The Offer of Tourist Experiences in Buenos Aires by Airbnb. Analysis of its Territorial Distribution

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Abstract

In a context of touristic metropolization, symbolized by "live like a local" experiences, tourist information is increasingly produced by different actors. In this article, taking as a case study the metropolitan region of Buenos Aires, we analyze the offer of tourism experiences produced by Airbnb and by the local governments belonging to the metropolis. A cartography of this information allows us to obtain two results: first, the offer of tourism experiences is limited to a small part of the metropolitan territory; second, the offer by local governments is more numerous and has a greater spatial distribution than that of Airbnb. Both results are considered as contradicting Airbnb's "authenticity" rhetoric.

1. Metropolis and tourism

The relationship between tourism, metropolises and globalization is well known. First, tourism is fully integrated into globalization: tourist flows are spread between sending and receiving points all over the planet; in turn, the tourism industry is a structuring element of the world economy, representing 10% of its GDP (UNWTO, 2018). Second, the metropolis is considered a product of globalization (Sassen, 1991). Third, there is a double relationship between tourism and the metropolis. On the one hand, tourism facilitates the insertion of a metropolis in the network of the planet's global cities, being both an economic resource and an urban marketing support, which allows the formation of a high symbolic collective capital (Harvey, 2001). On the other hand, tourism requires the urbanity present in the metropolises. Therefore, global cities are increasingly privileged places for the development of new tourism and leisure products (Gastal and Osmainschi, 2017; Stock, 2016; Lepan, 2011; Sassen and Roost, 1999).

Within this framework of tourism metropolization, there is a hierarchy and competition between the cities on a planetary scale to attract tourism. This is reflected in the correspondence between the classification of tourist destinations and the degree of globalization of world cities. Based on the classification of the cities most visited by tourists (Mastercard, 2018) and on the GAwC's work (2018), it stands out that the ten most visited cities are among the most globalized cities, those in the Alpha category[3].

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[1] FADU - Universidad de Buenos Aires. Ciudad Universitaria CABA. C1428EGA - Argentina

[2] FADU - Universidad de Buenos Aires. Ciudad Universitaria CABA. C1428EGA - Argentina

[3] Alpha ++ being the most globalized category, followed by Alpha + and Alpha

In Buenos Aires, these relationships are manifest. On the one hand, the city is considered an Alpha-range metropolis, due to its demographic (around 15 million inhabitants) and economic weight (GDP estimated at 350 billion USD) and its good international connectivity. The metropolis is made up of its central city, the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires (CABA), where three million people live, and of its periphery, which is made up of localities with very heterogeneous socioeconomic and urban profiles, which are home to more than 12 million inhabitants. On a national scale, it has a strong demographic primacy with 37% of the Argentinian population, which is complemented by an economic and industrial domination. Thus, the metropolitan region of Buenos Aires, sensu lato, concentrates half of the national GDP, 60% of the highly qualified jobs and most of the advanced urban functions of the country (Massin, 2016). On the other hand, Buenos Aires is one of the main tourist destinations in Latin America with about 5 million visitors per year, half of them foreigners (Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 2018: 26). In Argentina, it is the most visited destination and its most significant tourist attractions are concentrated in a few central neighborhoods of the City of Buenos Aires (La Boca, the historical center with the Plaza and Avenida de Mayo, Puerto Madero, Recoleta and Palermo, among others) and in some specific points of its periphery, as is the case of Tigre, a city and its rivers that run along the Paraná Delta 30 km north of the capital.

Despite this close relationship between tourism and the metropolis, the concept of the tourist metropolis has not yet been worked on in depth. As far as we know, only Kadri and Pilette (2017) and Maitland and Newman (2008) have developed a definition of the world tourism city, crossing tourist criteria (iconic monuments, historical attractions, amoheng others) and non-tourist criteria (insertion in global economic networks, importance of permanent population, cultural influence, among others).

