all rating factors assessed influence emotional labor positively and strongly. Positive rating system assessment has the strongest effect, followed by critical ratings, and negative rating system assessment. This indicates that emotional labor and ratings are, in fact, connected. While the qualitative platform analysis will elaborate on this association, the findings are

in line with earlier research where we found evidence for the conditioning effect of ratings mechanisms in terms of emotional labor (Newlands et al., 2019).

The group effect is significant in survey 2 but in a different direction compared with survey 1: In survey 2, providers score substantially higher on emotional labor than consumers. This could be due to the different composition of the sample. However, running the regression only on non-US respondents did not change the directionality or significance of the group effect. In fact, the effect was still significant at the 1% level and the beta was even higher. As in survey 1, women report significantly higher values of emotional labor than men. Unlike before, volunteering and materialism have a weak and positive effect on emotional labor. Those who report to be more materialistic and those who report to volunteer more perform more emotional labor. However, these effects become insignificant when removing the US-based respondents. Like in survey 1, financial motivations are a significant driver of emotional labor and the frequency of engaging in the sharing economy is positively related to emotional labor, so that frequent users perform more emotional labor than infrequent users. This effect becomes insignificant when removing the US-based respondents. Finally, all three rating-related factors have a significant effect on emotional labor. In this case, the effect of critical ratings is strongest, followed by negative and then positive rating system assessment.

Taken together, the results of the quantitative analyses show how the rating system of sharing platforms might nudge users to perform emotional labor. Moreover, across a range of contexts, the results suggest a gender effect, with women performing more emotional labor than men. Finally, we found evidence across both studies of the predictive power of financial motives. Thus, respondents who use sharing platforms for financial reasons will perform more emotional labor than those who do not.

Correspondence Analysis

To conduct a correspondence analysis, we asked the participants of survey 2 to describe their ideal sharing-economy provider and consumer with three characteristics, adjectives, or traits. Uber users were asked to describe both the ideal Uber passenger and Uber driver with three words each in an open text box. Similarly, Airbnb users were asked to describe their ideal Airbnb guest and Airbnb host with three words each in an open text box. Participants were thus completely free in their description of an ideal user. The open text field responses were subsequently processed and brought into table form to analyze them with correspondence analysis (in SPSS, v.23). For each of the four user categories (Uber driver and passenger; Airbnb host and guest), we created separate frequency tables that ranked the traits based on how many times they were mentioned. From this set, we selected the top ten most mentioned traits per user category. Twenty two traits in total were in the top ten at least once and only four of them were mentioned in all four user categories: friendly, clean, polite, and kind. A further 6 traits were in the top 10 in two user categories (respectful, quiet, punctual, honest, professional, and courteous). The remaining 12 traits were only in the top 10 list for one user

category (e.g., responsible, helpful, and welcoming). Across all four user categories, the most mentioned traits were: friendly (435 mentions), clean (270), respectful (210), polite (191), quiet (160), and kind (134).

The numerous mentions of placid functional attributes, such as clean, and introspective adjectives, such as quiet, shows that for many sharing-economy participants, the ideal user is not overly talkative or intrusive. In fact, traits that indicate a strong social and communicative element, such as outgoing, warm, and talkative, were mentioned only infrequently. If traits were mentioned that relate to emotional labor, they were generic (friendly, polite, respectful) and tied to general social conventions rather than specific sharing norms.

To synthesize the results, we used the 22 traits that had shown up in at least one of the top 10 lists for a correspondence analysis, with two dimensions. Fig. 1 shows a graphical representation. The *x*-axis, or first dimension, shows variation in both the traits and user categories. Positive values on the *x*-axis denote providers (Uber driver, Airbnb host), whereas negative values denote consumers (Airbnb guest, Uber passenger). Airbnb guests have the lowest values on the *x*-axis, while Airbnb hosts and Uber drivers have vastly similar positive values. The fact that Uber passengers are in the middle between Airbnb guests and providers (both Airbnb hosts and Uber drivers) on the *x*-axis indicates that this category might share more traits with providers than Airbnb guests share.

