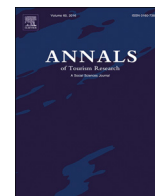


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'Pop-up' tourism or 'invasion'? Airbnb in coastal Australia

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ABSTRACT

The global rise of peer to peer 'home-sharing' platforms such as Airbnb has accelerated negative forms of 'touristification' in major cities, often defying local regulation. But less is known about how such platforms affect regions beyond or peripheral to major population centres. This article addresses this question, examining 12 case-study communities in coastal Australia. Through in-depth interviews and focus groups with local stakeholders and planners, as well as analysis of Airbnb listings, tourism and housing data, we find that Airbnb style platforms intersect with, and impact, local governance, neighbourhoods and housing markets in different ways. We conceptualise these differences as a place-based taxonomy ranging from 'pop-up' to 'invasive' tourism, and highlight implications for research, policy and practice.

Introduction

Holiday homes or 'pied-a-terres' have long been part of the fabric in high amenity regions beyond the major cities. Used by their owners as second homes, or by fee paying guests, holiday houses and the residential tourism they support are often integral to the local economy, with seasonal influxes of visitors tolerated if not actively welcomed. The global rise of peer to peer holiday rental platforms such as Airbnb has potential to dramatically amplify and extend both the positive and negative impacts of the visitor economy in these settings. Yet research to date has primarily focussed on major cities where there has been growing concern over 'touristification' (the transformation of residential neighbourhoods to tourism precincts) (Sequera & Nofre, 2018) and 'gentrification' (housing market pressures as permanent homes are converted to tourism uses) (Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018). In this paper we ask whether more regional and peripheral areas are similarly vulnerable to these negative impacts or are protected by pre-existing patterns of second home ownership; formal tourist infrastructure; and established local planning and governance frameworks.

We focus in particular on impacts reported by local planners, tourism industry representatives, and residents, in 12 case-study communities in coastal Australia. In focusing on coastal destinations in regional Australia, the study contributes to the handful of studies examining how Airbnb style platforms are emerging in smaller cities and tourism regions (DiNatale, Lewis, & Parker, 2018; Eugenio-Martin, Cazorla-Artiles, & González-Martel, 2019; Moreno-Izquierdo, Ramón-Rodríguez, Such-Devesa, et al., 2019), contributing to wider theoretical debates about processes of 'touristification' in these settings (Sequera & Nofre, 2018). Further, by investigating how peer to peer holiday rental platforms intersect with, and impact, local governance, neighbourhoods and housing markets in different ways, we advance growing practice debates over how urban and tourism planners should respond.

The article is structured as follows. First, we outline the growing body of literature on peer to peer and 'sharing-economy' tourism (Sequera & Nofre, 2018), focusing particularly on the potentially disruptive implications of residential accommodation platforms for local tourism, housing markets, and neighbourhoods. We then introduce the Australian context and our research approach, which

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involved interviews and focus groups with 53 local government, tourism, and community stakeholders in 12 case study communities; as well as a one day workshop with 39 planners, industry, and local government representatives. In addition to the qualitative data, Airbnb listings trends, tourism and housing market statistics, illustrate how online, peer to peer holiday rental practices have emerged in different ways across these communities. In presenting our findings, we conceptualise varieties of tourism that are enabled, exacerbated, or resistant to holiday rental platforms, which range from ‘pop-up’ tourism to tourism ‘invasion’. Implications for research, policy and practice are highlighted in conclusion.

The ‘peer to peer’ economy, Airbnb, and local communities

There is a burgeoning research literature on so called ‘peer to peer’, ‘sharing’ or ‘collaborative’ economy platforms overall and Airbnb in particular, with contributions from a growing number of disciplines. The concept of ‘sharing’ or ‘collaboration’ describes the nature of transactions (‘peer to peer’, rather than ‘businesses to consumers’), with an emphasis on ‘borrowing’ (or, more accurately, renting), rather than owning. Much of the early work in the field can be divided into two categories; the first, concerned with the nature of these new economic practices enabled by online platforms (Agyeman, McLaren, & Schaefer-Borrego, 2013; Belk, 2014); and the second, the implications of ‘disrupters’ such as Uber and Airbnb, for traditional industries such as transport and tourism (Fang, Ye, & Law, 2016; Zervas, Proserpio, & Byers, 2014). An ongoing stream of research has focused on policy and regulatory considerations associated with particular sectors of the ‘peer to peer’ economy, raising fundamental questions about potential impacts and risks to users and wider society (Cohen & Sundararajan, 2015; Jefferson-Jones, 2014; Posen, 2015).

Critical perspectives on the ‘sharing’ or ‘peer to peer’ economy

Initial commentary extolled the potential social and environmental benefits arising from better utilising latent resources – ranging from idle property (tools, bikes, cars), to services (transport) and space (homes, rooms, offices) – accessed and ‘shared’ for a fee through peer to peer platforms (Sustainable Economies Law Center, 2013). For urban policy makers, the potential to reduce traffic congestion through cost effective and convenient forms of ‘ride sharing’, seemed to promise both environmental and economic benefits; as did the notion that housing stock could offer flexible on demand accommodation, while providing new income for local residents (Heinrichs, 2013; Shaheen & Cohen, 2012; Sundararajan, 2016).

More critical researchers have begun to see terms such as ‘sharing economy’ and related permeations (‘collaborative economy’ or ‘collaborative consumption’) as little more than discursive framing, disguising the commercial nature of transactions facilitated by rent seeking platforms (Cockayne, 2016; Murillo, Buckland, & Val, 2017). Airbnb has been a primary focus for these critical analyses of what many prefer to describe as the ‘platform economy’, characterised by global firms who extract rent for online services (enabling peer to peer transactions) rather than owning physical assets (Cockayne, 2016; Pollman & Barry, 2016). By no means the only platform to profit from vacation home rentals, or even peer to peer forms of accommodation provision (with other online applications such ‘Vacation Rentals By Owners (VRBO), ‘HomeAway’, and ‘FlipKey’), nor the first to offer tourists space within a primary home (preceded by ‘Couchsurfing’), Airbnb nonetheless has gained the largest market share, counting in excess of five million properties and 400 million guests by 2018 (Airbnb Press Room, 2018). The key point of difference has been the range of accommodation types promoted by Airbnb, centring around residential homes in authentic, local neighbourhoods, rather than purpose built holiday houses or apartments in designated tourism precincts. By popularising the notion of ‘home-sharing’, Airbnb has enabled residential dwellings to be mobilised as tourist accommodation, without the need for expensive and time consuming physical modifications, or the high up front investments faced by traditional accommodation providers. Of course the ease in which Airbnb ‘hosts’ bypass existing urban regulation and costs incurred by traditional operators, is a key focus for concern (Nieuwland & van Melik, 2018), and indeed the competitive advantage associated with evading planning or other rules may be central to the business model (Gurrán & Sadowski, 2019).

Peer to peer accommodation and tourism

A series of studies have examined how peer to peer accommodation platforms affect the hotel industry, finding revenue impacts for particular types of operators, primarily those offering mid-range and lower cost establishments without conference facilities (Fang et al., 2016; Zervas et al., 2014). Subsequent research also suggests potential impacts for all segments of the hotel industry as the supply of Airbnb listings grows (Dogru, Mody, & Suess, 2019). Against these concerns, Airbnb itself casts its critics as self-interested and anti-competitive, arguing that ‘home-sharing’ expands total visitation and spreads the social and economic benefits beyond primary tourist destinations (Airbnb, 2014).

It seems likely that impacts on traditional tourist accommodation operators will be smaller in communities with already high numbers of second homes. For instance, in a number of Spanish coastal regions, online platform Airbnb has exposed existing, if informally rented, holiday apartments, absorbing an ‘over-sized second home market’ (Moreno-Izquierdo et al., 2019: p. 57). The ability to rapidly mobilise such latent accommodation and thus increase tourism capacity is seen as a major benefit to destinations where formal supply is inadequate (Dolnicar, 2019).

