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Airbnbification and chain displacement: Evidence of the nature of gentrification in Fiji

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ABSTRACT

Tourism gentrification has entered a new phase after the rise of short-term renting platforms. Despite many studies on these platform ecosystems, our understanding of gentrification and displacement at low tourist-density destinations remains limited. This study adapts Marcuse's displacement framework to investigate the intricacies and dynamics of displacements induced by Airbnbification in Fiji. Data is collected through semi-structured interviews with 57 participants. The findings revealed a new dimension introduced by Airbnb, wherein the out-migration of remaining residents is influenced by a broader social restructuring that predates Airbnb's emergence. These challenges the notion that displacement is solely attributable to transnational hosts, shedding light on the various temporal and multidimensional aspects. We also propose the concept of chain displacement, which encompasses both direct and indirect forms of exclusion and marginalization in gentrification. This study offers insights for developing effective strategies and regulations to address the issues associated with Airbnbification in Fiji.

1. Introduction

In recent years, gentrification has entered its fifth wave, characterized by the prominent influence of the state and financial actors (Aalbers, 2019). This wave also has been significantly shaped by the rise of various platform ecosystems, with Airbnb, Vrbo (Homeaway), and Booking.com as notable examples. The proliferation of platform ecosystems has catalyzed the fifth wave of gentrification by enabling property owners to convert residkential units into profitable short-term rentals, increasing housing demand and prices. This shift displaces long-term residents and attracts a transient population that alters the social fabric of neighborhoods, making them more appealing to investors and further driving the gentrification process.

Scholars increasingly recognized the substantial connection between these platforms and the process of gentrification, leading to the emergence of the term "Airbnbification" (Mermet, 2022). The advent of these short-term rental (STR) platforms has had a profound impact on the global tourism industry, fundamentally transforming the accommodation sector by empowering property owners to participate in the STRs market and circumventing the traditional structures of the hospitality industry (Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018). In addition, it is difficult for local authorities to regulate and manage (e.g., improving the green performance of the operations) and residents to accommodate disruptions in their daily lives due to the frequent intrusion of diverse visitors into their living spaces (Farmaki et al., 2022; Mody et al., 2021).

Studies reveal that many STR properties are now permanently rented to visitors, contradicting Airbnb's claim of occasional renting, which is typical of the sharing economy practices (Katsinas, 2021). This trend has had detrimental effects on neighborhoods and communities across geographical and social contexts. Additionally, landlords are evicting long-term tenants to establish more profitable STR businesses (Lee, 2016), while local property owners are being displaced by new investors seeking higher returns through buy-to-let investments (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021). Consequently, visitors replace existing residents on a large scale (Cocola-Gant, 2016). This phenomenon aligns with tourism gentrification, a well-documented phenomenon in the field (Chan et al., 2016; Gotham, 2005).

The concept of displacement has been extensively studied across various types of gentrifications, including suburbs and market towns (Smith, 2002), rural (Hines, 2010; Smith & Phillips, 2001), and

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tourism-related (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 1990; Chan et al., 2020; Gotham, 2005). Scholars have debated its occurrence, scale, scope, and relationship (He, 2010; Su, 2012; Zhao et al., 2009). While much of the existing discourse on displacement has centered around in-migration and out-migration, it is crucial to delve into the everyday experiences of residents in gentrifying areas to understand how displacement unfolds over time. Focusing merely on quantifying the number of spatially displaced residents fails to capture the nuanced realities and the complete picture of the phenomenon (Slater, 2006; Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018).

Moreover, existing research, which predominantly focused on regions characterized by prominent tourist cities, historic districts, and towns (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021; González-Pérez, 2020), thereby leaving a gap in our understanding of the impacts of STRs in diverse economic contexts. For example, a limited number of studies were conducted in destinations with a lower degree of tourism, particularly in small and medium-sized cities in the Global South (e.g., Fiji) (Semi & Tonetta, 2021; Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018). In addition, many studies viewed displacement as an event in a singular moment in time, neglecting the temporal aspect of a gentrification process (Bernt & Holm, 2009). We propose that in-depth studying the longitudinal evolution of gentrification in a place would allow us to grasp the intricate dynamics and complexities involved in transforming urban neighborhoods over time. By tracing the progression of gentrification, we can uncover the essential underlying drivers, identify displacement patterns, and gain valuable insights into the social, economic, and cultural impacts on communities.

This study is designed to address these research gaps, taking a novel approach by utilizing Marcuse's conceptual framework of displacement (Marcuse, 1985) to examine the intricacies and dynamics of STRs. Marcuse (ibid, p. 205) proposes that "displacement occurs when any household is forced to move from its residence by conditions that affect the dwelling or its immediate surroundings. , and that: 1) are beyond the household's reasonable ability to control or prevent; 2) occur despite the household's having met all previously imposed conditions of occupancy; and 3) make continued occupancy by that household impossible, hazardous, or unaffordable." There are three layers (and four forms) of displacements in Marcuse's displacement framework, namely, Layer 1: Direct Displacement and Indirect Displacement; Layer 2: Exclusionary Displacement (i) and Displacement due to pressures (ii); and Layer 3: Direct Last-Resident Displacement (iii) and Direct Chain Displacement (iv).

This study aims to comprehensively examine all four forms of displacement, focusing on distinguishing displacements related to Airbnbification from other gentrification processes (e.g., abandonment versus displacement and replacement versus displacement). Specifically, this study examines:

1 How can the concept of displacement be expanded to capture the temporalities and multi-dimensionalities of Airbnbification-induced gentrification?
2 What are the specific factors and mechanisms that contribute to the re-gentrification process of Airbnbification in Fiji, where direct last-resident displacement is limited?
3 How do indigenous Fijians' cultural and social values, such as land-as-life values and community autonomy, shape the impacts of Airbnbification and displacement in Fiji?

Moreover, relying solely on a single instance of forced eviction to assess direct displacement would yield unreliable results, especially considering the higher prevalence of Airbnbification in already gentrified areas. Therefore, it is essential to adopt a nuanced approach that encompasses all four forms of displacement and enables us to discern the specific impacts of Airbnbification. By doing so, we can shed light on the temporalities and multidimensional aspects of displacement that have been largely unexplored, as also suggested by Phillips et al. (2021). This comprehensive approach will provide valuable insights into the broader understanding of displacement and its effects, particularly in the context of small and medium-sized cities.

2. Literature review

2.1. Airbnbification

As part of the platform economy, Airbnb-type sharing economy platforms play a significant role in gentrification driven by tourism and financialization (Aalbers, 2019). Researchers observed that the rise of STRs through platforms such as Airbnb can lead to displacement (Cocola-Gant, 2016; Mermet, 2022). This phenomenon, often referred to as "Airbnbification" by Peters (2016), is particularly common in already gentrified areas, such as city centers, tourist hotspots, and culturally vibrant neighborhoods attracting gentrifiers (Freytag & Bauder, 2018).