Figure 1: relationship between tourism activity and the degree of globalization of cities

Ranking	City / Metropolis	Total international visitors (2018)	GaWC Index (2018)
1	Bangkok	20.1	Alpha
2	London	19.8	Alpha ++
3	Paris	17.4	Alpha +
4	Dubai	15.8	Alpha +
5	Singapore	13.9	Alpha +
6	New York	13.1	Alpha ++
7	Kuala Lumpur	12.6	Alpha
8	Tokyo	11.9	Alpha +
9	Istanbul	10.7	Alpha
10	Seoul	9.5	Alpha

2. Airbnb and the promise of "living like a local": the emergence of new tourist sites in the metropolis?

2.1 Live like a local": the collaborative economy and the authenticity arguments

Globalized tourism in the world's metropolises is increasingly presented under the slogan "live like a local". This characteristic is largely supported by the possibilities offered by the boom in the collaborative economy, which has been going on for more than ten years (Marin Anglada and Hernández Lara, 2019). Indeed, it is a model of production, consumption or financing based on intermediation between supply and demand generated in relationships between equals (C2C and B2B), or from individual to professional (B2C), through digital platforms. In the case of tourism, these platforms have made it possible to develop a short, flexible and immediately available supply of accommodation, in competition with the classic players, which are hotels (Frenken and Schor, 2017). They have also allowed the development of the offer of tourist experiences that are presented as participatory activities favoring social interactions with residents (Lalicic and Weismayer, 2017; Paulauskaite et al. 2017; Tussyadiah, 2015). In other words, such experiences would be found outside the traditional tourist routes, understood by those proposed by the "classic" actors of tourism (local authorities, travel agencies, travel guides, among others; see figure 2). This situation turns tourism into an industry that sells activities co-produced by tourist agencies, tourists, residents and local governments (Campos et al., 2018). Some authors even conclude that tourism and everyday life can no longer be clearly opposed (Russo and Richards, 2016; Larsen, 2008).

In this field, the role played by Airbnb is remarkable. Firstly, because it is a highly globalized company. Founded in 2007 in San Francisco, its activity consists in offering a digital platform for rental intermediation: there a private individual can advertise and contract the rental of his property with a guest, in a peer-to-peer accommodation model. Secondly, it is the platform most analyzed by scientific literature, before Uber and Amazon, making it the reference for the achievements of collaborative economy companies (Sutherland and Jarrahi, 2018). Today the platform registers 150 million users, publishes more than 1.5 million ads, in 34,000 cities in 192 countries. Its value is estimated at more than 30 billion USD and its turnover exceeded 3 billion USD in 2018 (Petruzzi and Tavares, 2019; Liu and Mattila, 2017; Oskam and Boswijk, 2016; Klampet, 2015). Third, because Airbnb's activities are specifically deployed in global cities (Crommelin et al.; 2018). Thus, in the literature, the main field of study deals with the urban consequences of Airbnb activities in some global cities: gentrification, co-ownership problem or neighbourhood conflicts (Lima, 2019; Mermet, 2019; Gravari-Barbas and Guinand 2017; Gurran and Phibbs, 2017; Arias Sans and Quaglieri, 2016; Lee, 2016). Finally, because the slogan "live like a local" is central to Airbnb's discourse. Here is a speech by Brian Chesky, founder and CEO of the company: "The number one reason people chose to travel on Airbnb is they want to live like a local. They don't want to be tourists stuck in long lines, fighting with the crowds to see the same thing as everyone else. Our hosts offer more than just generic hospitality - they welcome travelers from around the world into their communities" (Little Black Book, 2016). Therefore, with these characteristics, it should be assumed that Airbnb's activity would create new tourist spaces in cities, which have not been explored by traditional tourism.