In terms of the adjectives, the *x-axis* differentiates between professionalism- and service-related characteristics on the right side and personal characteristics on the left side. The traits with high and positive values on the *x*-axis describe actively helping or engaged. These are more strongly connected to providers than consumers. Traits with negative values on the *x*-axis refer to being non-intrusive. In the middle, with values close to 0 on the *x*-axis, we find generic traits that include elements of both professional and personal type such as kind, friendly, nice, and polite. Thus, the first dimension refers to the dichotomy between professional and personal.

The *y*-axis, or second dimension, differentiates between the two major platforms. Positive values describe Airbnb users and negative values describe Uber users. While Uber passengers and drivers have similar values on the *y*-axis, Airbnb hosts score higher than Airbnb guests. It seems that there is more difference and platform distinction between Airbnb guests and hosts than between Uber passengers and drivers. For the traits, the *y*-axis seems to differentiate more expressive characteristics from more self-contained and transactional characteristics. Traits with negative values on the *y*-axis, such as safe, efficient, and punctual, all refer to a transactional understanding of sharing (i.e., sharing as a professional, frictionless service that uses established parameters in judging the success of the transaction). On the other side, we find traits which are associated with a more intrinsic understanding of sharing, stressing the social, expressive, and emotional elements (welcoming, accommodating, honest, and understanding). Thus, the second dimension refers to the dichotomy between intrinsic and expressive on the one hand and extrinsic and transactional on the other hand.

The combined visualization of traits and user types shows that the ideal Uber passenger, according to other users, is polite, quiet, nice, and courteous.

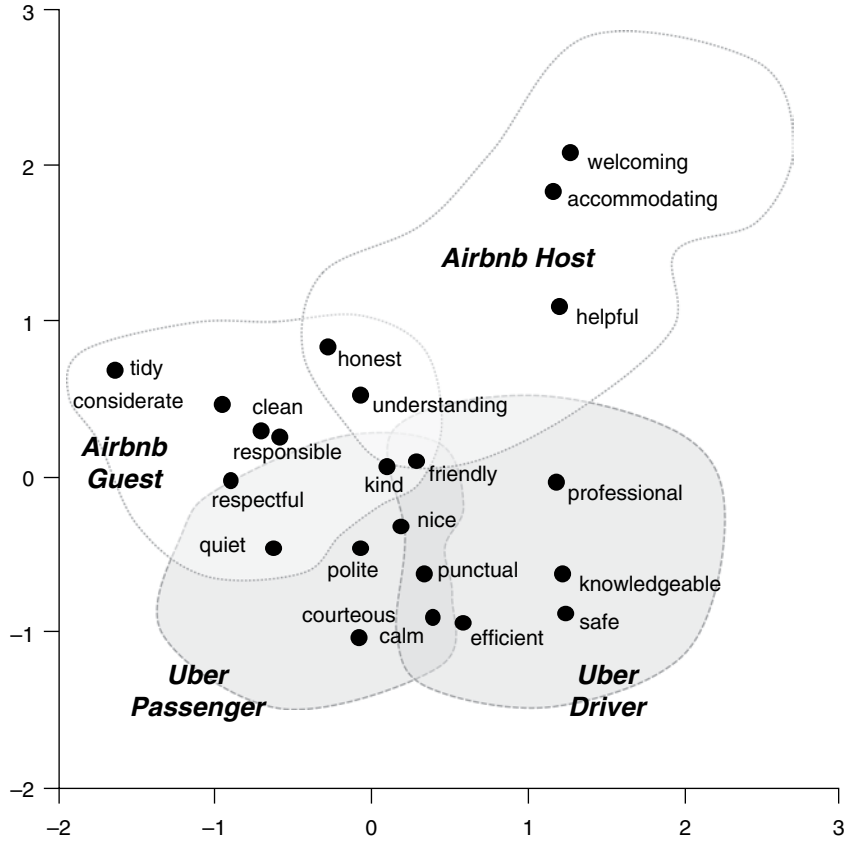

Fig. 1. Graphical Representation of Correspondence Analysis.
Note: The graph displays desired and ideal user characteristics in a two-dimensional space. *x*-axis: Personal (negative values) versus professional (positive values). *y*-axis: Extrinsic and transactional (negative values) versus intrinsic and expressive (positive values).

