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Exploring Tourism Opportunities through Homestay/Homeshare

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EXPLORING TOURISM OPPORTUNITIES THROUGH HOMESTAY/HOMESHARE

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research employing an emergent design is to explore the experiences of micro-hospitality entrepreneurs as hosts of Airbnb properties. Specifically, this study focuses on hosts in two communities – Port-au-Prince and Jacmel – and whether the phenomenon of homesharing through Airbnb is contributing to community development as other homestay programs traditionally attempt to do. As such this study asks the questions: RQ1: What is the experience of an Airbnb host in Haiti? RQ2: How do the experiences of Airbnb hosts differ between the locations of Jacmel and Port-au-Prince? RQ3: How does homesharing through Airbnb in Haiti contribute (if at all) to community development? To explore the host experience, in depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with hosts at their properties listed on Airbnb.com in Port-au-Prince and Jacmel. The Community Capitals Framework was used to analyze the homesharing phenomenon by examining how community capital may increase (or decrease) as a result of participating as a micro-hospitality entrepreneur (i.e. Airbnb host). The data uncovered *entrepreneurship capital* (Audretsch & Keilbach, 2004), understood as the assets required to launch and sustain a successful enterprise, as an eighth capital to add to the community capitals framework. Based on the findings, local bridging ties can significantly increase entrepreneurship capital and maximize the positive community development outcomes associated with the phenomenon of Airbnb hosting in Haiti. Airbnb hosting can meet the need for additional accommodations in Haiti's countryside and with proper oversight be a tool for community development.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

Communities where underemployment pushes talent out are vulnerable to vicious tourism cycles that export revenue abroad, because foreign owned, large scale developments do little to support the local community. However, homestay programs, defined as private homes in which unused rooms are rented for the purpose of supplementing income and meeting people (Lanier & Berman, 1993), typically exist in least developed countries (LDCs), particularly in rural communities, and have been a solution to this issue. These programs invite tourists to join the collectivist culture of the countryside while injecting money directly into economically stunted areas. By providing accommodations, homestay hosts, those who provide accommodations to tourists, generate supplementary income using an existing resource: their home.

Wherein tourism is uniquely suited to provide income generating activities for economically disadvantaged populations (Ashley, Boyd, Goodwin, 2000; Yunis, 2004;), homestay programs specifically have been shown to contribute to community development (Acharya & Halpenny, 2013; Ibrahim & Razzaq, 2010). Existing programs concentrate in Asia-Pacific, where, in countries such as Malaysia, the central government manages the national homestay program. In other cases, non-profit organizations serve as facilitators of regional development projects that utilize homestay programs. Reported benefits of homestay programs include stronger social networks (Ibrahim & Razzaq, 2010) empowerment of women (Acharya & Halpenny, 2013; Gu & Wong, 2006), and injection of financial capital into the local economy (Troung, Hall, & Garry, 2014; Mapjabil, Ismail, Ab Rahman, Masron, Ismail & Zainol, 2015).

Homesharing is a recent evolution of homestay. Homeshare refers to an arrangement in which a guest lodges at a privately owned home for free or a fee usually arranged by means of a website or app (adapted from Oxford definition for "rideshare", 2017). While homestays are

generally arranged through a third party intermediary (i.e. a government or non-profit organization who also provides oversight), web-based homeshare platforms such as Airbnb connect hosts and guests directly. Oversight within homesharing is largely provided by the participants themselves through direct communication and interaction between hosts and guests as well as the writing of reciprocal reviews. Homesharing is one of the contributing sectors to the sharing economy (also called collaborative consumption, the collaborative economy, the peer to peer (P2P) economy, the gig economy, or the circular economy; Botsman, 2015; Roberts, 2015). It is a global hospitality trend with the industry leader Airbnb boasting more than 60 million users worldwide. Other industry heavyweights include HomeAway and Couchsurfing.

Of particular interest in this study are the hosts, or *micro-hospitality entrepreneurs*, who run a homeshare (i.e. *commercial home enterprise*). With respect to thinking about hosts as entrepreneurs, the role of entrepreneurship must be addressed. Entrepreneurship always involves risk on the part of the entrepreneur. For the micro-hospitality entrepreneur, the risks and gains can be understood as environmental, psychological, social, and financial. Hosting may undermine household stability by taking time away from other livelihood activities and disrupting family life. Additionally, the presence of outsiders inevitably changes local culture and social power dynamics. As such, hosts risk losing income, friends and traditions. While small scale accommodations have been shown to be less risky from an environmental perspective when compared to large developments such as all-inclusive resorts (Cohen, 1978; Butler, 1991), commercial home enterprises maximize positive and negative economic and social outcomes at the personal and community levels (Ibrahim & Razzaq, 2010).

Moreover, the requisite resources to engage in homesharing can be understood in terms of *entrepreneurship capital* (Audretsch & Keilbach, 2004). Entrepreneurship capital refers to all resources contributing to an individual's capacity to launch and sustain a new business

(Audretsch & Keilbach, 2004). Individual characteristics such as values, upbringing, and personality contribute to entrepreneurship capital. Simultaneously, geography, governance, and infrastructure play a role. Because local communities of place comprise an integral component of the tourism product (Chrisman & Paredo, 2006; Morrison, 2006), the community capital (or resources) an entrepreneurial agent draws on can also contribute to entrepreneurship capital in tourism.

Entrepreneurship capital may have unique attributes that differentiate it from the seven capitals proposed by Flora, Flora and Gasteyer (2015) within the community capitals framework. Those community capitals are built (e.g. houses), financial (e.g. income), capital (e.g. influence), social (e.g. friendships), human (e.g. professional experience), cultural (e.g. ethnicity), and natural (e.g. climate; Flora, Flora, and Gasteyer, 2015). The community capitals framework was used to explore how homesharing may contribute to community development, because it is a multi-dimensional framework that has been applied to diverse communities. This study explores the addition of a eighth capital to the framework: entrepreneurship capital.

A goal of this research is to explore tourism opportunities in rural areas through homestays and homesharing. The purpose is to explore the experiences of Airbnb hosts in order to better understand the phenomenon of Airbnb hosting as well as probe hosting as a tool for community development. The study addresses the questions: RQ1: What is the experience of an Airbnb host in Haiti? RQ2: How do the experiences of Airbnb hosts differ between two cities in Haiti, one urban, one rural? and RQ3: How does homesharing through Airbnb in Haiti contribute, if at all, to community development? This study adds to the bodies of literature exploring ways that tourism can contribute to community development. It also adds a novel application for the community capitals framework by using the framework to analyze communities that exist online and face-to-face in relation to an LDC. Lastly, this research introduces an eighth capital to add the

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community capitals framework to explore the experiences of Airbnb hosts in Haiti. The findings of this study will be used to inform a network of commercial home enterprises in rural areas connected to Airbnb's vast network of users.

Study Site

Haiti is a nation located in the Caribbean region with a territory of 27,750 square kilometers. It comprises the eastern third of the island of Hispaniola and has a population of 10.4 million. Roughly a third of the population works in agriculture, while unemployment taking into account informal jobs hovers at 40%. More than 6 million inhabitants live on less than 2 USD per day. Rural dwellers move to urban centers at a rate of 4% annually and an estimated 31,000 Haitians migrate from Haiti to another country each year. (Central Intelligence Agency, 2016) Poverty, brain drain and urbanization are three salient challenges that Haiti faces today. Haiti remains dependent on foreign aid with remittances representing more than a quarter of the country's GDP (Orozco, 2006).

Figure 1. *Map of Haiti* (Central Intelligence Agency, 2016)

Data Collection Locations: Jacmel, Port-au-Prince

Jacmel is located on the southern coast of the southerly peninsula and has a population of approximately 40,000 (Institut Haïtien de Statistique et d'Informatique [IHSI], 2012). The main tourist attractions are the density of artists and artisans, colonial architecture, the beaches of Kabic and Ti Mouillage, and the waterfall of Basin Bleu. Each year thousands of tourists visit Jacmel for the annual pre-carnival celebration featuring brightly painted papier-mâché masks and elaborate body art.

Port au Prince is the country's political and economic capital with a population of 2.4 million people (IHSI, 2012). The vast majority of international arrivals debark at the Toussaint Louverture Airport located in Port-au-Prince. Tourist attractions include the giant outdoor market, Marché en Fer and the MUPANAH history museum which houses the remains of the four heroes of the 1804 revolution.

From Haiti's singular heritage emerges a unique tourism product. Prior to 1804, the country was the most profitable colony in the world. At that time, sugar was as valuable as gold. The territory's slave economy under French rule produced more sugar than any other colony at the time. The ratio of ten African born slaves to one European national maximized revenue for France and then enabled the only slave revolt to result in national independence (Fick, 1990). With the French out of sight and other political superpowers willfully ignoring the nascent republic's existence, cultures imported from West Africa merged, and evolved the newly independent country into Haiti. Planes depart Miami and arrive in Port-au-Prince in under two hours' time. The person debarking feels transported thousands of miles away.

French and Kreyol are Haiti's two national languages, with Kreyol being the language spoken by most citizens (Gibson, 2011). A visitor expecting to get by with their French, English or Spanish quickly realizes how Kreyol phonetics and grammar elude their Germanic and romantic language logic. Articles follow nouns. Verbs resist conjugation. Nouns abstain from genderification. Learning to speak is not nearly as difficult as beginning to understand when spoken to. A relative dearth of words requires vigilant interpretation of context. Similar to French, Kreyol is an open mouth language that employs full extended use of the lips (Schieffelin & Doucet, 1994). Short a's following staccato p's and t's form strings of half-rhymes that bounce of the eardrum like an alarm clock. For a visitor, Kreyol's percussive traits lend a performance quality to even mundane conversations.

The local religion, vodou, mirrors the language, because it combines customs from many West African territories, as well as France. Christian missionaries continue to visit Haiti in droves. However, it is the descendents of former slaves who have governed the country for the past 150 years. It is their religion which has persisted in a way impossible to other former colonies that remained under European control until the 1960's. The term Christian describes

nearly 85% of citizens, though most practice some tenants of the vodou religion in addition to the

traditions of Catholicism and Protestantism (Dubois, 2001).

Vodouisants believe in a supreme creator and a pantheon of lesser deities who exert

influence over their lives. The lesser spirits have multiple personalities ranging from nefarious to

benevolent. Animals and especially plants house spirits. It is common to come across offerings of

candles, figurines, and food left at the foot of trees or bodies of water. Vodou temples, or

peristyles, present in every small town, are marked by high flying colorful flags. Ceremonial

items found within are embellished with sequins. The priest, or *houngan*, is a spiritual leader in

the community available for consultations in addition to holding regular services (Richman,

2008).

Figure 2. *Hougan* by Pradip Malde (2011)
This photo was taken by a photography professor at Sewanee;The University of the South
conducting a documentary film course in Haiti for university students. The group arranged
homestays in a rural hamlet near Les Cayes, Haiti. It was during the homestay visit that Malde
formed a relationship with Wilfor, the hougan pictured here with whom he continues to have
regular contact.

Haiti's unique culture and history combined with the landscape contribute to a tourism

product that can be perceived as authentic and raw. That product is especially refined in the rural

countryside where Kreyol is the only language spoken and vodou rituals maintain their

monumental spiritual import (Richman, 2008). Additionally, interconnected societies in the

countryside contribute to the peculiarity of the tourism product for travelers escaping from

individualistic societies (Ng, Lee & Soutar, 2007).

Language, religion, and history may entice cultural tourists while adventure tourism

presents a largely untapped market for the country. Scuba diving, mountain biking, paragliding,

and spelunking are all activities with ample opportunity for expression in Haiti.

Figure 3. *Soaring over the Côte des Arcadins* by Jim Chu *(2013)*
U.S. National Paragliding Team member, Nick Greece is pictured here after launching from one
of several paraglider launch sites he has pioneered in Haiti.

Figure 4. *Grotte Marie Jeanne* by Carole Devillers (2011)
This cave located on the western tip of Haiti's southern peninsula is one of many that comprise a
vast cave system.

While most other Caribbean nations depend on tourism as a significant contributor to their economies, Haiti does not. Former colonies can rely on well-heeled visitors from the former governing nation who feel comfortable visiting a place that is at once similar to home as well as exotic. Haiti's singularity has limited the country's ability to attract the mass tourists of the 1980's and 1990's. The weak economy fuels political instability which further undermines the tourism industry there. When other industries such as textiles and seafood collapsed thanks to open trade agreements with larger industrialized nations (Werner, 2011), Haiti did not cultivate tourism as other nations have to fill the void. Haiti remains frozen in the earliest stage of Butler's (1980) tourism life cycle characterized by low tourist volume and limited local involvement. The country struggles to find a niche. Haiti shares the island of Hispaniola with the Dominican Republic. Dominican seaports and airports welcome more than 4 million international arrivals yearly. International visitors (including cruisers not typically counted since they do not overnight on Haitian soil) to Haiti number just 1 million.

Haitians living abroad (members of the Haitian Diaspora) number approximately 5 million (CIA, 2016) and represent about half of the country's (non-cruise) international arrivals yearly (Kolbe, Brookes and Muggah, 2013). The influence of Haitians living abroad has grown over the past four years due to a 2012 amendment to Haiti's constitution recognizing dual citizenship. Citizens of other countries with one Haitian grandparent are entitled to vote and pay taxes in Haiti (La nationalité : Le point sur les I et la barre sur les T, 2015). Not only do the Haitian Diaspora represent an important potential market for homestay/homeshare tourism, those owning property in-country may also choose to operate commercial home enterprises and pay taxes on the income.

A study by the Igarapé Institute found that Haiti's current tourism market mainly consists of Haitian Diaspora, benevolent travelers (e.g., missionaries and volunteers), and cultural tourists

including backpackers (Kolbe, Brookes, and Muggah, 2013). That study also found that more than two-thirds of Haiti's international airport arrivals travel outside of Port-au-Prince but that lodging outside of the capital was among the top reported impediments to traveling in the country. Therefore, evidence supporting a demand for additional accommodations and hospitality establishments in the countryside exists today.

