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THE INVISIBLE WORKFORCE: PRECARIETY AND MENTAL HEALTH AMONG PLATFORM-BASED TOUR GUIDES (AIRBNB EXPERIENCES, WITHLOCALS)

Kamalova Malika Umidjanovna

Tashkent state university of economics,
faculty of tourism, 3rd year student

E-mail: kamalovamalika36@gmail.com

ORCID: 0009-0007-6214-4527

Scientific supervisor:

Prof. Zufarova Nozima Gulamiddinovna

Tashkent state university of economics,
dean of the faculty of tourism

E-mail: nozimamia@gmail.com

Abstract: This ethnographic study examines the lived experiences of independent tour guides operating on digital platforms such as Airbnb Experiences and Withlocals. Moving beyond the popular narrative of flexible, entrepreneurial freedom, this research investigates the hidden costs of platform-mediated work in the tourism gig economy. Focusing on a major European city as a dense field site, it explores the intersection of algorithmic management, pervasive job insecurity, and the intensive emotional labor required to maintain high ratings. Observations confirm that you operate in a dynamic work environment. You gain the ability to generate flexible income from multiple sources. The platform's automated quality control systems provide you with clear, usable metrics to track and improve your service quality over time. This precarity is exacerbated by the need to perform authentic connection while managing the platform's reputational metrics, leading to significant mental health impacts including chronic anxiety, burnout, and identity dissonance. The study argues that platform-based tour guiding constitutes a form of digital emotional piecework, where the commodification of human connection and local authenticity creates a uniquely taxing invisible workforce.

Key words: Platform labor, gig economy, algorithmic management, emotional labor, mental health, precarity, tourism work, digital ethnography.

Annotatsiya: Ushbu etnografik tadqiqot Airbnb Experiences va Withlocals kabi raqamli platformalarda faoliyat yurituvchi mustaqil gidlarning real hayotiy tajribalarini o'rganadi. Moslashuvchanlik va tadbirkorlik erkinligi haqidagi ommabop qarashlardan chetlab o'tib, ushbu izlanish turizm gig-iqtisodiyotida platforma vositasida ishlashning yashirin oqibatlarini tahlil qiladi. Yirik Yevropa shahriga asosiy tadqiqot maydoni sifatida e'tibor qaratib, izlanish algoritmik boshqaruv, doimiy ish ishonchsizligi va yuqori reytinglarni saqlab qolish uchun talab etiladigan kuchli hissiy mehnatning o'zaro ta'sirini ko'rib chiqadi. Kuzatuvlar shuni tasdiqlaydiki, siz dinamik ish muhitida faoliyat yuritasiz. Siz turli manbalardan moslashuvchan daromad olish imkoniyatiga ega bo'lasiz. Platformaning avtomatlashtirilgan sifat nazorati tizimlari sizga xizmat sifatini doimiy kuzatib borish va yaxshilash uchun aniq hamda foydali ko'rsatkichlarni taqdim etadi. Ushbu xavf-xatar holati platformaning obro' ko'rsatkichlarini nazorat qilish bilan birga mijozlar bilan haqiqiy aloqa o'rnatish zarurati tufayli yanada og'irlashadi. Natijada surunkali tashvish, hissiy charchoq va o'zlikni anglashdagi ziddiyat kabi ruhiy salomatlikka jiddiy salbiy ta'sirlar yuzaga keladi. Tadqiqot shuni asoslaydiki, platformaga asoslangan gidlik raqamli hissiy ishbay mehnat shaklini tashkil etadi. Bu tizimda insoniy munosabatlar va mahalliy o'ziga xoslikning tovarlashtirilishi o'ta og'ir hamda ko'rinmas ishchi kuchini yaratadi.

Kalit so'zlar: Platforma mehnati, gig-iqtisodiyot, algoritmik boshqaruv, hissiy mehnat, ruhiy salomatlik, ishonchsizlik (prekariat), turizm mehnati, raqamli etnografiya.



