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RESEARCH ARTICLE



Exploring the perceived conflicts by rural residents in relation to the expansion of the second-homes

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to discover and analyze the perceived conflicts by the villagers regarding the expansion of the second-homes. For this purpose, a qualitative methodology has been adopted to investigate the subject. Accordingly, the rural tourist destination of the Binalood region in northeastern IRAN are selected as the sample. Then, based on the qualitative analysis conducted by the grounded theory, the perceived conflict caused by the expansion of second-homes is identified. Findings indicated seven key perceived conflicts by the local community about the expansion of second-homes including economic conflicts, structural conflicts, mass, and unplanned tourism, civil protests, social conflicts, environmental conflicts, and physical conflicts. Therefore, to augment solidarity between the indigenous community and second-homeowners, it is essential to address these conflicts.

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Rural destinations; second-homes; perceptual experience; conflicts

1. Introduction

New tourism destinations are emerging to meet the growing needs of tourists (Nouza, Ólafsdóttir, & Sæþórsdóttir, 2018). Accordingly, the emergent phenomenon of travel to 'second-homes' (Wong & Musa, 2015) has gained momentum in today's societies, becoming one of the most prevalent forms of tourism in many countries (Back, 2020). It is estimated that half of the Scandinavian households possess a second-home (Barnett, 2014; Rye, 2011). Therefore, the second-home tourism has received growing attention in academic studies (Larsson & Müller, 2019) and local and regional policymaking and planning.

However, for many locals, the growth of second-homes and their occupants in their living environment are seen as a challenge to traditional rural lifestyles (Gallent, MacEwen, & Tewdwr-Jones, 2005; Hall & Müller, 2004; Vepsäläinen & Pitkänen, 2010). For example, Vepsäläinen & Pitkänen (2010) discussed this challenge in connection with the different perceptions of local people and residents of second homes about the nature of the village, believing that because both groups have interest and legitimate

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power and are therefore constantly at odds in terms of decisions and actions that are required to shape the surrounding environment and the rural landscape.

Therefore, research on second homes is filled with examples of the expansion of villagers' resistance to changes induced by second homes (Van Auken & Rye, 2011). For instance, the demolition of buildings of second homes by local people (Gallent et al., 2005; Hall & Müller, 2004) could be cited in this regard. According to another example, second homes in the UK are not seen as a normal experience, while almost half of the Scandinavian families have second homes. 'BACH' in New Zealand and 'COTTAGE' in Canada are traditionally an integral part of their lifestyle and a symbol of their culture and heritage (Barnett, 2014). From the 2000s onwards, the expansion of second home tourism has been associated with copious detrimental effects on the social and natural environments, highlighting issues such as the provision of services and infrastructure, rental rates, expectations of tourists and, more importantly, the relationship between local residents and owners of second homes (Khan, Misnan, & Ismail, 2019). Other outcomes and consequences of second homes, as reported by Back (2020), based on a review of the literature (Hall, 2015; Halseth, 2004; Hoogendoorn & Marjavaara, 2018; Müller, 2011a; Müller & Marjavaara, 2012; Paris, 2011), include displacement of permanent residents, intervention in local planning, incompatibility with public budgets, land use planning, gentrification, and conversion of primary settlements into second.

According to Coppock's study in the 1970s, second-homes are more of a challenge than an opportunity for rural host communities (Müller & Hoogendoorn, 2013). Thus, the effects of second-home tourism are multifaceted with a plethora of adverse effects eclipsing its bright side (Gallent et al., 2005; Gartner, 1987; Hiltunen, Pitkänen, Vepsäläinen, & Hall, 2013; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Müller, Hall, & Keen, 2004). The negative impacts can provoke conflicts between the host community and guests (Tuulentie & Kietäväinen, 2020). Conflicts may arise between local communities and tourism companies, between local communities and the government (Dredge, 2010; Jones & Shaw, 2012), between local people and tourists (Urbanowicz, 1989), and between tourism companies and the government in local communities (Wang & Yotsumoto, 2019).