Table 1. Key Terms

Term	Definition
Commercial Home Enterprise	Types of accommodation where a visitor or guest pays to stay in a privately owned home (Lynch, 2005)
Community Capitals Framework	The built, financial, natural, human, social, and political capital from which a community receives benefits and on which the community relies for continued existence. These capitals have a positive relationship wherein an increase in one can affect and increase in others. (Flora, Flora & Gasteyer, 2015)
Entrepreneurship capital	All resources contributing to an individual's capacity to launch and sustain a new business (Audretsch & Keilbach, 2004)
Guest	Visitor who pays for overnight accommodations and receives the hospitality offered by a host (Causevic & Lynch, 2009)
Haitian diaspora	Haitian people living outside of Haiti
Homeshare/Homesharing	An arrangement in which a guest lodges at a privately owned home for free or a fee usually arranged by means of a website or app (adapted from Oxford Dictionary definition for "rideshare", 2017)
Homeshare lister	For this study, the individual who creates an online listing on a homeshare platform
Homeshare Property owner/Property owner	Individual who has documented ownership (*titre foncier*) or functional control of a property that is listed on a homeshare platform
Homestay/Homestay program	Private homes in which unused rooms are rented for the purpose of supplementing income and meeting people (Lanier & Berman, 1993)
Host	Individual who accommodates guests and receives payment for providing hospitality (Causevic & Lynch, 2009). MHE and host are used interchangeably in the context of this study.
Least developed country (LDC)	Countries that exhibit the lowest indicators of socioeconomic development, with the lowest Human Development Index ratings of all countries in the world. There are currently 48, including Haiti. (United Nations, 2017)
Micro-hospitality entrepreneur (MHE)	Individual who establishes a small business renting space in their home, assuming risk in hope of profit. MHE and host are used interchangeably in the context of this study.
Platform	Marketplaces which facilitate peer-to-peer transactions/interactions
Sharing economy/Peer-to-Peer economy	Goods and services obtained, given or shared among members of online communities (Hamari, Sjöklint, & Ukkonen, 2015)
Tourism	A complex social phenomenon encompassing numerous industries and academic disciplines exhibiting remarkable adaptability to flex and flow with global trends (Cohen, 1972)

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Homestay Tourism

A homestay refers to private homes in which unused rooms are rented for the purpose of supplementing income and meeting people (Lanier & Berman, 1993). Very often the owner of the home and the guest sleep under the same roof and share common spaces. Hosts carry on with day-to-day household activities while incorporating the guest where appropriate as part of their touristic experience. Guests who prefer to lodge with a family over a hotel can be understood as experiential tourists as they seek out authentic back-of-house knowledge that has not been treated for consumers (MacCannell, 1976; Cohen, 1979). Networks of homestay operators are managed by a variety of entities, most commonly in geographic areas where infrastructure development is limited such as small rural towns and villages in LDCs. In that respect, homestay programs with community development goals appeared at least as early as the 1970's (Carnaffan, 2010; Ibrahim & Razzaq, 2010). Characteristics of homestay programs including accommodations standards, oversight body, and participants vary from program to program and location to location.

Homestay programs are often initiated by governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), private, and hybrid initiatives. In Peru, for example, management of programs corresponds with funding entities which include government, private, and NGO contributions. In the case of Thailand, the government has operated a national homestay program for the past 16 years (Kontogeorgopoulos, Churyen & Duangsaeng, 2015). The Malaysian Government operating arguably the most elaborate national homestay program, manages 138 homestay operations that represent 2,987 micro-hospitality entrepreneurs and 4,042 rooms in 225 villages. Similarly, central governments are also managing homestays in China and Nepal. In Nepal, one

study found that while government provides oversight, local initiation and community buy-in of homestay operations is a key factor of success (Acharya & Halpenny, 2013). Oversight of some kind is widely reported as an element contributing to overall economic, social, and environmental well-being of host communities.

Specifically, the standard of accommodations is one area that is tightly controlled. In Thailand a maximum of four bedrooms per home can be dedicated to receiving guests and hosts. In addition, Thai hosts must sleep under the same roof as their guests (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2015). These stipulations suggest that the overseers envision the homestay program to exclude formal hospitality establishments such as hotels and guesthouses. In Malaysia separate bedrooms and a proper toilet are required (Mapjabil et al., 2015). The degree of oversight in some rural homestay programs extends beyond accommodations standards. For example, the government of Malaysia stipulates that homestay hosts cannot be ill in any way (Mapjabil et al., 2015). It may be inferred that oversight of these standards is to protect the overall image of the product.

While in most cases a central entity such as a government or NGO sets the standards and upholds them, local community leaders primarily decide who benefits. In that regard, one study from Barpak, Nepal (Acharya and Halpenny, 2013) describes how an organization comprising young, well-educated women of a high caste run the homestays at the local level, and as a result, this demographic is mostly who is able to participate as hosts. Thus, the issue begins to emerge as to who has the ability to influence, participate, and benefit from homestay programs. In Sapa, Vietnam, Truong et al. (2014) report that community members at large feel that the local homestay program benefits only non-poor community members. Another illustration of the potential unequal participation and benefits of homestay programs comes from Malaysia where the government provides a one-time grant of 1,000 USD to new homestay programs for infrastructure improvement (Mapjabil et al., 2015). These funds are managed by the local

organizers and are unlikely to be spent renovating any homes which do not meet the government standards for comfort such as the homes of the poorest members of the community. Still, many organizers recognize the need to spread the benefits of commercial home enterprises across the community; therefore a percentage of revenue is dedicated to a "community fund." This again, may not benefit everyone, especially if non-participants in the homestay program have no power over how the fund it spent. Conversely, in the case of Mae Kampong, Thailand, dividends from the homestay program are actually delivered in the form of cash to each household in the community (Kontogeorgopoulos et al. 2015).

Benefits of Homestay Tourism

Supplemental income for hosts in rural areas contributes to economic and community development. Revenue earned by hosts can be cycled through the community as a result of direct, indirect, and induced spending (i.e. the tourism multiplier effect). Mapjabil et al. (2015) note that Malaysian homestay operators can earn up to 1,800 USD per month and in Mae Kampong, Thailand households could experience increased income by 4,000 USD just three years after they start lodging tourists in their homes (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2015). Despite the success of programs such as the one in Mae Kampong, the government of Thailand explicitly stipulates that hosts continue with other income generating activities so as to prevent economic dependency on tourism (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2015).

Income earned through hosting is not a primary source of livelihood. The 4,000+ rooms that comprise the government-run Malaysian homestay operation function at 22% occupancy (Mapjabil et al., 2015). For reference US hotels collectively are widely reported to function at between 50-60% occupancy, with breakeven occupancies typically hovering around 67%. Low occupancy denotes that many rooms sit empty for much of the year as rural localities may only see significant visitor traffic during special events and festivals. Many homestay hosts are farmers

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which may open up additional opportunities year round for agrotourism (McIntosh, Lynch & Sweeney, 2011). A rural location in an LDC almost guarantees an agrarian lifestyle will be experienced. In addition to agriculture, other income generating activities engaged in by host households include fishing, aquaculture, micro-commerce, and professional trades (Tao & Wall, 2009). One advantage to becoming a micro-hospitality entrepreneur is that it's possible (indeed advised) to continue with all other livelihood activities.

Moreover, the benefits of homestay programs extend beyond economic benefits. The commercialization of the home affords women new opportunities for professional advancement. Maintaining a tidy living environment simultaneously benefits the household while satisfying tourists. Gu & Wong (2006) report that 71% of homestay operators in Yangia Beach China are female. Acharya and Halpenny (2013) relay that all of the hosts in Barpak, Nepal are women. In societies where women oversee household operations, providing hospitality to visitors overlaps significantly with normal everyday responsibilities. Other bodies of literature find the feminized nature of tourism service jobs allow women who would not otherwise earn income, are able to gain economic and social independence (Chant, 1997; Duffy, Kline, Mowatt, & Chancellor, 2015; Duffy, Stone, Chancellor & Kline, 2016).

Authenticity and Opportunity

Homestay operations provide access to remote areas typically where large scale tourism development is unreasonable. Homestay hosts live on small islands, at high altitudes, and on steep slopes. Experiential tourists demand authenticity, an intangible product that is best preserved through the maintenance of healthy host communities (Urry, 1990). Enclaves where people have settled, but industry has not, possess the unique real-life experiences tourists seek. Programs which tender local hospitality to tourists arise away from urban centers where dramatic landscapes and unique cultural assets intersect.

Homestay and homesharing promise tourists the experiences they desire, while, in the case of Haitian hosts, also provide a way for a people who were once so violently displaced as slave laborers to stay home to earn a living should they so choose.

The Sharing Economy

The term sharing economy describes goods and services obtained, given or shared among members of online communities (Hamari et al. 2015). Terms in common use which refer to the same behaviors are *collaborative consumption*, *collaborative economy*, *peer to peer (P2P) economy*, *gig economy*, or *circular economy* (Botsman, 2015; Roberts, 2015). The sharing economy presents new opportunities for communities and entrepreneurs within many industries, and especially tourism. Homeshare is a recent modernism of homestay that has emerged with the development of the sharing economy. As a complex social phenomenon encompassing multiple industries, and academic disciplines, tourism shows remarkable adaptability to flex and flow with global trends (Cohen, 1972). Since accommodations represent the most integral piece of the tourism experience and the most lucrative aspect of the industry for host destinations, it's no surprise that innovations in hospitality have the ability to revolutionize tourist and provider behaviors. Homestay programs already play a role in tourism development for community development in LDCs around the world, but international networks for homesharing such as Airbnb tender homestay for the mainstream.

Contemporary understandings of the sharing economy have developed as humans expand uses for the Internet. Sharing typified pre-monetized societies in which individuals and groups exchanged goods and services instead of money. It remains a dominant feature of localized economies in rural, non-industrial localities particularly in LDCs (D'Exelle & Verschoor, 2015). However, online collaborative consumption has also normalized a position for sharing within

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industrialized developed economies (Botsman, 2015). Because the sharing economy allows individuals to band together to consume one asset (e.g. a house), it has been heralded as proof of a swing towards global collectivism. For others the sharing economy is the manifestation of growing interest in environmental sustainability since it adheres to the principles of reduce, recycle and reuse (Hamari et al., 2015). Sharing economy expert Rachel Botsman who launched the website *Collaborativeconsumption.com* and is credited with coining the term *collaborative consumption* identifies these five key problems around which collaborative economy models innovate: redundancy, broken trust, limited access, complexity, and waste (Botsman, 2015).

The two largest segments of the sharing economy innovate around waste as they create uses for underutilized resources such as a vehicle or a dwelling. They are "rideshare" a term which now appears in standardized dictionaries and "homeshare" which will no doubt follow soon. While this work focuses on homesharing, ridesharing also has wide reaching implications for travel and tourism. According to the Oxford Dictionary, ridesharing refers to an individual making arrangements online to transport a passenger using a privately owned vehicle (Oxford Living Dictionaries, 2017). The rideshare industry leaders include Uber, Lyft, Curb, Didi Kuaidi, Grab, Ola, Sidecar, and Getaround. In addition to innovating around waste, homeshare also innovates around limited access since it opens up experiences to hosts and guests that would otherwise be unavailable. On the homeshare side, Airbnb dominates while VRBO, Couchsurfing, Homeaway, KidandCo., and Flipkey are also major players.

Homeshare through Airbnb

Airbnb (Airbnb.com), launched in 2007, was valued by The *Wall Street Journal* at 30 billion USD in 2016 (Farrell &Bensinger, 2016). Headquartered in San Francisco, CA, the website provides resources for guests and hosts. Guests browse and book accommodations in

private home while hosts can rent out rooms or entire living spaces. Financial transactions take place through the website so that cash does not directly change hands between hosts and guests. In November of 2016, Airbnb expanded its model to include guided experiences such as tours. Their home page features a search engine wherein travelers enter a desired location and the dates of travel to check availability of Airbnb listings. An appeal to guests featured on the April 19, 2016 read, "Live there: Book homes from local hosts in 191+ countries and experience a place like you live there." Just below the search field is an appeal for hosts that read, "Hosting Opens a World of Opportunity: Earn money sharing your space with travelers." Airbnb's branding is that of a community open to everyone.

Mutual trust is achieved through the writing of reciprocal reviews and posting photos. Both hosts and guests rate one another according to their experiences. Airbnb charges a "guest service fee" of 6-12% of the reservation cost. Guests pay a higher service fee to Airbnb for cheaper accommodations presumably to ensure a baseline revenue per listing. Listings range from a bunk in a communal room to multi-story mansions. Even small hotels and traditional bed and breakfasts who were in business long before the advent of Airbnb use the site for online booking. The company refers to its network of users as a global community.

To understand just how much homesharing is shaking up the hospitality industry, it's important to note that the company is worth more than any publicly traded hotel company including Hilton, Marriott, or Intercontinental Hotel Group (Farrell & Bensinger, 2016). Airbnb serves as the intermediary of homestay experiences for 60 million users. The popularity of Airbnb is evident in its number of users and its monetary valuation. However, like the other members of the sharing economy cohort, Airbnb raises some new issues about regulation that have yet to be resolved. Challenges faced by Airbnb may determine its expansion in LDCs.

Illegal listings, tax evasion, discrimination, and liability concerns are among the challenges faced by this trailblazing company.

In 2016, Airbnb began providing free primary insurance to hosts in fifteen countries. The coverage covers "third party claims of property damage or injury up to $1 million," as stated on the company's website ("Host Protection Insurance", 2016). What began as secondary coverage for U.S. hosts in 2014, the company has now upgraded primary coverage in locations around the world meaning that hosts and guests can call Airbnb first when the unexpected strikes. The company does not report property damage, accident or death statistics, saying that to do so would violate users' privacy. Also undisclosed is the deductible Airbnb pays when the insurance company responds to a claim. A high deductible could imply that Airbnb largely relies on its own resources to respond to claims. This could be one reason the company may never go public, because any PR event that negatively affects stock price would limit the cash on hand to respond to liability issues.

Zoning is also a particularly hot topic. With private homeowners inviting tourists into residential areas, they diminish their neighbors' ability to control their proximate environment. This is of particular interest in cities with high tourist volume and residents who may prefer outsiders to stay in tourist enclaves. In this way, Airbnb can be an undermining force for local communities. Affordable housing is also an issue where landlords make more money renting units on Airbnb than renting to long term tenants. Full-time residents lose neighbors to a revolving door of tourists and outsiders. With so many citizens participating in home-sharing, funneling resources towards regulation presented an unlikely prospect even for most large municipalities until very recently. Airbnb faces new anti-homeshare laws in its most popular domestic and international destination cities of New York and Paris, respectively. Even their

hometown of San Francisco is cracking down on the company to pay equal share accommodations tax.