Platform rentals, ‘touristification’, and ‘gentrification’

Peer to peer platforms introduce flexibility to the tourism accommodation sector, allowing the quantity of rooms and beds

available for tourists to rise and fall with demand. However, this flexibility increases the risk that potentially negative forms of ‘touristification’ – like noise or anti-social behaviour – will emerge beyond traditional visitor precincts (Dredge & Gyimóthy, 2015; Guttentag, 2015; Llop, 2017). This may ultimately lead to permanent residents choosing to leave the area, reinforcing the ‘touristification’ process. In addition, lower income residents are at risk of displacement due to the closely related gentrification effects of tourism and residential tourism on local housing markets (Paris, 2009). The rise of global platforms offering residential accommodation to tourists an international market place amplifies the potential impacts of these dual processes (Sequera & Nofre, 2018).

Housing scholars now situate second home tourism squarely within wider, international process of ‘residential capitalism’ (housing for capital accumulation rather than consumption), recognising that online platforms for short term rental accommodation enable new demand for residential investment within but also beyond traditional urban markets (Doling & Ronald, 2019; Paris, 2009). From New York City to San Francisco, Boston, Barcelona and Sydney, a growing number of studies show that cities and regions affected by rental shortages as well as strong demand for tourist accommodation, are particularly susceptible to the impacts of Airbnb style platforms (Gurran & Phibbs, 2017; Horn & Merante, 2017; Lee, 2016; Llop, 2017; Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018). Even smaller cities may struggle to sustain affordable workforce housing when there is tourism demand for residential style accommodation (DiNatale et al., 2018).

Planning and regulation

As outlined in the emerging body of research on regulatory struggles around online peer to peer accommodation, these competing interests in homes, neighbourhoods, and tourism present serious challenges for city planners and regulators (Gurran & Phibbs, 2017; Guttentag, 2015; Wegmann & Jiao, 2017). With resident constituents including both hosts and neighbours of Airbnb and similar accommodation platforms, regulations intended to curb short term rentals have polarised policy makers and communities at large (Grimmer, Vorobjovas-Pinta, & Massey, 2019; Nieuwland & van Melik, 2018; Sequera & Nofre, 2018).

Early responses to Airbnb, in cities such as San Francisco and New York, sought to prevent the loss of permanent rental units in tight inner city housing markets by extending or reinforce long standing rules against short term rentals in multi-unit apartment buildings (Brousseau, Metcalf, & Yu, 2015; New York State Attorney General, 2014). Other cities have taken a different approach, establishing rules to permit short term rentals so long as they are hosted by residents who remain primary occupants of the dwelling (Nieuwland & van Melik, 2018). As well as residency requirements, these ‘mom and pop’ hosts (Wegmann & Jiao, 2017) are distinguished from commercial operators by time limits - the nights that a whole property may be rented (typically 60–120 days per year); and or by space restrictions (the number of guests, beds, or rooms able to be offered). In regional areas and small towns beyond the major cities, the limited research evidence suggests that regulatory approaches diverge. A survey of local authorities in regional Oregon, USA, found that around 35% of small cities have regulations in place, most commonly capping guest numbers and nights, but less than half of respondents rated these approaches as effective (DiNatale et al., 2018).

Often following legal action, platforms such as Airbnb have agreed in some cities, such as San Francisco, London and Amsterdam, to cooperate with cities by enforcing nightly caps; and or collecting local taxes directly through the booking process (Airbnb, 2017). Nevertheless, monitoring and enforcing regulations remains very difficult for local authorities who lack access to listings data (Ferreri & Sanyal, 2018). New York City, for instance, has issued a series of subpoenas seeking information on Airbnb listings and sought unsuccessfully to force short term rental platforms to make monthly disclosures (McDonough, 2019).

Examining peer to peer accommodation platforms in coastal Australia: methods and data

Coastal Australia – particularly beyond the major cities – offers a prime context to examine how peer to peer accommodation platforms intersect with different community settings, and the dilemmas for local policy makers and planners. Like other high amenity regions throughout the world (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011), Australia’s coastal communities are increasingly dependent on tourism as they shift from productive industries (natural resources, agriculture, forestry) towards service oriented economies (Gurran, 2008). Holiday homes or apartments underpin the accommodation offerings in many of these communities, but others have an extensive infrastructure of hotels, serviced apartments, and resorts.

Initially, the expansion of Airbnb listings in Australia focused on the major cities, with Sydney, Australia’s largest city, attracting the majority share, and much of the early policy concern (Gurran & Phibbs, 2017). However, by 2017 the platform had become increasingly prevalent beyond the major cities, and the number of properties advertised on the platform more than doubled across all of the Australian states (New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania and Western Australia), between April 2016 and December 2017 (Fig. 1), taking particular hold in tourism hotspots of coastal Australia.

Policy and planning responses to peer to peer accommodation platforms in Australia

Policy makers and regulators in Australia have been eager proponents of peer to peer and sharing economy models, with early commentators cautioning against ‘over-regulation’ (Allan & Berg, 2014; Deloitte, 2015; Leigh, 2015). Nevertheless, community concern over the impact of platforms offering short term rental accommodation in residential buildings and neighbourhoods, precipitated a series of parliamentary inquiries and legislative reform processes in the states of NSW (NSW Fair Trading, 2018; Parliament of NSW, 2015), Victoria (Parliament of Victoria, 2017), and Tasmania (Grimmer et al., 2019). With Australia’s six states and two self governing Territories having primary responsibility for land use planning and tourism regulation, these inquiries have focused specifically on issues surrounding short term rental accommodation in residential housing.

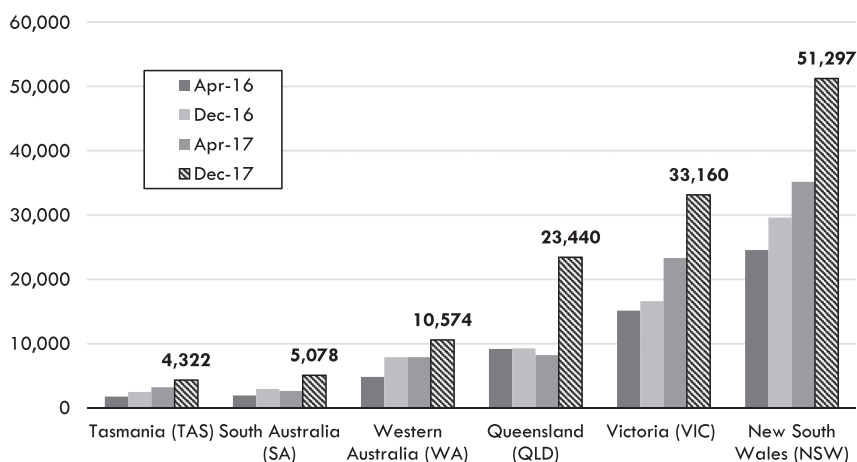


Fig. 1. Airbnb listings growth 2016–2017, Australian States.
Source: the authors, based on Inside Airbnb data 2016–2017.

In the state of NSW, reforms have been enacted to clarify that short term rental of whole homes is permissible without planning permission, limited to a total of 180 nights per year in Sydney (Government, 2019). There are to be no restrictions beyond Sydney, unless local authorities request that a limitation be imposed. Further measures to introduce standards across the short term rental sector are pending (NSW Fair Trading, 2018).

The state of Victoria has developed new provisions to manage short term rental accommodation within multi-unit housing, including remedies for neighbours experiencing excessive noise or nuisance from short term visitors, but stopped short of further controls applying to single residential homes (Gurrán, Zhang, Shrestha, et al., 2018). The Tasmanian government has vacillated but ultimately allows short term rentals and room rentals in most circumstances, subject to local permit (Grimmer et al., 2019).

