THEORIZING THE SHARING ECONOMY

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RESEARCH IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF ORGANIZATIONS VOLUME 66

THEORIZING THE SHARING ECONOMY: VARIETY AND TRAJECTORIES OF NEW FORMS OF ORGANIZING

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VARIETY AND TRAJECTORIES OF NEW FORMS OF ORGANIZING IN THE SHARING ECONOMY: A RESEARCH AGENDA

Indre Maurer, Johanna Mair and Achim Oberg

The idea of "sharing instead of owning" – though it is not new – is currently experiencing a revival and becoming a major trend in modern (business) life (Belk, 2010; Botsman & Rogers, 2010; Frenken & Schor, 2017; Schor, 2014). It constitutes the defining principle of the so-called sharing economy, characterized by peer-to-peer-based sharing of access to goods and services, coordinated through information- and communication-technology platforms (Cohen & Kietzmann, 2014; Heinrichs, 2013). Starting as grassroots movements, initiatives associated with the sharing economy have gained increasing importance and diffused in different sectors and markets. A variety of new (and old) forms of organizing based on the basic idea of sharing, bartering, or lending have emerged and spread, changing or even disrupting existing ways of organizing in a number of markets, such as mobility, service delivery, and hospitality (Owyang, 2016; Stokes, Clarence, Anderson, & Rinne, 2014).

For scholars of organizations, such developments and implications provide a welcome opportunity for taking stock of and theorizing the sharing economy. Not surprisingly, the amount of sharing-economy research in organization and management studies has increased significantly in recent years – as it has in many other disciplines. This increase is reflected in the number of special issues in leading organization and management journals devoted to the topic (e.g., *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, 2017; *Academy of Management Discoveries*, 2018; *Journal of Management Studies* (in preparation); *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* (in preparation); and *Journal of Business Ethics*, 2019) and in the abundance of literature on the sharing economy, with around 400 peer-reviewed articles published annually during the last years.

Theorizing the Sharing Economy: Variety and Trajectories of New Forms of Organizing

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The studies featured in these academic journals have contributed to our knowledge base on managing and organizing in the sharing economy in important ways. They have drawn attention to highly debated issues (Martin, 2016), strengthened our understanding of sharing-economy organizations' business models (Munoz & Cohen, 2017), and provided valuable insights on potential societal, economic, and ecologic consequences of this phenomenon (Hamari, Sjöklint, & Ukkonen, 2016; Parguel, Lunardo, & Benoit-Moreau, 2017; Plewnia & Guenther, 2018; Voytenko Palgan, Zvolska, & Mont, 2017). This body of literature has also placed exploration of the variety and trajectories of new forms of organizing in the sharing economy at the center of current research efforts (see Fig. 1). It has emphasized the unsettled nature of the sharing economy (Kornberger, Leixnering, Meyer, & Höllerer, 2018), described its complexity and paradoxical character (Acquier, Daudigeos, & Pinkse, 2017), and pointed to the different levels of analysis on which sharing-economy organizations can be studied (Mair & Reischauer, 2017).

While the multiple facets and inherent complexity of the sharing economy open up new ways for practice and theory to stimulate one another, at the moment these two perspectives seem out of sync (Belk, 2014; Cohen & Kietzmann, 2014). On the one hand, scholars complain that theoretical insights lag behind public discourse and practice (Acquier et al., 2017; Etter, Fieseler, & Whelan, 2019); on the other hand, much research remains rather descriptive and phenomenally driven instead of building on existing theoretical work (Vaskelainen & Münzel, 2017).

Therefore, the core of this special issue is empirical and conceptual work that explores the variety and trajectories of new forms of organizing in the sharing economy by harnessing, extending and recasting existing organization theories.

In the following, we first provide evidence that corroborates why understanding the variety and trajectories of new forms of organizing is at the top of the agenda for current organizational research on the sharing economy. Based on the most influential scholarly articles published in the last five years, we constructed a semantic network. This semantic network visualizes that terms such as "heterogeneous," "diverse," and "complex" are commonly linked to descriptions of the sharing economy. Patterns derived from this analysis illustrate that scholars have a shared understanding of the variety and dynamics of the sharing economy and that this understanding presents an important starting point for current research.

Second, we introduce a framework that helps to clarify different dimensions to advance theoretical work on the sharing economy in organization studies. This framework is informed by the studies in this volume and covers dimensions such as methodological approach, level of analysis, exploratory goal, explanatory mechanisms, and trajectory. Our hope is that it will facilitate and guide future theoretical inquiry into the variety and trajectories of sharing organizations. When introducing this framework, we describe how the contributions in this volume fit into it.