In addition, widespread home-sharing is a force of disintermediation among for existing hospitality providers who compete for room occupancy. In other words, connecting travelers with unused space crops traditional hospitality providers out of the picture. Travel agencies and various booking sites like Expedia also face exclusion as Airbnb continues to diversity its business model to include additional services. Traditional hospitality providers are already integrated into municipal systems where they pay local accommodations taxes. Usually accommodations taxes are levied for those resources consumed by tourists such as airports, boardwalks, and sports stadiums. Since locals enjoy these contributions to the built environment alongside visitors, accommodations tax generally increases quality of life for citizens. Push back from competing stakeholders and disputes over appropriate tax policies add to the obstruction of homesharing in certain localities.

Compounding the challenges Airbnb faces are charges that the platform facilitates discrimination. A working paper out of Harvard Business School published back in 2014 found that black hosts charge less than their non-black counterparts for equal listings in New York City (Edelman & Luca, 2014). A 2015 study conducted in Berkeley, California found similar results with regards to Asian listers (Wang & Gilheaney, 2015). Numerous personal accounts of Airbnb users feeling discriminated against based on their black sounding names are corroborated by another Harvard study conducted this year which found that among guests who are identical in every way except their names, the guests with distinctively African-American names are 16% less likely to be accepted as Airbnb guests (Edelman, Luca, Svirsky, 2016). Names as well as photos are the markers used to discriminate. A study by Ert, Fleisher, Magen (2016) reports that photos play a larger role than reviews in building trust. This will make it challenging to reduce the

prevalence of photos on the website, a key component to Airbnb's anti-discrimination campaign. The anti-discrimination campaign's main component requires all Airbnb users to agree not to discriminate on the basis of race, color, ethnicity, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, or marital status.

Underlying the issues is that much more responsibility is being placed on hosts as entrepreneurs and host/guest relations are a key component to the tourist experience.

The challenges that Airbnb faces today represent potential detractors to the company's social, political, human and financial capitals. The company's ability to confront these challenges may affect how the company expands in LDCs. Nevertheless, they are also reflective of the rapid and substantial growth of homesharing and the sharing economy.

Community Capitals Framework

This study explores micro-hospitality entrepreneurship as a tool for community development. According to Bhattacharyya (2004), community development can be understood as "the pursuit of solidarity and agency adhering to the principles of self-help, felt needs, and participation." (p.1) If properly managed, tourism development can be a form of community development (Simpson, 2009). Those tourism developments that persist invigorated for decades and beyond may be those that have community development goals since community is an essential element of the tourism commons (Briassoulis, 2002). Healthy communities, like healthy people, have attractive qualities that magnetize visitors. This may be especially true for visitors traveling from localities where sense of community has collapsed (Putnam, 2001). Some approaches within tourism which espouse community development goals include sustainable tourism, community-based tourism, pro-poor tourism, eco-tourism, and voluntourism. Likewise, homestay tourism has been found to contribute to community development as well as contribute

to sustainable and pro-poor outcomes (Acharya & Halpenny, 2013; Ashley et al., 2000; Gu & Wong, 2006; Mapjabil et al., 2015). In this regard, this study employs a community development framework to understand the contribution of Airbnb hosting to community development. The importance of such a framework can be observed through the evolution of attitudes towards large resorts. For example, while all-inclusive resorts such as Club Med were once touted as the most successful tourism model for development in the Caribbean based on financial profitability (Poon,1993), it has been shown that large scale all-inclusive resorts further entrench socio-economic inequality and can have a severely deleterious impact on the environment (Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008). Small scale accommodations providers can fix capital locally without necessitating major construction and infrastructure projects.

   The community capitals framework (CCF), presented by Flora, Flora & Gasteyer (2015), provides a system for understanding the interplay between resources that can increase health and well-being within a community. Capital can be understood as any resource that can produce other resources (Flora, Flora & Gasteyer, 2015). The CCF encompasses all capital and assets within a community and moves beyond one dimensional markers of progress that may only recognize financial or material gains while neglecting social and environmental consequences. The CCF recognizes seven distinct capitals that contribute to community development (i.e. natural, cultural, human, social, political, financial, and built) and proposes that through the process of "spiraling up" which is an increase in one capital leading to an increase in others (Emery & Flora, 2006, Table 2). In particular, the process of spiraling up depends on increasing social capital, both bridging and bonding, as the critical factor influencing community development (Emery & Flora, 2006). The products of spiraling up echo the triple bottom line (Elkington, 1998) of sustainability and include healthy ecosystems, economic security, and social inclusion (Emery & Flora, 2006).

Table 2. Community capitals within the CCF

Resource/asset/ capital	Description
Natural	The stock of natural resources (e.g., geology, soil, air, water, flora and fauna) and the ecosystem services resulting from them ("Natural Capital Declaration", 2012)
Built	The permanent physical installations and facilities supporting productive activities in a community (Flora, Flora & Gasteyer, 2015)
Social	Relationships between communities exhibiting both bridging and bonding ties; Bonding social capital: connections among individuals and groups with similar backgrounds. Bridging social capital: connects diverse groups within the community to each other and to groups outside the community. (Flora, Flora & Gasteyer, 2015)
Political	Organization, connections, voice, and power as citizens turn shared norms and values into standards that are codified into rules, regulations, and resource distributions that are enforced (Flora, Flora & Gasteyer, 2015)
Financial	Resources that are translated into monetary instruments that make them highly liquid, that is, easily converted into other assets (Flora, Flora & Gasteyer, 2015)
Cultural	The filter through which people live their lives, the daily or seasonal rituals they observe, the way they regard the world around them and what they think can be changed. It includes values and symbols reflected in clothing, music, machines, art, language, and customs (Flora, Flora & Gasteyer, 2015)
Human	Personal assets including health, formal education, skills, knowledge, leadership ability, and talents (Flora, Flora & Gasteyer, 2015)

The CCF systems approach to community development has been applied to rural

community development (Pender, Marre, and Reeder, 2012), suburban community development

(Duffy, Kline, Swanson, Best, & McKinnon, 2016), and the reduction of poverty in LDC's

(Gutierrez-Montes, Emery & Fernandez-Baca, 2009). Because the CCF recognizes all assets possessed by a given community regardless of the nature of a society's social ties, the framework is useful to analyzing the development of many different expressions of community.

        The CCF was developed in rural communities of place, but due to its holistic nature, is applicable in both rural and urban communities of place as well communities of interest or space. German sociologist, Ferdinand Tonnies (1887) introduced the terms *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* to describe the social ties associated with communities of place and those of interest respectively. Communities of place are those societies rooted in a geographic location wherein members have face-to-face interactions on a frequent basis. Gemeinschaft refers to the types of social connections extant in communities of place that are valued as an end in themselves. Gemeinschaft can also be understood as bonding social capital. By contrast, gesellschaft can be understood as bridging social capital and is associated with communities of interest wherein social ties are used as a means to an end. Industrialization, globalization, and modernization create space along the continuums that exist between rural/urban, communities of place/communities of interest, gemeinschaft/gesellschaft, and collectivist/individualistic values. The internet which facilitates both bridging and bonding social ties (i.e. Facebook) rooted in space especially blurs the lines between those concepts that were previously more easily contrasted (Ellison et al., 2007; Norris, 2002; Ji, Hwangbo,Yi, Rau, Fang, & Ling, 2010). Broadly, this study comes to understand community as not just a physical/geographic location, but as it relates to social networks and bonds.

Figure 5. *Community Capitals Framework* This graphic adapted from Flora, Flora & Gasteyer (2015) illustrates the interconnectedness of community resources. Here it has been slightly modified for the context of homestay/homeshare tourism.
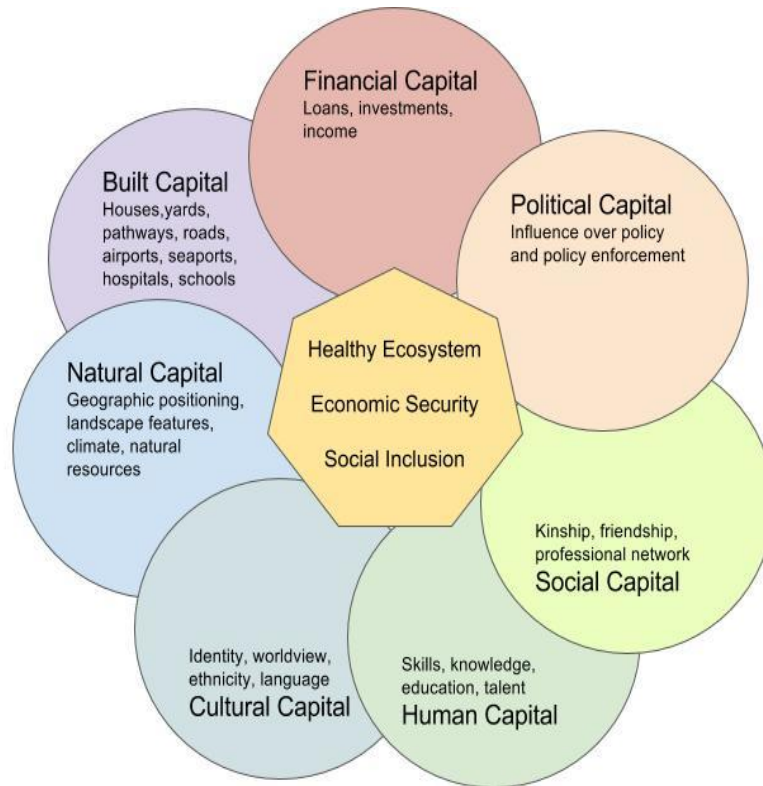
Entrepreneurship Capital

An entrepreneur is an individual that identifies opportunities, organizes resources, assumes risk, and is ultimately responsible for the success or failure of an enterprise (Carton, Hofer, & Meeks, 1998). The term Entrepreneurship Capital was introduced by David Audretsch and Max Kielboch (2004) who describe it as resources an individual draws on to achieve success in entrepreneurial activities. While these scholars have treated entrepreneurship capital as an individually owned asset, they recognize that entrepreneurs draw on communal resources that contribute to a favorable business climate. Other scholars have emphasized the role of an entrepreneur's wider environment in success over individual characteristics such as talent and

personality (Chrisman & Paredo, 2006; Morrison, 2006). Within the CCF literature, Flora, Flora and Gasteyer (2015) propose the related concept of *entrepreneurial social infrastructure* as the collective entrepreneurial action measured within a community and hypothesize that, "[entrepreneurial social infrastructure] is a consequence of high bridging and bonding social capital." (2015, p.132)

An individual's capacity to engage in an entrepreneurial activity depends on the surrounding community and entrepreneurship has been shown to be an essential element of community development (Flora & Flora, 1993; Emery & Flora, 2006; Mathie & Cunningham, 2003; Wallace, 1999) Furthermore, entrepreneurship capital contains attributes which are not accounted for among Flora and Flora's other capitals. Entrepreneurship capital differs from entrepreneurship social infrastructure in that it includes tools that increase an entrepreneur's efficacy such as internet platforms. Therefore, it may be the case that entrepreneurship capital presents an eighth capital to add to the CCF framework.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

The purpose of this study, employing an emergent design, was to explore the experience of Airbnb homesharing hosts in Haiti, attempting to shed light on to who they are, why they participate, and the benefits and challenges to participation. Discerning differences between the host experiences in Jacmel and Port-au-Prince was also a goal in order to build knowledge about rural vs. urban perspectives with regards to Airbnb hosting. This study also begins to investigate the ways in which hosting within a homesharing platform influences community development in so far as it may lead to a "spiraling up" of community capital.

In-depth semi-structured interview and participant observations were chosen in order to collect data that can help explore an experience (Hatch, 2002), and in this case, the Airbnb host experience. Specifically a co-constructivist approach was used meaning that as I gained in understanding of the host experience, I shared that knowledge with hosts over the course of the interview and their responses to that information further distilled the idea of what it means to be an Airbnb host in Haiti. An emergent design was employed in this research as it assumes that I, as the researcher, have a working knowledge of the literature and subject matter and allows for adjustments to be made as needed (Charmaz, 2008). To ensure reliability, I used data, investigator, theory, and methodological triangulation meaning that at each stage of the study, at least one other individual (e.g., research participant or fellow researcher) provided feedback that informed the course of the research (Denzin, 1978).

Study Site

I chose Haiti as the site for this study for several reasons. One, the country has vast natural and cultural resources that offer unique tourism products to visitors. Two, tourism

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development remains minimal and as such micro-hospitality entrepreneurs have the potential to influence growth in the industry from the ground up. Lastly, knowledge gained about homesharing in Haiti may help individuals face some of Haiti's most salient challenges including urbanization, brain drain, and joblessness. The two cities of Jacmel and Port-au-Prince were chosen, because Airbnb listings in Haiti are concentrated in those two localities. Despite the wide disparity between the population sizes of these two locations, each had approximately 170 Airbnb listings at the times of this study.

> **Data Collection Locations: Jacmel, Port-au-Prince**
>
> Jacmel is located on the southern coast of the southerly peninsula and has a population of approximately 40,000 (Institut Haïtien de Statistique et d'Informatique [IHSI], 2012). The main tourist attractions are the density of artists and artisans, colonial architecture, the beaches of Kabic and Ti Mouillage, and the waterfall of Basin Bleu. Each year thousands of tourists visit Jacmel for the annual pre-carnival celebration featuring brightly painted papier-mâché masks and elaborate body art.
>
> Port au Prince is the country's political and economic capital with a population of 2.4 million people (IHSI, 2012). The vast majority of international arrivals debark at the Toussaint Louverture Airport located in Port-au-Prince. Tourist attractions include the giant outdoor market, Marché en Fer and the MUPANAH history museum which houses the remains of the four heroes of the 1804 revolution.

Sampling and Materials

In May 2016, I began identifying potential participants for this study through listings on the Airbnb website prior to being in the field. There were just over three hundred listings in Haiti, split almost equally between the cities of Port-au-Prince and Jacmel. That number of listings was nearly cut in half in both cities when duplicate listings and inactive listings were eliminated. That left around 150 potential participants at the time of this study.

I traveled to Haiti from June 19 through August 1, 2016 for the purpose of conducting in depth, semi-structured interviews with Airbnb hosts operating commercial home enterprises until saturation was met. Using a laptop connected to wireless internet, purchased through a private

telecommunications company operating in Haiti, I accessed Airbnb.com on a continuous basis throughout the data collection period. Access to the internet was of primary importance throughout this study for that reason. A local telephone was also essential to arrange transportation, set up interviews, and chat with hosts. Logistics of this study already relied on availability of electricity to charge devices: while there was consistent access in Port-au-Prince, in Jacmel, devices were charged during the eight hours of electricity available. Likewise, no wireless internet was available in Jacmel and I relied solely on phone contact established while in Port-au-Prince.