In Queensland, local authorities experiencing problems arising from raucous guest behaviour in short term rental accommodation may regulate “party houses” via a local planning law (Department of Infrastructure, 2015). Western Australia is the only state to set a legal framework for local planning schemes to regulate the operation and location of ‘holiday homes’ (Western Australian Planning Commission, 2009).

Research approach

This paper reports on results from a wider study developed in close collaboration with the Australian Coastal Councils Association, a national network of local governments in the coastal zone (Gurrán et al., 2018). The study adopted a mixed method of data collection through quantitative and qualitative research methods, involving 12 case study (local government area) communities as well as a larger cohort of stakeholders from across coastal Australia. The twelve case study communities were selected via a voluntary nomination process, with efforts made to ensure diverse geographic, economic and tourism contexts within key states in Australia (Fig. 2). Case study nominees expressed different motivations for participating in the study, ranging from concern about the impacts of online holiday rental platforms for their area, through to an interest in sharing successful management approaches, and ensuring that state regulatory responses are informed by local experience.

Data collection and analysis: analysis of listings, tourism and housing data

First, online listings, population, housing, and tourism data was examined by the research team, who identified key trends, as well as similarities and differences across the 12 case studies and in comparison to wider national data. The analysis focused on key indicators regarding the scale (number and growth of Airbnb listings), nature (composition, management and spatial distribution), and impact relative to local communities (population size and growth), tourism (key industries of local employment; number of formal tourism accommodation establishments), and housing markets (total housing stock, rental stock) (Table 1). Similar indicators appear in parallel research efforts to investigate the nature and impacts of peer to peer accommodation platforms on local communities (Adamiak, 2018; DiNatale et al., 2018; Eugenio-Martin et al., 2019) and housing markets in other jurisdictions (Campbell, McNair, Mackay, et al., 2019; Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018).

Airbnb listings data was a primary focus for this study. As noted, Airbnb is not the only online platform for holiday homes in Australia, but it does advertise the widest variety of residential accommodation types – from whole homes through to hosted rooms and share rooms, while also dominating the market. At the time of writing, there were 130,000+ Australian Airbnb listings (Inside Airbnb.com, 2018) in comparison to 40,000+ properties on Stayz/HomeAway (Stayz, 2018). Further, interviewees advised that it was increasingly common for ‘hosts’ to list properties on multiple platforms, meaning that any attempts to combine different accommodation platform listings could result in double counting.

A national data series of Airbnb listings was provided by Inside Airbnb, an independent source of information on short term

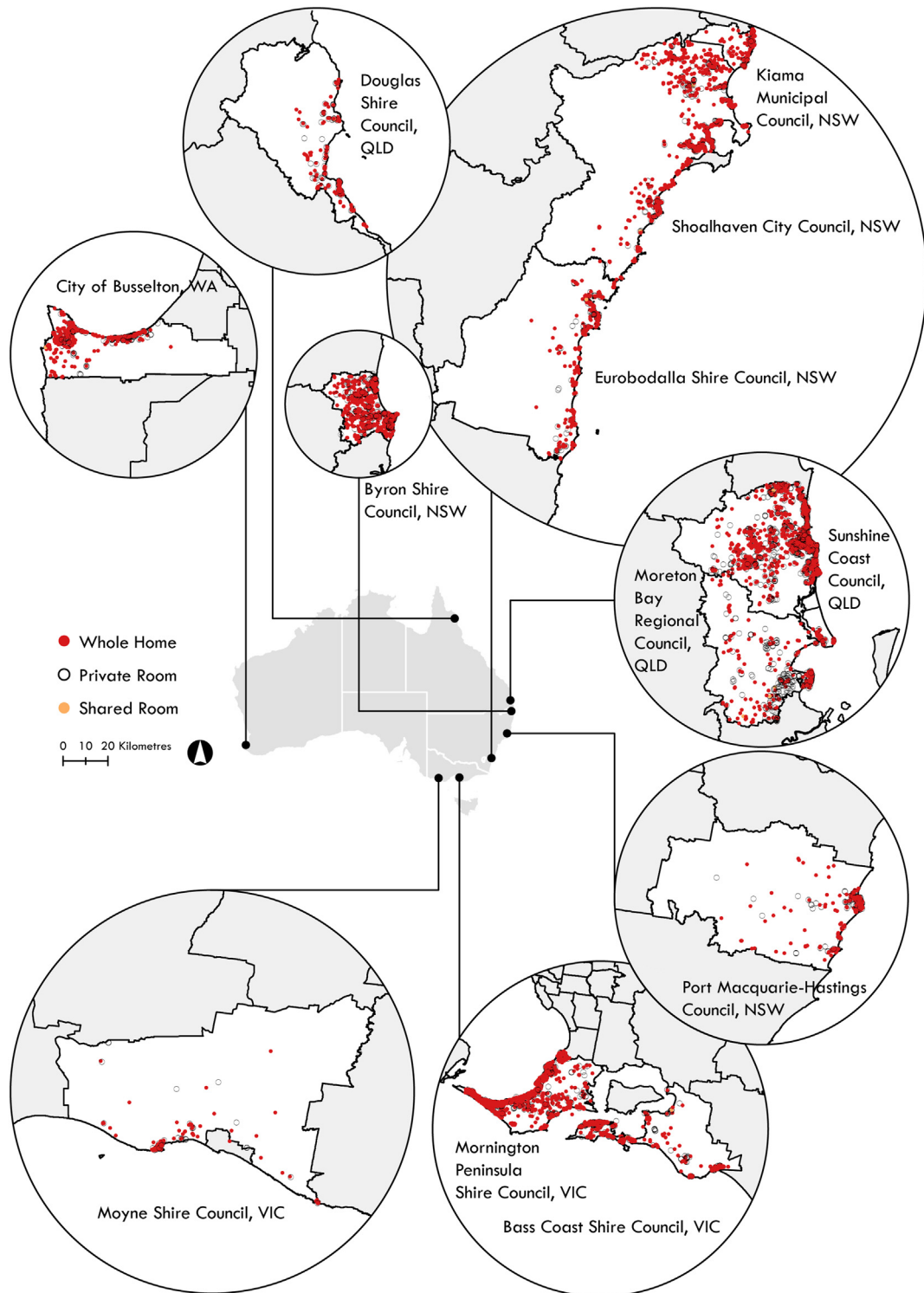


Fig. 2. Geography of Airbnb listings, Case Study Communities.

rentals. The data set includes LGA scale data, geocoded for spatial analysis. A limitation is that web-scraped data aggregates advertised vacancies and charges, but does not access actual transactions. Nevertheless, Inside Airbnb data has been considered an independent and reliable source and has been used widely across the field (Gurran & Phibbs, 2017; Lee, 2016; Llop, 2017).

Four periods; peak Easter (April/Autumn) and Christmas (December/Summer) in 2016 and 2017 were examined, including

Table 1
 Selected indicators, case study communities.
 Source: The authors, based on ABS Census 2006 & 2016; Inside Airbnb data April 2016 & December 2017; ABS Survey of Tourism Accommodation, Australia (STA), June Quarter 2016.