In tourism studies, such conflicts have been explored in diverse fields (Yang, Ryan, & Zhang, 2013), but in the context of rural tourism, a relative lack of empirical evidence on the conflict theory and its connection with the expansion of second home tourism is felt. In fact, the present study is driven by the assumption that second home tourism, despite its positive contributions to the rural areas, is not well received in all rural destinations around the world, including Iran. In reality, second homes in Iranian rural society are chiefly seen as an essentially abnormal phenomenon, which has mushroomed in diverse forms such as mountain encroachment, land grab, illegal appropriation, and encroachment on rural environments. Therefore, the expansion of second homes has the potential to stir up conflict in rural areas. Therefore, the emphasis placed on the contradictions induced by the expansion of second homes in rural areas in this paper is rarely found in the findings of other studies.

To this end, the analysis of conflicts would be crucial to investigate interactions between local residents and second-home tourists.

One of the renowned rural tourism destinations in Iran is rural and rural areas of Mashhad metropolis in Razavi Khorasan province so that the last two decades have witnessed an indiscriminate and unbridled growth of second homes in the villages at the

periphery of Mashhad, especially in Binaloud (Torqaba and Shandiz) (FARSNEWS, 2021; IRNA, 2019).

On the account of its magnificent natural attractions, Binaloud is one of the primary destinations for rural tourism and the construction of second-homes for residents of Mashhad metropolis. The explosion of second-homes in rural areas has spurred conflicts and disputes between second-homeowners and residents. The rising trend of construction of second homes has given rise to problems such as escalated conflicts and rural conflicts, mounting cases of lawsuits, destruction of buildings, etc. between the local community and the owners of second homes (YJC, 2021). Accordingly, this study looks at the perceived conflicts by villagers regarding the growth of second-homes based on the experience of living in rural areas. Therefore, the main research question is 'What are the conflicts perceived by the residents of the rural communities regarding the growth of second-homes based on their lived experience?'

The results of this study can be of great value in diverse aspects. It can help policy-makers, planners, and managers to modify policies related to the expansion of second-homes, respect the demands and values of the local community for the recognition of second-homes, alleviate conflicts induced by the rapid growth of second homes, and contribute to the reasonable development of second-home tourism in local communities.

2. Theoretical framework and background

Rahim (2002, p. 207) has defined conflict as incompatibilities, disagreements, or dissonances between stakeholders (Zmyślony & Kowalczyk-Anioł, 2019). In other words, conflict is defined as divergence in ideas, beliefs, behaviors, roles, needs, desires, values, etc. between individuals (Curcija, Breakey, & Driml, 2019; Idrissou, van Paassen, Aarts, Vodouhè, & Leeuwis, 2013). Social conflict has been a subject of sociological theory for ages (Rahim, 2011; Wang & Yotsumoto, 2019). Sociology of conflict is partly concerned with challenging and maintaining social order (Easterbrook et al., 1993). According to the conflict theory, social conflict is the outcome of the interaction between two or more parties in a competitive context (Yang et al., 2013). A conflict is also a form of socialization that can be analyzed in terms of interactive processes. Certain levels of conflict are essential for group formation, which can prompt agreement and dissidence. Therefore, conflict is an inherent/intrinsic process in social relations and peaceful change, which can be utilized to analyze social change and progress (Yang et al., 2013; Zhang, Lee, & Xiong, 2019). Thus, conflicts in societies can have both positive and negative aspects. On the positive side, contradictions can spark creativity, innovation, development in society and individuals (Guštin & Slavič, 2020), as well as rivalry in the exploitation of resources. On the negative side, however, conflicts can foment social rupture, the conflict between stakeholders, and compromise the security of the environment. In general, the manifestations, dimensions, and intensity of conflicts can be described implicitly or explicitly in overt or covert forms in diverse situations (Adongo, Choe, & Han, 2017; Zhang et al., 2019).