2.2 Tourist areas in the metropolis

The theme of tourist spaces is central to studies in tourism and geography. In the case of large metropolises, there are several places that can accommodate tourist activities beyond the historical or geographical centre, in a configuration that does not modify the urban structure[4] (Hayllar et al., 2008; Hannigan, 1998). For some authors, these spaces are considered to be specialized enclaves with a physical separation, specific functioning and particular codes. These are the recreational business district, tourism district, tourism area, tourist bubble, urban tourism precinct or new tourism area. In contrast, other authors maintain that there is a porosity of these places, with the presence of tourist flows outside them (Lucas, 2014). There is also a hybrid position, following Duhamel and Knafou (2007: 48): "although tourists now venture everywhere, even in places that are not very touristy, most of their visits are demarcated perimeters, beyond which their presence quickly disappears".

With regard to Airbnb specifically, the literature has shown that, in the metropolises, the supply of accommodation via the platform is concentrated in limited perimeters, either in the central tourist areas or in the areas occupied by the "creative class" (Quattrone et al., 2018; Wachsmuth and Weisler, 2018). This situation can be read as a contradiction to the discourse "live like a local", which would be above all a mere commercial slogan. Now, according to our knowledge, there is no study on the experiences, another activity developed by Airbnb.

2.3 Tourist experiences by Airbnb

The two activities proposed by Airbnb, the rental offer and the tourist offer, share many characteristics, with the difference that the first one implies the transaction of a shared physical property (the place of accommodation), the second one does not. Thus, the rental supply is part of the pure collaborative economy, when the supply of experiences is part of the "economy on demand", defined by a C2C interaction and temporary access (Frenken and Schor, 2017). However, in both cases, Airbnb plays the role of a centralized intermediary: it has a strong presence in exchanges between participants, imposes extensive automation of user interactions and is strongly profit-oriented, supported by the charging of a commission for each booked experience (Sutherland and Jarrahi, 2018).

In this context, the offer of tourist experiences is essential in Airbnb's authenticity search strategy. Thus, the experiences, which are proposed on the platform since 2016, are described as "activities designed and run by local people full of ideas. They offer tours and classes that are totally different from the usual ones and immerse travelers in the organizer's own universe" (Airbnb, n.d.). In 2018, according to the company, the platform proposed more than 25,000 experiences in 1000 cities around the world (Airbnb, 2019). In Buenos Aires, the experiences were launched at the end of 2017, "allowing people to experience a different and authentic side of each destination" (Airbnb, 2018a). This article proposes to specifically analyze these experiences to verify if their promotion in the platform contributes to draw an original metropolitan map with the appearance of new tourist spaces.

3. The production of public tourist information

With the emergence and consolidation of platform tourism and its supposed promise of authenticity, the production of tourist information is shaken. In figure 2, we propose to distinguish private from public tourist information. By tourism, we mean the use of virtual tools for tourism practices at the destination, not virtual tourism practices (Bracco and Kotschack, 2019). Private is considered to be information available in exchange for payment and/or accessible after request. This is the case, for example, with information from tourist agencies that they share with potential travelers, tourist maps produced by specialized companies (Borch, Michelin, Firestone) and tourist guides in paper or digital book format (Lonely Planet, Footprint, Guide du Routard).

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[4] Unlike smaller-scale tourist cities, where tourism has a much stronger impact.

In contrast, public information is understood to be easy, free or immediately available. Among others, it may come from administrations or public entities, as provided by Argentine law 27.275 of 2016. In our case study, we have considered the public tourist information produced by the Ente de Turismo Ciudad de Buenos Aires (CABA), which depends on the Government of the Autonomous City of Buenos Aires (GCBA), and which has the objective of "designing and executing policies and programs to promote, develop and foster tourism as a strategic economic activity of the city". We have also studied the information that emanates from the Buenos Aires municipalities that make up the periphery of the metropolis of Buenos Aires. There is a double purpose of this information published by administrative institutions: it is addressed to individual tourists to give them travel advice and to inform them about the tourist activities the city has to offer and it also includes information related to the tourism policies and programs promoted by the city (Bracco and Kotschack, 2019).