Prior to commencing the research in the field, this study was submitted for review and approved by the Clemson University Institutional Review Board (IRB) on June 2, 2016 (Appendix C). On the first day in the field, I sent personal messages through the Airbnb website to seven hosts asking if they would like to participate in the. In order to send a message to an Airbnb host, the platform requires that the sender enter reservation dates. I entered reservation dates in order to send messages to these seven potential participants. Six hosts did not respond. One host responded that she approved my reservation request.

That host was perturbed upon learning that there was no actual reservation desired and wrote, "In these tough economic times you cannot play with people's emotions like this." Graciously, this host arranged for an interview anyway with her husband known by pseudonym Etienne in this study. This incident prompted me to develop a more detailed message template to use when contacting hosts via the Airbnb messaging system (Figure 6). I used this method combined with snowball sampling (hosts connected me with other hosts) in order to contact twenty-seven Airbnb hosts across the two communities (Port-au-Prince and Jacmel). I conducted seven in-person, in depth semi-structured interviews. Four of the interviews took place in Port-au-Prince, three in Jacmel. I determined that saturation was met when I felt that more data from

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Airbnb hosts would not add to the information already collected about the phenomenon of Airbnb

hosting in Haiti. This was noted when the last interview conducted provided very little new data

or ideas.

Figure 6. *Solicitation memo* Message sent to hosts using Airbnb requesting an interview
reproduced here to appear as it did on Airbnb.com.

> Greetings [Name of host],
>
> This is not a reservation request.
>
> My name is Angela Galbreath. I am a tourism
> graduate student at Clemson University in South
> Carolina. Under the supervision of Dr. Lauren
> Duffy, I am conducting research about Airbnb
> hosting in Haiti.
>
> Participation is completely voluntary. If you would
> like to participate, please contact me so that we
> may set a time for an interview. This interview will
> last approximately 30 minutes.
>
> I can be reached by phone at [local number] or by
> email [email address].
>
> Thank you for your consideration.
> Sincerely,

Instruments and Procedure

A flexible meeting guide applied to the time before, during and after an interview was

used to build trust (Appendix A).The researcher employed a semi-structured format to the

recorded interviews that ensured important questions were asked but allowed for subject changes

initiated by the interviewee (Appendix B). In all but one case the interviews took place at the

property listed on Airbnb. Participants selected the language for the interview and Kreyol,

French, and English were spoken during all seven interviews. The interviews were audio recorded

and lasted between 36 and 260 minutes. French and Kreyol were translated into English during

the transcription process by the researcher. Pseudonyms were used to protect the identities of all

participants in this study. The words of the seven participants comprise the main source of data for this study.

Additional sources of data provide supporting information. A field journal was kept to record the observations of the researcher regarding both hosts and listed properties. The field journal was also used to take notes from informal conversations with non-hosts as well as short telephone conversations with hosts who were not interviewed face-to-face. The journal was of particular use to record the researcher's experience staying at an Airbnb property in Jacmel for a period of ten days. The journal kept prior, during, and following the six week sojourn in Haiti also served as a repository for information collected from the Airbnb website including data collected from host profiles, mutual reviews, and property listings.

Data analysis

The first level of data analysis occurred during the translation/transcription process when I kept a separate list of topics through the process of open coding. Two months after data collection, a second round of inductive analysis was conducted to form meaning clusters and then themes. I found that the data presented several clear themes relating to constructing an idea of the Airbnb host experience in Haiti (RQ1) and the difference in the host experiences in Jacmel and Port-au-Prince respectively (RQ2). I then conducted deductive analysis using the seven capitals proposed by the community capitals framework to explore how Airbnb hosting may contribute to community development (RQ3). Six individuals reviewed the key findings of this study and provided feedback including my research committee, a participant in this study, and a micro-hospitality entrepreneur in Haiti who did not participate in this study.

Researcher Reflexivity

The prior life experience of the researcher living in Haiti also contributes to the data as well as to the analysis. I first traveled to Haiti to spend a year teaching English at the Episcopal University of Haiti from 2005-2006. In exchange for my services, I received room and board downtown (next to the fire station on the Champs de Mars) in a shared apartment with a French colleague and a Haitian family. This first experience was the closest I came to living the experience of Haiti's urban poor population since I lived on just 400 USD for the year. Through many conversations during that year, I learned that many people desired a source of income in order to provide for their families.

I returned to Haiti in 2010 after the January 12, 2010 earthquake as a missioner of the Episcopal Church. A furnished apartment in the more affluent suburb of Pétion-Ville was my home and I had a stipend of 400 USD per month. My role was to connect donors in the U.S. with parishes in Haiti as well as host visiting groups of voluntourists associated with the Episcopal Church. Through this work, I traveled extensively in remote areas. The network of service provider contacts that I established for the church groups facilitated my launching a small tour operating enterprise with two local friends in 2011. The business, Sweet Escapes Haiti, provided cultural immersion experiences for aid workers and was active through June 2015.

In 2012, I left the position at the church and took a position with Haiti's only daily newspaper which was launching a tourism magazine called, Magic Haiti. At that time, I moved back downtown to the neighborhood of Pacot where I shared an apartment with a local friend and earned a salary of 2500 USD per month. As copy editor and contributing writer to the magazine until late 2015, I continued traveling often to the countryside and established relationships with government officials, artists, hoteliers, and restaurant owners.

Having experience interacting with all strata of Haitian society afforded me the ability to explore different perspectives of the Airbnb host phenomenon in Haiti for this study. In addition, my former professional networks helped me gain access to participants. Because I speak Kreyol, my son is half Haitian, and my in-country social networks are current, I may have been viewed by participants as less of an outsider in Haiti than other international researchers.

However, I am always a woman with light skin complexion from the United States. As a U.S. national representing a U.S. institution for this study, I think I was given the benefit of the doubt that the research was legitimate. Having a light complexion provided an immediate clue that I am who I say I am. No one asked me for a credential or for more information about the study. I think some people expected me to be a fundamentalist Christian. One participant began talking about vodou as a cultural tourism product, yet towards the end of the interview spoke about the religion in a more personal way. This showed me that he was not sure I would be accepting at first. Some participants felt the need to explain their full professional background which led me to think they expected me to underestimate them. As a woman, I felt that people find me less threatening than a man. I met people one-on-one in their homes, a circumstance that I feel certain would not have been an option if I were a man.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The findings of this study are organized in the following way: first, on overall observation of the context at the point in time that the data was collected is provided. Second, profiles of the hosts/MHEs are presented that provide an illustration of who they are as 'hosts'. Major themes that emerged during an inductive open coding process are then introduced which address the first and second research questions. Lastly, the data is organized using the seven community capitals with an additional heading added for entrepreneurship capital.

Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this qualitative study is to explore the experiences of micro-hospitality entrepreneurs as hosts of Airbnb properties. Specifically, this study focuses on hosts in two communities- Port-au-Prince and Jacmel – and whether the phenomenon of homesharing through Airbnb is contributing to community development as other homestay programs traditionally attempt to do. As such this study asks the questions:

RQ1: What is the experience of an Airbnb host in Haiti?
RQ2: How do the experiences of Airbnb hosts differ between the locations of Jacmel and Port-au-Prince?
RQ3: How does homesharing through Airbnb in Haiti contribute to community development?

Context

During the six weeks that this data was collected, the political climate of Haiti was tense. An unpopular interim government struggled to maintain order. At the time of my arrival in Haiti, a date had been set to hold presidential elections on October 8, 2016. However, there was little hope this would take place since elections (both parliamentary and presidential) had been postponed numerous times over the previous three years.

There were several instances of violence against foreigners while I was in country. A Swedish national was attacked and killed as he was leaving a bank. Two U.S. nationals were assaulted while purchasing marijuana in the street after dark. One of the young women is paralyzed for life.

One afternoon when I was walking from the bus station to my apartment, I ran into two police barricades consisting of thirty or so officers carrying shields and clubs. I stopped to inquire if I could pass through to get to my home. They said yes, so I proceeded. Two minutes later, I rounded the corner to face a mob of angry college-age students throwing rocks. Some people in the group had guns. I kept my head down and scurried by.

For a few days following each of these incidents, the research stalled. I stuck close to the apartment and made phone calls. It's possible that some of the people I contacted to participate in the study were similarly thwarted. With so much uncertainty in the air, the general feeling surrounding tourism was not buoyant.

One night in late June, I went to a favorite spot of mine to catch some live music. I ran into an acquaintance who also runs a small tour company. I asked him casually how business was. He laughed resignedly. "It's terrible," he said. "Very tough times for tourism." Looking around, I had to remark that the Cafe which is always a melting pot of locals, diaspora, expats, and tourists, was virtually empty.

Host/Property Profiles

Table 3. Host Profiles

Pseudonym	Gender	Nationality	Age	Formal Education	Profession	Languages spoken	Previous tourism/ hospitality experience	Location	Property Type	Amenities on the property
Etienne	M	French	60	graduate degree	craftsman	French, Kreyol, English, Spanish, German	former resort manager	PAP (Centre-Ville)	inherited house	wifi, 24hr electricity, mosquito nets
Marie Terese	F	Haitian	51	college degree	car dealer	French, Kreyol, English, Spanish	grew up in a B&B	PAP (Petion-Ville, Boutilliers)	inherited house/mountain retreat	pool, wifi, 24 hr electricity, garden
Kristy	F	U.S.	34	graduate degree	nurse/professor	English	n/a	PAP (Airport)	purchased house	pool, garden
Sarah	F	U.S.	45	graduate degree	labor and delivery nurse	English	n/a	PAP (Delmas)	purchased house	wifi, garden
Samedi	M	Haitian	30	high school	tourist guide	Kreyol, French, English	operating tours	Jacmel (Cayes)	rented house	bucket water, no electricity
Tison	M	Haitian	25	high school	real estate agent	Kreyol, English	guesthouse manager	Jacmel (Cayes)	rented house, managed houses	fully equipped kitchens, mosquito nets
Suzy	F	Haitian	58	11th grade	wholesaler	Kreyol, English	long-term room rental	Jacmel (Kabic)/PAP (Pacot)	purchased houses	pool, air-conditioning

Host/Property Narratives

      Etienne met Corinne, a brazen light-skinned local in 1979 when he came to Haiti from France to further his career in hospitality. Etienne worked as a manager at that time in the resort which would eventually convert into Club Med. He and Corinne fell in love, married, and had four children together. Corinne's father was an outspoken journalist from Jeremie who was forced to expatriate Haiti early in the couple's marriage. Later, the couple themselves would relocate to France where their children would complete secondary school away from the distraction of political upheaval. Etienne and Corinne completed graduate degrees and held stable positions with several international corporations in France.

      On January 12, 2010 at 4:00 in the afternoon, Etienne and Corinne were tuned into Haitian radio online when the earthquake that killed more than 250,000 people decimated Port-au-Prince. They felt compelled to return. With their children grown, they were free to reestablish their roots in Haiti's capital city.

      Corinne and Etienne moved into Corinne's childhood home in the Bois Verna neighborhood. They set up a foundation to help others rebuild their homes. For their own home, they secured a loan to renovate based on plans to operate a B&B. A friend of their suggested that Etienne and Corinne list their sleepy B&B on the website Airbnb.com. They did not know what it was, but found it easy to create a listing.

      Though Etienne's professional career was in hospitality, the French national self identifies as a craftsman. A carpenter above all else, it is he who piece by piece reinforced Corine's family home and outfitted it with modern plumbing as well as a highly effective water catchment system. Corinne, he informs, is an artist and horticulturist at heart. She has decorated the home with her own oil paintings, wood sculptures, and a menagerie of tropical potted plants.

Marie Terese was born in what she describes as Haiti's first ever B&B, owned and operated by her grandparents. That property has since been converted into apartments that house employees of the Vietnamese telecom company that currently supplies internet for her own micro-hospitality venture. Following high school, Marie Terese had the opportunity to attend college in the U.S. There, she learned English and assimilated into American culture.

On one of her frequent trips home during those college years, she met her husband, a French expatriate with whom she would run a luxury car dealership for several decades. When the 2010 earthquake destroyed the car dealership, her spouse went to work for the United Nations stabilizing force in Haiti and she began accommodating tourists in their two large, comfortable homes. Both of the properties are listed on Airbnb.

The first property she listed was the family home she inherited located in Petion-Ville. She credits the high ceilings and thick walls of the home for the moderate temperature of the interior despite the searing June sun. The home features a swimming pool and large garden. The second property was built by the couple as a mountain retreat where their golden retriever resides full-time under the care of a property manager.

Kristy came to Haiti as a medical missionary following the 2010 earthquake. The young nurse felt that her efforts on short term relief trips were downstream at best and irresponsible at worst. Three relief trips later, Kristy made the decision to obtain a Master in Public Health in her home-state of Oregon. She found that she came away from the program with more questions than answers regarding how to mitigate the medical implications of poverty. She prescribed one thing for sure: a long-term approach.

A single mother of a pre-schooler, Kristy found time to design a course for undergraduate students at the University of Oregon. She brought students down to immerse themselves in the

culture first and contemplate solutions to poverty second. Kristy was visiting Haiti so often with groups, that she and a friend decided to collaboratively purchase a house near the airport. The home has six bedrooms, a garden, and a guitar shaped swimming pool. She listed the property on Airbnb to offset expenses in between her trips.

Sarah and her husband are adoptive parents who came to Haiti from California post-earthquake to help keep kids out of orphanages. As a labor and delivery nurse, Rebecca feels the best way she can help accomplish this is by contributing to maternal health. To that end, she is in the process of setting up maternity and birthing clinics all around Haiti. This kind of work does not pay much. Her husband owns and operates a Port-au-Prince based digital marketing company that is just beginning to show profits.

In Sarah's spare time, she manages their home to receive visitors. She began listing the home her family occupies in Port-au-Prince on Airbnb. The home has four bedrooms and a small garden. It is located in the neighborhood of Delmas.

Samedi received a certificate as an official tourist guide from Haiti's Ministry of Tourism and Creative Industries in 2011. Having roots in a nearby hamlet, but having grown up in Port-au-Prince, Samedi moved back to the countryside after he lost his parents and two brothers in the 2010 earthquake.