This reflects a passive and emotionally uninvolved transaction. The ideal Uber driver is punctual, knowledgeable, safe, efficient, calm, and nice. Again, we do not find strong emotional traits. The ideal Airbnb guest is respectful, responsible, considerate, clean, and tidy. This describes an almost aseptic guest, with little emotional engagement and a primary intention of not disturbing anyone. Finally, the ideal Airbnb host is welcoming, accommodating, helpful, honest, and understanding. Of all the user categories, Airbnb host is by far the most pronounced in terms of emotional expectations. Several ideal traits of Airbnb hosts, with frequent mentions but not making it in the top 10, have even more emotional undertones. For example, warm (20 mentions), caring (14), fun (11), and communicative (10) all describe a more active role of this category compared with the other categories. Thus, in contrast to the actual practices, where we did not find significant differences between

Airbnb and Uber and inconclusive differences between providers and consumers in the two surveys, the correspondence analysis suggests a clearer picture when it comes to expectations and ideals. Emotional labor seems more expected among providers than consumers and more so in the context of home-sharing (Airbnb) than ride-hailing (Uber). Of the four categories, only Airbnb hosts face clear emotional labor expectations. These differences between practices and expectations lead to an interesting tension and question: Why do users engage in emotional labor when it is not clearly desired by the transaction partner? In light of the research on emotional labor in traditional organizations and the identified risks (e.g., cynicism, service misbehavior, or turnover intention), the behavior seems not only superfluous but also potentially straining and harmful. However, to answer this question holistically we need to consider the role of the platform and ask a second question: How and why do platforms instill emotional labor practices? The next section sets out to answer this question.

QUALITATIVE PLATFORM ANALYSIS

Data and Sample

The platform analysis was carried out with the goal of identifying the narrative frames employed by platforms to suggest emotional labor practices to both consumers and providers. Within the scope of our analysis were five multi-national home-sharing platforms (Airbnb, Couchsurfing, Guest-to-Guest, Wimdu, and Papvacances), as well as three ride-sharing/ride-hailing platforms (Uber, BlaBlaCar, and Lyft). The platforms were derived from the first survey where participants were asked to name sharing platforms they had used before. Some platforms from the survey were omitted because they either no longer existed as separate organizations (e.g., mitfahrgelegenheit.de) or because they did not fit our sharing definition (e.g., professional home rentals).

Method

The qualitative content analysis of policies, guidelines, and community content was carried out according to the walk-through method originally proposed for the analysis of (web) apps by Light, Burgess, and Duguay (2018). Here, two researchers assumed a user's position and systematically and forensically stepped through the various stages of the platform, mimicking a prototypical user flow which includes (1) registration, profile setup and login, (2) transactions pertaining to everyday use, and finally (3) discontinuation of use or logoff (Table 3).

During the walk-throughs, behavioral practices were collected which were either directly or indirectly suggested by the platform. Direct suggestions include content sections like "tips", "help," or "guidelines" where providers and consumers are given specific and straightforward advice on how to address or behave in certain situations. Indirect suggestions include content sections such as "blogs," "stories," or "community" where providers and consumers learn about prototypical practices through storytelling and third person anecdotes.

Table 3. Step-by-step Walk-through of Sharing Platforms.

	Focus	Examples for Platform Sections	Purpose
Step 0	Vision Operating model Governance	Frontpage, About us, Our Story, Our Values, and Vision	Confirmation of sharing model -peer-to-peer nature -joint usage of resources -reputation system
Step 1	Entry and profile setup	Getting Started, How it works	Collection of suggested transactional and emotional labor practices
Step 2	Everyday use and tips	Help, Help-Center, Resource Center, FAQ, Tips, Guidelines, Rules	
Step 3	Blog and community	Community Center, Stories, and Blog	

Source: Light et al. (2016).