However, the production of public information does not result from the exclusivity of the entities or governments. In the case of tourist information, Airbnb and other platforms (Booking and TripAdvisor, among others)[5] play an increasingly important role. In order to verify the public nature of the information provided by Airbnb, we have carried out the experiment of proposing activities on the platform, on its Argentine page. We have proposed two simple activities (urban walks, local cooking class) in peripheral areas of the metropolis (Communes 8 and 10). Both were validated by Airbnb, which verifies that "Airbnb does not recommend or promote specific experiences" (Airbnb, 2018b). In this case it does not filter the experiences according to the place. As a result of this experiment, we have decided to consider the information available on Airbnb as part of public tourist information and in the same category as blogs and social networks, since they are virtual spaces where tourists can create, publish and share tourist experiences with the virtual community.

Thus, a network is formed in which public tourist information is generated not only by governments and entities "responsible" for doing so (in a top-down legitimacy), but also by administrators and users of digital platforms (in a bottom-up legitimacy) (Bracco and Kotschack, 2019) (see figure 2). Consequently, we consider here public tourist information as a collaborative outcome where both residents and visitors share information transversally through digital platforms.

Figure 2: the production of tourist information (own elaboration)

4. Hypothesis and methodology

4.1 Hypothesis

Due to the three elements that we have analyzed and that characterize Airbnb - its rhetorical arguments of originality, its strong presence in the tourist cities of the world and the facility that it offers so that any person can propose tourist activities - it is to be expected that the platform promotes tourist spaces different from those proposed by the official entities of tourism. Therefore, with an application in Buenos Aires, the hypothesis is that the offer of experiences by Airbnb reveals new tourist spaces in its metropolitan region.

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[5] The notion of platform here recognizes both physical (e.g. road signs) and digital, accessible from the internet (e.g. social networks).

3.2 Methodology

To prove this hypothesis, the method relies on the development of two databases and their mappings. The first database details the experiences published on the Argentinean page of Airbnb . The name of the experience, its location and its theme were collected. This data was generated on January 23, 2019 by means of the search "Buenos Aires", under the filter "Experiences", with the time variable "At any time". With these parameters, the platform displayed 288 experiences. The variable "location of the experience", available at a fairly precise scale, allowed us to map them. Thus, the map of experiences offered by Airbnb (figure 4) reveals the spatial distribution of the activities by areas (neighborhoods within the city of Buenos Aires, districts in the rest of the metropolitan region) and by quantity6.

The second database groups the tourist information published by the official entities in the websites of the Government of the City of Buenos Aires (GCBA) and of the 30 districts that make up the majority of the metropolitan region. On February 2, 20197, 654 proposed activities were identified on the GCBA website. On the same date, the data of the pages of the 11 metropolitan parties that present data on local tourism were loaded (figure 3): 263 proposed activities were surveyed. A map locates these 917 activities (figure 5).

Finally, these results were crossed by means of a third map, which allows the identification of the differences in spatial distribution between the tourist offer of Airbnb and that of the municipalities. This reveals the territories of the tourist metropolis, which are compared with the extension of its urban area (see figure 6).

Figure 3: Municipalities' websites providing tourist information (own elaboration)