Conflicts may appear in a variety of settings, but one area in which conflicts of interest may arise is tourism. It is because disparities in profits of tourism cause a conflict of interest in both the host and guest groups (Mansfeld, 1992). In the literature on tourism stakeholders (Feng, 2008; Guo & Sun, 2016; Shepherd, 2011), conflict is often considered as

an outcome of tourism development challenges (Lee, Riley, & Hampton, 2010; McKercher, Ho, & Du Cros, 2005) and lack of power balance between stakeholders (Curcija et al., 2019; Zhang et al., 2019). In local and coherent communities, the inflow of tourists and the development of tourism may aggravate the nature and scope of conflicts, and consequently, affect social structure while inducing cultural changes in local communities. These conflicts revolve around the interests, values, and goals cherished by tourists and the host community (Kreiner, Shmueli, & Gal, 2015). From the perspective of residents, the conflict in the sphere of tourism is interpreted as an expression of hatred, negative emotions and feelings, and interventions of tourists in their social environment (Tsaur, Yen, & Teng, 2018). Negative emotions and conflict arising from local community perceptions of tourism (Chien & Ritchie, 2018; Shen, Li, Luo, & Chau, 2017; Ye, Zhang, & Yuen, 2013) can have a bearing on residents' support for future tourism development (Teng, 2019).

With the explosion of the urban population, the demand for recreation in rural areas and second-homes has taken an upturn (Mowl, Barke, & King, 2020). However, this development has been associated with multiple issues in rural areas, provoking conflicts between second-home owners and local people (Marjavaara, 2007). Conflicts may have varied manifestations in different communities but vary relative to local context and the characteristics of the second-homes (Gallent et al., 2005; Overvåg, 2009; Rye, 2011). Accordingly, conflict in the development of second-home tourism can be classified into several categories based on the major concerns of local communities: socio-cultural contradictions (Cornet, 2015; Jones & Shaw, 2012; Maharjan, 2012; Robinson & Boniface, 1999; Suartika, 2015; Yang, 2011), economic conflicts (Yang et al., 2013) and environmental conflicts (Dredge, 2010). Therefore, based on the theory of conflict, the conflicts between local people and second-home-owners in rural destinations could be investigated to shed light on the underlying causes of clashes.

2.1. Research background

The issue of second-homes has come under the spotlight in regional, rural, and tourism planning and policymaking since the 1970s (Hall, 2015). The main contribution of academic studies to understanding second-homes was first made by Wolfe (1951, 1952, 1962, 1965) (Müller & Hoogendoorn, 2013). It is noteworthy that most second-home tourism studies have focused on second-home homeowners and the views of the host community and their reactions to second-home tourism have rarely been investigated (Larsson & Müller, 2019). One of the studies on second-homes tourism was conducted by Hiltunen (2007), whose findings revealed that second-homes tourism produces both positive and negative environmental impacts on the nature, climate, and landscape of the region. As noted by Pitkänen (2008), the landscape is one of the main drivers of buying a second-home. Müller (2011b) studied the internationalization of second-home tourism, arguing that the owners of second-homes mainly adopt a consumerist approach to the location of second-homes. Therefore, unlike local people, they are often less worried about the sustainability of rural environments. Velvin, Kvikstad, Drag, and Krogh (2013) concluded that second-home tourism exerts a positive effect on the development of the local economy in rural areas. The results of Barnett (2014) also showcased

that the expansion of second-homes can induce positive effects on the sustainability of local communities. However, the semi-permanent residence associated with second-homes constrains potential contributions to the host community. Long and Hoogendoorn (2014) reported that the owner of second-homes barely sees any adverse environmental impacts related to their activities. However, the evidence from the study area exhibits that construction, commute between the first and second-homes, the usage of water and electricity, and the disposal of solid waste can have environmental impacts. Therefore, there are concerns about second-homeowners' attitudes towards the environment. Unless owners become aware of these effects, they will not be able to help improve the environment and promote tourism responsibly.

The findings of García-Andreu, Nouza et al. (2018) suggest that the spatial reliance of second-homeowners constitutes a major and effective localization factor that influences the development of second homes.

The findings of García-Andreu, Ortiz, and Aledo (2015) suggest that most of the planning decisions to tackle the detrimental effects of second home tourism have been limited to technical measures to address insufficiency and improve poor local planning and after several decades of planning, these dire issues remain unresolved. According to Nouza et al. (2018), the spatial attachment of the owners of second homes can be considered a major factor in the development of second homes because the owners that have an attachment to the second-home exhibit a different pattern of behavior than those without an attachment.