During the collection of practices, we employed a very broad definition of emotional labor. Practices were collected if they either directly pertained to regulating feelings and expressions (e.g., smiling to the other party) or if they demanded prior emotional involvement (e.g., preparing a handwritten note). In line with Light et al. (2016) we also contextualized the findings from the walk-through within a review of the sharing platform's vision, operating model, and governance in order to confirm the sharing model of the platform. Coding was carried out according to what Hsieh and Shannon (2005) termed "conventional content analysis" where codes are derived directly from the data during data analysis. Coding was in a first step carried out through a descriptive coding approach. As a second step, we used interpretive coding to summarize the descriptive codes and pattern coding to categorize behavioral practices identified in the data (Yin, 2002). It is important to note that the qualitative content analysis applied here goes beyond counting words and is instead about creating categories that represent similar meanings as well as identifying themes or patterns within these categories (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Weber, 1990).

Results

In the course of the analysis, a total of 231 suggested emotional labor practices were identified, 144 (62%) of which address providers, 44 (19%) address consumers, and 43 (19%) address both providers and consumers. In the course of the analysis, seven practices had to be excluded, because they did not fit into our definition of emotional labor. For example, general rules of safety, such as "driving safely" or "not bringing a firearm to the car," did not qualify as emotional labor. The remaining practices were grouped into four overarching themes. Each theme encompasses both low-involvement practices (e.g., "welcome your guests with a smile" [Airbnb]) as well as high involvement practices (e.g., "exchange stories, songs and food" [Couchsurfing]).

The first theme encompasses practices which contribute to a *comfortable sharing environment*. These practices pertain predominantly (but not exclusively) to the home-sharing context and include adding personal touches like flowers, extra amenities, or small gifts. Airbnb, for instance, tells their hosts that guests "love special touches, like wine […] or a handwritten note." Furthermore, they portray numerous

hosts who go even further and create highly personalized greeting rituals such as baking fresh cookies to create an inviting smell or – in one particularly elaborate example – gifting flower leis in the guest's favorite color with a handwritten welcome message in the guest's language. Consumers on the other hand are often given more low-involvement advice like taking good care of the environment, tidying up after themselves when exiting a car, or leaving the environment cleaner than they found it.

The second theme *empathy* also addresses consumers and providers alike and can be seen as a "cornerstone of the guest-host relationship." Sharing platforms ask participants to listen closely to others, to read their behavioral cues, or to put themselves in their shoes. Uber tells their passengers that they should "take cues" from their drivers when deciding whether or not to engage in conversation. Empathy is further put forth as a way of approaching different viewpoints. Couchsurfing, for example, suggests that users "try to listen to and understand others with whom [they] may disagree."

Respect emerged as a third theme, encompassing practices such as granting personal space and refraining from asking overly personal questions. Particular emphasis is placed on respecting personal boundaries. Several platforms ask participants not to initiate romantic or sexual advances of any kind. Uber explicitly tells users to not "touch or flirt with other people in the car." Instead, participants are asked to be "personable, polite, respectful, and friendly," to smile and "dress professionally." While the respect theme pertains to both the home- and ride-sharing context equally, practices surrounding personal boundaries are more relevant in the physically confined exchanges of ride-sharing.

The fourth theme pertains to practices of *social interaction* and is the largest cluster. Here, we find many practices which are discussed in the traditional emotional labor literature, such as showing interest or building a positive and friendly rapport with the other party. The social interaction theme spans low-involvement practices, such as initiating conversation and small talk, as well as high-involvement practices, such as sharing personal information and even making friends or inviting others into the family. Practices are conveyed mostly through third person anecdotes in the format of blogs or community sites. Typical anecdotes may include instances where "strangers" met through the platform and felt "like a close circle of friends" or "like family." Social interaction is particularly pronounced in the home-sharing context, where the sharing parties are physically close to each other for an extended period of time – a proximity normally only occurring among friends and family. Emotional labor practices in this theme also encompass sharing one's interests or passions as well as "stories, songs or food."