He states that his primary occupation is that of a poet therefore, the hustle and bustle of the capital doesn't suit his personality. His daughter lives with her mother and grandmother about ten minutes from Samedi's abode. Otherwise, the rest of his surviving family members live in the capital. His status as an outsider who moved to the countryside positions him well to relate to visitors of the area most likely desirous of the same retreat and artistic inspiration he seeks.

He rents a room in his home to supplement income and compliment his tour guiding business. An American ex-girlfriend helped him get started on Airbnb. There's no road to Samedi's rented house in the mountains where he lives alone. One can reach the ramshackle perimeter fence by worn footpath only. In the yard, a scrawny dog stretches and two chickens peck at microscopic blades of grass. On the porch he's strung three woven hammocks with views looking out over the coastline.

Even though he did not grow up in Jacmel, he is a notorious character around town in a conservative society suspicious of dread locks. One of Samedi's neighbors whispered to me that Samedi tried to sexually assault one of his Airbnb guests who ran screaming from his home in the middle of night just a few months prior to our interview. It's not an unimaginable event to me considering Samedi's obviously troubled countenance.

He says, "I moved to Jacmel to find peace. And I haven't really found it. But what I found, I found a lot of things here. And I'm away from politics and social trouble. In Jacmel we have those troubles too, but we also have a great view into nature which permits you a life."

Tison came to work at a busy guesthouse in Port-au-Prince after he finished high school. He quickly distinguished himself as efficient and trustworthy to the Canadian guesthouse owners who made him manager. It was at the guesthouse that he came into contact with Aster his now wife, a doctoral student and citizen of the UK. When the two became a couple, they moved together to Jacmel where Aster has been collecting data about child slavery in Haiti.

The couple noticed how many local families had built bungalows to rent to tourists, but few had a way to market them. Tison set up a website for rental properties as well as properties for sale. In 2015, he began cross listing all his rental properties on Airbnb. Business increased exponentially. He and Aster list their own rented home on the site and Tison became the Airbnb

expert in the area. For families who have have extra space, but lack the time and knowledge to receive tourists, he serves as middle man.

Aster concluded her research and the couple relocated to the UK after three years in Jacmel a few weeks after our meetings for this research. Tison had a friend in town, another former employee of the same guesthouse in Port-au-Prince, whom he had hoped to groom to take over the profitable business. Unfortunately, that friend was not quite ready for the task. Tison contributes his own success as an Airbnb broker to humility, tech savvy, English proficiency, and having a foreigner as a life partner.

Suzy married a successful doctor and had seven children in the first eight years of their marriage. The doctor spent days and weeks away from home with his demanding job. This led to infidelities which Suzy took in stride. In addition to being a full time mother, Suzy convinced her husband to purchase a warehouse in downtown Port-au-Prince. She began importing bouillon cubes and other household staples in bulk from the Dominican Republic and selling them wholesale from the warehouse.

During the 1990's trade embargos, it was too dangerous for Suzy and the kids to travel daily from the warehouse up to their home in the mountains. Unwilling to let the thriving business (and her autonomy) go, Suzy converted part of the warehouse into a four bedroom apartment for she and the kids. Suzy rented one of her rooms downtown to a handsome Dominican businessman against her husband's wishes. This was her first introduction to the hospitality business.

The doctor and Suzy are still married to this day. Between their thriving careers, they have several homes. Suzy welcomes tourists at two of them. One in the Pacot neighborhood in Port-au-Prince, the other in Jacmel. The Pacot property has ten bedrooms and a swimming pool.

The Jacmel property has fifteen rooms and an outdoor dining space. Neither property has an independent website, but both are listed on Airbnb.

Members of her family occupy both properties full time. A distant cousin who happens to be transgender manages the property in Jacmel. She is the one who received me on my visit. Suzy made sure I understood that her properties are LGBTQ friendly. One of Suzy's sons manages the property in Port-au-Prince.

All of Suzy's children were born in Port-au-Prince, just like her. However, where she never finished high school and learned English from television, all seven of her kids hold degrees from universities in the U.S. or Canada.

Characteristics of the Airbnb host experience in Haiti (RQ1)

From the profiles of the individuals connected with each listed property, three major themes stand out. One is that the English language is used to communicate on the platform even though the platform is available in French. Another is that Airbnb hosts today draw on their multi-cultural experiences in order to operate their commercial home enterprises. The third theme that emerged was that the internet was a part of life for these hosts before ever listing a property on Airbnb and they continue to access the web daily as Airbnb hosts. These themes represent advantages for the hosts interviewed for this study, but also potential barriers to expanding use of the platform in Haiti.

English, the preferred language of Airbnb users

As aforementioned, all of the participants in this study speak English fluently. Not one of them has difficulty corresponding or conversing in English. When asked what language was used to correspond with potential guests prior to a reservation, the unanimous answer was, "English." For Marie Terese, Tison, Samedi, Etienne and Suzy this is significant since English is not the

language they speak at home. Therefore, it can be assumed that it is not they who dictate the language of choice, but the guests. While this proves an advantage for the hosts interviewed in this study, it presents a challenge for many potential micro-hospitality entrepreneurs in Haiti who do not speak English.

I spoke to an individual at a hotel in Port-au-Prince who has stayed in Airbnbs in three other countries. She told me that when she is shopping for accommodations on Airbnb, she rejects hosts who correspond in broken English. She emphasized, "I don't want any miscommunication about where I'm going to sleep." For her it seems sharing a common language is paramount to building trust. Kreyol may be an alluring aspect of the culture for visitors, but perhaps not with regards to negotiating overnight accommodations.

Tison bridges the language gap for the property owners who he works with. Kristy and a friend stayed at one of Tison's properties in Jacmel and her experience illustrates the frustrations caused by language barriers and how having Tison as an intermediary was useful. Kristy recounted the story for me before I knew that Tison would participate in this study.

When Kristy arrived on the property, Tison met her and helped her settle in. They exchanged phone numbers. After dark that same night, Kristy wanted to visit the local dance hall. She found that the gate to the property was locked. The owner of the property who lives on site spoke no English, she no Kreyol at that time. After failing to communicate with one another, she and the property owner phoned Tison who served as translator. The property owner wanted to know where she was going and when she would be back. He wanted to keep these outsiders who were in his care safe. Kristy and her friend wanted to enjoy their vacation uninhibited. Tison helped them reach a compromise. The property owner unlocked the gate and Kristy understood she needed to return before 10:00pm. This encounter is a good example of the kinds of nuanced situations that are difficult to navigate without a common language.

Intercultural Relations and Multi-cultural Experience

It can be assumed that not only is English language fluency a part of the Airbnb host experience in Haiti, but a high level of cultural fluency as well. Based on the host profiles encountered for this study, having intimate international connections appears to be a commonality among people listing property on Airbnb in Haiti. Marie Terese and Corinne (Etienne's wife) are both Haitian and married to French nationals. Additionally both women completed undergraduate degrees at universities in the U.S. Suzy's children, who maintain her online presence as well as live on her Airbnb properties, were also all educated outside of Haiti. Furthermore, Sarah's family is multi-cultural as she and her husband have adoptive children from Kenya, Russia, and Haiti.

It was an American ex-girlfriend of Samedi's who helped him set up his Airbnb listing and welcome his first guests. Tison had the idea to market bungalows on a website while it was his British wife, Aster, who introduced him to Airbnb. Tison and Aster travel frequently to the Dominican Republic, the United States and Europe and as such are often tourists abroad themselves.

> "For us we are already a mixed couple. I'm foreign, Tison is Haitian. We have an advantage, because people see that Tison already has contact with foreigners." –Aster

> "They might see that this foreigner trusts me, so me too." -Tison

These quotes from Tison and Aster suggest that guests trust Tison more because he has an international wife. In this quote, he uses the verb "to see" implying that potential guests view him differently because his wife does not have a dark complexion as most Haitians do. (Aster appears in Tison's profile photo snuggled next to him at a popular Jacmelien eatery.) His words may have implications with regards to guests' skin tone preferences that add to evidence presented by other studies that found Airbnb enables racial discrimination. That criticism is one reason Airbnb has removed host profile photos from the search results page.

Airbnb hosts interact with the online platform several times a day using their smartphones. The internet was a daily part of life for each of these hosts who all had email accounts and Facebook profiles prior to signing up for Airbnb. Corinne spends one hour per day fielding inquiries and managing reservations. Kristy, four hours per week. Samedi treks down the mountain twice a day to a beach with strong 3G signal. Suzy admitted that her children are the primary point of contact for her two Airbnb listings, because she "does not want to be tied to a computer." Suzy checks her Airbnb message inbox using her phone, and then calls one of her kids to correspond with the potential guest. That the internet was a part of daily life for these hosts prior to Airbnb listing suggests that there was not an added expense for internet access associated with listing their property on Airbnb. Furthermore, the hosts were not required to make too much of an adjustment in their lifestyles to manage reservation requests. While this is an asset for them, accessing the internet represents an added financial burden as well as a change in habits for potential hosts who are not already doing so on a daily basis.

These highlighted characteristics of the Airbnb host experience in Haiti (e.g., English language, multi-cultural experience, internet usage) broadly suggest a level of privilege related to the Airbnb host experience.

Hosting in Jacmel / Hosting in Port-au-Prince (RQ2)

Jacmel and Port-au-Prince are two influential cities in Haiti. Jacmel is considered the country's cultural capital largely due to the concentration of professional artists and artisans. The city draws tourists with several public beaches as well as a famous waterfall and a colorful pre-carnival celebration. Airbnb has been most successful in urban localities, so it is interesting to see that Jacmel had as many listings as the capital and suggests that in Haiti, natural and cultural attractions have the power to allure guests. Port-au-Prince, on the other hand, is the country's

economic and political center. As far as accessibility, Port-au-Prince features an international airport with several runways and a major seaport. Jacmel, on the other hand has only a regional airport and is three hour's drive through the winding mountains from the capital. Several themes emerged from the data with regards to the differences between hosting in Port-au-Prince and hosting in Jacmel. They are the natural environment, perceived safety, and logistics.

Natural environment

Where the natural environment is largely a built one in Port-au-Prince and natural only in the sense that human nature was in play, Jacmel offers tourism products such as forests, beaches and waterfalls. Airbnb hosts in Jacmel recognized the natural environment as one of the major factors attracting tourists. Clean air, mature trees, and songbirds contributed to the natural capital cited by Airbnb hosts in Jacmel. Conversely, Airbnb hosts in Port-au-Prince mentioned nature in terms of whether or not the property featured a garden. This had implications for the kinds of recreation activities available to guests where Jacmel hosts said their guests often visited the beach, went hiking, and visited the nearby Basin Bleu waterfall. The natural environment emerged as an asset for Jacmel listings unavailable to hosts in the capital.

 Safety

Hosts located in both localities, as well as non-hosts, perceived Jacmel as the safer of the two locations. One host mentioned that kidnapping and gang violence are not of concern in Jacmel where they are a major concern in Port-au-Prince. Another host proposed that tourists come to Jacmel to escape the constant threat of being robbed that exists in the capital. Reliable data to compare crime rates in the two cities were not available at the time of this study, so the perceptions of participants as well as my participant observations are the main sources of information concerning safety.

From what I observed, individuals in Port-au-Prince are more vigilant with regards to their personal safety and securing personal property. The listings I visited in Port-au-Prince uniformly featured reinforced iron security bars on all the windows as well as iron gates on doors opening to the outside. In contrast, none of the properties in Jacmel had iron bars on doors or windows. In fact, the waist-height windows of the Airbnb where I stayed in Jacmel featured wooden shutters that I fastened at night with a simple slide bar. The apartment where I stayed in downtown Port-au-Prince while collecting data had a fifteen foot iron gate that was locked by the property manager after 9:00pm, iron bars on all the windows, and two iron doors to unlock before reaching the dwelling's actual front door. An additional clue about safety is that in Port-au-Prince, I rarely saw a privately owned vehicle circulating with the windows down. Previous experience helps to explain why since I had a cell phone and necklace stolen through an open car window on separate occasions in Port-au-Prince when I lived there. In Jacmel, I saw that it was common for even newer model cars to drive with the windows down. Additionally, I do not recall ever seeing a motorcycle parked unattended anywhere in Port-au-Prince. However, in Jacmel motorcycles and bicycles often stood alone at places of business or in front of houses. These observations support what participants perceived about the differing levels of safety in the two locations.

Logistical matters

> "They [visitors] don't realize that Haiti is a poor country and most of the things that we need for day to day life come from overseas. It's not everyone who can afford these things. Those things are either carried in from abroad or someone paid to have them shipped here. Already when you come to a place like Haiti, you must know that a hotel or guesthouse that you might pay 50 USD at home will be about 80 USD here. Many people think that if it's 80 USD at home, it should be cheaper here. That's not the case. Everything is more expensive which has implications for many things including electricity and internet." -Tison

One of the most substantial challenges for Airbnb hosts in Haiti is providing electricity, water, and internet to their guests. These burdens are heavier for hosts in Jacmel than their counterparts in the bigger city, because they are unable to capitalize on Port-au-Prince's infrastructure.

Electricity

Haiti's state energy company known by the acronym EDH does not offer electricity twenty-four hours a day. In Port-au-Prince's residential zones, the power is on for twelve hours a day. In Jacmel, those homes connected to the grid have power between four and eight hours a day. Hosts in Port-au-Prince had inverter systems which store electricity in batteries. An eight battery inverter system costs around 1000 USD. In Jacmel, the electricity is not on long enough to fully charge batteries, making an inverter system without also purchasing a big generator, a poor investment. Two hosts in Jacmel own small generators (too small to power a refrigerator) but rarely operate them due to the expense of gas (more than 5 USD per gallon) as well as the unpleasant noise. Hosts in Jacmel provided oil lamps for nighttime activities and reported that keeping guests' electronic devices charged was an awkward struggle.

Water

While most Haitian citizens collect water from communal outlets and carry it home in buckets or jugs, all the hosts who participated in this study have running water from the state water company, DINEPA, on site. The availability of water depends largely on the supply of energy for Airbnb hosts since they rely on water to be pumped into rooftop tanks. Gravity then flushes the toilets and keeps the sinks running. Port-au-Prince hosts additionally had underground cisterns built into their properties where they stored large quantities of water. In that way, they have assurance that even if the state isn't pumping water, they have a reserve on which to draw.

Etienne outfitted their downtown Port-au-Prince home with a rainwater harvesting system so that he and Corinne do not have to depend on the state for water. He designed and built the system himself and for the past eight years, the couple has had more than enough water for themselves and their guests. Etienne mentioned that if they ever did run out of water, they could have a truck deliver 4,000 gallons to their cistern for about 65 USD.