Larsson and Müller (2019), in their study about strategies of coping in second-home tourism, have identified three strategies for this purpose: spatial adaptation, planning to exploit potential advantages, and engaging in political activity to amend the law. The findings of Tuulentie and Kietäväinen (2020) reveal that diverse social relations and nature cultivates heavy dependence on the place of second-homes in their owners. Back (2020) concentrated on managing the various effects of second-home tourism, reporting that the effects of second-homes may vary in different places according to the regional conditions.

Until now, most studies on second homes have looked at the perspective of homeowners, with an emphasis on subjects such as motivation behind second-home ownership, the pattern of use, geographical location, and features of second homes. However, host communities and their reactions to second-home tourism have rarely been in the spotlight (Larsson & Müller, 2019). Thus, despite the bulk of studies on second-home tourism, scant attention has been dedicated to the conflicts arising from the expansion of second-home tourism from the stance of the local community.

3. Methodology

Traditionally, tourism experience has been one of the main aspects of tourism since the 1960s. Therefore, this study aims to explore and analyze the attitude of villagers about the unbridled growth of second homes based on field studies and interpretation of data using a qualitative data analysis method. The present research was carried out to investigate the proliferation and disorganized growth of villa construction (as second-home tourism, especially by the wealthy strata of society) in the tourist villages of Binalood city in north-eastern Iran.

3.1. An image of the social space of Binalood village community, Iran

Despite transformations and developments in the rural areas of Iran, especially over the last 50 years, in various fields such as economy, environment, culture, society, and even politics, in most rural areas, the local people still place a premium on preserving the originality of their traditional and rural life. This emphasis, however, has not been well received by the younger generation. One of the renowned rural environments in Iran is Binalood rural area in Khorasan Razavi province. Considering the relatively short distance between the two cities of Torqaba and Shandiz (Binalud) and the metropolis of Mashhad, upon entering the rural areas, the tourists can help to witness that even in the vicinity of a metropolis like Mashhad, which is the second largest city in the country, it is still possible to gain a more original experience of the villages and rural life. For people who travel from Mashhad or other provinces to these favorite resorts with their pleasant weather, the very existence of such a space adjacent to Mashhad may seem astonishing. This basically reflects the social atmosphere of the villages in Binalud county. Despite propinquity to the capital of the province and the profound transformations that Mashhad has undergone in the fields of technology, modernity, service, economy, entertainment, etc., the effect of which has spilled over to urban areas of Targbeh and Shandiz to some extent, the remarkable point is the traditional social-cultural atmosphere that is built upon rural patterns, and the native people are still anxious to preserve. A case in point is their strong religious beliefs, which are manifested purely in their actions such as preservation of the traditional structure of the buildings in the village, disinclination to modify the original physical and structural fabric of the village, and great emphasis on social interactions between men and strange women, which is objectionable in the religious context of the village, efforts to nurture economy that relies on agriculture, animal husbandry and horticulture, respect for the position of Rish-Safids (the elders) as an authority to resolve the disputes between villagers.

3.2. Data collection

There were several challenges to data collection and sample selection. The first problem was to choose villages to be included in the study. To overcome this challenge, we defined a criterion called the maximum number of villas or second-homes built. The second criterion was the number of illegally constructed second-homes in rural areas. For this purpose, the villages with the most complaints lodged by local people against the second-homeowners were considered. Therefore, Binalood county was selected as a tourism area with high traction for villa construction in rural areas. In addition, initial field surveys showed that the highest level of dissatisfaction was voiced by people in the villages of Abreh Olya, Zoshk, Jaggharq, Noghondar, Kang, Hesar Sorkh, and Gorakhk, which were selected as the sample in the present study (Table 1).

Local village managers were consulted to select qualified individuals for interviews and data collection. Local managers prepared a list of local cases that involved lawsuits about a second-home in each village over the past 10 years, and the researchers directly contacted the subjects. Therefore, in each village, data was collected using the purposive sampling method (Charmaz, 2006; Locke, 2001; Patton, 2001) to gain deeper insights into the research problem (Patton, 2001). The sampling was conducted using the

Table 1. Basic information on the selected villages (Statistical Center of Iran, 2020).