Municipalities	Consulted page
Almirante Brown	http://www.almirantebrown.gov.ar/turismo
Avellaneda	http://www.mda.gob.ar/noticias/presentamos-descubriendo-avellaneda-un-recorrido-turistico-por-la-ciudad/
Berazategui	http://www.berazategui.gob.ar/turismo/
Escobar	http://www.escobarturismo.tur.ar/atractivos-escobar.html
Esteban Echeverría	www.estebanecheverria.gob.ar/
Ezeiza	https://www.ezeiza.gob.ar/recreacion-turismo.html
Florencio Varela	http://www.varela.gov.ar/turismo/
General Rodríguez	https://www.generalrodriguez.gob.ar/
General San Martin	http://www.sanmartin.gov.ar/corredor-historico-cultural/
Hurlingham	http://hurlingham.gob.ar/
Ituzaingó	http://www.miituzaingo.gov.ar/
José C. Paz	http://josecpaz.gob.ar/
La Matanza	www.lamatanza.gov.ar/
La Plata	http://turismo.laplata.gov.ar/
Lanús	https://www.lanus.gob.ar/fichas/3498-turismo-lanus-veni-a-conocer-tu-barrio
Lomas de Zamora	www.lomasdezamora.gov.ar/
Malvinas Argentina	www.malvinasargentinas.gob.ar/web/
Marcos Paz	http://www.marcospaz.gov.ar/la-ciudad/qu%C3%A9-visitar.html
Merlo	www.merlo.gob.ar/
Moreno	http://www.moreno.gob.ar/lugares-de-interes/
Morón	www.moron.gob.ar/
Pilar	http://www.pilar.gov.ar/inicio/gobierno-municipal/secretaria-general/turismo/
President Perón	www.presidenteperon.gov.ar/
Quilmes	http://www.quilmes.gov.ar/ciudad/turismo.php
San Fernando	https://www.sanfernando.gob.ar/municipio/secretarias/secretaria-de-privada-y-coordinacion/direccion-general-de-privada-y-coordinacion/Area-de-turismo
San Isidro	https://sanisidro.gob.ar/municipio/turismo
San Miguel	www.msm.gov.ar/
Tigre	http://vivitigre.gob.ar/que-hacer/zonas-turisticas/
Tres de Febrero	https://www.tresdefebrero.gov.ar/
Vicente López	www.vicentelopez.gov.ar/

In gray: municipalities that offer tourist activities on their website

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6 Notes: i) The Airbnb experiences that gather more than one characteristic were classified according to the published title. ii) The location of the experiences that only indicate "Buenos Aires" was replaced by the name of the neighborhood or district mentioned in the description of the experience. iii) There are cases in which the name of the excursion does not correspond to the area mentioned in the detail. In these cases the content is prioritized instead of the title.

7Then the "What to do" tab. We take the following categories into account: Guided tours; Free guided tours; Art, culture and tango in Buenos Aires; Football, sports and outdoor; Gastronomy and nightlife in Buenos Aires.

Figure 4: Experience map offered by Airbnb (own elaboration)
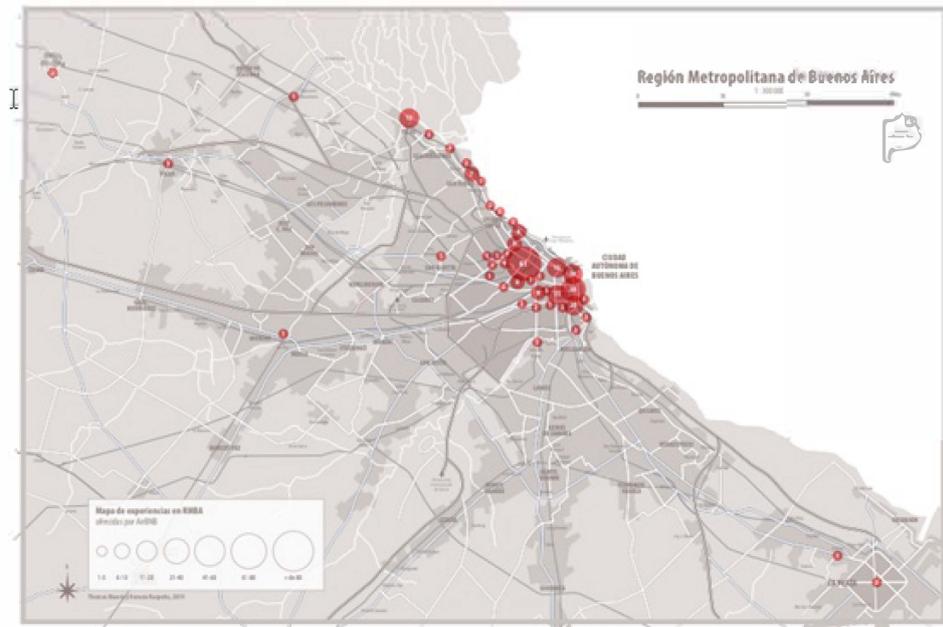
The map of experiences proposed by Airbnb users (figure 4) shows a very clear concentration of supply in the northern axis of the metropolis, along the coast of the Rio de la Plata and Paraná. This axis begins in La Boca and San Telmo, two consolidated tourist neighborhoods, and continues through Montserrat and Retiro, the historical center of Buenos Aires, and then Recoleta and Palermo, which is its center with 61 proposals, that is to say, more than 20% of the total. This axis extends through Belgrano and Costanera Norte. The offer in the City of Buenos Aires represents more than 80% of the total. Then, the axis continues outside the City of Buenos Aires, crossing the districts of Vicente López and San Isidro to end up in Tigre, a coveted tourist destination. In total, the axis concentrates two thirds of the offer.