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In the course of this study, we have shown that emotional labor plays an important role in the sharing economy – both on the provider and on the consumer side. Our study thus contributes to the growing number of studies of work practices in the gig and economy (Aloisi, 2016; Keegan & Meijerink, 2019; Kuhn, 2016; Stanford, 2017), and specifically to an emerging research strand on emotional labor

(Raval & Dourish, 2016; Rosenblat & Stark, 2016). While the former primarily raise the issue of the nature and design of platform work necessitate emotional labor, we were primarily interesting in providing a deeper account of such practices, and an initial exploration how they are encouraged via platform providers (that themselves straddle a balancing act of guiding contributors with whom they formally they do not share an employment relationship that would justify such demands).

Our research has shown that for a sharing transaction to be considered successful, both for the provider as well as the requester side argued, participants are expected to alter their behavior in a way that emphasizes positive traits such as being friendly, kind, calm, welcoming, or polite (see Fig. 1). However, organizations in the sharing economy have only limited direct control over participants who remain independent actors within the value network. Sharing platforms approach this challenge in two steps: First, they use platform content (guidelines, community content, storytelling, etc.) to provide narratives frames of ideal sharing experiences centered around the themes of empathy, respect, socialization, and comfort (see Table 4). Second, they use platform design features such as peer-based reputation systems, notifications or rewards to encourage and enforce the desired values and practices.

Table 4. Qualitative Platform Analysis and Illustrative Vignettes.

Illustrative Vignettes (Practices Collected During Walk-Through of Homesharing and Ride-sharing Platforms)	EL-Practices (2nd Order Themes)	EL-Themes (1st Order Themes)
• Hosts, tidy up your space before Couchsurfers arrive. Surfers, leave it better than you found it. Keep your things in order and **always clean up after yourself** *(Couchsurfing)* • And by tidying up after yourself – whether it's taking your trash home or cleaning up a spilled drink – you'll **keep the car in good condition** and ensure the next person has a pleasant ride, too *(Uber)*	Be tidy and clean	Comfortable Environment
• Guests enjoy touches like **flowers or extra pillows** *(Airbnb)* • Check out your guest's profile before they arrive, and ask them why they're traveling. **Consider tailoring your amenities**. For example, you could offer sunscreen and earplugs for people going to a music festival *(Airbnb)*	Add personal touches	
• A thoughtful, **personal greeting ritual** can help you connect with guests, build trust, and make them feel excited to have arrived in your space. Guests say they love special touches, like wine, a welcome basket, or a **handwritten note** *(Airbnb)* • **I always find out my guests fav color** and get a Hawaiian Lei for the female in that color … with a note written along with it in their language expressing Welcome *(Airbnb)*	Provide personal greeting	
• Similarly, the guest at the end of his stay will leave the house in the same conditions he found it, and will **offer a small gift** to thank the host for his hospitality *(Guest-to-Guest)* • provide **bottled water, snacks, gum, mints**, and cell phone chargers *(Uber)* • **A small gift of wine or flowers** makes guests happy *(Wimdu)* • It is always nice to leave **a small welcoming present** for your guest. It could be a local culinary specialty or a small souvenir. They will love the surprise! *(Guest-to-Guest)*	Offer small gifts	

Table 4. Qualitative Platform Analysis and Illustrative Vignettes.