Village name	Household Number	Population	Number of second homes	Number of complaints
Hesar-e Sorkh	501	1627	150	7
Abardeh-ye Olya	1004	3177	150	5
Gorakhk	258	742	250	10
Zoshk	582	1836	350	10
Jaghargh	761	2412	170	5
Noghondar	432	1463	120	5
Kang	266	855	100	6
Total	3804	12112	1290	48

sequential sampling method (Buntin, 1994; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). The sequential selection is utilized when the goal is to produce a theory (or themes) or the sample may evolve during data collection (Flick, 2009). Based on theoretical saturation (Charmaz, 2006; Locke, 2001), in-depth interviews were conducted with a total of 23 participants in 2019, and all interviews were recorded with the permission of participants.

The interviews were in the form of face-to-face and in-depth dialogue, with each interview lasting about 45 min on average. At the beginning of the interview, the research goals were explained to the villagers. These measures were intended to gain the trust of villagers for participation in the research process. Caution was practiced to respect local customs throughout the research. The confidentiality of participants' personal information was also ensured by researchers.

3.3. Data analysis process

In this study, data analysis was undertaken based on the grounded theory. As a research strategy in social sciences, this theory was initially developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in 1967 (Smith, 2015). The grounded theory allows the researcher to extract a theory from his observations and evolve it during various stages of the research. This theory is well-suited for developing hypotheses that originate from experience. In this method, concepts are derived from experimental data, correlated, and then compared with other data for adjustments (Geiger & Turley, 2003). For this purpose, Strauss and Corbin (1998) method was adopted, which includes the following steps:

- Step 1: Transcription of interviews: In this step, open categories are extracted. That is, based on each question, the answers are transcribed and semantic codes related to the subject are extracted.
- Step 2: Categorization of open sources: To categorize open categories, the codes are categorized semantically with conceptually similar codes assigned to similar groups.
- Step 3: Axial coding: In this step, the categories of the second stage are added to a paradigm model. To determine categories that fall into each group, interviews were reviewed several times to gain more profound insights into the nature of the categories and to correctly identify their causality, context, and intervention. Therefore, after placing the open categories in the second category, the researchers classified categories at a higher level called the improved cataloging system or the categorical system. Therefore, based on the paradigm model, the axial items were classified.

Step 4: Selective coding. In this step, the axial categories are re-conceptualized at another level. To do this, the transcripts of interviews were reviewed again and attempts were made to introduce categories rooted in data.

4. Findings

According to the general characteristics of the participants, the mean age of the participants is 51.6 years. As for gender, 20 were male (86.96%) and 3 were female (13.04%). Most participants had secondary education (43.48%), 30.48% had a diploma, 21.74% had primary education and only 1 (4.35%) had a bachelor’s degree. All the participants are born and bred in villages. Then, after transcribing interviews, in the open coding stage, 101 common codes were extracted from a total of 229 open codes. In the second step, the semantically identical codes were categorized into 26 open codes

Then, based on the codes obtained from the first and second stages, a coding pattern was drawn. In this model, categories such as causal conditions, background conditions, intervening factors, strategies (actions), and consequences have been considered (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). In the paradigm model, the following categories were identified in each class (Figure 1):

- **Causal conditions:** they represent a set of factors that influence the central issue, i.e. perceived conflicts between villagers and second-homeowners. These factors include mal-adjusted attitudes of villagers, non-deterrence of legal procedures, land price fluctuations, job and income changes, investment motivation, and urgency in sales.
- **Background conditions:** they refer to a set of specific environmental factors in rural areas that have a bearing on the perceived conflict between villagers and second-homeowners. These factors include local government negligence in protecting