Community/ taxonomy	Pop.	Pop. growth (2006–2016)	Accommodation, food services and retail % employed	Tourist establishments	Housing stock	Airbnb Dec 17	# of listings per 1000 people	Listings growth % (4/16–12/ 17)	Multi listings %	Room listings %	Airbnb listings as % of tourist beds	Airbnb total housing stock	Whole homes, frequently available %	Change market rent % 12/ 17–12/18
Moyné, VIC 'Pop-up tourism'	16,495	7%	11.1	12	8055	362	22	525	61	13.3	161	4.5	21.8%	6.0
Sunshine Coast, QLD	294,367	28%	21.2	151	1,29,978	2710	9	253	40	26.9	38	2.1	4.5%	1.2
'Resort tourism' Port Macquarie- Hastings, NSW	78,539	15%	22.1	32	36,583	397	5	221	37	27	29	1.1	2.5%	1.2
'Resort tourism' Busselton, WA	36,686	45%	25.9	23	18,677	1001	27	572	57	15.2	107	5.4	21.6%	na
'Resort tourism' Douglas, QLD	11,714	15%	36.5	53	6443	856	73	236	73	12.1	37	13.3	48.3%	na
'Resort tourism' Moreton Bay, QLD	425,302	31%	21.9	16	166,860	523	1	222	42	43.8	76	0.3	0.5%	0
'Suburban tourism' Eurobodalla, NSW	37,232	6%	26.5	35	23,376	475	13	228	31	15.4	69	2.0	9.4%	3.6
'Second home tourism' Kiama, NSW	21,464	13%	28.4	7	9940	376	18	495	51	9	418	3.8	18.8%	3.0
'Second home tourism' Shoalhaven, NSW	99,650	13%	22.9	28	54,388	2283	23	419	60	8.7	468	4.2	19.7%	2.7
'Second home tourism' Bass Coast, VIC	32,804	24%	26	14	25,775	1350	41	332	44	9.7	251	5.2	32.9%	7.1

(continued on next page)

Table 1 (continued)

Community/ taxonomy	Pop.	Pop. growth (2006–2016)	Accommodation, food services and retail % employed	Tourist establishments	Housing stock	Airbnb Dec 17	# of listings per 1000 people	Listings growth % (4/16–12/ 17)	Multi listings %	Room listings %	Airbnb listings as % of tourist beds	Airbnb % total housing stock	Whole homes, frequently available % rental stock	Change market rent % 12/ 17–12/18
Mornington Peninsula, VIC 'Invasive tourism'	154,999	14%	23.5	28	88,996	3305	21	278	56	7.3	585	3.7	21.9%	2.6
Byron, NSW 'Invasive tourism'	31,556	10%	26.9	16	15,540	2740	87	184	54	23.4	517	17.6	43.4%	0.8
Total	1,240,808	23%	24.7^a	415	584,611	16,378	13	265^a	52^a	14.25^a	122^a	4.0^a	20.6%^a	2.65^a
Australia overall	23,401,892	18%	16.8	4445	9,901,496	130,665	6	124	44	30.3	19	1.3	0.98%	na

Bold highlights the totals for the cases overall and for Australia.

^a Median of case study communities.

Airbnb listings of whole homes/apartments, rooms, and share rooms. Using user supplied reviews, [Inside Airbnb](#) offers derived information about the number of days advertised in a calendar year and likely booking frequency. Combined, this information helps distinguish properties which are primarily used as holiday accommodation versus permanent residences. The data set also provides information about ‘multi-listing’, which is likely to mean professional/commercial management – that is, that the property is maintained primarily as holiday accommodation rather than as a permanent residence ([Crommelin, Troy, Martin, et al., 2018](#)).

Interviews and focus groups

This initial analysis was then tested and expanded through in depth interviews and focus groups involving 53 participants (including 16 planners, 12 building inspectors, 12 tourism officers, 5 accommodation providers, 6 local residents, and 2 elected councillors), between January – February 2018. These representatives were recruited with the advice of a key participant in each community – usually the local council’s tourism development or senior planning officer, and a snowballing approach was used to follow up other potential participants. Notably, in smaller communities, many of the study participants have multiple roles across and sometimes beyond their organisation. It was not possible to be wholly comprehensive in recruiting study participants, but the research team made every effort to ensure that a diversity of views were captured across the project as a whole and in each case study community.

A wider cohort of 39 local planners, elected councillors, staff from Airbnb and Stayz, and ‘home-sharing’ hosts, participated in a national one day forum organised by the Australian Coastal Councils Association, held in March 2018. This provided an opportunity to discuss and validate early findings from the case study analysis.

The interviews and focus groups in the case study communities were semi structured around a series of open ended questions, covering perceived changes to the local community/tourism sector following the emergence of online short term rental platforms; impacts for neighbours or the wider community; effects on local housing markets; and planning or management responses¹ ([Gurran et al., 2018](#)). Audio recordings interviews and focus groups were subsequently transcribed and analysed for key themes.

Limitations

This paper captures a snapshot of a dynamic process of change, with peer to peer accommodation platforms still establishing within each of the case study coastal communities. A key limitation is in assessing the full nature of this change, with the baseline stock of second (‘holiday’) homes (prior to the emergence of peer to peer accommodation platforms) unknown in Australia ([Hugo & Harris, 2013](#)). A second limitation arises from the reluctance of platforms such as Airbnb to release information on listings and bookings to local government or for research purposes. Information such as the series produced by [Inside Airbnb](#) provides important insights but is not a direct source of data – measuring advertisements and reviews, rather than actual accommodation bookings and revenue. These limitations should be considered when interpreting the results of this study.

Divergent trends: geography and composition of Airbnb listings in 12 coastal communities

Consistent with coastal Australia more widely, the case study communities represent a variety of characteristics deriving from their geographic location in relation to major population centres ([Fig. 2](#)). A number of the communities are located within an easy drive of the capital cities, with Queensland’s Moreton Bay situated on the metropolitan edge of State capital Brisbane, and Kiama in NSW and Mornington Peninsula/Bass Coast in Victoria also positioned in close proximity to the cities of Sydney and Melbourne, making their popular locations for second home owners.

The municipalities of Eurobodalla and Shoalhaven are frequented by holiday makers from Sydney and the national capital, Canberra, but agriculture, fishing, and regional services are also important components of their local economies. By contrast, Port Macquarie and Byron on the north coast of NSW, Busselton in Western Australia, and the Sunshine Coast in Queensland, are well known tourist destinations but also serve diverse and growing local populations. The smallest municipalities in the sample – Moyne in Victoria, and Douglas in far North Queensland, are otherwise very different; with Moyne’s emerging tourist industry still well eclipsed by agriculture and fishery, while Douglas, incorporating the Great Barrier Reef, is known as the most tourism dependent region of Australia ([Douglas Shire Council, 2017](#)).

Growth in Airbnb listings

Rapid growth in Airbnb listings was apparent across the 12 case study communities, ([Fig. 3](#)). Over the period of analysis there was fivefold growth in Airbnb listings for Shoalhaven, a tripling in the Mornington Peninsula. In Byron, the Sunshine Coast and Douglas the number of Airbnb listings more than doubled. However, as noted above Australia lacks baseline data on holiday homes and permanent versus seasonal populations ([Hugo & Harris, 2013](#)). This makes it difficult to assess the extent to which growth in Airbnb listings means an actual increase in holiday home accommodation or simply a marketing shift to advertise existing properties via online platforms. We explored this question further through our interviews and focus groups across the case study communities.

¹ For further details of the interview and focus group approach used for this study, see ([Gurran et al., 2018](#)).

Scale, distribution, and nature of Airbnb listings relative to local populations, tourism, and housing stock

The number of Airbnb listings in the case study communities range from between 360 and 500 properties (Port Macquarie, Moyne, Eurobodalla, Kiama) to more than 2700 (Byron and Sunshine Coast), with the highest number of listings in Mornington Peninsula (Table 1). These listings cluster along the coastline, becoming more dispersed towards the hinterlands (Fig. 2). As a measure of density relative to local populations, Byron and Douglas show high concentrations of Airbnb listings (87 and 73 listings per thousand people respectively).

Across the case studies, most advertisements are for whole properties (83.4%), although Moreton Bay, the Sunshine Coast, and Byron Bay all offer relatively higher proportions of rooms (Table 1). Overall however, private rooms amount for a smaller proportion of total Airbnb listings (a median of 14.2% across the case studies) in comparison to Australia overall (30.3%).