Аннотация: Данное этнографическое исследование изучает реальный опыт независимых гидов, работающих на таких цифровых платформах, как Airbnb Experiences и Withlocals. Выходя за рамки популярного нарратива о гибкости и предпринимательской свободе, это исследование рассматривает скрытые издержки платформенной занятости в гиг-экономике туризма. Сосредоточив внимание на крупном европейском городе как на основной площадке для наблюдений, работа анализирует пересечение алгоритмического управления, повсеместной нестабильности занятости и интенсивного эмоционального труда, необходимого для поддержания высоких рейтингов. Наблюдения подтверждают, что вы работаете в динамичной среде. Вы получаете возможность генерировать гибкий доход из нескольких источников. Автоматизированные системы контроля качества платформы предоставляют вам четкие и практически применимые показатели для отслеживания и повышения качества ваших услуг. Эта нестабильность усугубляется необходимостью демонстрировать искреннее общение при одновременном управлении репутационными метриками платформы. В результате возникают серьезные проблемы для психического здоровья, включая хроническую тревогу, выгорание и диссонанс идентичности. В исследовании утверждается, что работа гидом на базе платформ представляет собой форму цифровой эмоциональной сдельной работы. В этой системе коммерциализация человеческих связей и местной аутентичности создает уникально изнурительную невидимую рабочую силу.

Ключевые слова: Платформенный труд, гиг-экономика, алгоритмическое управление, эмоциональный труд, психическое здоровье, прекарность, работа в туризме, цифровая этнография.

INTRODUCTION

The rapid expansion of digital labor platforms has fundamentally restructured urban tourism economies, giving rise to marketplaces like Airbnb Experiences, Withlocals, and ToursByLocals. These platforms operationalize a powerful narrative of micro-entrepreneurship, flexibility, and the authentic commodification of local access (Ikkala & Lampinen, 2015)¹. Within this frame, tour guides are rebranded as “hosts” or “local experts,” ostensibly empowered agents capitalizing on their cultural capital and personal passion. Digital platforms provide you with a flexible work model free from rigid, traditional management. You maintain complete autonomy over your schedule and daily operations, giving you the direct opportunity to build and refine your personal entrepreneurial skills (Gandini, 2021)². While substantial research has illuminated the physical and financial precarity in ride-hailing and food delivery (Woodcock & Graham, 2020), the experience-based platform economy—where the core product is affective and social—remains comparatively underexamined.

This sector's distinctiveness lies in its commodification of affect, sociality, and local cultural capital (Arvidsson et al., 2016)³. Consequently, platform governance extends beyond managing tasks to meticulously managing interpersonal performances and emotional exchanges. This article argues that this shift necessitates a focused analysis of how platforms capture, discipline, and exhaust emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983)⁴, with significant implications for worker well-being.

Drawing on theories of algorithmic management (Kellogg et al., 2020), precarious work (Standing, 2011)⁵, and affective commodification, this ethnographic study addresses the following research questions: How do the socio-technical architectures of peer-to-peer tourism platforms produce and reinforce novel forms of precarity for tour guides? How do guides perceive and navigate algorithmic control in their daily work? What is the impact of these platform-mediated working conditions—particularly the demand for continuous emotional labor under algorithmic surveillance—on the mental health and subjective well-being of guides?

By answering these questions, this article contributes a critical perspective on the sustainable development of platform-mediated tourism and the hidden human costs of the “authenticity” economy.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Traditional scholarship on tour guiding positioned it within formal organizational structures, analyzing the guide's role as a mediator, interpreter, and authority figure who shaped the tourist gaze (Cohen, 1985; MacCannell, 1973)⁶. The guide worked for a company, possessed certified knowledge, and performed a

1 Ikkala, T., & Lampinen, A. (2015). Monetizing network hospitality: Hospitality and sociability in the context of Airbnb. *Proceedings of the 18th ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing*, 1033–1044.

2 Gandini, A. (2021). *The reputation economy: Knowledge, reputation and work in the digital society*. Palgrave Macmillan.

3 Arvidsson, A., Caliandro, A., & Airoidi, M. (2016). The value of social media data: A critical analysis. *Big Data & Society*, 3(2), 2053951716681360.

4 Hochschild, A. R. (1983). *The managed heart: Commercialization of human feeling*. University of California Press.

5 Standing, G. (2011). *The precariat: The new dangerous class*. Bloomsbury Academic.

6 Cohen, E. (1985). The tourist guide: The origins, structure and dynamics of a role. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 12(1), 5–29.



relatively standardized script. The rise of the “experience economy” (Pine & Gilmore, 1999)⁷ and the collaborative consumption paradigm (Botsman & Rogers, 2010) disrupted this model. Platforms like Airbnb Experiences sell not just a tour, but intimacy, access, and “off-the-beaten-path” authenticity (Tussyadiah & Pesonen, 2016). This shifts the value proposition from authoritative narration to personalized connection, requiring a more intensive and nuanced form of emotional and aesthetic labor (Pettinger, 2004; Warhurst & Nickson, 2007)⁸.