Third, we acknowledge the exploratory nature of this volume and summarize the individual contributions by grouping them according to theoretical themes that they touch upon. This concluding summary highlights how the chapters relate to the overall objective of this volume – theorizing the sharing economy – and provides a more granular thematic overview that connects the contributions to contemporary debates in organizational studies.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE SHARING ECONOMY AS A PHENOMENON OF VARIETY AND DYNAMICS

We found it helpful to first take stock of how scholars have described and started to theorize the sharing economy. To carry out this aim, we conducted a semantic-network analysis based on the most influential scholarly papers on the sharing economy¹ and the depictions the authors of these papers used to define and

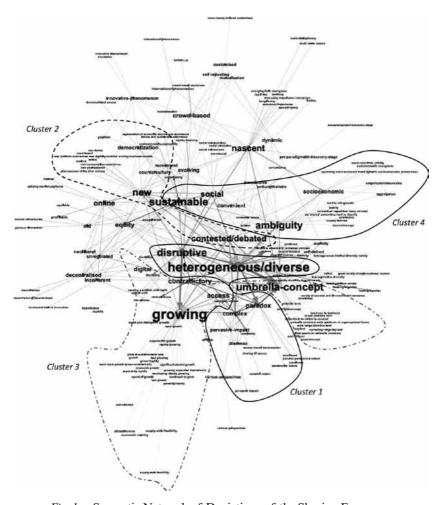


Fig. 1. Semantic Network of Depictions of the Sharing Economy.

characterize the phenomenon.² From the co-occurrence of descriptions, we were able to construct a semantic network with clusters of high density (Blondel, Guillaume, Lambiotte, & Lefebvre, 2008) that shows those characteristics that are commonly mentioned together in depictions of the sharing economy. The analysis revealed that scholars perceive the sharing economy as a phenomenon of inherent variety and dynamics. This perception underscores the need for and potential fruitfulness of studying the variety and trajectories of new forms of organizing in the sharing economy. Fig. 1 illustrates these findings by visualizing the following four clusters of terms commonly used to describe the sharing economy and the organizations operating within it: "diverse and paradox," "new and contested," "growing and broad," and "ambiguous."

Cluster 1 "diverse and paradox." Many authors point to the diversity, heterogeneity, and paradoxical nature of the sharing economy (see Cluster 1 in Fig. 1). For instance, authors highlight the "great diversity" (Schor, 2014, p. 3) and "wide range of activities and business models" (Plewnia & Guenther, 2018, p. 3) of sharing-economy organizations. In addition, they emphasize that the sharing economy is "replete with paradoxes and tensions" (Acquier et al., 2017, p. 1) and point to its complex, disruptive, and paradoxical nature (Laamanen, Pfeffer, Rong, & Van de Ven, 2018; Martin, 2016; Schor, 2017), which imposes "paradoxes and dilemmas" (Munoz & Cohen, 2017, p. 2) on organizations operating within it.

Cluster 2 "new and contested." Other authors emphasize the newness and contested character of the sharing economy (see Cluster 2 in Fig. 1). They refer to its "new digitally-enabled sharing business models" (Junglas, Koch, Sundararajan, & Wang, 2017, p. iv), mention "new forms of organizations" (Etter et al., 2019, p. 3), or emphasize that the sharing economy as a whole represents a "new phenomenon" (Li, Tallmann, Qian, & Keil, 2018). While the democratization of the economy is mentioned as one of the expected contributions of these new forms of organizing, its realization is being increasingly questioned. This questioning results in heated debates that bolster the claim of the contested nature of the sharing economy (Etter et al., 2019).

Cluster 3 "growing and broad." A third group of authors points to the growth and breadth of the phenomenon (see Cluster 3 in Fig. 1). These authors view the sharing economy as an "umbrella term" (Codagnone, Biagi, & Abadie, 2016, p. 5) or "umbrella concept" (Heinrichs, 2013, p. 229) that subsumes current developments and models. At the same time, they commonly emphasize the rapid growth of the phenomenon (Cohen & Kietzmann, 2014; Fraiberger & Sundararajan, 2015), which is enabled by the spread of digital technologies as well as the increased digitalization of economy and society (Matzler, Veider, & Kathan, 2015; Schor, 2014).

Cluster 4 "ambiguous." A fourth group of authors highlights the ambiguous goals of sharing-economy organizations (see Cluster 4 in Fig. 1). The broad definition of the sharing economy as a "socio-economic phenomenon" (Plewnia & Guenther, 2018, p. 571) or "socioeconomic ecosystem" (Laamanen et al., 2018, p. 213) commonly applied by these authors indicates the lack of a shared definition and clear boundaries for the sharing economy and underscore its "ambiguous" nature (Erickson & Sørensen, 2016, p. 3; Plewnia & Guenther, 2018, p. 571).