These platforms have gained recognition for contributing to society by offering visitors unique and convenient experiences at competitive prices (Shaheen et al., 2012). It has been commended for creating additional employment and income opportunities for local communities (Fang et al., 2016) while serving as an alternative option for property investors entering the market (Fields, 2022). However, there is limited understanding of how this process affects smaller cities or marginalized areas with less tourism (Semi & Tonetta, 2021). To better grasp this phenomenon, urban theorists should adopt a more comprehensive approach that considers shared characteristics, common patterns, and the influence of local factors (Aalbers, 2019).

2.2. The role of platform ecosystem in driving gentrification

Nonetheless, scholars have raised concerns regarding the negative impact of Airbnb and alike, often called the "Airbnb Syndrome" (Mermet, 2017). This concept highlights the economic consequences of increased rents and housing costs associated with these platforms. Airbnb or similar platforms have significantly contributed to the fifth wave of gentrification by reshaping how properties are used and perceived (Aalbers, 2019; Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018). As a platform ecosystem, it allows homeowners to rent out their properties to tourists, often at prices that exceed traditional rental rates. This raises property values and increases rental prices across the board as landlords increasingly view their properties as investment opportunities rather than homes (Cocola-Gant, 2016; Katsinas, 2021). Consequently, long-term residents may find themselves priced out of their neighborhoods, leading to displacement (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021).

Moreover, the rise of sharing economy platforms has coincided with broader economic trends, including the financialization of real estate. Wealthy local and transnational investors are increasingly purchasing properties to convert them into STRs (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021; Jolivet, 2024). This trend has exacerbated housing shortages for long-term residents, as available housing stock is diverted into the short-term rental market (Robertson et al., 2022). The result is a dual crisis: rising housing costs for residents and a growing number of empty properties as they are reserved for transient visitors.

In New York, for instance, the median rent has risen by approximately $380 annually due to the growth of Airbnb and alike (Wachsmuth et al., 2018), and there has been a 0.4% increase in asking rents (Horn & Merante, 2017). From the social perspective, residents expressed concerns about issues such as noise pollution, traffic congestion, and community safety (Cocola-Gant, 2016; Gravari-Barbas & Guinand, 2017) and the difficulty in finding long-term housing options (Celata & Romano, 2022). The growth of platform listings has led to a notable reduction in permanent residents (Freytag & Bauder, 2018).

2.3. Gentrification-induced displacement

In urban studies and research on gentrification, displacement is widely regarded as a pivotal concept in the discourses surrounding

gentrification (Slater, 2006). It refers to when any household is forced to move from its residence by conditions that affect the dwelling or its immediate surroundings and that 1) are beyond the household's reasonable ability to control or prevent; 2) occur despite the household's having met all previously imposed conditions of occupancy; and 3) make continued occupancy by that household impossible, hazardous, or unaffordable (Marcuse, 1985). On this basis, Marcuse (1985) proposed a conceptual framework for measuring different forms of displacement (Fig. 1), which is an essential component of classical gentrification and a beacon guiding research on gentrification-induced displacement (Elliott-Cooper et al., 2020).

Based on Fig. 1, it is suggested that direct displacement can be categorized into two forms: the "direct last-resident displacement," which refers to the displacement of the most recent occupant of a housing unit, and the "direct chain displacement," which involves the displacement of previous occupants of the unit (Marcuse, 1985). It is important to note that the concept of direct displacement has been widely debated in different contexts. For example, in the context of gentrification, residential displacement caused by gentrification typically refers to the gradual replacement of long-time residents by gentrifiers rather than their immediate displacement. Hamnett (2003) argued that in London, the primary process associated with gentrification is the gradual decline of the working class due to factors such as retirement, out-migration, and upward social mobility, and the subsequent growth of the middle class rather than a direct displacement of the former by the latter. Additionally, in cases of new-built gentrification, which involves the construction of new buildings on vacant or abandoned areas like old factories, offices, railway stations, ports, or central markets, there is generally no displacement or replacement of long-time residents, as these areas were either never residential or were abandoned long ago by previous residents (Davidson & Lees, 2005; Hamnett & Whitelegg, 2007).

Furthermore, indirect displacement comes into two forms: the "displacement pressure" and the "exclusionary displacement," which provide insights into the individual experiences of residents amidst the broader impact of gentrification. The idea of displacement pressure refers to the lack of affordable amenities and social connections available to residents during and after neighborhood transformation. As the neighborhoods become less livable, the pressure of displacement intensifies, and it becomes only a matter of time before it becomes a reality (Marcuse, 1985). Exclusionary displacement happens when households cannot find housing in gentrified areas due to affordability issues and the exclusionary nature of the housing market (Marcuse, 1985). Davidson (2008) also expands on this idea by highlighting the influx of economic and cultural resources in gentrified areas, such as establishing upscale businesses.

In addition to the forms of displacement, Marcuse also suggested that abandonment and displacement have ongoing relevance where he claimed that abandonment and displacement could appear "at the same time and virtually side by side" and be seen as "reflections of a single long-term process" (Marcuse, 1985). Specifically, abandonment can be reflected when property owners lose economic interest in ownership. In contrast, displacement refers to properties with heightened economic value, albeit not necessarily with current uses or users. Classical gentrification is usually depicted as a cure for abandonment (Lees et al., 2008). Therefore, the forms of displacement are ultimately the vital moral stakes of gentrification (Slater, 2009), and understanding the extent to which STRs are displacing people from their homes is a crucial topic for future research (Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018). For instance, Cocola-Gant (2016) was the first to apply the combination of direct displacement (e.g., buy-to-let investment in urban communities), exclusionary displacement, and displacement pressure (e.g., housing shortages, the rise in rental prices) to study the phenomenon of Airbnb-induced displacement (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021). As a result, more and more homeowners living in tourist cities are 'voluntarily' selling their flats (Füller & Michel, 2014; Pinkster & Boterman, 2017).

Another important argument made by Jolivet (2024) is that locals are displaced by transnational Cubans or foreigners in a tourist-led development model. However, some locals are also emigrating, freeing up space for transnational inversion. This is an aspect of gentrification in the Global South that is currently overlooked in the literature on Airbnbification. This study attempts to address insufficient case studies in this respect.