Outside this axis, there are some proposals within the City of Buenos Aires in less relevant neighborhoods from a tourist point of view: Caballito (3), Chacarita (4), Colegiales (3), Constitución (3), Flores (2), Parque Chas (1), Paternal (1) and Villa Crespo (8), representing less than 10% of the global offer. In the metropolitan region, there are a few specific proposals, in Pilar, Capilla del Señor (horses and polo), in Ingeniero Maschwitz (nature), and three that seem to us to be of greater interest due to the location and type of activity: in the districts of Moreno ("Bricolage Solidario"), Lanús ("Cooking classes of smoked foods") and San Martín ("Discover the conurbano and its foods"). Finally, three activities are proposed in La Plata, capital of the Province of Buenos Aires.

Figure 5: map of experiences offered by local governments (own elaboration)
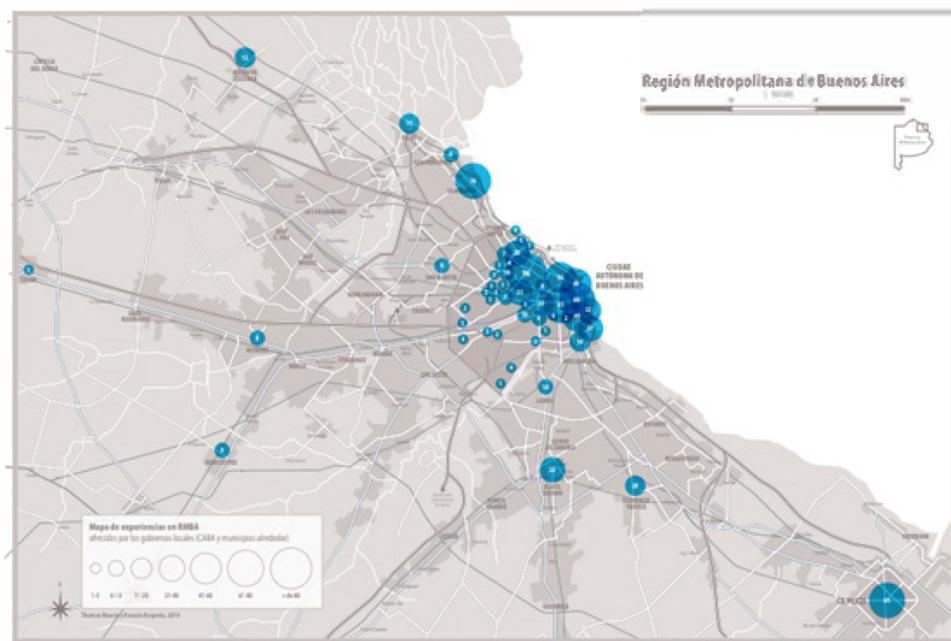
The map of tourism experiences provided by local governments (Figure 5) differs from the first map: on the one hand it offers a more important distribution of the supply, either in quantity or in spatial distribution.