The water situation at Tison and Aster's house in Jacmel prevented the couple from hosting Airbnb guests at their own home at the time of our interview. A few months prior, a tropical storm knocked the water drum off their roof. Knowing that their landlord will not fix it and not wanting to invest in the replacing it themselves, the couple inflated a cheap baby pool in the front yard. As Aster tells it, "We drove past someone selling them for 30 USD in Port-au-Prince and Tison said, 'Hey we can use that!'" When the city water flows, they top up the pool. It is with this water that they bathe, wash clothes, flush toilets, and cook. Since the drum fell, they have not hosted any guests at their home. They feel like carrying water from the front yard to the bathroom for guests would take more time and energy than they have to spare.

All of the hosts who participated in this study purchase their drinking water in five gallon jugs. The price varies depending on the source. Sarah, Marie Terese, Etienne, Kristy, and Suzy have their drinking water delivered by the company Culligan. They pay 12 USD for each jug and then 2USD for refills. Samedi pays 5 USD for his jug and refills at a roadside vendor for 1 USD. Water delivery is not available at Samedi's house or at any of Tison's Jacmel properties. Therefore, these hosts must either carry the jugs themselves or pay someone else to do it. Tison estimates that each guest consumes two gallons of drinking water per day. He notes that some visitors use drinking water for brushing teeth and washing dishes. Providing enough drinking water to guests, particularly when they travel in groups, presents a labor intensive process for

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hosts in Jacmel, whereas host in Port-au-Prince live in properties serviced by water delivery services.

Internet

While hosts see providing water and electricity as essential elements of hosting, wifi is not universally provided by these hosts. Consistent home internet connection is more difficult to maintain than connecting via cell phone. As such, these hosts rely on cell phone service to manage their listing while wifi at home is a luxury that comes and goes. Port-au-Prince hosts were the only hosts to list wifi among the amenities offered on their properties. In Jacmel, Tison and Aster spend 150 USD per month on data for their smartphones which they have used as internet hotspots when hosting guests. Samedi spends 75 USD per month and walks forty minutes round-trip from his home in the mountains to a spot on the beach where he finds the connection to be very fast. Reliable internet connection at home was recognized as a challenge for all hosts; however hosts in Jacmel found connecting even more difficult and costly. This could be a barrier to hosting in rural areas since wifi has become a standard offering among traditional hospitality providers such as hotels and guesthouses.

Community Capitals and Micro-hospitality Entrepreneurship

In order to answer the question of whether Airbnb homesharing contributes to community development, the data were also analyzed deductively using the community capitals framework (Flora, Flora and Gasteyer, 2015). This study investigated what community capitals spiraled up or down as a result of participating in homesharing as a host through Airbnb. Entrepreneurship capital is included in this analysis because it was found to be a significant capital independent of the other seven.

Table 4. Increase in community capitals reported by participants

	Built	Financial	Political	Social	Human	Cultural	Natural	Entrepreneurship
Etienne	+	+		+		+	+	+
Marie Terese		+	+	+	+			+
Kristy	+	+		+	+	+		+
Sarah		+		+				+
Samedi	+	+		+	+	+		+
Tison	+	+		+	+	+		+
Suzy	+	+		+				+

Built Capital: the permanent physical installations and facilities supporting productive activities in a community. (Flora, Flora, & Gasteyer, 2015)

At the heart of a homestay or homeshare commercial home enterprise is the built environment of the home. Built capital is referred to in homestay literature often. Organizing entities provide extensive requirements for homestay dwellings. Solid construction, security, adequate furniture, private bedrooms, proper toilet, demarcated kitchen and dining areas are among the requirements for homestay properties (Acharya & Halpenny, 2013, Mapjabil et al, 2015). Roads, community halls, open stages and sanitation blocks comprise the built investments that have resulted from homestay operations (Mapjabil et al., 2005). In the case of homeshare, oversight over the built environment occurs through the process of mutual reviews as opposed to an organizing entity. Because homeshare hosts in Haiti today operate independently of one another, they may lack the political capital that some homestay hosts have leveraged to realize

community infrastructure projects. Increases in built capital took place primarily at the level of each individual property.

Airbnb hosts in Haiti improved their homes in preparation for, and as a result of, their hosting activities. Because hosts and guests share living space in the context of a commercial home enterprise, the increase of built capital benefits both hosts and guests. In cases where hosts reinvest profits into benevolent construction projects, the benefits reach even further. Since all hosts reportedly receive aid workers in their homes, the built capital of Airbnb hosts has a multiplier effect through the volunteer work of their guests.

Both Suzy and Etienne added rooms to their homes to receive tourists. Etienne installed a water catchment system on his home in order that neither his family nor his guests would be dependent on the unreliable supply of city water in Port-au-Prince. Samedi has plans to do the same at his place in Jacmel. Kristy redecorated her home with local art and positioned color-changing solar lights on the patio.

> "I love what we've already done. I walk in and I'm like this is where I'm staying! The sitting area and the patio are so cool. It already looks awesome and it's going to get even better." -Kristy

Two hosts reinvest their profits to help others through construction projects. Etienne and his wife help families earthquake-proof their houses who otherwise would not be able to afford to. Sarah's hosting activities channel financial capital into the construction of maternal health clinics.

> "I'm working to create birth centers here so that women will have a safe place to deliver." -Sarah

While these two hosts chose to improve the built environment of the wider community, those benevolent activities on their part were taking place before they started hosting through

Airbnb. Hosting did increase built capital in the community through home improvements of hosts and non-hosts as well as helped Sarah continue building health clinics, however community wide infrastructure projects did not arise as a direct result of Airbnb hosting.

Financial Capital: Resources that are translated into monetary instruments that make them highly liquid, that is, easily converted into other assets. (Flora, Flora, and Gasteyer, 2015)

In the case of homestay and homeshare, it is the existing resource of the home which generates cash. Operating a commercial home enterprise presents an alternate way for individuals in LDCs to leverage their homes to increase monetary assets where the lack of land titles presents a barrier to obtaining mortgage loans. Financial capital for hosts increases directly through the payments received from reservations. Indirectly, hosting can open up opportunities to seek micro-loans especially for purchasing items which strengthen the cottage industry. Wherein these monies are spent on goods available locally, financial capital increases among hosts and non-hosts alike.

On average, the properties represented by the participants in this study received two bookings per month. The average price for their listings is 40 USD per night. These hosts reported that more than half of their bookings are for groups of two or more. Some bookings are for multiple nights. The Haitian hosts who participated in this study earned an average 2,400 USD (or 112,800 gourdes at the time of this study) in supplementary income per year. This is considerably less than the 1,800 USD earned per month reported by the national homestay program of Malaysia (Mapjabil et al, 2015), 4,000 USD per year reported in Mae Kampong, Thailand (Kontageorgopoulos et al., 2015), and 5,474 USD per year for Airbnb hosts in New York (New York Times, 2016).

All hosts (and property owners when applicable) who participated in this study sustained other livelihood activities in addition to hosting with the exception of Tison who aggregates a percentage from multiple property listings to sustain his family. This finding compliments what has been written about homestay programs where income earned is an extra supplement to other livelihood activities.

> "That little pink wooden house next door is very typically Haitian. It's not fancy. It's old, but it's clean. I started with that one on Airbnb one year ago. It brings in 300 USD per month on Airbnb." -Tison

Even simple country dwellings have the potential to increase financial capital. The majority of the Haitian population lives on less than 2 USD per day (CIA World Factbook, 2016). The owner of the pink house that Tison lists on Airbnb does not. He is considered a member of the middle class with a cinder block home located near the city center. The pink house is a family property in the hills that he rarely visits. His earnings still represent a significant sum for him as it does for most individuals in the context of Haiti where 130 USD is the average amount parents spend to send one child to school for a year (*Four things you need to know about education in Haiti*, 2015).

This finding parallels a potential characteristic of homestay programs mentioned in the literature review. Homestay programs tended to benefit citizens who were already well-off in comparison to other members of their communities.

Marie Terese and her spouse lost their primary source of income (a luxury car dealership) in the 2010 earthquake. Her husband subsequently went to work for the U.N. peacekeeping force in Haiti, but his salary doesn't match the couple's pre-earthquake earnings. Hosting via Airbnb helps the pair sustain their relatively affluent lifestyle. For example, one can hire a full-time

chauffeur for a year for 2400 USD. Supplementary income earned by hosts multiplies in the form of goods and services purchased locally.

> "We had like 50 people working at the car dealership. Then it closed. [Name of chauffeur] is one of the employees we kept. He's been with us for years. When guests need transportation, I send them to [name of chauffeur]. I don't take a percentage or anything." -Marie Terese

Linkages that are created such as those between tourism income and education or tourism income and home improvements represent capital that is fixed locally. By contrast, large scale tourism developments are often foreign owned and therefore export capital abroad.

Political Capital: Organization, connections, voice, and power as citizens turn shared norms and values into standards that are codified into rules, regulations, and resource distributions that are enforced. (Flora ,Flora, and Gasteyer, 2015)

Political power involves the established chains of command at a local, regional, national and international level. Within a community, political power holders include religious leaders, elected officials, indigenous leaders, wealthy citizens, and citizens with social ties to decision makers. It can be both formal and informal. Relative to other people, individual inhabitants of the unindustrialized countryside in rural areas, hold limited political power. They live in remote areas with limited interaction with urban centers and as such largely go unnoticed by national and international political forces. Taken as a whole, the country of Haiti has little political capital when compared to larger, industrialized countries (Wallerstein, 1986). This has advantages and disadvantages. One advantage is that cultural capital evolves in place and as such avoids homogenization. A disadvantage is that infrastructure such as roads, schools and hospitals remain lacking.

It has already been noted that the political capital which increased as a result of homestay programs (Acharya and Halpenny, 2013) has not increased in Haiti in relation to the phenomenon of Airbnb hosting. However, a paradoxical relationship between lack of strong central government and individual agency was evident in that no participant in this study expressed worry over future regulations of their hosting activities. In cities where Airbnb hosting is more common (i.e. Chicago, Los Angeles, Berlin), hosts feel constricted by regulatory bodies (Chicago Tribune, 2016; LA Times, 2017; The Local, 2016). Conversely, hosts in Haiti (Sarah, Etienne, Tison, Suzy) perceive that regulatory bodies have yet to take any notice whatsoever of Airbnb in Haiti. As such, no participant expressed worry about future regulations. The lack of interference may empower some hosts.

> "Reactions from people owning hotels? No. They are my friends. No one says anything to me. How would they do that? Tell me I have to stop [laughing]? Airbnb could kill any hotel here and there's nothing they can do about that." -Marie Terese

Additionally, hosts feel empowered by sharing their customs, culture, and social networks with visitors. This is especially true for marginalized individuals who find income and acceptance through being an Airbnb host.

Social Capital: the bridging and bonding connections between people and groups (Flora, Flora and Gasteyer, 2015)

Airbnb hosting in Haiti inherently involves interactions between diverse individuals as well as individuals of similar backgrounds. Four themes emerged suggesting that social capital, both bridging and bonding, increased as a result of the micro-entrepreneurial activities of Haiti's Airbnb hosts. First, hosts frequently mentioned that guests become surrogate family members

(Marie Terese, Etienne, Samedi, Sarah, Kristy) and also that guests choose to lodge at their listing because they seek to be treated like family (Etienne, Marie Terese, Sarah).

> "It's like in your family. It's like you're *chez* [at the home of] mom and dad. Mom and dad is going to make it easy for you." -Etienne

Secondly, hosts reported that they connect guests with their personal social networks to the advantage of the guest (Etienne, Kristy, Marie Terese, Samedi, Tison). In one case, a host (Kristy) assisted in the adoption process for one of her guests by introducing her guests to physician friend of hers. In another, the host (Samedi) called on local musicians to jam with their guests. Acting as a social bridge may increases the pride and prestige of Airbnb hosts in Haiti, thus virtuously affecting their level of political capital.

> "Sometimes guests are asking about who to meet and how, and we have friends we know. We can [assist] the guest to find people in any kind of actions they are doing. Ok, we know people at the universities and when I say we know them, we know them well. They are friends of us. We know people in many businesses. It's a net…. We can help a person not to lose too much time.. To help them get easily and quickly to what they need." - Etienne

Thirdly, hosts highlighted the easy relations between neighbors, themselves and their guests (Etienne, Kristy, Sarah). Tourists are perceived as harbingers of a secure political environment and as such their presence encourages local community members (Etienne). Commercial home enterprises introduce outside influences into communities that otherwise would have little interaction with international visitors (Samedi).

> "Because the way they set up tourism, the people who live in the countryside, they don't see anybody. They don't benefit and that causes frustration. They don't see the blan [foreigner], but they want to talk to the blan. The blan stays only in the hotel, but this is my city. It causes a lot of frustration. And I'm trying to see the people and talk to them too and share something with them." -Samedi

Finally, hosting through Airbnb connects micro-hospitality entrepreneurs with diverse populations that may be more accepting of alternative lifestyles than their home communities (Suzy, Samedi). Suzy elected a family member who is transgendered to act as hostess at her property listed outside Jacmel. While Samedi finds himself as something of a social pariah among his compatriots (partially due to his dreadlocks which are considered taboo), he feels tourists appreciate his alternative style.

Hosting does present social risks for micro-hospitality entrepreneurs using Airbnb in Haiti. As was found in some homestay programs, jealousy can create rifts between community members who may not enjoy the same opportunity to benefit from hosting (Samedi). Even deeper bonding ties can be put into peril by a revolving door of personalities especially when fascinating visitors interact extensively with impressionable children in a family (Sarah).

Human capital: the assets each person possesses: health, formal education, skills, knowledge, leadership, and talents. (Flora and Flora, 2013)

Operating a commercial home enterprise affords a micro-hospitality entrepreneur the chance to grow in knowledge through experiential education without leavning home. The areas of increased human capital identified include increased language skills (Tison, Samedi, Kristy), increased cultural fluency (Kristy, Samedi, Marie Terese), and growth in hospitality competence among hosts with previous experience (Etienne, Tison). It seems probable that all hosts experience a growth with regards to hospitality competence as result of hosting through Airbnb, but those who were previously employed in the industry were able to identify the marketability of this growth.

The multiplier effect applies with regards to human capital within the context of micro-hospitality entrepreneurship. All the hosts associated with this study (with the exception of

Samedi) travel away from their listing(s) frequently and have trained proxies to manage their

duties when needed.