However, it would be responsible and unbiased to rely on a single study as the sole indicator of direct displacement caused by Airbnbification, as Airbnb tends to be more prevalent in already gentrified areas (González-Pérez, 2020). In gentrified neighborhoods, residential displacement is likely less intense and more indirect (Ghertner, 2015; Lorenzen, 2021; Marcuse, 2015; Slater, 2009). Therefore, it is crucial to thoroughly examine all forms of displacement (Marcuse, 1985) and distinguish between displacement resulting from Airbnbification and other forms of gentrification (i.e., abandonment versus displacement and replacement versus displacement). The temporalities and multidimensional aspects of displacement in these contexts remain relatively

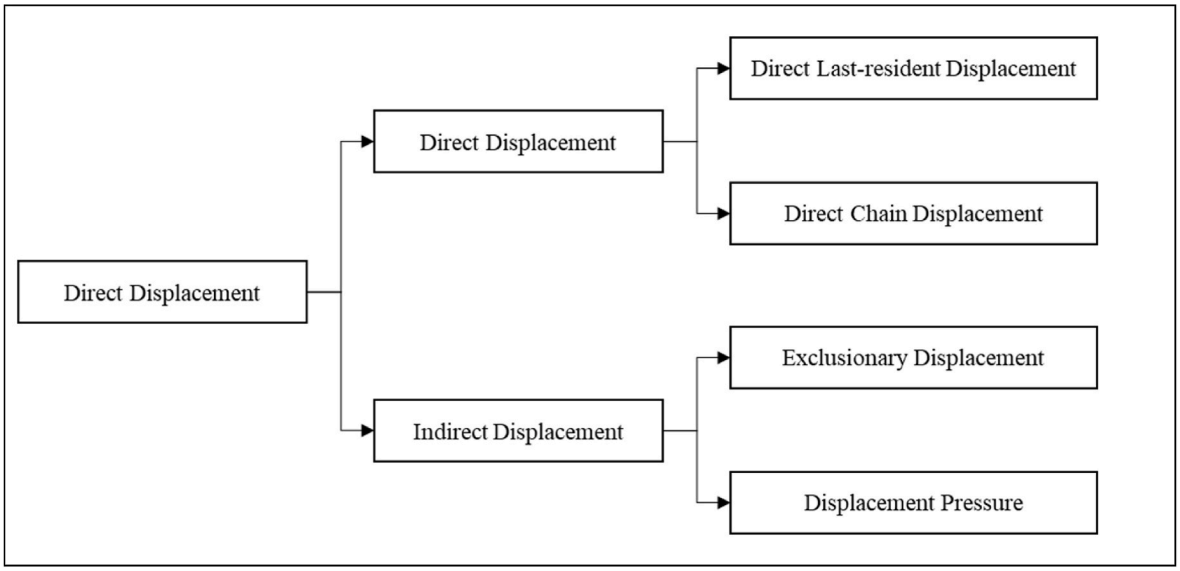

Fig. 1. Initial conceptual framework of displacement (Marcuse, 1985).

unexplored research areas (Phillips et al., 2021).

3. Methodology

3.1. The research context: Fiji and its tourism development

Fiji is selected as the research site due to its distinct economic and social characteristics. It offers a unique context to investigate the consequences of the rise of Airbnbification and enhance the understanding of how it affects communities. Additionally, the practical implications of this study can guide policymakers and governments in developing effective strategies and regulations to tackle the challenges associated with Airbnb, particularly in terms of displacement, and promote more inclusive and sustainable urban development.

In Fiji, tourism development has played a critical role in shaping the local economy, employment opportunities, and foreign exchange earnings. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, the tourism sector attracted approximately 900,000 visitors and contributed roughly $943 million to the country (Connell, 2021). Furthermore, the tourism industry is a significant source of employment, with approximately 100,000 individuals employed in the sector. This accounts for 45% of the labor force and contributes 45% to Fiji's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2021).

Fiji is one of the Small Island Development States (SIDS). SIDS are largely marginalized and understudied despite their vulnerability. Among the very few studies, an exciting case conducted by Jolivet (2024) on transnational gentrification in Cuba identified that more than 50 percent of Havana's STR supply was for the entire dwellings and that Airbnbification has been generated primarily by transnational and foreign owners in Havana or abroad, reaffirming many of the insights in the literature focusing on cases in the UK and North America (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021; Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018). Another study (Aritenang & Iskandar, 2023) showed that Airbnb listings may lead to tourism gentrification in peripheral and residential areas in Bandung City in Indonesia, which differs from cities in developed countries.

With the expansion of tourism in Fiji, there has been a growing demand for STRs, aligning with the global phenomenon of gentrification, as identified by Lees et al. (2015). Platforms like Airbnb have partially met this demand, allowing homeowners to rent their properties to tourists and offering alternative accommodation options beyond traditional hotels and resorts. However, as this trend continues to evolve, the rise of neoliberal urbanism has also given way to a new phenomenon of gentrification in Fiji. Wealthy local and transnational capitalists are now acquiring valuable inner-city spaces, resulting in the displacement of the working-class poor and a housing crisis in urban areas (Mausio, 2021).

The extent and impact of Airbnbification vary across different locations in terms of the number, size, type, and STRs available. Urban areas such as Nadi and Suva tend to have the highest concentration of STRs, while popular tourist destinations such as Denarau Island and Pacific Harbour also feature notable hotspots (Freytag & Bauder, 2018). Furthermore, data obtained from Airdna.co in January 2020 reveals that Fiji had 946 active listings, with 62% comprising entire homes available for rent. This percentage exceeds that observed in major cities, such as New York (51%) (Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018).

Gentrification in Fiji, while smaller in scale compared to more populous regions[1], can be categorized into two distinct waves: the first wave (i.e., sporadic gentrification) and the second wave (i.e., the anchoring of gentrification) (Mausio, 2021). However, the emergence of online rental platforms, such as Airbnb, has introduced what is recognized as a fifth wave of gentrification, characterized by the materialization of finance-led capitalism and the increasing commodification of housing through digital platforms (Aalbers, 2019). The fifth-wave gentrification represents a shift in the dynamics of urban transformation, where technology and financialization play pivotal roles (Aalbers, 2019). This wave is marked by the proliferation of digital platforms that facilitate the short-term rental of residential properties, allowing property owners to engage in a more lucrative market. Unlike previous waves, which were often driven by physical improvements or the influx of middle-class residents, the fifth wave focuses on the economic incentives created by platforms like Airbnb. These platforms enable property owners to capitalize on tourism, converting residential spaces into temporary accommodations and thus reshaping the urban landscape (Cocola-Gant, 2016; Mermet, 2022).

3.2. Consequences of gentrification in Fiji

Gentrification is a double-edged sword, with both positive and negative effects (Chan et al., 2016). Studies in tourism gentrification suggest that these processes can enhance local tourism infrastructure and tourism projects, promote the development of the tourism industry (Liang & Bao, 2015; Lin, 2008), facilitate the process of urban renewal, accelerate the pace of urban development (González-Pérez, 2020; Gotham, 2005), attract more foreign investment and tourists (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021; González-Pérez, 2020), and create a large number of employment opportunities for society (Kesar et al., 2015; Liang & Bao, 2015). For instance, improved amenities and services can benefit both residents and visitors alike.