Illustrative Vignettes (Practices Collected During Walk-Through of Homesharing and Ride-sharing Platforms)	EL-Practices (2nd Order Themes)	EL-Themes (1st Order Themes)
• Try to **listen to and understand others** with whom you may disagree *(Couchsurfing)* • "**People become more vulnerable**, and are more open to tell you things that they might be embarrassed or ashamed to tell people back home" […] *(Airbnb)* • "And **when you hear these personal tales**, you feel like you carry a piece of it in your heart" *(Airbnb)*	Listen closely	Empathy
• **Reading guests' behavior** is a skill it takes time to develop, but it can go a long way toward making your guest feel more comfortable and cared for *(Airbnb)*	Read behaviour	
• Approaching your environment with a **sense of empathy** for your guests can help you imagine how to make their experience more positive and comfortable *(Airbnb)* • Empathy is the cornerstone of the host–guest relationship. When you **put yourself in your guest's shoes**, you can learn a lot about making them feel at home *(Airbnb)*	Put yourself in their shoes	
• **Don't touch or flirt** with other people in the car. As a reminder, Uber has a no sex rule *(Uber)* • **Don't contact other members for dating**, or use the site to find sexual partners *(Couchsurfing)* • [Don't be abusive…] For example, **asking overly personal questions**, using verbal threats, and making comments or gestures that are aggressive, sexual, discriminatory, or disrespectful *(Uber)*	Respect boundaries	Respect
• **Help with luggage and bags** when it's safe to do so *(Uber)* • **Keep the conversation polite**, professional, and respectful *(Uber)* • It's **common courtesy** not to shout, swear or slam the car door *(Uber)* • **Welcome your guests with a smile** and half your job is done *(Airbnb)*	Be courteous	
• Try **asking your host about their favorite neighborhood spots**! *(Airbnb)* • Opening with broad questions like, **"What brings you to the area?"** can help you identify whether the guest would be happy in your space. […] Looking at their profile, reviews, and online presence can assist you in figuring out what to ask *(Airbnb)* • If the rider is willing, engage them in a conversation. But **take your cues from them, and if they'd rather keep to themselves, respect that** *(Uber)*	Initiate conversation	Social Interaction
• Be it **stories, songs, food or your favorite coffee shop**, Couchsurfing is about sharing and connection *(Couchsurfing)* • **Share your story** in the bio section of your profile, and get a Verified ID. Hosts prefer to know who's asking to stay with them *(Airbnb)* • **Share your passions** in your profile and you're more likely to draw guests with similar tastes and interests. Providing details about your home can help guests connect with the unique accommodations and experiences that interest them *(Airbnb)*	Share personal information	
• Spend time with your host or surfer. **Make new friends** and help each other discover new things about the world *(Couchsurfing)* • "We were hanging out in the yard with a group of guests, and **they started to feel like a circle of friends** – and it's always a great experience to have those human connections" *(Airbnb)* • I actually kept in contact with one of the guys I met from the Krakow to Budapest journey and it turned out he was travelling in the UK so he came and stayed with me for a few nights and **now we're good friends**! *(BlaBlaCar)*	Make friends	

That platforms provide such type of guidance is interesting in itself. Although it is acknowledged that platforms need to control and coordinate the efforts of their participants (Adner, 2017), the emotional practices described in our research are more in search of excellence (the equivalent of delivering five-star service), and have hitherto not been addressed as such. Research at present is more concerned with platforms (fairly or unfairly) trying to ensure a bottom-line performance. Rosenblat and Stark (2016), for instance, have discussed how Uber drivers are offered instructions on how to improve their passenger ratings and earnings, and McKeown (2016) has looked into pre-employment training for freelancers. In their desire to avoid establishing an employment relationship, platform firms would normally not offer any further training possibilities to gig workers, withhold selected secondary benefits, and provide limited instructions for work performance (Keegan & Meijerink, 2019). The practices encouraged by platforms in our research nudge closer to a "leadership role" that platforms enact on their users (Breidbach & Brodie, 2017).

Being a more general description of user practices, there are limitations to the degree of granularity that our study may offer. For future research, it would be interesting to go into deeper depth on how platform straddle this balance between being a marketplace and encouraging their users to strive for excellence, which in our opinion quickly resembles more traditional managerial impulses. Reischauer and Mair (2018) have for instance shown in their research on community governance that platforms at least implicitly tend to nudge social relations among their users and steer users into certain directions. Likewise, research on platform governance suggests different manners of promoting and enforcing specific types of behavior among users through design incentives, network access, transaction costs, and reputation management (Choudary, 2018; Rosenblat, Levy, Barocas, & Hwang, 2017; Schreieck, Wiesche, & Krcmar, 2016; Sibai, de Valck, Farrell, & Rudd, 2015). Connecting this with research on software design and boundary objects (Ghazawneh & Henfridsson, 2013) could be an interesting way forward.