Often, authors who emphasize the ambiguous character of the sharing economy also elaborate on whether and how sharing organizations contribute to social and ecologic goals. While non-economic goals were among the early promises of the sharing economy, researchers and practitioners increasingly question whether such promises can be kept and instead acknowledge that the sharing economy and the goals it represents are ambiguous (Etter et al., 2019; Hawlitschek, Teubner, & Gimpel, 2016; Martin, 2016).

Taken together, scholars seem to agree that the sharing economy and the organizations operating within it present a phenomenon that features diversity and paradoxes, newness and contestation, rapid growth and breadth as well as ambiguous goals. In combination, these features make theorizing the sharing economy a challenging and at the same time promising endeavor. These features also make clear that an important starting point for theorizing the sharing economy is understanding the variety and dynamics of organization forms within it. We argue that organization studies as a discipline is well suited for studying sharing-economy organizations because one of its strengths is dealing with a new and growing phenomenon of high levels of heterogenity and ambiguity.

A FRAMEWORK FOR THEORIZING THE SHARING ECONOMY

The objective of this volume is to instigate and facilitate theoretical work on the sharing economy grounded in a deep understanding of the phenomenon. Inspired by the contributions in this volume, we lay out an organizing framework based on various dimensions: the methodological approach, level of analysis, exploratory goal, explanatory mechanism, and trajectory. These dimensions are particularly useful for future theorizing of the variety and trajectories of new forms of organizing in general, and they may also guide organization scholars in further theorizing the sharing economy specifically.

Methodological Approach

To cope with the newness of the sharing phenomenon and a lack of understanding, one can rely on Weber's (1978) epistemological concept for the social sciences. In his view, one important aim of sociology is developing a meaningful understanding of social phenomena. Weber distinguishes between the complementary processes of "understanding" ("Verstehen") and "explaining" ("Erklären") to accomplish this aim. New phenomena typically have an ambiguous meaning and are therefore contested. A contested phenomenon demands an interpretative and theoretically driven description of actors, actions, and situations (Weber, 2013). In this view, "understanding" represents a systematic interpretative process in which researchers as outside observers relate to phenomena under study, make observations, and interpret them against a theoretical background – which is eventually further developed from insights gained about the new phenomena (Ringer, 1997).

Following Weber's ideas, "understanding" thus goes beyond purely descriptive approaches and rather relates to existing bodies of theory and knowledge. As methodological approaches, conceptual research and theoretically driven qualitative research can be particularly suitable for achieving this goal. Once a phenomenon is understood and explored, processes of "explaining" aim at testing alternative assumptions about the underlying mechanisms driving a phenomenon and the effects associated with it. Expectations derived from different theories can be operationalized and tested against each other using quantitative research as a methodological approach. Processes of "explaining" eventually lead to the creation of grounded or established knowledge of a phenomenon.

The history of science has shown that processes of "understanding" or "explaining," to some extent, take place in succession (Ruse, 2009). New phenomena are typically explored in conceptual and qualitative research to achieve a thorough "understanding" of the phenomenon against the background of existing theories, before hypotheses on relationships between drivers, new phenomena, and effects are developed; before concepts are operationalized; and before hypotheses are tested. In Weber's ideas of bureaucracy, for example, we observe such a sequence. Weber developed ideas on the relationships between elements of an idealized bureaucratic organization in the early twentieth century, but those ideas, in the sense of "explaining," were not tested until situational and contingency approaches emerged (Kieser, 1999) and large empirical research projects (Pugh, Hickson, Hinings, & Turner, 1968) were carried out in the 1960s.

Keeping these considerations of process in mind is helpful when reflecting on meaningful methodological pathways for studying organizations in the sharing economy. Conceptual and qualitative research approaches typically seek to gain a deeper understanding of a phenomenon as the basis for explanation, whereas quantitative research for the most part examines large-scale patterns in the search for explanations. Since, as already mentioned, the sharing economy is a new phenomenon, most of the current research on it is conceptual (e.g., Mair & Reischauer, 2017) as well as qualitative (e.g., Kornberger et al., 2018; Kyprianou, 2018; Reischauer & Mair, 2018a; Uzunca, Rigtering, & Ozcan, 2018). Similarly, the contributions in this volume predominantly cover conceptual research (Frenken, Vaskelainen, Fünfschilling, & Piscicelli, in this volume; Kirchner & Schüßler, in this volume) and qualitative research (Acquier, Carbone, & Vasseur, in this volume; Mosmann & Klutt, in this volume; Vith & Höllerer, in this volume; Wruk, Schöllhorn, & Oberg, in this volume) along with some contributions applying mixed methods (Bucher, Fieseler, Lutz, & Newlands, in this volume; Ozcan, Gurses, & Möhlmann, in this volume). These applied approaches help to further unpack and explore the variety of organization forms and provide an in-depth understanding of the trajectory of the sharing economy. In line with existing studies, the contributions in this volume rely on a range of empirical data sources: interviews or written surveys with founders and users, organizational documents or websites, media articles and other types of texts. They also employ a range of data-analysis methods – from inductive content analysis to (semantic) network approaches to statistical analysis (see Table 1 for an overview

of the methodological approaches applied in the individual contributions in this volume). We believe that applying the diverse methodological repertoire we as organizational scholars have available – including ethnographic methods, topic modeling, or simulation – will be important for advancing our knowledge base on the sharing economy, and that this repertoire will allow us to mainstream the study of sharing-economy organizations in the larger field of organization research.