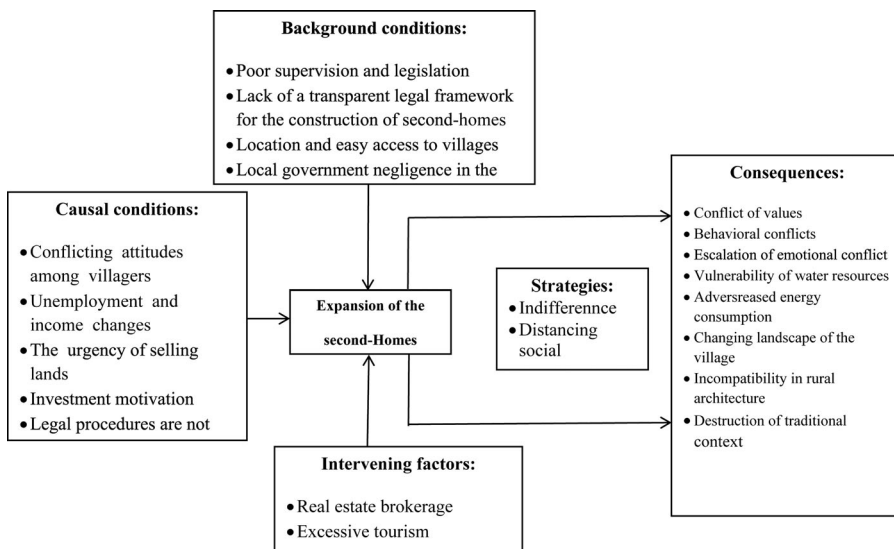


Figure 1. Paradigm model of the villagers’ perceptions about the conflicts resulting from the expansion of second-homes.

villages, location and easy access to villages, poor supervision, and legislation, lack of a clear legal framework for the construction of second-homes.

- **Intervening factors:** They describe a set of general environmental factors in rural areas that affect the perceived conflict between villagers and second-homeowners. They include overdevelopment of tourism, organizational interventions, real estate brokerage.
- **Strategies:** Actions and interactions originating from the key issue of the perceived conflict between villagers and second-homeowners. These factors embrace indifference, social distancing and public discontent.
- **Consequences:** The output of actions and the central issue, i.e. the perceived conflict of the villagers with the owners of the second-home. These factors embrace conflict of values, behavioral conflicts, escalated emotional conflict, the vulnerability of water resources, adverse environmental impacts, increased energy consumption, changing landscape of the village, incompatibility with the rural architecture, and destruction of traditional context.

In the third stage, axial coding is performed along with connecting categories to their subcategories, and linking categories at the level of properties and dimensions. At this stage, the grounded theorist selects a category of the open coding stage, and place it at the center of the process under study (as the central phenomenon). To do the axial coding, the perceptual conflict between villagers and second-homeowners must be treated as a process. At this stage of analysis, seven axial codes were extracted.

The fourth stage or selective coding is practically the intellectual development of the analyst that is attained from interaction with the data throughout the research process. The goal of selective coding is to advance from description to a more upgraded and transcendent conceptualization based on which the trajectory of the story can be related. In fact, selective categories may appear to be exaggerated, but they can present an overview of the subject (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). According to the categories, subcategories and their characteristics, the axial category of 'economic conflicts' that affects the villagers and has wielded influence on the growth of the second-home could be described at a more abstract level as 'rural economic empowerment.' In fact, 'empowerment of rural economy' is concerned with focusing and strengthening income-generating structures, i.e. agricultural lands and support of agricultural products in order to improve the level of the economic welfare of villagers and prevent the sale of agricultural land.

A dynamic and active rural business environment will suppress the tendency of villagers to sell their land to swindlers and villa builders. As regards the axial category of 'structural contradictions', which is basically a flaw in the legislation, it can be discussed by a more general category of the 'general policy-making system for villa construction.' Although these structural conflicts may take diverse forms, this study principally focused on the inactivity of the legislative system and policies in connection with the development of second-homes. Also, for the category of 'overdevelopment of tourism' which refers to Torqabeh, Shandiz, and Mashhad counties, it can be discussed at a macro level of 'selective tourism.' In this case, the lackluster performance of the Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts, and Tourism Organization of Khorasan Razavi and their ineffective role in the management of tourist destinations, which are under mounting pressure due to the development of villa construction, is evident. Concerning the central category of

‘social conflicts’, which is mainly rooted in the attachment of villagers to their place of residence and social environment, as shaped by their values and beliefs, along with their tensions with second homeowners, this category can be seen at a more general level as ‘villagers’ spatial attachments to the physical and social environment of their village.’