The results suggest that participants' general readiness to alter their behavior is at least in part dependent on such design mechanisms, such as the peer-based rating systems provided as hard design features by sharing platforms. This is in line with general notions of managerial control and peer-based control (Haman & Putnam, 2008). While reputation systems serve as an incentive for users to engage in emotional labor, they do not shape the actual emotional labor practices. Thus, while users may know that their behavior is being rated, and even care about achieving a good rating themselves (as was shown in the quantitative survey), they do not automatically know which behavioral practices will ultimately be regarded as excellent or "five-star-worthy" in a given context and community.

Here, users may gauge their own behavior in relation to the (assumed) attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions of prototypical users (Turner 1991; Turner, Oakes, Haslan, & McGarty, 1994). Knowledge about typical actors (e.g., excellent Airbnb hosts, excellent Uber drivers) is derived not just by often limited individual experiences (e.g., actual interactions with users), but also by narrative frames provided by platforms in the form of guidelines, help sections, or community sites. As the results of our qualitative analysis suggest, users across platforms

are advised to alter their behavior, expressions and feelings in a way that they are perceived to be *emphatic, respectful, social* and creating a *welcoming* environment. Yet, the specific practices pertaining to these themes may be varying across platforms and we therefore encourage future research to take a closer look into these differences. It would be interesting to look into the development of suggested behavioral practices over time. A first impression suggests that younger and more regional platforms demand less emotional labor from their users than their more mature counterparts. Lastly, while the behaviors suggested by the sharing platform themselves may be an important factor in shaping expectations, other relevant sources should be considered as well. Namely, users may adopt behavioral practices from third parties (e.g., online forums, social media, and newspapers) or from experiences in neighboring industries (e.g., hotel or taxi industry) – either by approximation or by distinction. The sources for such knowledge go well beyond what platforms provide, such as community forums, and social media (such as specifically WhatsApp groups and YouTube), resembling a form of learning from others, variably termed friendsourcing (Bernstein, Tan, Smith, Czerwinski, & Horvitz, 2016).

Our results suggest that in the sharing economy, narrative frames (*defining good practices*) and peer-based rating systems (*rewarding good practices*) may be complementary mechanisms which incentivize users to engage in emotional labor and to actively contribute to highly personalized experiences. While this may be a good way to ensure quality among sharing offerings, it is also possible that platforms which portray increasingly elaborate practices raise entry barriers for new users. In order to get a good rating and to be considered an attractive sharing partner, it may not be sufficient anymore to "just" provide a spare bedroom or to behave like an anonymous hotel guest. Recently, Airbnb has introduced a "host-mentor program" (Airbnb, 2017) where tenured members support new hosts in reaching "their goals as a host," which suggests that becoming successful as a host has to be learned and developed over time. Future research may put a particular emphasis on perceived entry barriers and thresholds for new participants in particular sharing contexts. Costs to meet high expectations also lie with the participants: It is the hosts who provide welcome presents and homemade cookies. It is the guests who take time to engage with others and make an effort to build a connection. While traditional organizations often have coping resources in place for overwhelmed employees, participants in the sharing economy often lack such structures. It remains to be seen whether the sharing economy might continue its rise if platforms do take adequate measures to make the emotional demands reasonable and bearable.

NOTES

1. The following five countries had more than one respondent: Armenia (2 respondents), Germany (2 respondents), Italy (3 respondents), Portugal (18 respondents), and Spain (12 respondents).

2. Based on the review by Eisinga, Te Grotenhuis, and Pelzer (2013), Cronbach's α seems not particularly suitable for two-item scales because it underestimates the true reliability. It should only be used "under rather restrictive assumptions" (p. 641).