> "I was at the farmers market [in Oregon] when I got a(n) [Airbnb] message. I can manage
> communication with our potential guests while Shirley [proxy on site] is now able to
> manage the running of the place." -Kristy

Cultural Capital: *The filter through which people live their lives, the daily or seasonal rituals*

they observe, the way they regard the world around them and what they think can be changed. It

includes values and symbols reflected in clothing, music, machines, art, language, and customs.

(Flora, Flora, and Gasteyer, 2015)

Haitian language (Tison, Kristy, Samedi), religion (Samedi), cuisine (all participants),

and artistry (Etienne, Samedi, Marie Terese, Kristy) are being actively shared by Haiti's Airbnb

hosts. Kristy came to Haiti as an aid worker and was converted by homestay experiences in

Haiti's rural countryside into a promoter of Haitian culture.

> "I learned so much staying with families, learning Kreyol, dancing compa, listening to
> live twoubadou bands, eating pikliz [local dish].... You know all this beautiful stuff that's
> all Haiti. I thought, 'Oh my gosh, no one told me about this;' all I heard about was
> problems and misery. That's why I decided to teach a class. I say, 'Let's look at this
> tropical jungle. Let's walk in the market.'" - Kristy

> "We share the culture and we make the people have a unique experience. Especially with
> vodou. It's something unique. It's *our* culture… a lot of things you [me as an
> international] haven't seen, but you've heard of. It's so interesting to go deeper and
> deeper into our culture and show people what we have. Me I believe in vodou not as a
> religion, but as our culture. That's why I do what I do." -Samedi

From these quotes, the pride that both individuals have in the Haitian culture is evident in their

eagerness to share. In the case of Kristy, she has incorporated Haitian customs into her own life

as an American. Guests of Airbnb's in Haiti have the opportunity to sample the culture and learn new ways of doing things as well.

Natural Capital: The stock of natural resources (e.g., geology, soil, air, water, flora and fauna) and the ecosystem services resulting from them (Flora, Flora and Gasteyer, 2015)

       Natural capital can be transformed into social, cultural and financial capital. Homestay and homeshare hosts outside of Port-au-Prince recognize the natural environment as a key factor attracting tourists to their locations. Three hosts recognized the natural environment as one of the main attractions of the country and especially the countryside (Kristy, Samedi, Suzy). In Jacmel, clean air, beaches and waterfalls were among the natural attractions listed by one host (Tison). One host reportedly moved to Jacmel for inspiration to create art as a poet (Samedi). Similarly, visitors are known to write or paint during their sojourns enlivened by the experience of a new place. Furthermore, cultural capital increases when landscape features and naturally occurring phenomenon are given meaning within a society. These meanings can be shared with tourists. Social capital increases when guests and hosts spend time together in pleasant environments.

Entrepreneurship Capital: All resources contributing to an individual's capacity to launch and sustain a new business (Audretsch & Keilbach, 2004)

       Some factors influencing an entrepreuneur's success can be easily categorized among the existing capitals of the community capitals framework. For example, talent, personality and knowledge comprise human capital. Spheres of influence or social networks influence success in business and comprise social capital. However, some elements of Airbnb hosts' experiences lie outside the boundaries of the existing capitals of the framework. They are the existence and efficacy of the web platform and the element of hope contributing a favorable business climate.

As mentioned above, hosts noted that people in their neighborhoods find the presence of tourists hopeful. It is common for old timers to remark (while clicking their tongues in dismay), "Haiti *used* to be the Pearl of the Antilles." They will then embark on a soliloquy enumerating Haiti's current political and environmental problems. The presence of tourists suggests that there is once again something beautiful to see. It also suggests that if people are choosing to travel to the country when they could have just stayed safe at home, then the risk to personal safety must be low. Tourists also bring with them foreign currency and as such the tourists represent new opportunities for entrepreneurship. The presence of tourists increases optimism which has a positive effect on the overall business climate.

The Airbnb platform itself including its functionality and design affects other community capitals in a unique way. By taking care of digital marketing for micro-hospitality entrepreneurs who may not already have a web presence, the platform allows hosts to connect directly with guests thus increasing social capital. Hosts noted both the ease and speed with which they reached a vast market. Most hosts found establishing a listing to be an intuitive process that they executed without complication (Marie Terese, Etienne, Kristy, Sarah). One host (Kristy) compared the process to creating a Facebook profile.

> "It was really simple to sign up for Airbnb. Like cake. But I'm American, so it's cake… I have a U.S. bank account. I speak English. I was able to access a good photographer. I don't know; I just feel like I have a lot more access to things that I needed to make it very simple. I have unlimited wifi access. You know what I mean?" - Kristy

Meanwhile two Haitian hosts (Tison, Samedi) benefitted from the assistance of international romantic partners to establish their online listing(s) then quickly assumed all responsibilities associated with hosting. Upon activating their listings, hosts began receiving

reservation requests immediately (all participants) thus increasing both social and financial capitals.

> "Business went from zero to something [after activating a listing on Airbnb]. It was very difficult before. We maybe had two customers in a year. Now we have at least two per month." - Etienne

Additionally, the platform facilitates hosting with cancellation policies, payment facilitation, and reciprocal reviews that several hosts identified as extremely instrumental in the success of their commercial home enterprises. Hosts with U.S. bank accounts (Suzy, Etienne, Marie Terese, Samedi, Sarah, and Kristy) found that the payment process could not be more convenient. These hosts receive payment in advance for reservations transferred to their bank accounts directly via Paypal. Hosts reported that flexible cancellation policies help to reduce the number of unfulfilled reservations (Marie Terese, Kristy, Tison). Hosts have protected themselves from undesirable guests using previous hosts' reviews of a guest (Marie Terese, Tison), thus helping to mitigate some of the inherent risks of hosting.

Decreasing the inherent risks of hosting can free hosts to be more optimistic about their endeavors, thus contributing again to a hopeful business climate in their communities.

Bridging Ties and Entrepreneurship Capital

This study presents evidence that intermediaries such as Tison may permit property owners to operate as micro-hospitality entrepreneurs using Airbnb who otherwise would not be able to do so. As such, entrepreneurship capital increases as a result of bridging social ties. A more detailed examination of my experience staying at one of Tison's Airbnb listings in Jacmel provides insight into how homesharing host opportunities can be extended to a wider population.

Moise owns the property where I stayed in Jacmel while collecting data for this study. I stayed in his two bedroom, one bath house with a porch and kitchen overlooking the sea for 45 USD per night. Moise and four family members lived on property in a house located closer to the

road. Tison is the Airbnb host associated with this property listing on the Airbnb platform. Moise

pays Tison 20% of each booking fee for his service.

Figure 7. *Making ourselves at home.* This photo was taken by me at Moise's bungalow listed by
Tison on Airbnb under the name "Oceanfront 2 bedroom" on July 15, 2016.

Table 5. Reciprocal Reviews on Airbnb following my stay at "Oceanfront 2bedroom house"

Tison's review of me as a guest	My review of "Oceanfront 2bedroom house" and Tison
Angela is a wonderful person and a spectacular guest. Before she even arrived, it felt like she was a good friend coming to stay. She's very warm and easy to talk to. She made the most of the property and communicated well with everyone there. I highly recommend Angela to stay in your home. She will arrive as a guest but leave as a friend!	When I arrived in Jacmel, [Tison] was waiting next to a landmark to lead me to the house. He took his time to show me how the stove works and where to find everything I needed. There were lamps in each room, fans, mosquito nets, extra towels and sheets. The kitchen is fully equipped including two coffee makers (hallelujah). Before leaving, [Tison] arranged to have a meal delivered to us each afternoon. As it turns out, he is a great chef! Our first full day he sent a meaty fish without any small bones so it was easy for me to cut into morsels for my son who is a toddler. Another great dish we both loved was his legume with white rice and bean sauce. Next door to the oceanfront house lives a warm family. I was extremely grateful for their presence for reasons of security, company, and help with little tasks such as finding milk to purchase. When I wanted my privacy, I had it. I enjoyed being immersed in the natural rhythm of local beach living through the daily fishing outings, coconut harvesting, and of course, the ever present sound of the surf.

All of my arrangements to stay were made through Tison. It was Tison who met me at the house to show me the ropes. I was not provided with Moise's phone number, but was instructed to call Tison when I needed something. This was interesting since Tison lives 15 minutes away from the property in the mountains and Moise was right there on site.

When I mention that Moise was on site, I can qualify that by saying that he popped in for short periods of time throughout the day. The man is in constant motion. At 4:30am, Moise oversees the launch of his two fiberglass fishing boats. An hour later, he is in the yard pointing out ripe coconuts to a professional coconut tree climber. He gathers them in a wheelbarrow after they land on the ground with a smack. Moise has shucked a bushel of coconuts with his machete before breakfast. After inhaling a bowl of oatmeal, he drapes an old rice sack full of coconuts over the center bar of his bicycle and pedals off bow-legged to the market.

Moise rolls back down the driveway two hours later to supervise his sister and niece who prepare cooked food to sell at the market. While he waits for it to finish cooking, Moise is crouching here and there dislodging rocks from the yard using his machete. When the food is ready, he carries the giant pots to the roadside and waits for a market-bound truck to pass. He pays the driver to deliver the pots to a specific vendor who will later send the proceeds back to Moise.

By the time the prepared food is on its way to a market stall, the boats have returned with the day's catch. Moise and the fishermen spend an hour sorting fish between them. Moise keeps one big spiny fish to cook at home and sends eight others to market in buckets with his other niece. So goes a typical morning for Moise.
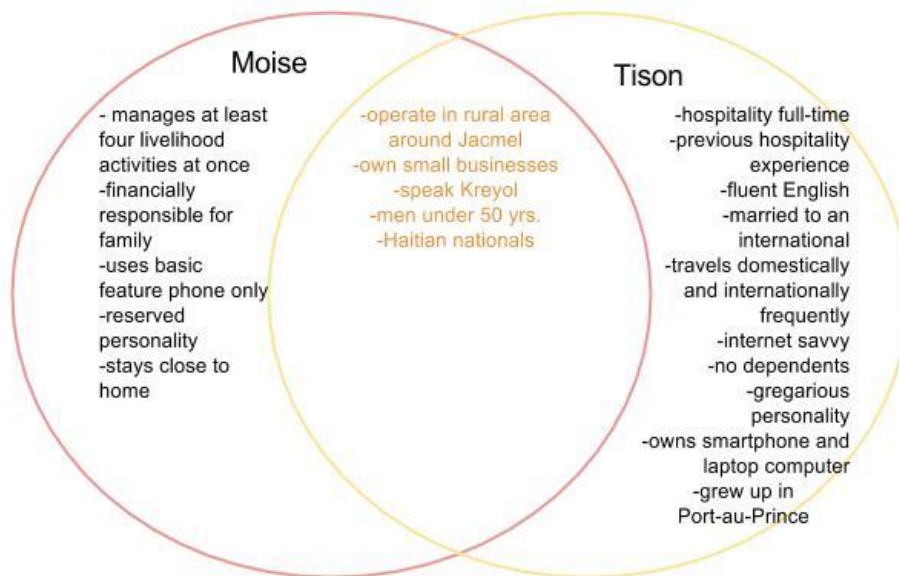
Moise has the simplest telephone on the market and he speaks no English. Anytime I approach him to make small talk, he avoids being rude, but it's clear when he cuts the

conversation short that he has other matters to attend to. It seemed his reticence to speak to me was also due to extreme shyness. Moise rarely converses with anyone (male or female) and when he does it is with a very soft voice. That Moise owns no car speaks to the pragmatism of the man and also the frequency with which he ventures beyond comfortable biking distance. Rather than buy a car, he has invested in the two fiberglass boats and the two bedroom bungalow where I stayed. According to my observations, Moise has no less than four business running at all times. There are the fruit and coconut trees to tend, the cooked food to sell at market, the fishing, and of course the bungalow.

Moise is clearly an entrepreneur, so why has he hired Tison to manage his bungalow by the sea (Figure 6)? The first reason is that Moise appears to have no interest in having direct interactions with guests. He doesn't mind a chat here and there, but it's difficult to imagine this patriarch engaging in U.S.-style customer service. The second is that he has no time. With all of his livelihood activities overlapping throughout the day, it seems he would be hard pressed to drop any one of them to prioritize a guest's needs. Not only does Moise seem to enjoy these other livelihood activities, he also has at least four dependent family members to think about. Long stretches without reservations would potentially leave the family without an income were Moise to suspend his other livelihood activities.

Two other reasons may be less apparent. Moise does not access the internet. Learning to maintain a listing could require a drastic change in lifestyle. Then, of course there is the language barrier. Moise doesn't have time to prioritize guests' needs, much less learn to speak and write English. The tie between Moise and Tison allows both men to draw on their human capitals to grow entrepreneurship capital.

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Figure 6. Property owner/Lister comparison: Moise and Tison

Moise

- manages at least four livelihood activities at once
- financially responsible for family
- uses basic feature phone only
- reserved personality
- stays close to home

-operate in rural area around Jacmel
-own small businesses
-speak Kreyol
-men under 50 yrs.
-Haitian nationals

Tison

-hospitality full-time
-previous hospitality experience
-fluent English
-married to an international
-travels domestically and internationally frequently
-internet savvy
-no dependents
-gregarious personality
-owns smartphone and laptop computer
-grew up in Port-au-Prince

Impacts of Homesharing through Airbnb in Haiti

The effects of micro-hospitality entrepreneurship through the Airbnb homesharing platform extend far beyond the monetary benefits experienced among hosts. Hosting through Airbnb in Haiti was found to increase social, entrepreneurship, financial, built, cultural, and human capitals. These increases ripple into other capitals therefore instigating the process of spiraling up (Emery & Flora, 2006; Gutierrez-Montes, 2005). Furthermore, capitals increase synchronously across the associated communities of place (i.e. geographically fixed) and communities of space (i.e. online).

Although supplemental household income increased significantly among Airbnb hosts in Haiti (2,400 USD per year on average), the participants in this study reported less financial benefits than hosts operating in other countries. The financial benefits described by all hosts

except Tison represent supplemental income. Two hosts reinvested profits from hosting into adding more rooms to their homes to accommodate guests, thus increasing built capital, with intentions of further augmenting financial capital. Hosts also reinvested profits into benevolent construction projects that increase the built and social capitals of their communities.