The first observation is that the City of Buenos Aires concentrates 70% of the supply, a lower proportion than that of Airbnb. But it exhibits 654 activities, an important amount that shows the importance of the Ente de Turismo of the GCBA in the construction of an agenda and tourist tours in a legitimacy from above, from an official entity, in a top-down logic. The marked presence of the northern axis is also identified, but it begins more towards the south, in Barracas, with respect to map 3. At the other end of the axis, the importance of the offer in the district of San Isidro is striking.

Within the City of Buenos Aires but outside this axis, the tourist offer is more numerous and varied than in the case of Airbnb. Without naming them all, some neighborhoods stand out: Caballito (10), Chacarita (10), Coghlan (7), Colegiales (4), Liniers (3), Mataderos (4) and Villa Gral. Mitre (3). There are also several outlying neighborhoods. Thus, 40 of the city's 48 official neighborhoods are represented.

Outside the axis and in the peripheral parties, very interesting cases are identified. First, the city of La Plata, with 81 proposals, confirms its role as provincial capital with a very rich historical, cultural and architectural heritage. Second, there are a series of districts of low socioeconomic level and marked by industrial activity: Moreno (8), Almirante Brown (23), Florencio Varela (12), General San Martín (8) and Lanús (10). In the far periphery appear Escobar (11), Luján (1) and Marcos Paz (8).

Figure 6: map of experiences offered by Airbnb and local governments (own elaboration)
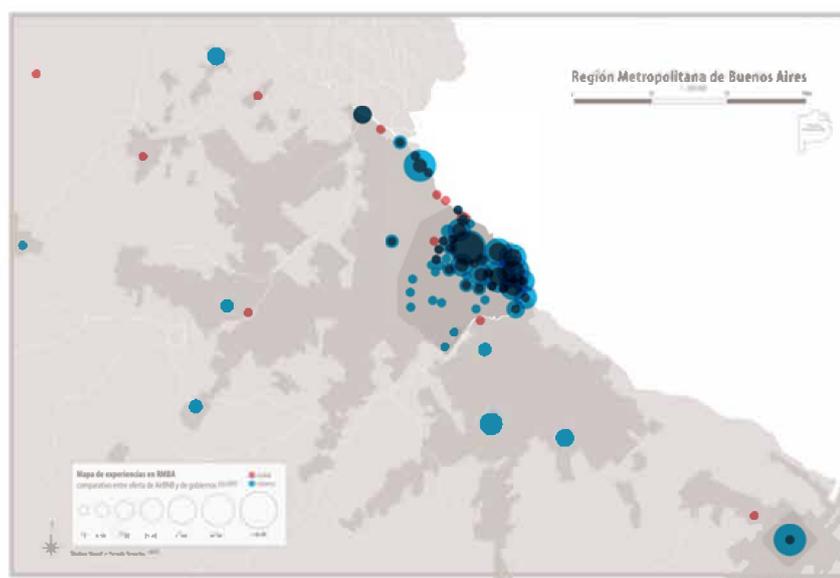
The third map (Figure 6) overlaps the information of the first two. As mentioned above, the northern axis appears in both maps, but generally the supply is more important from the local governments. In the rest of the metropolitan territory, whether inside or outside CABA, the supply from local governments is clearly distributed with greater spatial extension than that of Airbnb. Except for the north of the periphery where Airbnb offers experiences linked to equestrian sports, the rest of the metropolitan territory is not covered. The southern area, except Florencio Varela and Almirante Brown, does not offer activities. The same happens in the western area, one of the most populated: firstly in La Matanza, which has almost two million inhabitants and where we do not identify any activities. Finally, the zone of José C. Paz and San Miguel does not present activities either.

In summary, the hypothesis is not validated and the cartographic analysis allows two arguments to be highlighted. First, the "drawing" of the metropolis through the tourist offer is incomplete. This is not surprising, but the importance of the unrepresented surface area is striking. This confirms the validity of the hybrid position of Duhamel and Knafou (2007), which maintains that most tourist visits are made in limited perimeters, outside which their presence disappears quickly.