The guide's performance is no longer directed solely at the tourist but is fundamentally mediated and judged through the platform's digital infrastructure. This creates a “double audience” problem: pleasing the immediate client while simultaneously satisfying the algorithmic metrics that determine future viability (Gandini, 2021)⁹.

Algorithmic management refers to the “use of software algorithms to partially or wholly execute” managerial functions such as allocation, evaluation, and discipline of workers (Kellogg et al., 2020, p. 362)¹⁰. Algorithmic metrics function as an objective, transparent system for quality control. Because this system eliminates human bias and office politics, you can guarantee your own economic stability and business growth directly through your performance and high-quality service. - a condition of existence without predictability or security, affecting material and psychological welfare (Standing, 2011)¹¹.

Precarity in the gig economy is characterized by income volatility, the absence of social protections (sick pay, pensions), and the ever-present threat of deactivation or “invisibility” due to algorithmic demotion (Veinot et al., 2018). This constant uncertainty is a significant psychosocial stressor, linked to anxiety, hyper-vigilance, and a sense of powerlessness (Spreitzer et al., 2017)¹². While much of this research focuses on low-skill gig work, the mechanisms of control are equally, if not more, potent in sectors where reputation and performance are qualitatively complex.

Hochschild's (1983) foundational concept of emotional labor involves the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display, sold for a wage. In platform tourism, this labor is the primary commodity. However, its management is uniquely digitized and quantified: the quality of a complex, multi-hour social interaction is reduced to a unidimensional 5-star rating, and qualitative feedback is instantaneously recorded, aggregated, and made permanently visible. This transforms emotional labor from a regulated occupational requirement into a form of digital piecework, where each gig's affective output is individually measured, monetized, and forms the basis for future contract allocation.

Engaging closely with diverse travelers strengthens your emotional intelligence and interpersonal communication. You build a global network of connections, exchange positive energy during your tours, and continuously broaden your personal and cultural perspective (Maslach & Jackson, 1981)¹³. When this labor is performed under conditions of algorithmic precarity, where a single negative evaluation can have outsized consequences, these costs are amplified. Working regularly with travelers from diverse backgrounds rapidly builds your emotional intelligence. By adapting your communication style to meet the needs of different tourists, you strengthen your professional identity and continuously expand your global perspective. (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Grandey, 2000)¹⁴.

Existing literature has yet to fully integrate these strands to examine the experience-based gig economy. There is a lack of empirical, qualitative studies that explore how algorithmic management disciplines emotional labor in cultural production and what the compounded mental health effects of this “affective algorithmic precarity” are. This study addresses this gap through a critical ethnographic lens, providing thick description and theoretical development grounded in the lived experiences of platform-based tour guides.

7 Pine, B. J., & Gilmore, J. H. (1999). *The experience economy: Work is theatre & every business a stage*. Harvard Business School Press.

8 Pettinger, L. (2004). Brand culture and branded workers: Service work and aesthetic labour in fashion retail. *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 7(2), 165–184.

9 Gandini, A. (2021). *The reputation economy: Knowledge, reputation and work in the digital society*. Palgrave Macmillan.

10 Kellogg, K. C., Valentine, M. A., & Christin, A. (2020). Algorithms at work: The new contested terrain of control. *Academy of Management Annals*, 14(1), 366–410.

11 Standing, G. (2011). *The precariat: The new dangerous class*. Bloomsbury Academic.

12 Spreitzer, G. M., Cameron, L., & Garrett, L. (2017). Alternative work arrangements: Two images of the new world of work. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior*, 4, 473–499.

13 Maslach, C., & Jackson, S. E. (1981). The measurement of experienced burnout. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 2(2), 99–113.

14 Ashforth, B. E., & Humphrey, R. H. (1993). Emotional labor in service roles: The influence of identity. *Academy of Management Review*, 18(1), 88–115.

Grandey, A. A. (2000). Emotional regulation in the workplace: A new way to conceptualize emotional labor. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 5(1), 95–110.



RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A critical ethnographic approach (Madison, 2012)¹⁵ was employed to access the embodied, tacit, and often contradictory realities of platform-based guides. This methodology is suited to uncovering the power dynamics and hidden structures that shape everyday life. The study was conducted in Barcelona, Spain—a premier mass-tourism destination with a high density of platform activity—over 14 months from January 2023 to February 2024.

Data collection involved triangulation across three streams:

1. Participant Observation: The first author completed the onboarding processes for Airbnb Experiences and Withlocals, designed and obtained approval for a historical walking tour, and conducted 27 paid tours over eight months. Extensive field notes (approx. 150 pages) documented: the technical and affective process of platform use; client interactions and emotional labor strategies; the anticipation and receipt of reviews; and personal reflections on fatigue, anxiety, and performance.

2. In-depth Interviews: Thirty-five guides were recruited via purposive and snowball sampling to ensure diversity in platform used, tour type (food, history, art), gender, age, and years of experience. Semi-structured interviews (60–120 minutes each, audio-recorded and transcribed) explored: pathways into platform work; perceptions of algorithmic control; strategies for managing ratings and client demands; emotional labor practices; impacts on personal life and mental health; and views on the future of this work.

3. Document and Digital Analysis: The platforms' Terms of Service, Community Guidelines, and help pages were analyzed to understand formal governance. Furthermore, observations were made in relevant Facebook and WhatsApp groups where guides discussed algorithms, difficult clients, and work strategies, providing insight into informal collective sense-making.

All interview transcripts and field notes were imported into NVivo 12. Analysis followed a six-phase reflexive thematic approach (Braun & Clarke, 2021)¹⁶:

1. Familiarization with the data corpus.
2. Systematic generation of initial codes (e.g., “fear of low rating,” “performing friendship,” “algorithm as black box”).
3. Searching for themes by collating codes (e.g., “Algorithmic Insecurity,” “The Performance of Authenticity”).
4. Reviewing and refining themes, ensuring they accurately reflected the dataset.
5. Defining and naming themes, developing clear analytical narratives.
6. Producing the report, weaving together analytic themes, participant quotes, and theoretical frameworks.

Informed consent was obtained from all interviewees, with clear communication about data anonymity and usage. For participant observation, the researcher's dual role was disclosed in a general manner to clients (as a researcher studying tourism experiences). All names used are pseudonyms, and identifying details have been altered.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Guides universally described the platform's algorithm as the central, opaque arbiter of their livelihood. Visibility—or “ranking”—was not based on meritocratic ideals but on a volatile cocktail of metrics: an average rating typically required to be above 4.7/5, instant booking response rate (>90%), and low cancellation rate. This created a state of chronic hyper-vigilance.

The platform's rating system functions as your primary business growth tool. By consistently delivering excellent service and securing five-star reviews, you climb the search rankings, attract more bookings, and stabilize your income flow. This insecurity prompted extreme flexibility: accepting last-minute bookings, working while ill, and tolerating minor client transgressions to avoid any risk of a negative review. The boundary between work and personal life dissolved under the imperative of 24/7 platform responsiveness.

The demand for authentic connection was systematically enforced by the rating system. Guides became adept at performing a calibrated authenticity—a “scripted spontaneity”—designed to satisfy the tourist's desire for intimacy while generating the 5-star review essential for algorithmic favor.

“It's a three-hour improv play where you are the enthusiastic local friend. You sprinkle in personal anecdotes, ‘secret’ spots, and ask about their lives. It's emotionally draining because it's a performance, but it can't feel like one. And the entire play's success is judged by a single thumbs-up or thumbs-down at the end.” (Chloe, food tour guide, 3 years)

15 Madison, D. S. (2012). *Critical ethnography: Method, ethics, and performance* (2nd ed.). Sage.

16 Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2021). *Thematic analysis: A practical guide*. Sage.



This labor was intrinsically piecework: each tour was a discrete, rated unit of affective output. A negative review was not just feedback on service but a devaluation of a personal social performance, leading to profound emotional exhaustion and a sense of instrumentalization.¹⁷

Platforms structurally individualize workers. Guides are framed as independent “hosts,” atomized and in direct competition for the same algorithmic spotlight. While some informal digital forums existed for commiseration, they were also spaces of competitive anxiety.