However, these benefits can come at costs: displacement of long-term residents (Cocola-Gant, 2016; Robertson et al., 2022), disappearance of social fabric and network (Crespi-Vallbona & López-Villanueva, 2024; Pinkster & Boterman, 2017), class differentiation and inequality (López-Gay et al., 2021), rising property values and rents (Crespi-Vallbona & López-Villanueva, 2024; Katsinas, 2021), increasing segregation (González-Pérez, 2020) and social injustice (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021), and disruption of daily rhythm (Pinkster & Boterman,

[1] Low tourist density destinations are destinations with relatively low tourist numbers and relatively low pressure that are not yet over-tourism. Despite being a country with tourism as a prominent industry, the number of visitors in Fiji was only approaching 930,000 in 2023. According to the Fiji Bureau of Statistics, this was a record-high number.Fiji is considered an atypical case compared to other well-established destinations where tourism pressure and local sentiments against tourists could be very high, such as New York (Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018), Barcelona (Cocola-Gant, 2016; Arias-Sans and Quaglieri-Dominguez, 2016), Berlin (Schäfer & Braun, 2016), Lisbon (BarataSalgueiro et al., 2017; Cocola-Gant and Gago, 2021; Lestegas and Seixas, 2019), Paris (Freytag & Bauder, 2018), and Florence (Picascia et al., 2017).Fiji is considered an atypical case compared to other well-established destinations where tourism pressure and local sentiments against tourists could be very high, such as New York (Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018), Barcelona (Cocola-Gant, 2016), Berlin (Schäfer & Braun, 2016), Lisbon (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021; Lestegas et al., 2019), Paris (Freytag & Bauder, 2018), Florence (Picascia et al., 2017).

2017; Um & Yoon, 2021). These are significant drawbacks that often accompany gentrification.

In contrast, less is known about gentrification in SIDS, such as Fiji, which is heavily dependent on tourism despite tourism pressures remaining low. There are limited studies focusing on gentrification in Fiji (see Mausio, 2021). The impacts of gentrification and tourism development in Fiji are multifaceted. On the one hand, these processes can enhance local tourism infrastructure and tourism projects, promote the development of the tourism industry, facilitate the process of urban renewal, accelerate the pace of urban development, absorb more foreign investment and tourists, and create many employment opportunities for society (Harrison & Prasad, 2013; Movono et al., 2018). Mausio (2021) investigates Suva redevelopment and new-build gentrification, arguing that the gentrification process is a potential crisis of urban social change facing Fijians. The displacement of long-term residents, disturbance of natural resources, disruption of indigenous socio-cultural systems, changes in the way of life, loss of traditional livelihoods, removal of the sense of community belonging, and increased socio-spatial injustice are significant drawbacks that often accompany tourism gentrification in Fiji.

As the fifth wave of the gentrification frontier rolls out to Fiji, understanding the impact of Airbnbification on displacement is crucial but remains very limited. Building upon Marcuse's framework, this study focuses on Fiji as an atypical case within the context of Small Island Developing States (SIDS). It examines the various forms of displacement resulting from Airbnbification. The research explores these forms of displacement from the perspectives of two key stakeholders: transnational hosts and local residents.

3.3. Method and data

This research takes a qualitative constructivist approach, aiming to delve into personal experiences and offer fresh insights into the phenomenon of Airbnbification (Charmaz, 2005; Matteucci & Gnoth, 2017; Slater, 2006). The recruitment of participants utilized purposive sampling, employing the maximum difference and information saturation sampling strategy as proposed by Pan, Yao, and Huang (2010). These criteria involved combining spatial distribution data from Airdna.co and selecting transnational hosts and residents near Nadi and Suva, where STRs are highly prevalent. The data collection phase was conducted until no new information emerged, indicating that information saturation had been achieved, following the approach described by Fusch and Ness (2015).

For data collection, online qualitative in-depth interviews were conducted in English due to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and travel restrictions in Fiji. WeChat video was used as the platform for conducting interviews with the participants. Semi-structured interviews offer various advantages, including openness, flexibility, and confidentiality, enabling the capture of a wide range of perspectives, experiences, and sense-making (Braun et al., 2017). This method promotes disclosure, participation, data quality, and social comfort (Braun et al., 2021). The semi-structured interviews took place between May 2021 and February 2022, with interview durations ranging from 30 to 90 min. The study involved 57 participants, including 21 transnational hosts (see details in Table 1) and 32 residents (see details in Table 2) living near STRs.

The interviews conducted covered the following topics: 1) the transnational hosts' motives for immigrating, entrepreneurial experience and operating conditions of the STRs, daily life, and the impact on the community; 2) the history of the house, the reasons for leasing or selling and whereabouts of the original owners; 3) attitudes of residents towards transnational hosts and guests, perceptions of community changes induced by Airbnbification; 4) tourism and real estate development, housing price/rental prices, social systems and cultural customs in Fiji.

Table 1
Socio-demographic profile of samples of transnational hosts.

Variables	Respondents	Variables	Respondents
Gender		City	
Males	9	Suva	6
Females	12	Nadi	15
Age		Residence length (years)	
26 to 35	10	1 to 3	2
36 to 45	5	4 to 6	8
46 to 55	3	7 to 9	4
56 or above	3	10 to 12	4
Country		13 or above	3
China	13	Operating length (years)	
Australia	3	1 to 2	3
New Zealand	2	3 to 4	13
French	1	5 or above	5
Germany	1	Rooms	
Papua New Guinea	1	2 to 5	9
Education		6 to 10	4
High school	7	11 to 20	3
Undergraduate	14	21 to 30	5

Table 2
Socio-demographic profile of samples of residents.

Variables	Respondents	Variables	Respondents
Gender		Occupation	
Males	14	Self-employed entrepreneurs	4
Females	18	Technicist/Teacher/ Nurse	5
Age		Farmer	4
16 to 25	2	Employees of Company	7
26 to 35	9	Freelancer	5
36 to 45	12	Unemployed	7
46 to 55	9	City	
Nation		Suva	11
Fijians	18	Nadi	21
Indo-Fijians	10	Residence length (years)	
Fijian-Australians	2	3 to 5	4
Samoan-Fijian	1	6 to 15	5
Muslim-Fijian	1	16 to 25	6
Education		26 to 35	4
Middle school and below	10	36 to 45	1
High school	16	Native	12
Undergraduate	6		

3.4. Findings

This study used the thematic analysis method for data analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Yousaf & Fan, 2020). Consistent with a deductive approach (Shepherd & Sutcliffe, 2011), the thematic analysis process is cyclical or iterative rather than linear. It involves constant comparison and analysis of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In addition, to ensure systematic coding, this article adopts the qualitative analysis software Atlas.ti 9 as an auxiliary research tool. The generated themes and nodes are shown in Table 3. Additional data regarding the interviewees (transnational hosts and residents) and related quotations and themes are in the online supplementary file (Appendices 1, 2, and 3).

Airbnbification in European cities often involves the direct displacement of the last residents (Cocola-Gant, 2016). However, in the case of Fiji, there is little evidence showing investors displacing long-term property owners and tenants in this process. Instead, the displacement is characterized as "autonomy displacement," where the last residents voluntarily sell or rent out unoccupied properties to gain financial benefits or pursue better opportunities before the STR boom.

The last residents are mainly the upper middle class and even some wealthy elites, whose autonomy displacement makes space for

Table 3
Relevant themes, principal nodes, and secondary nodes.