In relation to housing stock, despite the relatively high number of listings in Moreton Bay (523), Airbnb listings represent only 0.3% of the municipality's total housing stock, diluted by its large and growing population. By contrast, in Byron Shire, 17.6% of the entire housing stock (2740 listings) is advertised on Airbnb, equivalent to 43.4% of the locality's rental accommodation.

A number of interviewees advised that the rise of platforms for short term rentals has destabilised residential and tourism land uses. Just as homes may now alternate between primary residences and short term rental accommodation, interviewees described shifts in the traditional tourist sector as well. For instance, in Port Macquarie, a number of older holiday apartments now offer long term leases, while in Kiama, hotel and motel accommodation is being converted to high end residential units – likely to be purchased by owner occupiers as well as investors who may choose to accommodate tourists or local renters. This dynamic interplay between tourism and residential uses was viewed by interviewees as problematic, because holiday units are generally poorly designed for residential living, and vice versa. Overall, interviewees reported that conflicts between neighbours and tourists are particularly rife within residential apartment buildings.

Local planning frameworks

Thus 'home-sharing' platforms challenge conventional planning and regulatory frameworks which typically distinguish, and often seek to spatially separate, tourism and residential development (Gurran & Phibbs, 2017). To this end, many of the communities in our study have long standing provisions to control or manage visitor accommodation in residential houses or apartments (summarised in Table 2). For instance, the town of Busselton requires approval for holiday homes and sets controls on property size, bushfire risk and water supply, while Douglas regulates new holiday apartments, and the Sunshine Coast requires planning approval for any new short-term rental accommodation. These rules are increasingly unviable in the context of short term rental platforms.

In contrast to the regulatory regimes for managing holiday homes in Douglas, the Sunshine Coast and Busselton, the NSW localities of Kiama and Shoalhaven in the South Coast permit holiday homes without the need for planning approval. However, local plans include a threshold trigger requiring the activity to be regulated if there is a complaint made to Council (for instance, of

Table 2

Planning provisions applying to short term rental accommodation, Case study communities.

Source: The authors.

Taxonomy	Council	Planning/regulatory requirements	Enforcement experience
Pop-up tourism/second home tourism	Moyne Shire Council	No special provisions for tourist and visitor accommodation within a residential dwelling (ie. permissible by default)	No additional measures currently needed
	Eurobodalla	Short term rental accommodation expressly permitted in residential zones without need for special approval	Problematic in sensitive environmental areas and when management/neighbour issues arise
	Kiama Shoalhaven	Short term rental permitted in residential zones, subject to neighbourhood impact	Enforced by warning to property owner in case of neighbour complaint
	Busselton	'Holiday homes' require approval under planning scheme, with approval criteria relating to size; potential neighbourhood impacts; parking; water supply; bush fire safety.	
Suburban tourism	Moreton Bay	Short term rental accommodation permitted in residential zones, if a single household occupying the dwelling	Difficult to monitor/enforce; lack of mechanisms for addressing neighbour conflict/complaints
Resort tourism	Sunshine Coast Council	Planning approval needed, depending on area's zoning. Existing use rights apply to properties used as holiday homes prior to introduction of planning rules	Difficult to monitor/enforce; lack of mechanisms for addressing neighbour conflict/complaints
	Douglas Port Macquarie-Hastings Council	Planning approval needed for holiday apartments only; tourist accommodation clustered in tourism zones	Effective strategy for spatially clustering tourist accommodation
Invasive tourism	Mornington Peninsula Shire Council	Short term accommodation must be registered and abide by code of conduct which covers property management and presentation	But increasingly difficult to enforce Advice to neighbours, online process for reporting and complaints
	Byron	Short term rental dwellings prohibited in residential zones	Difficult to enforce

excessive noise or neighbourhood disturbance).

The community of Byron is the only municipality in the study to prohibit short term rental accommodation in residential zones altogether, primarily to preserve local housing supply. However, as evident in the number of listings in Byron Shire, this control has proved very difficult to enforce. Pending changes to NSW state will override local planning frameworks, establishing short term rental accommodation as a permissible activity within residential dwellings, without the need for additional approval (NSW Fair Trading, 2018). A special exception for Byron has been foreshadowed, subject to the preparation of a local plan which may limit short term rentals in identified locations, to a maximum of 90 nights within a single calendar year (Vinsentin, 2019). This exception would still enable properties to be used as holiday homes for up to 30 weekends per year as well as during a peak summer month.

Varieties of tourism enabled, exacerbated, or resistant to platform ‘home-sharing’

Interviewees across all of the case studies reported that the emergence of online holiday rental platforms had changed the nature and experience of tourism in their communities. Some important benefits were identified by most respondents – particularly around the increased flexibility to accommodate surges in visitor demand. Nevertheless, key differences emerged across the communities, reflecting underlying place-based characteristics – particularly visitor economy and housing market dynamics, settlement location and neighbourhood structure (summarised in Table 1), as well as local governance and planning frameworks for tourism and urban development (summarised in Table 2). We describe these differences in a taxonomy of place-based varieties of tourism enabled by peer to peer platforms for holiday rental accommodation (Fig. 4).

This taxonomy is necessarily conceptual but highlights how platforms may enable short term rentals to occur in residential (permanently occupied) homes or in existing second homes without fundamentally changing the underlying character of these homes or their neighbourhoods. By contrast, when platforms increase demand for, and supply of, short term rental accommodation, converting residential homes and neighbourhoods to tourism uses, negative effects can emerge.

Pop-up tourism

The notion of ‘Pop-up tourism’ describes the flexible nature of tourist accommodation which is supplied by platforms such as Airbnb. The platform has made it easier for communities like the town of Port Fairy in Moyne, where an estimated 37% of the housing stock is retained as a holiday home (Shipp, Ainsaar, Hannah, et al., 2016), to accommodate high visitor numbers during holiday periods, key events or festivals.

Further, the temporary ‘pop-up’ nature of this intense visitor demand brings opportunities for local residents to lease their own homes or offer rooms to visitors during peak periods, earning valuable income. Referring to the annual Port Fairy ‘Folk Festival’, in which the small village swells to around 35,000 people, a local interviewee remarked that:

The local population see it as a little cash cow for that four days, they will go and stay at a caravan park [rent their own house out, and] ... effectively pay their rates for the year.

For Moyne in particular, where visitation is highly seasonal, the peer to peer accommodation sector has helped support the wider tourism network of restaurants and day attractions during peak periods. Between April 2016–December 2017, the number of Airbnb listings in Moyne grew by 525%, amounting to 161% of beds in formal tourist accommodation (Table 1). Interviewees reported that marketing existing holiday homes to a wider international tourism market has helped grow the number of overnight visitors to the area without requiring expensive and time consuming investment in new accommodation infrastructure, which might not be viable. Further, new business opportunities in managing holiday homes had arisen as a result of this growing supply of and demand for short term rental accommodation, an observation supported by the relatively high proportion of hosts with multiple listings (65%).

Interviewees reported few conflicts between local residents and tourists, but observed potential housing market pressures in the primary tourist destination of Port Fairy, where first home buyers have been priced out, and where permanent rental vacancies are limited. Confirming these perceptions, market rents rose by 6% between December 2017 and 2018, the highest rental increase recorded across the case study communities (Table 1).

Resort tourism

Three communities in this study – Douglas, the Sunshine Coast, and Port Macquarie, have an extensive formal accommodation sector and established local planning frameworks for managing tourism development. Interviewees in these ‘Resort tourism’ communities perceive peer to peer rentals as forming a niche within a wider spectrum of offerings – diversifying without replacing – the traditional tourist accommodation sector of hotels, resorts, serviced apartments, and holiday parks.