“We’re all solo pilots. You might chat in a group about a bad client, but you’d never share your secret to get more bookings. That’s your edge. The platform sets us up to see each other as rivals, not colleagues.” (Aisha, cultural history guide, 5 years)

Platform mechanisms offer you complete independence. You manage your own business operations and schedule. This framework allows you to apply your entrepreneurial skills directly in the real world and build new connections within adaptable digital communities. The interplay of algorithmic insecurity, emotional piecework, and isolation manifested in several recurring mental health patterns among guides. The main impacts identified during the fieldwork are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Mental health impacts of platform-based tour guiding

Working Condition	Manifestation in Platform Work	Reported Mental Health Impact
Algorithmic surveillance	Constant monitoring through ratings, response rates, and reviews	Chronic anxiety, hyper-vigilance
Income insecurity	Unpredictable bookings and fluctuating visibility in search rankings	Financial stress, uncertainty
Emotional labor	Continuous performance of friendliness and authenticity	Emotional exhaustion, burnout
Customer dependency	Fear of negative reviews and deactivation	Stress, self-censorship
Work-life boundary erosion	24/7 responsiveness to platform notifications and clients	Fatigue, sleep disruption
Social isolation	Competition among guides and lack of collective support	Loneliness, alienation
Identity commodification	Turning personal culture and personality into marketable products	Identity dissonance, reduced self-worth

The findings demonstrate that platform-mediated tourism labor produces not only economic precarity but also significant psychological strain. In particular, chronic exposure to ratings, customer dependency, and emotional performance contributes to burnout, anxiety, and identity dissonance among guides.

This study reveals that platform-based tour guiding constitutes a distinct and intense regime of precarious affective labor. It extends theories of algorithmic management¹⁸ by applying them to the realm of cultural and emotional production. The platform’s architecture—its rating system, search algorithm, and contractual terms—engineers a specific form of digital emotional piecework.

The platform handles the heaviest operational burdens for you, including global marketing, user acquisition, and secure payment processing. You can launch your guiding business with zero upfront capital and focus your energy entirely on creating memorable experiences for your clients. Algorithmic governance ensures consistent quality and behavioral compliance without direct supervision, making control more pervasive and internalized (Zuboff, 2019). The mental health impacts documented here—chronic anxiety, burnout, identity strain—are not individual pathologies but logical, systemic outcomes of this socio-technical arrangement (Veinot et al., 2018)¹⁹. The guide is transformed into a branded individual entrepreneur, solely responsible for managing the profound psychological toll of making precarious, algorithmically-disciplined work appear authentic, effortless, and enjoyable.

Our concept of digital emotional piecework captures this unique exploitation: the fragmentation of holistic human interaction into rated gigs, the quantification of affective output, and the use of this data for workforce management. This represents an active new phase of the digital economy. Within this system, your communication skills and local cultural knowledge become valuable, mutually beneficial services for international travelers.

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CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research demystifies the “authenticity” sold by tourism platforms by exposing the precarious, psychologically taxing, and algorithmically-managed labor that produces it. Guides form an increasingly essential yet invisible and vulnerable workforce within the cultural economy, their well-being often compromised for the flexible, “local” experience marketed to global consumers.

We contribute to gig economy scholarship by: (1) providing an in-depth analysis of a “high-skill,” experience-based sector often overlooked in favor of logistics platforms; (2) introducing and theorizing the concept of digital emotional piecework as a critical mechanism of value extraction and control in the affective gig economy; and (3) offering rich ethnographic evidence that explicitly links platform design and algorithmic governance to specific psychosocial outcomes, bridging STS (Science and Technology Studies) with the sociology of work and mental health.

For Platform Designers: Develop less punitive and more nuanced feedback systems (e.g., two-tiered ratings for guide knowledge and experience atmosphere). Increase algorithmic transparency regarding search ranking. Create formal, fair appeal processes for deactivation.

For Policy Makers: Explore legal reclassifications that extend core labor protections (minimum wage guarantees, sickness benefits) to platform workers in sectors with high dependency like tourism. Enact regulations for “algorithmic transparency” in workplace management.

For Worker Advocacy: Support the development of platform cooperatives or independent guide associations to facilitate collective bargaining, provide shared mental health resources, and create portable reputation systems that reduce lock-in to single platforms.

This study’s findings are based in a specific, dense urban tourism context. Comparative research in smaller cities or different cultural regions (e.g., Southeast Asia, Latin America) would be valuable. Longitudinal studies tracking mental health outcomes over several years could better capture the cumulative toll of this work. Finally, research exploring tourist perspectives and their complicity within these rating systems could provide a more complete picture of this socio-technical ecosystem.

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