Dominant Themes	Principal nodes	Secondary nodes
Airbnbification-induced displacement	Autonomy displacement	Active rent-seeking Active reselling
	Chain displacement	Housing speculation
	Exclusionary displacement	Increases in house price Increases in rent Affordability pressures
	Displacement pressure	Price increases Spatial segregation Overcrowding Noise pollution Ecological damage

Airbnbification. The wealthy elites are at the helm of Fiji's economic lifeblood and own large tracts of freehold land[22] (i.e., some with buildings and some with vacant land) and are expected to derive economic benefits from selling or leasing the property. The upper middle class in Fiji tends to migrate to other developed countries after accumulating a certain amount of capital to pursue better living conditions and avoid the security risks associated with political instability (Lee, 2019; Narayan & Smyth, 2006). According to the Fiji Bureau of Statistics (2021), Fiji's emigrant population reached 135,840 from 2012 to 2018, accounting for about 15% of the total population of Fiji in 2021. As propounded by an interviewee,

> "This land is available; we need to lease it. Like my brother's family and mine, we have about six and a half acres of land. When investors come, he takes an acre. He would gladly pay a million and a half or something like it. It's a resort area, so I'm going to give you one small piece, and I'm going make a million dollars. Investment is most welcome. Can they come? Can they come faster? … It was for the betterment (of the landlords) because the guesthouse host paid 50,000 to 800,000 dollars to the owner. Here is your money; move out as I like to purchase it. Please agree. And when you do some math, it will take you three lifetimes to make that much money. You know you won't earn 300,000–400,000 dollars from sugarcane farming. It was damn good" (R13: male, 50, Fijian of Indian descent, Nadi, freelancer)

The distinction between Airbnb-induced autonomy displacement in Fiji and displacement in European cities is evident. In Europe, the process of Airbnbification often leads to the displacement of existing property owners (i.e., including long-term property owners and tenants) (Amore et al., 2022; Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021; Richards et al., 2020; Rozena & Lees, 2023). This displacement occurs because of the influx of more affluent groups, such as investors, professional developers, and landlords (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021; Mermet, 2022), exacerbating class struggle and pre-existing inequalities. Conversely, in Fiji, the dynamics of displacement are characterized by the movement of transnational labor migrants into the country and the simultaneous out-migration of specific segments of the upper middle class (Hamnett, 2003).

Secondly, concerning the willingness to undergo displacement, Airbnbification is generally and frequently characterized by a sense of compulsion and resignation to displacement (Cocola-Gant, 2016; Pinkster & Boterman, 2017). In the context of Fiji, the middle and upper classes, as the "victims" of Airbnbification, are primarily motivated by pursuing enhanced opportunities rather than a sense of compulsion. Furthermore, the temporal aspect of displacement exhibits notable distinctions between Fiji and European contexts. Although voluntary property sales occurred, their nature and timing differ fundamentally. In many European cities, the voluntary sale of family flats typically transpires after the emergence of Airbnbification, when local homeowners can no longer endure the pressures exerted by buy-to-let investors seeking properties and the disruptive effects caused by tourists (Cocola-Gant, 2016; Pinkster & Boterman, 2017). However, for the latter, the voluntary sale of properties occurred during the pre-Airbnbification phase, wherein the upper-middle class had already rented or sold properties to transnational labor migrants before the surge in STR activity. Finally, it is essential to note that the sale and rental of property by Fiji's upper and middle class should not be considered abandonment but displacement, as these properties hold higher economic value and need to be realized (Marcuse, 1985).

3.5. Chain displacement

Chain displacement, which refers to a series of consecutive displacements before the final instance of displacement and gentrification, extends the temporality of displacement. As gentrification accelerates, deepens, and differs in type, it is essential to trace the history to avoid a simple measurement of displacement.

The remaining residents in Fiji primarily consist of the upper middle class and wealthy elite, many of whom are of Indo-Fijian descent. As Fiji's housing prices experienced a significant increase, the wealthy elite among the Indo-Fijians capitalized on organized real estate acquisition, benefiting from the appreciation of property values and subsequently engaging in reselling or subletting. This process has resulted in the displacement of certain residents and tenants. However, the situation differs for Indigenous Fijians due to the high value placed on land ownership. Indigenous Fijians hold nearly 90% of land ownership and consider land an integral part of their way of life, making them less inclined to relinquish it easily. Additionally, when Indo-Fijians attempt to acquire undeveloped reserves owned by Indigenous Fijians, they must obtain consent from more than half of the villagers within the owning clan. Consequently, the upper middle class and wealthy elite among Indo-Fijians have limited access to land owned by indigenous Fijians.

> "Most of us indigenous landowners have large pieces of land. It's never one-person decisions, but the whole clan who makes decisions as such to sell their land to Fijians of Indian descent or foreigners. If they do sell, it was done with careful consideration always to ensure our future generations are taken care of and have their share too once they reach adulthood" (R4 male 43 Fijian Nadi host)

Furthermore, a segment of the upper middle class in Fiji acquires real estate through inheritance. From the mid-1870s, Indian indentured labor was brought to Fiji to address the shortage of plantation workers. Over time, many Indian merchants, workers, and teachers arrived in Fiji and gradually accumulated economic and political capital. They could purchase freehold land from departing British colonists or obtain 99-year leases from indigenous Fijians. As a result, Indian descendants acquired real estate through inheritance, becoming gentrifiers through the inheritance process without forced evictions.

> "Before these guesthouses, they were estates, like owners' freehold land and owned by local people who were born way back in 1930 or 1940! So, eventually, they died, and their sons moved throughout, and they sold the property, so hosts acquired it by way of sales which persist it" (R13: male, 50, Fijian of Indian descent, Nadi, freelancer)

3.6. Exclusionary displacement

Exclusionary displacement, a phenomenon that is often challenging to identify and analyze (Marcuse, 1985; Slater, 2009), has gained significant attention in recent years due to the rapid expansion of Airbnb

[2] Around 8% of the total land in Fiji is freehold, which can, in principle, be bought and sold; over 80% is inalienable native lands; a portion of Indigenous land, known as "reserves", can be leased, and the remainder is state lands. For further explanation, see Ward (1969) as cited in Bertana, A. (2020).

(Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021). The burgeoning tourism industry and the flourishing STR market in Nadi have transformed the city into a desirable destination, attracting an increasing number of transnational investors and real estate speculators. Consequently, housing prices (i.e., in property acquisitions and rental rates) have surged, significantly impacting mobile tenants, particularly those from lower-income brackets. These tenants express profound concerns about the accessibility of suitable housing. In response, the Fiji government has enacted an amendment to the Land Sales Act, effectively imposing restrictions on foreign investors seeking to acquire scarce freehold land within urban boundaries (Mausio, 2021).