In Port Macquarie, Douglas and the Sunshine Coast, Airbnb listings are a much smaller proportion of the total accommodation offering (equivalent to less than 40% of beds in formal tourist establishments, compared to a median of 122% for the sample as a whole). Interviewees from Sunshine Coast, in South East Queensland, explained that online platforms such as Airbnb help diversify choice of accommodation options, by offering short term (one and two night options) in residential style homes and apartments.

We have a gap in our supply of one night, two-night accommodation options for visitors. We have a high demand for that product type, because 80% of our market comes from Southeast Queensland, it's a drive market and they're short stay visitors.

Interviewees in Douglas, where up to 70% of listings are managed by hosts with multiple properties, advised peer to peer

platforms offer a wider advertising reach for local accommodation providers, rather than fundamentally changing the nature of their tourism industry. In Douglas and Port Macquarie, interviewees further advised that the growth in online holiday rentals were helping to spread economic benefits to hinterland areas, beyond the coastal areas where traditional tourist accommodation is clustered.

Interviewees across all 'Resort tourism' communities reported relatively few neighbour complaints associated with holiday rentals. This may reflect local governance and planning frameworks – which include spatial separation between clusters of holiday rental accommodation and formal tourist accommodation zones (Table 2).

We have a tourist accommodation zone which actually sets out where the preference for tourist type facilities are. As you'd expect, they're closer to the town of Port Douglas, Four Mile Beach ... the northern part of Port Douglas, rather than the southern part, which is generally just residential.

However, study participants expressed concern about the different regulatory burdens applying to formal tourism providers versus new online rental accommodation. An interviewee from the Sunshine Coast described the dilemma of wanting to encourage the new opportunities enabled by Airbnb style platforms, without undermining the existing tourist industry.

It's essential to our tourism offering, the mix, that we put forward to market, but we also have a highly regulated industry that does have fees, charges and standards that are disproportionate to Airbnb, so we don't have an even playing field.

Further, there was concern that the existing provisions applying to residential style holiday accommodation – such as the requirement for planning approval to cover holiday apartments in Douglas and short term rentals in the Sunshine Coast – may be undermined over time by new operators listing residential homes via online platforms.

Suburban tourism

Conflicts between residents and visitors are often reported when housing in built up suburban areas and in metropolitan/urban fringe locations is recruited as holiday rental accommodation. We use the term 'Suburban tourism' to describe the new phenomenon enabled by platforms advertising homes in suburban and outer metropolitan areas, such as Moreton Bay on Brisbane's northern edge.

Four forms of 'suburban tourism' appear to be emerging in Moreton Bay as a result of platforms such as Airbnb. The first builds on the tradition of retiree and weekender homes in coastal areas of the locality, with housing increasingly incorporating secondary 'granny flats' for extended families but also second incomes as rental and holiday rental accommodation. The second is short term residential accommodation which is marketed to workers relocating temporarily or permanently to the area. Interviewees advised that neither of these forms of platform 'home-sharing' have been associated with negative impacts for neighbours or more widely. The third form of 'suburban tourism' is attracted to large residential homes in suburban and rural/urban fringe estates, catering to groups seeking a venue to celebrate major events. This has caused problems in parts of Moreton Bay.

What ends up happening is that you've got six different couples for example renting it out. You've got six cars parked all over everything. It may not necessarily even be a noise issue but it's just, I suppose, a capacity scenario where you've got a six-bedroom house ... [that's] from a planning legislation [perspective] not really designed for that purpose.

It's in a rural residential area where you can hear a pin drop at 400 paces so to speak. If someone's there for a bit of a good time and a party then it's going to upset a few people around the neighbourhood and it does.

Currently, these issues remain relatively isolated, with the community's 523 Airbnb listings outnumbered by traditional tourist beds, and accounting for only 0.3% of the overall housing and rental stock. Thus planners expressed ambivalence in moving to introduce new regulation to manage the few negative incidents that are arising:

From the planning point of view it's just a dwelling and a rural residential home because there's no process to acknowledge [short term rental accommodation]. I guess this is part of the tension in planning of whether you need or want to regulate something that is an opportunistic [activity] and economic driver.

To me ... a home should be able to be used how that person feels fit, and you might rent it each week but as long as the bins go out, the cars are parked neatly... I don't think there's any legislation that should say one way or the other.

The fourth type of suburban tourism is in private rooms/dormitories. The primary concern expressed by interviewees in Moreton Bay was the potential for online platforms such as Airbnb to offer low budget backpacker accommodation in properties not intended for multiple occupation, raising serious health and safety risks, particularly in the case of fire. Notably, 43.8% of Airbnb listings in Moreton Bay are for private rooms, which is the highest of any community in this study (Table 1).

Second home tourism

A number of case study communities – such as Kiama, Busselton, Shoalhaven and Bass Coast, have long traditions of second home ownership and tourism. We use the descriptor 'second home tourism' to explain that many online listings of short term rentals in these communities pre-existed online platforms such as Airbnb, with listings growth reflecting new marketing and management rather than a strictly new phenomenon.

These communities recorded the highest growth in Airbnb listings between April 2016–December 2017 – tripling in Bass Coast and growing by 572% in Busselton (Table 1). Whether or not these are new or existing holiday homes, interviewees advised that the

growing visibility and ease of booking residential style holiday accommodation has made it difficult for more traditional tourism operators, particularly motels and caravan parks, to compete.

Interviewees described a new investment in and commercialisation of the residential tourism sector which has traditionally catered to second home owners and domestic tourists seeking self catering accommodation for extended visits during school holiday periods.

We've always had holiday homes, they've always been a feature of Shoalhaven. But what has changed is how they are rented out. Traditionally they were either rented out through people themselves, or through local real estate agents.

The shift from locally based holiday rental agents to new, individual and anonymous holiday rental landlord often operating online at a distance from the local area was seen as a growing issue:

If you had a problem with a holiday home, i.e. you're a neighbour ... you could go the next morning to the real estate agent down the road, and basically approach them about it.

Now we've had this growth in online platforms, basically faceless management, faceless leasing. If there's a problem ... the next-door neighbour struggles to find an immediate person to talk to. That's one aspect that we've seen change in the last five years. The other aspect is I guess property costs are so much on the coast now, people are buying them as basically commercial investments, as opposed to holiday homes.

Interviewees reported that high numbers of short term rentals in closely settled, often isolated bushland areas, attracted persistent problems. For example, in Eurobodalla the isolated village of South Durras, has experienced a rapid growth of holiday homes operated by absent owners, leading to intense conflicts between residents and visitors. Surrounded by the Murrumbidgee National Park, there are limited retail outlets in the village, so 'guests' often bring in large quantities of alcohol and create loud disturbances late into the night. Single properties are frequently shared by multiple families – often with several dogs. Managing behaviour which is often unruly and sometimes violent is more difficult because police are not stationed in the town. Residents described feeling overwhelmed by tourists and a constant anxiety about who was likely to arrive next door.

Even when able to communicate with non resident 'hosts', the villagers found them generally unwilling or unable to manage guest behaviour.

It's very quiet here. People make noise, you really notice the noise. So certainly with the party house, I've texted the owner to say there's a loud group arrived. It's taken two blokes at a time to carry eskies in and they're carrying loud speakers. In a rather dismissive way he [the host] said, well I'll just remind him it's a quiet neighbourhood.

Online neighbour complaints (such as via the Airbnb site) had proved ineffective for residents of South Durras, with remote online 'responders' unable to resolve situations in real time. Notably Eurobodalla records the lowest proportion of hosts listing multiple properties (31%), lending support to resident claims of poor and absent management by unprofessional operators.

Further, this rise in new investor interest in holiday homes means that these 'second home tourism' communities, particularly those situated in close proximity to metropolitan areas such as Sydney or Melbourne, are likely to experience growing housing market pressure as local residents and holiday rental investors, compete for residential accommodation. Rental increases were recorded for Kiama (3%), Shoalhaven (2.7%) and Bass Coast (7.1%), providing some evidence of rising demand for housing units.