Social inclusion increased while social networks (both bridging and bonding ties) expanded as a result of Airbnb hosting in Haiti. Hosts felt as though they and their guests became family for short periods of time while sharing the built home environment. Hosts shared their personal networks with guests, increasing the guests' knowledge as well as the prestige of the host. The sharing of bridging ties increased human capital for guests who gained local knowledge as well as for hosts who experienced a high level of prestige among their peers. Bonding ties strengthened when hosts engaged in micro-hospitality activities with close friends and family. Additionally, hosts felt as though they and their guests became family for short periods of time while sharing the built home environment.

The Airbnb platform, accessed by 60 million users worldwide, increased entrepreneurship capital for current hosts in Haiti. Immediately after listing their properties on Airbnb, they began to receive tourists in their homes. Bridging ties established through interactions on the Airbnb website in some cases developed into bonded ties where guests became surrogate family. Airbnb manages digital marketing allowing hosts to reach a vast audience, thus increasing financial capital without requiring up-front financial investment into marketing and linkage with potential customers. Hosts with U.S. bank accounts report that receiving payment is easy through the platform's partnership with Paypal. Financial capital increased for Airbnb hosts in Haiti through payments for bookings. Hosts found that flexible cancellation policies and reciprocal reviews helped mitigate some of the social and financial risks associated with engaging in micro-hospitality entrepreneurship. Micro-hospitality entrepreneurs lacking certain assets (i.e.

internet savvy, time, English language proficiency, previous hospitality experience) gained access

to opportunities afforded by the Airbnb platform by engaging social networks to bridge these

gaps. Overall, the presence of tourists in local communities as a result of Airbnbs combined with

the mitigation of entrepreneurial risk provided by the platform offered improvements in the

overall business climate. Entrepreneurship capital was found to contribute to the process of

spiraling up so significantly that it is included here as an independent eighth capital to add to the

community capitals framework (Figure 5).

Figure 7. *Community Capitals Framework* This graphic adapted from Flora, Flora & Gasteyer (2015) illustrates the interconnectedness of community resources. Here the eighth capital has been added within the context of homestay/homeshare tourism.
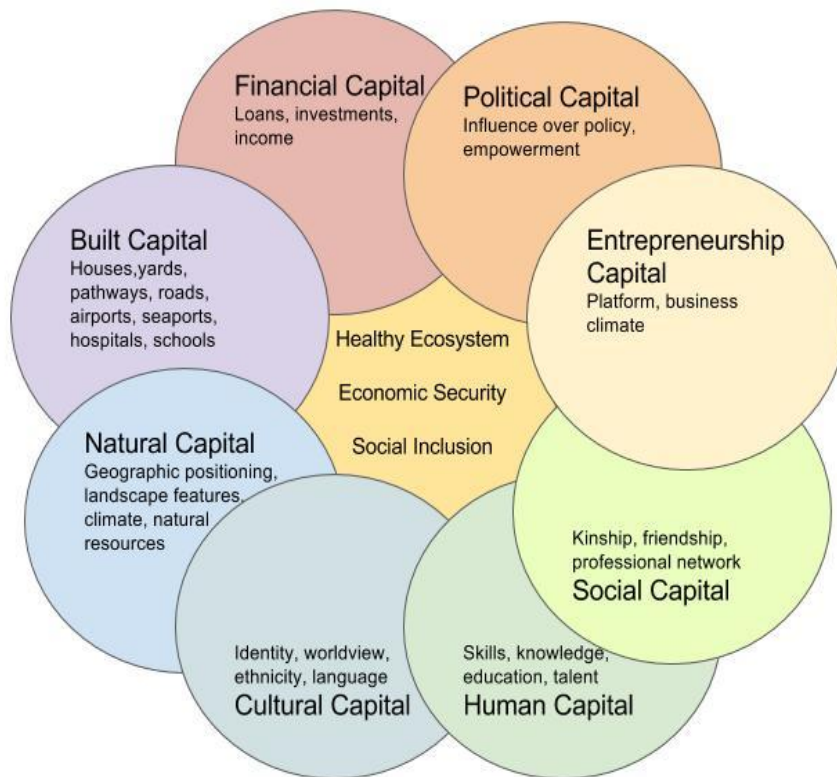
CHAPTER FIVE

IMPLICATIONS FOR MICROHOSPITALITY ENTREPRENEURS

Airbnb hosts in Haiti have built successful commercial home enterprises in both rural and urban areas. These commercial home enterprises contribute significantly to increasing community capitals instigating the process of spiraling up in community development. Based on these findings, the establishment of a rural homestay network connected to Airbnb's wide user base can contribute even further to community development in Haiti. Simultaneously, connecting to Airbnb's platform can increase entrepreneurship capital in particular for existing homestay programs. However, in order for commercial home enterprises to maximize the pro-poor outcomes experienced in homestay programs, bridging social ties should be advanced and fostered.

Bridging ties can link individuals possessing human capital (e.g. English language skills, multi-cultural experiences, and internet savvy) with individuals possessing built capital (e.g. property owners). In doing so, the communities in Haiti most affected by urbanization, joblessness and brain-drain, can participate in the sharing economy. This study suggests that the ties would form between the educated younger generation and their enterprising forebears. These kinds of partnerships spread the benefits of hosting among diverse members of a community.

Other bridging ties formed between hosts will maximize community development outcomes in the form of associations. Taking a lesson from homestay programs, hosts can form associations or cooperatives to pool resources. This concept, known as *konbit* in Kreyol, is already popular in the agrarian countryside. Because electricity, water, and internet are substantial challenges for hosts in rural areas, associations may choose to raise financial capital to collectively invest in generators, water cisterns, or satellite dishes. Pooled financial capital may also be allocated for small scale infrastructure projects such as boat docks, sanitary blocks, or

stages. For large scale projects associations may pool political capital to realize infrastructure improvements as was the case with some homestay programs. Historic agricultural associations may be redirected towards achieving community wide goals using homestay tourism.

Increasing the number of commercial home enterprises while tourist volumes are low may prevent larger scale developments from moving in. If residents are already enjoying social and financial benefits from tourism, there is less incentive to sell land. As such, communities will not be displaced and the detrimental environmental effects of large scale construction can be avoided.

Limitations

Several potential limitations should be addressed with regards to the trustworthiness of this study. First, it could be suggested that I attracted research participants who resemble me and who therefore the sample might not be representative of Airbnb hosts in Haiti. One might argue that because I am from the U.S. and speak English, English-speaking Airbnb hosts with international connections responded favorably to my invitation to participate in the study. To mitigate this potential limitation, I sent out invitations to Airbnb hosts to participate in the study using the language that host used in their Airbnb profile, either French or English (no host profiles in Kreyol were found). An alternate sampling method to messaging hosts using Airbnb.com could have avoided participant bias with regards to their reactions to my profile photo. Still, how I embody white privilege and an American identity must be considered.

With regards to sampling, I had to enter hypothetical reservation dates in Airbnb's messaging system in order to invite hosts to participate in this study. This method may have deterred some hosts who found it disappointing upon reading the message that no actual reservation was desired. I tried to minimize disappointment by explicitly stating that the message

was no a reservation request, but it must be noted that this method of contacting potential participants may have limited the sample.

Additionally, my questions and interview guide were developed before I found and applied the community capitals framework More specific questions should be asked in future research. Moreover, as a thesis project, the data analysis was conducted primarily by the author whereas adding multiple researchers to the project would have increased the trustworthiness of the study.

Another variable that affected this study beyond my control was the difficult political and economic climate. I conducted this study at a time when hopeful attitudes with regards to tourism in general were waning rather than waxing. Even so, the participants in this study reported primarily about the success of their commercial home enterprises and projected hopeful attitudes about continued success. Either I connected with the most zealous of micro-hospitality entrepreneurs or the perceived benefits of homesharing using Airbnb persist through tough times.

CHAPTER SIX
CONCLUSION

This study adds to the bodies of literature exploring ways that tourism can contribute to community development. Additionally, the research provides a unique application of the community capitals framework in an LDC in conjunction with an online community. Lastly, this study proposes an eighth capital, entrepreneurship capital, to add to the community capitals framework. This research offers insights into the host experience in Haiti as well as differences between host experiences between a rural and urban location in Haiti. The findings presented in this work suggest that the English language, multi-cultural experiences, and consistent internet usage are characteristic of the host experience in Haiti. The Airbnb host experience in Jacmel differs from the Airbnb host experience in Port-au-Prince in that hosts in Jacmel experienced greater logistical challenges especially with regards to water, electricity and internet access. Additionally, a greater degree of perceived security was experienced in Jacmel than in Port-au-Prince and the natural environment was an asset in the more rural locality of Jacmel but not in the capital city. Community capitals were found to increase as a result of the Airbnb hosting phenomenon in Haiti with the added capital, entrepreneurship capital, contributing to the process of spiraling up. The implications of this research suggest that homestay programs may benefit from incorporating an online platform such as Airbnb.com into their systems especially to increase entrepreneurship capital. Homeshare hosts in Haiti can maximize pro-poor outcomes by fostering bridging social connections. This study begins to look at Airbnb hosting as a tool for community development. A look at the phenomenon from a community development perspective, especially applying the community capitals framework, with a larger population in numerous localities would increase understanding. In addition, an action research study examining exploring the effects of increased bridging ties associated with homestay hosts may further inform the expansion of the hosting phenomenon in LDCs.

Appendix A. Flexible meeting outline for conducting semi-structured interviews in Haiti

Meeting phase	Action
Intentionality (private)	Researcher reviews what may already be known about participant and sets the intention to collect data which the participant wishes to share as well as share any knowledge the participant wants to know
Establish Trust	Sit and drink a cold beverage, explain the purpose of the study and that with their permission I'd like to record them answering a few questions later in our meeting, chat about places we have both been and people we know, tour property (when applicable)
Interview	Ask permission to turn on recording devices and give a broad outline of the questions then conduct interview (see Appendix C)
Wrap Up/Affirmation of Trust	Let participant know that I would like to share the results of the study with them and ask if I can contact them for more information in the future, answer any questions they may have
Journal (private)	Return to vehicle or other to privately record field notes immediately

Appendix B. Interview Questions for a study examining Airbnb Host experience in Haiti

Desired information	Question

Who are you?
 	
   o   Origins
   o   Family
   o   Favorite pastimes
   o   Travel experience
   o   Education Level
   o   Primary occupation
	● Can you tell me a little about yourself?
	
	● Where is your family from and where do they live now?
	
	● How many of your relatives live nearby?
	
	● What do you enjoy doing?
	
	● When you are not working, studying, or taking care of your household, how do you spend your time?
	
	● How often to you leave the town where you live and for what reasons?

	● Where do you spend holidays? ● Did you go to school? If so what's the last grade you completed? (For 8th grade and above) Where did you attend school? ● How do you make a living? ● How would you describe your faith?
Airbnb Hosting o Motivation for listing with Airbnb o Process of getting started o Time spent on a regular basis on Airbnb related activities o Amenities offered o auxiliary services offered o Transfer of place specific information o Challenges of hosting o Benefits of hosting	● If you had a friend who was considering listing a property with Airbnb, what would you tell them about your own experience? ● Can you describe the duties of an Airbnb host? ● What types of services do you offer? ● Who helps you fulfill these duties? ● In what ways has your life changed since becoming an Airbnb host? ● What made you decide to list your property on Airbnb? ● How did you get started? ● How do you most often access the internet? ● Which internet provider to you prefer? ● How would you characterize your interactions with guests? ● What aspect of Haitian culture have you shared with guests? ● How much time do you spend per week on hosting for Airbnb? ● How do you prepare for guests? ● Can you describe the process of reviewing guests? ● Can you identify any person, social or economic benefits of hosting? ● Have you encountered any difficulties in relation to hosting visitors through Airbnb?
Informing about Airbnb guests o Generalized profile of Airbnb guests from host perspective o Desired amenities o Desired attractions o Cultural exchange	● Based on your experience, what can you tell me about Airbnb guests? ● Where are they from? ● What have you learned about the places where your guests come from? ● What languages do they speak? ● How old are they? ● Do they travel in groups?

	- How did they enjoy themselves when they stayed with you? - What led them to this city? - Why do you think they choose your listing over others? - What kinds of toilets and showers do your guests prefer? - What kinds of sleeping arrangements do your guests prefer? - Besides a place to sleep, what other services do your guests require? (e.g. translation, meals, guide, language instruction, directions etc.) - Can you share any complaints (if any) that guests had regarding their stay? - How many nights do they stay?

Logistical matters
   o   ID
   o   Network
   o   Ongoing research
	- What is your family name, age, and gender? - Do you know any other Airbnb hosts who might like to participate in this study? - Can I contact you for information in the future?

Appendix C. Approval for this study granted by the Clemson University Office of Research and Compliance Institutional Review Board (IRB) on June 2, 2016

Dear Dr. Duffy,

The Clemson University Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed the protocol identified above using exempt review procedures and a determination was made on June 02, 2016 that the proposed activities involving human participants qualify as Exempt under category B2 based on federal regulations 45 CFR 46. Your protocol will expire on May 31, 2019.

The expiration date indicated above was based on the completion date you entered on the IRB application. If an extension is necessary, the PI should submit an Exempt Protocol Extension Request form,http://www.clemson.edu/research/compliance/irb/forms.html, at least three weeks before the expiration date. Please refer to our website for more information on the extension procedures, http://www.clemson.edu/research/compliance/irb/guidance/reviewprocess.html.

This approval is based on U.S. human subjects protections regulations (45 CFR 46) and Clemson University human subjects protection policies. We are not aware of any regulations that may be in place for the country you are planning to conduct research in that would conflict with this approval. However, you should become familiar with all pertinent information about local human subjects protection regulations and requirements when conducting research in countries other than the United States. We encourage you to discuss with your local contacts any possible human subjects research requirements that are specific to your research site, to comply with those requirements, and to inform this office of those requirements so we can better help other researchers prepare for international research in the future.

No change in this approved research protocol can be initiated without the IRB's approval. This includes any proposed revisions or amendments to the protocol or consent form. Any unanticipated problems involving risk to subjects, any complications, and/or any adverse events must be reported to the Office of Research Compliance immediately. All team members are required to review the IRB policies on "Responsibilities of Principal Investigators" and "Responsibilities of Research Team Members" available at http://www.clemson.edu/research/compliance/irb/regulations.html.

The Clemson University IRB is committed to facilitating ethical research and protecting the rights of human subjects. Please contact us if you have any questions and use the IRB number and title in all communications regarding this study.

I wish you the best of your study.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth

B. Elizabeth Chapman '03, MA, CACII
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