> "Wailoaloa is a popular area now. Everyone wants to move down here due to the beaches and the resorts, so that's increased prices for rental and properties. The tenants had moved out of the area, even I can't afford a house" (R11: male, 45, Fijian-Australian, Nadi, freelancer)

It is essential to acknowledge that the idea of exclusionary displacement is not solely attributable to the expansion of Airbnb. Preceding the advent of Airbnbification, exclusionary displacement could already occur when affluent individuals from the upper-middle-class segments of society voluntarily sell their properties, thereby effectively excluding low-income and emerging middle-class populations. This observation extends the findings of Phillips et al. (2021) and sheds light on a previously unexplored approach within the context of exclusionary displacement. Specifically, during the preceding phase of Airbnbification, areas that have yet to undergo gentrification employ various strategies to attract investment. These strategies often lead to newly developed residential areas becoming highly desirable locations for real estate investment, resulting in an influx of the affluent middle-class, who engage in property renovation or reconstruction. This phenomenon aligns with the concept of "displacement under heightened housing market competition" posited by Grier and Grier (1978). As Hassan (2014) underscores, Fiji's urban housing crisis was already apparent at the turn of the millennium, indicating that exclusionary displacement has been a longstanding issue in the country.

> "Foreigners who purchased land and properties in Fiji reached a peak around 2014 because, at that time, Fiji's land policy was relatively open compared to now. Any citizens with foreign passports could buy freehold land. At that stage, there were indeed many buyers from overseas, and the large influx had a relatively large impact on the local real estate market, especially on the real estate situation in Nadi, which had a relatively large upward effect. After more than ten years of development, it has increased by about 4–5 times compared to 2010. Now the real estate price in Fiji has risen a lot compared to the original" (I1: male, 35, Chinese, Suva, newspaper editor-in-chief)

Moreover, the COVID-19 pandemic has also exposed the vulnerability of the accommodation industry, leading to an indirect exclusion of transient tenants from the local community. During the outbreak of COVID-19, Fiji's government implemented isolation policies, resulting in a severe downturn in the STR, which heavily relies on international tourists. Numerous Airbnb accommodations have been compelled to shut down their operations entirely. As a result, individuals who relied on Airbnb for income have faced job losses, forcing them to return to their hometowns due to financial constraints.

> "During COVID-19, I think many people moved back to the village and things like that because guesthouses basically shut down and there was no work" (R17: female, 23, Australian-Fijian, Nadi, stock trader)

In addition, exclusionary displacement persists from the preceding stage of Airbnbification to the current stage. This displacement is a result of the convergence of traditional gentrification, Airbnbification, government regulations, and the impact of COVID-19, which collectively led to the exclusion of local low-income and middle-income populations and the transnational middle class from the community. Consequently, this exacerbates the process of gentrification within the community, further marginalizing these groups.

3.7. Displacement pressure

Displacement pressure and price increases are two significant impacts of Airbnbification on the community. Airbnbification has led to several adverse outcomes, including price hikes, spatial segregation, overcrowding, noise pollution, and ecological damage. These effects have generated a sense of displacement pressure and perceived threat among community residents. For instance, one resident expressed dissatisfaction with the changes brought about by Airbnbification, highlighting that the benefits primarily accrue to property owners, predominantly foreigners, rather than benefiting the local community or future generations.

> "The changes are not benefiting me and my future generations, nor either the community. The changes are only benefiting the owners of the place, which are mostly foreigners, not locals" (R2: male, 43, Fijian, Nadi, freelancer)

3.8. Price increases

While the emergence of commercial facilities associated with Airbnbification has brought convenience to tourists and residents, the resultant price increase has become a deterrent for community residents. It is important to note that rising prices in the community cannot be solely attributed to Airbnbification, as other factors, such as Nadi's popularity as a tourist destination, with various restaurants and hotels, and its role as a transit point for travelers heading to the outer islands, also contribute to the overall price increase.

> "The pricing in this area has gone up. I'm not really sure that's a direct correlation to actual guesthouses. I think it's more than just the area. Nadi is just a hot spot because it has a few restaurants, small hotels, and tourists. It's usually one of their first stops before they go out to the outer islands, so I think that's another reason why pricing has gone up" (R17: female, 23, Fijian-Australian, Nadi, stock trader)

3.9. Spatial segregation

Transnational hosts, as a newly emerging social class, contribute to the spatial segregation of residential areas, social spaces, and psychological spaces within Fijian communities (Van Noorloos & Steel, 2016). This segregation is evident in the fragmented distribution of living spaces and variations in living standards. Different social classes, characterized by diverse income levels and cultural backgrounds, result in residential fragmentation and segregation across the city. For instance, in Wailoaloa, the accommodations provided for guests appear isolated from the community. The architectural styles of transnational hosts starkly contrast with those of residents, showcasing a blend of heterogeneity and localization. The transnational hosts' architecture features a chic aesthetic with carefully designed courtyards, cobblestone paths, iron fences, and swimming pools. In contrast, the buildings of community residents are characterized by simplicity while maintaining an original and ecological courtyard landscape.

In the upscale Denarau community in Fiji, H11 has rented a villa. This community is managed in a closed-style manner, with a single entrance and exit, and round-the-clock security patrols. The residents primarily comprise local elites and transnational gentrifiers, forming an enclave community. According to data from Airdna.co, the community is densely populated, with nearly thirty active listings, and the entire homes category accounts for 100% of the residential properties.

> "Taking my current community as an example, there are almost no Indigenous Fijian people on this road, and all of them are sold to secondary buyers. Real estate developers have not developed the street further back, an indigenous Fijian-dominated area. It is due to their housing conditions may not be particularly good, without any magnificent courtyard walls and not been well designed" (H19: female, 32, New Zealander, Suva, private business owner and host)

Furthermore, at the social level, a clear distinction is observed between the social circles of transnational hosts and community residents. This distinction is attributed to disparities in cultural backgrounds and practices, resulting in a prominent ethnic boundary divide. Factors like geographic proximity, language, shared interests, ideologies, and values contribute to establishing this boundary. The communication circles of transnational hosts naturally emerge, predominantly consisting of fellow immigrants from their home countries. They often arrange informal visits, communal meals, tea gatherings, casual conversations, strolls, and participation in fitness activities.

> "I joined a Taijiquan team organized by the Chinese. The team consisted of 30–40 people. The participants were mainly Chinese, but also whites and blacks. They practiced for two hours every morning" (H10: female, 50+, Chinese, Suva, host)

Additionally, there is a noticeable lack of substantial interaction between transnational hosts and community residents, with social engagement mainly limited to superficial exchanges like daily greetings. Certain community members have expressed concerns about unfair treatment when supporting businesses operated by transnational hosts. This issue is evident in the differential treatment observed between local and foreign customers, colloquially known as "treating people in different ways."

> "When I went to W Beach resort one time in Christmas, oh my god, my husband and I were both talking to one lady here, and the way she treated us and the way she treated foreign guests were very different. So, my husband told her off directly: we paid the same price - $200 for a room per night here. Therefore, she stopped treating us differently. |We teach her not to do that again; don't differentiate between the locals and the tourists" (R16: female, 32, Fijian, Nadi, housewife)

At the psychological level, the separation between living and social space exacerbates insecurity and internal conflicts for some residents, diminishing their sense of identity and attachment to the place. The motives of transnational hosts are not entirely altruistic, as their activities often evoke resistance from the local community. On the other hand, the rise of community STRs driven by transnational hosts has accelerated modernization and the pace of life, creating a sense of spatial ambiguity and detachment among community residents.