Invasive tourism

Two of the case study communities reported that platform 'home-sharing' had given rise to a form of 'invasive tourism'. In Mornington Peninsula listings are dispersed throughout the towns and villages of the shire, but form the primary source of visitor accommodation (at more than five times the number of tourist beds). In this community, peer to peer holiday rental platforms had been associated with growing resident complaints about anti-social visitor behaviour, noise, dogs, rubbish dumping, and illegal parking (with listings rising by 278% between April 2016–December 2017). The depth of local concern about these issues prompted the local council to develop a new registration system for holiday rental properties, as well as a code of conduct (Shire, 2018).

Consistent with international research on tourism and gentrification, housing pressures have intensified. In Byron Bay and Mornington Peninsula, interviewees reported that employees were rarely able to rent a home in the towns where they worked, or were likely to receive an eviction notices in the lead up to summer.

They'll give you a lease around January and they'll only give you six-month lease and stuff like that so they can, I guess, get you out for those times.

In Byron Bay, where Airbnb listings are equivalent to nearly half of the permanent rental stock (4.3%) and nearly a fifth of all homes (17.6%) are advertised on the platform, interviewees advised that local employees can no longer afford to rent or purchase in the area. The very high rents in Byron (Table 2) reflects a market long out of reach for local residents, at an end stage of gentrification. Further, although new homes are being constructed in Byron Bay, interviewees advised that this new stock is often absorbed by investors as holiday rentals, rather than contributing to permanent housing supply.

The major issue we've got, and it's been raised at some meetings now, is well how are you going to stop that [new] ... housing going to short-term holiday let.

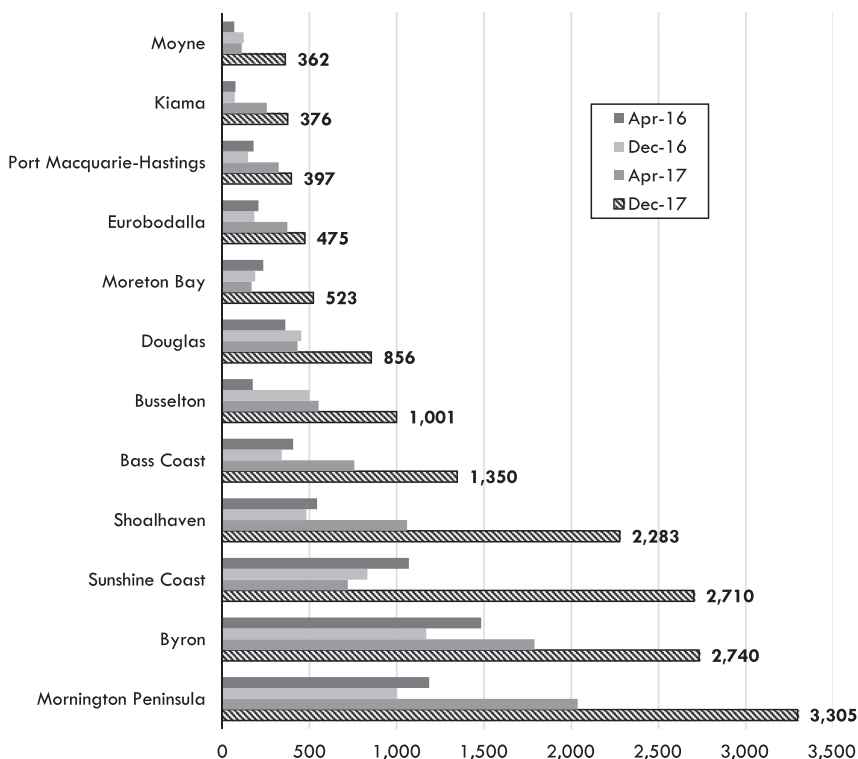


Fig. 3. Growth in Airbnb listings, case study communities. Source: the authors, based on Inside Airbnb data 2016–2017.

Ultimately they described this displacement of lower income residents as a process that would extend to longer term home owning residents, undermining both the community and tourism appeal of Byron itself.

I think one of the big attractions for why people have come here over the last 20 or 30 years has been because of the community. It's that rise of the creative class or whatever you want to [call] it, that's Byron. ... If you take that away, you take away the reason for the [demand] ... they don't want to live in a community that's all tourist accommodation.

The proportion of listings that are private rooms (23.7%) in Byron Bay is higher than many of the other case study communities, though still lower than Australia overall. This form of 'home-sharing' is thought to cause fewer neighbourhood impacts, because hosts can moderate visitor behaviours. It is also positioned (by Airbnb itself) as an anti-gentrification strategy for locals to defray housing costs (Airbnb, 2014). However, in the case of Byron Bay, it seems more likely that renting rooms or beds to tourists is a circular strategy for residents unable to afford rents inflated by tourism demand.

Thus in Byron and Mornington Peninsula, the experience of 'invasive tourism' combines both the transformation of local places and communities through 'touristification' as well as the displacement of lower income local residents through a process of tourist driven gentrification. Some local residents are accommodating tourists in their own homes as a strategy to sustain housing costs inflated by tourism demand.

The following Fig. 3 summarises the above mentioned place based taxonomy varieties.

Mitigating potential risks from platform rentals

Drawing on the case study data and the wider forum discussion, we identify potential risks arising from or exacerbated by peer to peer short term rentals, in relation to community, tourism, and housing market characteristics and propose local governance or planning strategies to manage these risks (Table 3).

As shown, in localities where there is the tourist accommodation sector is well established; or where visitation is seasonal rather than year round; platform 'rentals do not appear to be leading to new or intensive forms of 'touristification'. Similarly, sparse listings in residential suburbs or established second home tourism settings, appear easily absorbed within existing primary or second homes. By contrast, a higher density of listings relative to population, residential or tourist accommodation, or within tightly settled communities, are at increased risk from the negative impacts of tourism.

In these contexts, strategies to spatially separate tourism and residential activities may be needed, such as special tourism and residential zones, to demarcate and separate potentially competing land uses. In other contexts where second home tourism has long co-existed with residential communities, property registration, locally based managers to resolve issues directly, and efforts to