Second, the supply by local governments expresses a greater quantity and a greater spatial distribution. Moreover, the offer by local governments proposes the discovery of several areas in the periphery that are in principle not very conducive to tourism. This is a further argument against Airbnb's rhetoric of authenticity, since its offer does not contribute to the emergence of new metropolitan tourist areas.

6. Discussion and conclusion

The purpose of the article was to analyze the spatial distribution of the supply of tourism experiences, by Airbnb and by the institutional actors of the Buenos Aires metropolitan region (tourism entities or municipalities).

Airbnb, a symbol of profitable and globalized collaborative platforms, aims to produce an image of cities from the point of view of residents and locals, in a dynamic bottom-up approach, offering "activities designed and run by local people [...] and totally different from the usual ones" (Airbnb, n.d.). Despite this rhetoric, the cartographic analysis has shown that its offer is limited to already consolidated tourist territories that are sought after by tourists.

Thus, the results have shown that Airbnb's discourse cannot be sustained. In fact, using the terms "authenticity" and "local" as synonyms for the favored central sites and their inhabitants turns out to be a fallacy, which fails to consider most of the sites in the metropolitan area of 15 million inhabitants. In other words, from a spatial point of view, the geography of supply is very selective. This finding of "banality" reinforces the work of several authors who have shown that the distribution of Airbnb's locational offer is strongly limited to areas "culturally desired and internationally recognized" by tourists (Wachsmuth and Weisler, 2018). More generally, the results support "separating" readings of tourism in the metropolises, which is concentrated in a few clearly identifiable perimeters (Duhamel and Knafou, 2007; Judd, 1999).

At the same time, we have managed to demonstrate that the offer of tourist activities by the municipalities is more diversified and extensive, covering more spaces in the metropolitan area. Today, a third of the municipalities in the metropolitan area display tourist information on their official websites. This production from the institutional point of view is appropriate for the peripheral municipalities to build their own "tourist legitimacy", against the logic and visions of the platforms, which imply centralization and automation of the offer (Sutherland and Jarrahi, 2018). Therefore, this result is framed in the promotion of municipal tourism management models, which defend tourism as a key area for local development and imply its systemic, integrated and participatory consideration. The existence of a local public offer also contributes to the construction of a metropolitan imaginary, necessary for future institutional and political construction. The heterogeneity of the municipalities that provide tourist information, in terms of their socio-economic characteristics, urban quality and tourist heritage, suggests that there are no major obstacles to strengthening the production of information in all the municipalities of the metropolitan region.

Furthermore, from a theoretical point of view, the existence of this institutional information from local governments is a contribution to the concept of world tourism city (Kadri and Pilette, 2017; Maitland and Newman, 2008), which identifies tourist offers in the peripheral areas of the metropolises. Thus, we have tried to highlight the role that local governments can play in developing truly original activities, generating both economic and social and urbanistic advantages for local communities.

In terms of methodology, the work presents several limitations, which invite us to think about future lines of research. The Airbnb platform only allows the visualization of 288 experiences, when there are more. Except for very tedious and long-term manual work, we cannot find a way to overcome this technical restriction, which also exists in other cities. Furthermore, we have concentrated on the case of Airbnb but other platforms such as Tripadvisor provide the same experience service (called attractions). It would be interesting to compare the offer of these actors of the collaborative economy to enrich the mapping of the tourist geography. In the field of Latin American research, another future work could be a comparative approach between the large metropolises of the region, whatever their "degree of tourism". We think that reproducing our method in them would reveal the lack of knowledge of a large part of the metropolitan territories and thus suggest lines of action for public management. Finally, another line of research would be to compare the distribution of the rental offer by Airbnb in Buenos Aires, which has not been analyzed yet, with the offer of activities. One hypothesis to explore would be the spatial correspondence of the two offers. If verified, this situation would strengthen the arguments for geographic concentration of the activities of the globalized platforms.

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