3.10. Overcrowding

Airbnbification contributes to crowding in three main ways: building congestion, traffic congestion, and increasing the number of residents. This happens when transnational hosts either acquire unused land for new accommodations or expand their existing homes for STR operations, causing building congestion. Traffic congestion is worsened due to the merging of regular and tourist traffic within towns. Additionally, the rapid growth of STRs has led to a significant rise in resident numbers, effectively saturating the community.

3.11. Noise pollution

In Fiji, STRs typically have a courtyard-style layout with amenities such as restaurants and pools, which can become social hubs. However, this can result in noise pollution, potentially causing disputes with neighbors. Despite this, most transnational hosts are believed to be aware of these noise issues and respond quickly to complaints. They often take proactive steps, such as communicating with guests via the Airbnb platform to prohibit disruptive activities like parties explicitly. Moreover, there are variations in the perception of noise pollution in the surrounding neighborhoods based on temporal, spatial, and age factors. Spatially, the perception of noise is more pronounced on weekends in areas closer to the STRs than those farther away, with older individuals tending to be more sensitive to noise than younger ones.

> "Friday and Saturday night, maybe things get a bit louder, but for me, I'm happy the people of the party and have fun, so it doesn't bother me" (R23: female, 28, Fijian, Nadi, waitress)

It is important to note that noise pollution can equally affect those staying in STRs. One notable example is the cultural activities of the local community, including folkloric and religious events, which have generated complaints and led to tensions between transnational hosts and their neighbors. These cultural activities hold immense significance to the indigenous peoples, forming an integral part of their heritage. Unfortunately, the complaints raised by transnational hosts regarding the noise generated during these events are frequently misconstrued by the indigenous locals as a disregard for their ideological beliefs and ethnic culture.

> "We don't make noise. Sometimes we must complain to them. When there are activities in the village, it is very noisy, which will affect the rest of our guests here, but this is very rare, almost none" (H17: male, 36, New Zealander, Nadi, transnational host)

3.12. Ecological damage

Frequent demolition or new construction activities undertaken by transnational hosts to upgrade facilities to catering international visitors often result in ecological changes. These construction works can have detrimental effects on existing vegetation and habitats, potentially leading to concerns within the communities (Phillips et al., 2008).

4. Displacement concerns and community engagement

Marcuse (1985) suggests that displacement pressure will eventually result in actual displacement, which is only a matter of time. However, despite some residents expressing concerns about the potential for displacement, the current perception of displacement pressure among community residents is not strongly evident, as evidenced by nearly 90% of respondents exhibiting positive attitudes towards transnational hosts. This positive perception can be attributed to several key factors. Firstly, transnational hosts actively engage with the community, involving residents in operating and managing their STR businesses. This is markedly different from buy-to-leave investors commonly found in many European cities. This active participation fosters a sense of community integration and economic empowerment and helps address potential complaints and maintain a harmonious environment. The second factor is the influence of the island lifestyle, where residents enjoy the present moment and embrace their lives.

> "Opening a guesthouse is a good thing because it's another future for children, more businesses, more work, more jobs. And people here are not complaining" (R1: female, 55, Samoan-Fijian, Nadi, florist)

> "I prefer current life because it's the atmosphere where the people come to stay, I can meet new people and make new friends, the community become livelier" (R1: female, 55, Samoan-Fijian, Nadi, florist)

Moreover, the Fijian community is known for its lower population density, with bungalows being the prevalent housing type. As a result, Fiji experiences a notably less crowded population than the mixed residential and tourist apartment buildings commonly seen in many

European cities (Cocola-Gant, 2016). Therefore, the threat and pressure of displacement are relatively weak in Fiji. In addition, Fiji's local lodging industry boasts a rich development history. Many residents have grown up in such an environment, witnessing its continuous growth of hospitality. As a result, they might be more accustomed to the presence of STRs and the associated impact on the community.

> "Some of them like Traveler's Beach; it was there when I was not born, and some may be less than or more than 20 years … The neighbors don't like the guesthouse, but they became accustomed to the guesthouses, mainly because most of them grew up around guesthouses and have adapted to the environment" (R15: male, 40, Fijian, Nadi, farmer)

This article argues that Airbnb's displacement has far-reaching and complex effects over an extended period. These effects are observed in both the pre-Airbnbification gentrification and the current phase of Airbnbification (see Fig. 2). It is important to note that this phenomenon differs significantly from traditional gentrification, where the displacement of residents and property upgrades tend to happen rapidly and simultaneously (Glass, 1964).

During the pre-Airbnbification phase, affluent individuals in the local community strategically acquired properties with the potential for appreciation. This initiated a limited chain of displacement and exclusionary practices as these individuals sought to maximize their economic gains through property resales and subletting. Additionally, transnational hosts, driven by entrepreneurial motives, further accelerated the Airbnbification phenomenon by leasing and purchasing properties from local communities for STR activities.

Several negative consequences in the later stage of Airbnbification exacerbate displacement pressure among long-term residents. These consequences include escalating prices, spatial segregation, overcrowding, noise pollution, and ecological damage. The displacement resulting from rising house prices and rents further marginalizes low-income and middle-class individuals within severely Airbnbified communities, leading to exclusionary displacement.

5. Discussion and conclusions

This article examines the forms of displacement induced by Airbnbification in Fiji and their impacts in complex contexts where different stages of global and local gentrification interact with multiple types of gentrification: new-built, tourism, and immigrant. We adopted the Marcuse displacement framework of classical gentrification to assist the analysis of 57 interviews conducted in Fiji.

It is essential to note that the Airbnbification in Fiji, a Pacific SIDS, is the result of transnational hosts renting or taking out loans to purchase (commercial) housing before the short-term rental boom and then incidentally relying on Airbnb to increase their incomes and maintain an intermediate position. This differs significantly from the prevalence of buy-to-let investment in many European touristic cities (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021; Katsinas, 2021). In addition, gentrification in Fiji is characterized by the convergence of new-built and tourism gentrification, with a limited direct displacement of long-term residents. Fiji's Airbnbification process involves the voluntary selling or renting out of unoccupied properties by the last residents due to upward socioeconomic transitions before the STR boom.

Fiji's Airbnbification process corroborates many insights from the literature on gentrification in the Global South. The unique institutional arrangements of land ownership reduce the risk of direct displacement of Indigenous villagers (Chen et al., 2024; Kan, 2021). Unlike what has happened in the Chinese context, the actors in the process of Fiji's gentrification are not the middle class or creative workers, but the upper middle class and wealthy elites, who benefitted from the sale of property or active rent-seeking (Qian et al., 2013; Zhao, 2019). This article responds to Jolivet's (2024) concerns about the relationship between gentrification and migration in the Global South. Fiji is experiencing a phenomenon like Cuba's, where the migration of locals makes room for transnational gentrification. Still, the difference is that there is no explicit class shift in Fiji. Instead, it is an autonomous displacement for the upper middle class and even some wealthy elites.