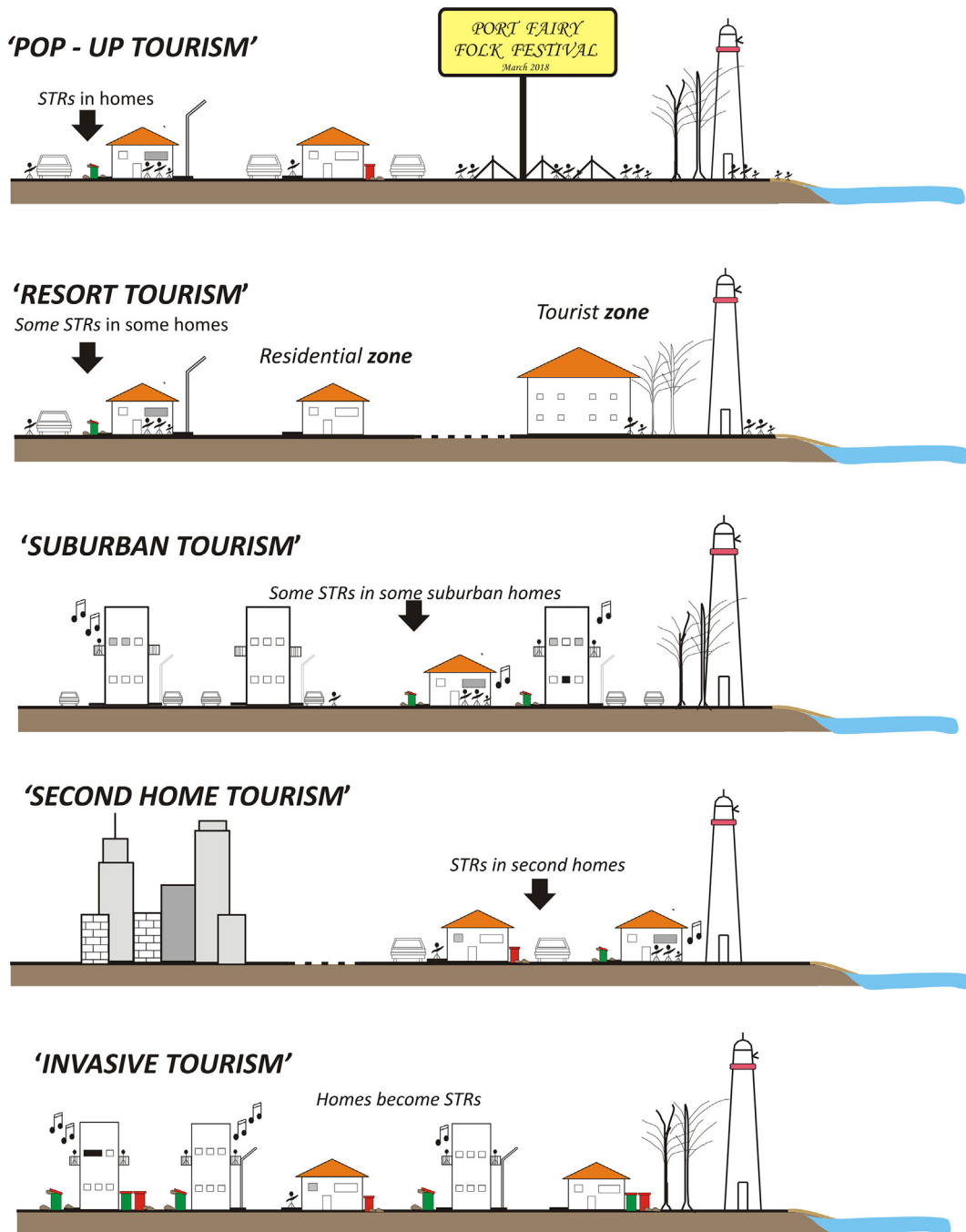


Fig. 4. Varieties of tourism enabled by peer-to-peer platforms for holiday rental accommodation.

educate hosts and visitors about neighbourly norms and expectations (noise, parking, waste disposal, companion animals), are often sufficient. In scenarios where there are serious risks to visitors because of unregulated tourism in fire prone areas, or illegal lodging within apartment buildings, there is a need to increase the regulatory enforcement powers available to local government, including powers to inspect properties and impose financial penalties.

Gentrification risks arising from the conversion of permanent homes to tourism, seem highest when the supply of tourist accommodation is constrained, and a high proportion of the rental stock available for tourists rather than local residents. Local affordable housing strategies as well as regulations to preserve homes and neighbourhoods for local residents, are needed in these contexts.

Implementing these responses will depend in part on platform support in facilitating host compliance with local rules, informing

Table 3
 Identifying/mitigating potential risks from peer to peer accommodation platforms in relation to community, tourism, and housing market characteristics.
 Source: Adapted from Gurran et al., 2018

Characteristic	Low risk	Medium risk	High risk	Risk mitigation
Tourist infrastructure (accommodation quantity and diversity) Housing market	Established and buoyant traditional accommodation sector Stable/falling demand	Holiday houses and traditional accommodation providers Growing price and rental pressures	Primarily holiday houses Low rental vacancy rates, high demand for affordable housing provision	Planning for diverse tourist accommodation supply, relative to market demand and environmental capacity Local affordable housing strategy; monitoring impact on rental supply; limits on short term rental of residential dwellings
Tourism demand/visitation patterns	Limited/episodic (e.g. festivals)	Seasonal	Ongoing	Education material for visitors and hosts in residential accommodation
Neighbourhood/community	Lower density residential area	Medium density areas	Closely settled communities and strata development	Restricting short term renting in closely settled/residential strata communities
Bushfire risk/environmental capacity	Suburban locations, fully serviced	Heavily vegetated areas	Remote/un-serviced/peninsula areas	Restricting and regulating short term renting in remote, fragile, and hazardous settings
Fire/safety risks	Single home, detached low density area	Medium/high density apartment	Informal backpacker/dormitory style budget room or bed rental	Mandatory compliance with applicable building/health safety codes; inspection/enforcement

and educating guests about neighbourhood etiquette, and in sharing data with local authorities.

However, participants in our study reported increasing division over how to respond to platform home-sharing, if at all. Growing local engagement as owners or managers of short term rental accommodation means that resident complaints and industry opposition are often outweighed by tacit support across the wider community. Further, with platforms such as Airbnb adept at mobilising the latent political power of ‘home-sharers’ through seemingly grass roots campaigns, politicians are often reluctant to seriously restrict these activities. Those most affected by ‘touristification’ in their local community often choose to leave (Sequera & Nofre, 2018) joining those priced out by gentrification.

Conclusions: responding to peer to peer accommodation platforms in regional communities

This paper has examined the rise of peer to peer accommodation platforms in coastal Australia, asking whether the negative effects of ‘touristification’ reported in major cities are affecting regional communities in similar ways. Investigating the scale and nature of Airbnb listings, relative to local population, housing, and tourism indicators; and exploring the impacts of these trends with local stakeholders, planners, and industry representatives, we found that Airbnb style platforms have increased and extended demand for residential tourist accommodation across coastal Australia, affecting local neighbourhoods and housing markets in different ways.

Conceptualising these differences as a taxonomy of place-based varieties of tourism, we show how certain communities with highly seasonal visitation have benefited by mobilising latent holiday homes as ‘pop-up’ visitor accommodation. This existing capacity appears to have offset the potential housing market and displacement impacts of rising tourism. In other communities, a tradition of planning for the visitor economy, and a strong infrastructure of formal tourist accommodation, means that growing supply of and demand for short term rentals has acted to diversify accommodation options rather than overwhelm residential communities or real estate markets. However, in other communities, negative neighbourhood and gentrifying effects associated with tourism in dense residential settings or tight rental markets have been exacerbated by peer to peer accommodation platforms.

Overall, our taxonomy is not static, with effects largely depending on the as yet unknown trajectory of peer to peer accommodation platforms and the ways in which policy makers and regulators respond. Nor are the categories strictly discrete – communities defined by ‘second home tourism’ may experience ‘invasive’ impacts in particular neighbourhoods or sub-markets. Similarly, communities characterised by ‘resort’ or ‘suburban’ varieties of tourism may also come to experience more intense impacts if the scale or density of ‘home-sharing’ continues to increase. In responding to these impacts, local governments will face political challenges as resident communities are increasingly divided by competing interests, with ‘hosts’ likely to resist regulatory restrictions demanded by neighbours and or traditional accommodation providers.

Overall, in contributing new empirical data to the small body of work on peer to peer short term rental platforms beyond the major cities, we add to the larger lineage of research on residential tourism as it continues to evolve. Findings highlight the need to further examine processes of ‘touristification’ and related gentrification as they actually occur, including within regional and high amenity settings where the impacts of platform ‘home-sharing’ are only now beginning to emerge.

Statement of contribution

This paper contributes to the emerging body of research on the impacts of peer to peer platforms such as Airbnb for local communities and housing markets, by focusing on nonmetropolitan areas which have received less research attention. It presents new empirical data on the differential impacts of the global peer to peer accommodation platform, Airbnb, in different community types, with reference to 12 case study areas in coastal Australia, and highlights implications for local planning policy and practice. Theoretically, the paper is informed by, and contributes to, the wider literature on the processes and implications of residential tourism, which to date have been silent on the implications of short term rental platforms. It draws on social science techniques of research design, data collection, and analysis.

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