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APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Construct *Items*	Survey 1	Survey 2
Emotional Labour	**3.06 (0.72)**	**3.27 (0.91)**
Express feelings of sympathy	3.17 (1.00)	3.18 (1.28)
Express friendly emotions	3.50 (0.97)	4.05 (1.08)
Hide your disapproval	2.76 (0.95)	2.88 (1.30)
Hide your annoyance	2.80 (0.97)	2.96 (1.28)
Volunteering	**2.78 (1.03)**	**3.18 (1.09)**
I do volunteer work to help people in need	2.79 (1.29)	3.24 (1.32)
I get involved in issues such as health or safety, that affect my community	2.94 (1.15)	3.17 (1.21)
I work with a group to solve a problem in the community where I live	2.61 (1.20)	3.12 (1.28)
Materialism	**3.01 (0.95)**	**3.23 (1.04)**
I'd be happier if I could afford to buy more things	3.43 (1.13)	3.56 (1.19)
I like a lot of luxury in my life	2.91 (1.19)	3.12 (1.27)
I admire people who own expensive homes, cars and clothes	2.68 (1.18)	3.01 (1.34)
Frequency of Use (1–9 ascending frequency scale)	**3.33 (1.90)**	**5.08 (2.30)**
Motives	**2.85 (0.79)**	**2.99 (0.95)**
Financial	3.70 (1.05)	3.89 (1.06)
Social	2.40 (1.14)	2.50 (1.34)
Fun	2.79 (1.15)	3.00 (1.34)
Social responsibility	2.48 (1.13)	2.55 (1.40)
Positive Rating System Assessment	**3.54 (0.73)**	**3.69 (0.94)**
The rating/review system is fair	3.47 (0.82)	3.63 (1.02)
The rating/review system works well	3.62 (0.82)	3.74 (1.04)
Negative Rating System Assessment	**2.70 (0.74)**	**2.70 (0.88)**
The rating/review system takes into account elements beyond my control	3.19 (0.85)	3.24 (1.10)
The rating/review system should be removed	2.20 (1.04)	2.16 (1.21)
Critical Ratings	**2.86 (0.72)**	**3.49 (0.91)**
Consumers/providers rate me too harshly	2.56 (0.97)	3.14 (1.20)
The rating/review systems gives consumers/providers power over me	3.09 (0.94)	3.68 (1.12)
Consumers/providers have unrealistic expectations	2.93 (0.89)	3.64 (1.21)
N	**985**	**726**

Arithmetic means are displayed (standard deviations in brackets); Arithmetic mean for the overall factor (in bold) is the arithmetic mean of the factor variable. The factor variable is calculated as the sum of all values of the respective items divided by the number of items; Unless otherwise specified, all items were assessed on 1–5 Likert scales.

APPENDIX B: CORRELATIONS

Table B1. Correlations in Survey 1

Construct	EL	VO	MA	FoU	MO	PR	NR
VO	0.16***						
MA	0.17***	0.10**					
FoU	0.20***	0.24***	0.24***				
MO	0.13***	0.27***	0.24***	0.31***			
PR	0.23***	0.07	0.09**	0.05	0.17***		
NR	0.16***	0.17***	0.18**	0.25***	0.19***	−0.14***	
CR	0.21***	0.18***	0.22***	0.22***	0.19***	−0.14***	0.50***

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.
EL: Emotional labor; VO: Volunteering; MA: Materialism; FoU: Frequency of use; MO: Motives; PR: Positive rating system assessment; NR: Negative rating system assessment; CR: Critical ratings; Pairwise correlations between the factor vari ables (as per the table note in Appendix A) are displayed; $N = 726$.

Table B2. Correlations in Survey 2

Construct	EL	VO	MA	FoU	MO	PR	NR
VO	0.16***						
MA	0.17***	0.07					
FoU	0.27***	0.12***	0.21***				
MO	0.19***	0.31***	0.32***	0.35***			
PR	0.04	0.04	0.08*	−0.18***	0.13***		
NR	0.18***	0.12**	0.12**	0.24***	0.20***	−0.24***	
CR	0.00	0.02	0.07	−0.21***	−0.02	0.09*	−0.00

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$
EL: Emotional labor; VO: Volunteering; FoU: Frequency of use; MO: Motives; PR: Positive rating system assessment; NR: Negative rating system assessment; CR: Critical ratings; Pairwise correlations between the factor variables (as per the table note in Appendix A) are displayed; $N = 985$.