Levels of Analysis

Research on new organizational forms in the sharing economy has started to explore the phenomenon at different levels of analysis. Fig. 2 provides an overview of possible levels that future research can consider. At the individual level, research has already begun to analyze why people participate in sharing models as providers or consumers and what drives their satisfaction (e.g., Hamari et al., 2016; Möhlmann, 2015). Another interest in current research at this level is in revealing the motivations and traits of sharing-organization founders (e.g., Cohen & Muñoz, 2016; Li et al., 2018). The diversity of models and application areas in the sharing economy has given rise to a number of studies at the organizational level, which to a large extent have focused on understanding the organizational and business models of sharing organizations (e.g., Cohen & Muñoz, 2016; Voytenko Palgan et al., 2017; Wruk, Oberg, Klutt, & Maurer, 2019) and their historical predecessors (e.g., Mosmann, 2019). Many of these new models rely on developing communities of suppliers and consumers who participate in value creation. The question of how to effectively establish and coordinate such communities is one of the research interests on the level of platforms and communities (e.g., Bucher et al., in this volume; Mosmann & Klutt, in this volume; Reischauer & Mair, 2018b). The rapid growth of the sharing economy in many industries has drawn attention to studies at the market level in specific subfields of the sharing economy – such as in the mobility, carsharing, and accommodation industries – focusing on how sharing organizations interact with each other and with industry incumbents (e.g., Shaheen & Cohen, 2007; Zervas, Proserpio, & Byers, 2017). A related set of studies has integrated industry associations, regulators, media organizations, and other social actors into its analyses, positioning

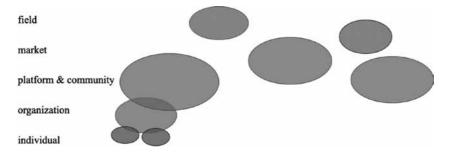


Fig. 2. Sharing Phenomena on Different Levels of Analysis.

these studies at the field level (Acquier et al., in this volume; Frenken et al., in this volume; Kirchner & Schüßler, in this volume; e.g., Laamanen et al., 2018; Wruk et al., in this volume).

As the contributions in this volume show, the variety within and trajectories of the sharing economy allow researchers to develop study designs that span multiple levels of analysis and also bridge literatures in adjacent fields such as political economy, legal studies, business history, or information systems (Mair & Rathert, 2019; Wruk, Oberg, & Maurer, 2019). (See Table 1 for an overview of the individual contributions in this volume and the level of analysis they present).

Understanding the Variety of New Forms of Organizing

We now turn to developing a typology for systematizing different theoretical inquiries for understanding the variety of new forms of organizing. We discuss two common dimensions – exploratory goal and explanatory mechanism – that have proved particularly useful for mapping a heterogeneous yet connected body of research (Borgatti & Foster, 2003). From these dimensions, we construct a four-field matrix and use it to organize and briefly summarize both the general approaches for studying the variety of new organizational forms as well as the individual chapters in this volume.

Exploratory Goal: Emergent Structuring of Variety Versus Governing Variety

In line with the above-mentioned newness of our research object – the sharing economy – we introduce the "exploratory" goal (not explanatory goal) as one important dimension for organizing research on the variety of sharing organizations. This dimension captures the general approach a theory takes to understand the variety of new forms of organizing: Is its focus on the emergent structuring of variety or is it on the mechanisms for governing variety instead? The first approach aims at understanding the heterogeneity in the sharing economy as an emerging process. It is thus primarily interested in examining the process and implications of the emergent structuring of a field. The second approach emphasizes agency rather than structure: It focuses on governance and governing variety in the sharing economy and explores effective modes, strategies, or practices for coordinating actors to achieve desired outcomes. Neither approach is mutually exclusive, yet to demonstrate types of inquiry we differentiate between approaches that are primarily interested in either the emergent structuring of variety or in governing variety.

Explanatory Mechanism: Cognition Versus Practice

Independent of the exploratory goal, the explanatory mechanism presents another dimension, which helps to understand the variety of new forms of organizing in the sharing economy and explain the mechanisms at work. One fundamental difference within this dimension is between theories emphasizing cognition and logics and theories focusing on practices. Although cognition and practices are interrelated (as behavior and meaning, or talk and action) (e.g., Meyer &