In summary, this article presents six compelling arguments in support of this view: (1) Airbnbification is a re-gentrification process, where the out-migration of the last residents is often a result of broader social

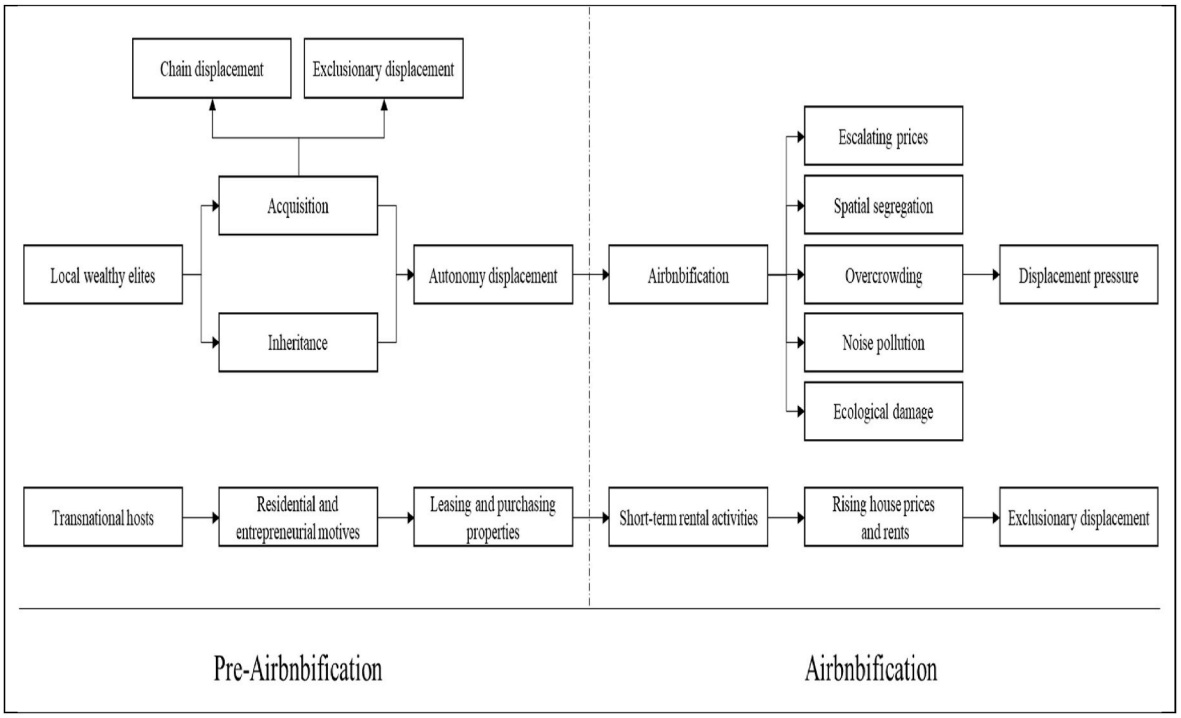

Fig. 2. Airbnbification-induced displacement in Fiji.

restructuring preceding Airbnbification, and stable transnational hosts typically replace long-term residents rather than displace them; (2) Some last residents can benefit from Airbnbification by selling or renting out their property; (3) Transnational hosts, who engage in STR activities, are intermediate-level tourist labor migrants who rent or purchase housing before transitioning to STRs; (4) Indigenous Fijians' land-as-life values and community autonomy prevent extensive displacement; (5) Subsequent new-built gentrification by transnational hosts, which is more prevalent in Fiji, does not directly affect the housing of the long-term residents; and (6) New economic opportunities and job creation associated with Airbnbification may discourage out-migration from the community. Moreover, this article addresses the missing aspect of chain displacement, where a small number of low-income individuals experience direct displacement due to property investments by wealthy elites in Fiji.

Additionally, our findings reveal that some Indigenous people in Fiji perceive displacement pressure and threats, resulting in a loss of sense of place (Atkinson, 2004). Rising prices, spatial segregation, overcrowding, noise pollution, and ecological destruction cause this perception. However, unlike their counterparts in many European and American cities (e.g., Athens, Lisbon, Milan, Utrecht, and Barcelona), who often exhibit strong negative attitudes towards STR development (Amore et al., 2022; Gursoy et al., 2009; Diedrich & García-Buades, 2009), community residents in Fiji may have varied perceptions regarding the degree of displacement pressure generated by STR. Therefore, we suggest that Airbnbification in Fiji represents a re-gentrification process with minimal displacement, contributing to the ongoing evolution and continuation of gentrification processes. However, in areas unaffected by over-tourism or marginalization, where direct last-resident displacement is not a significant concern, further discussion is warranted regarding the core characteristic of Airbnbification. This may necessitate flexibility in Airbnbification models.

We propose examining the concept of temporal and multidimensional factors for a more comprehensive understanding of the gentrification process and the displacement dynamics. Airbnbification is often intertwined with various forms of gentrification, resulting in the displacement of residents, and there may be factors beyond gentrification contributing to the phenomenon as well. In Fiji, Airbnbification occurs in areas already undergoing gentrification and is closely linked to tourism gentrification. In this regard, it is essential to acknowledge the concept of chain displacement. The results reveal that the abandonment of real estate before Airbnbification created physical space for its expansion. The organized acquisition of real estate by Indo-Fijians resulted in limited displacement.

Exclusionary displacement is observed throughout all stages of the Airbnbification process in Fiji. Even before the advent of Airbnbification, low-income groups were already marginalized due to the new-built gentrification in Fiji. With the emergence of Airbnbification, the combined effects of Airbnbification, transnational gentrification, and tourism gentrification further exclude the low-income and middle-class segments of the population.

In conclusion, this article expands Marcuse's (1985) conceptual framework of displacement to include temporalities and multi-dimensionalities. It not only emphasizes whether the immigration of transnational hosts leads to direct last-resident displacement but also discusses whether leasing or selling leads to chain gentrification. This study also fully considers the indirect displacement reflecting the individual experiences of community residents, contrasting the simplified version of the phenomenon of Airbnbification-induced displacement.

This qualitative case study provides valuable insights into Airbnbification and its role in gentrification but has limitations. Generalizing findings across the Pacific Islands is challenging due to cultural differences in Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia. Future research should explore Airbnbification-induced gentrification globally, considering temporality, forms of displacement, and residents' attitudes.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Bojian Lei: Writing – original draft, Methodology, Investigation, Formal analysis, Conceptualization. **Ying Zhang:** Supervision, Resources, Methodology, Funding acquisition, Conceptualization. **Thomas Chun Tung Kiu:** Writing – review & editing. **Jin Hooi Chan:** Writing – review & editing, Supervision, Resources, Methodology, Funding acquisition, Conceptualization.

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Declaration of competing interest

Authors declare that no conflict of interest exists.

Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhtm.2024.12.003.

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