In fact, this conflict is driven by the fact that second-homeowners come from a distinct environment without any detachment to the rural environment. The other two axial categories, ‘environmental conflicts’ and ‘physical conflicts’, can be reframed as ‘exploiting the environmental capacities’ and ‘preservation and strengthening of indigenous architecture’, respectively. The central category of ‘civil protests’ can also be considered at a more abstract level of ‘strengthening the motivation for the public participation of the villagers.’ In this way, the villagers will assume an active role in protecting their living environment, which reduces the control of second-homeowners as outsiders in the rural environment (Table 2).

5. Discussion and conclusion

5.1. Discussion

Social conflict and conflict of interest are double-edged swords in social communication that can affect both the development and collapse of society. However, it should be noted that excessive conflicts lead to the creation of social gaps. Identifying and understanding

Table 2. Improved categories in axial and selective stages.

Selective categories	Axial categories	Subcategories
Empowering the rural economy	Economic conflicts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land price fluctuations • Job and income changes • The villagers’ motivation to invest in the city • Urgency in selling lands
Government policy in preserving the rural environment	Structural conflicts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local government’s negligence in protecting villages • Location and easy access to villages • Poor supervision and legislation • Lack of a clear legal framework for the construction of villas (second houses)
Selective tourism	Mass and unplanned tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Overdevelopment
Strengthening the motivation of villagers for popular participation	Civil protests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indifference • Social distance • Public discontent
Spatial attachments/dependencies of villagers	Social conflicts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflicts of values • Behavioral conflicts • Escalated emotional conflicts
Exploiting environmental capacities	Environmental conflicts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vulnerability of water resources • Adverse effects on the earth • Increase energy consumption
Preservation and strengthening of local architecture	Physical conflicts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changing landscape of the village • Inconsistency in the rural architecture • Destruction of traditional texture

conflicts requires in-depth and empirical study (Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002). It is because this is a dynamic issue that evolves over time (Northrup, 1989; Pondy, 1967). In general, as McAreavey and McDonagh (2011) state, conflicts in the context of rural development are inevitable, as several groups seek to dominate rural environments. In rural areas with great tourism potential, there are ample signs of conflict between indigenous and non-local people because tourist destinations are the point of integration and interaction of two groups of the host and guest community.

The expansion of second-home tourism in such villages prolongs the interaction local people and owners of second homes. However, the growth of second-homes can wield deleterious effects on the host community (Hall & Müller, 2004). The presence of wealthy people from the urban community, as owners of second-homes in rural areas, could trigger conflicts in rural destinations. Accordingly, in this study, based on the theory of social conflict, the perceptual conflict of the villagers over the expansion of the rural second-homes was identified and analyzed.

Findings suggest that the perceptual conflict of villagers over the growth of rural second-homes can be divided into 7 key categories: economic conflict, structural conflict, mass, and unplanned tourism, civil protests, social conflict, environmental conflict, and physical conflict. According to the results, economic and livelihood issues have provoked rural residents to sell their houses or lands to the urban rich for the construction of the second-home as a way of earning their living expenses. In fact, due to rural poverty, villagers have become a propeller of the expansion of second homes. However, what is interesting about these findings is that participation of local people in the expansion of second homes not only brings them little economic gains but will also change their livelihood structure. According to Dower (1977), this can wreak havoc on the economic structure of rural areas (Gallent & Tewdwr-Jones, 2020).

The extravagance of the wealthy people against the backdrop of poor rural life has sparked serious economic conflicts in rural areas. To reduce such conflicts, first of all, the relevant institutions need to empower and economically support villagers. It is because from the villagers' point of view, government organizations, due to the disregard for rural values and lack of strict and legal supervision, often pave the way for the unplanned expansion of rural second-homes, the outcome of which is a myriad of structural conflicts in rural areas. Also, local governments often encourage the growth of rural second-homes in order to generate revenue by issuing permits for the construction of second-homes. On the other hand, the lack of intra-organizational and inter-organizational coordination vis-a-vis planning and development of rural areas (Almeida, Costa, & da Silva, 2017; Baidal, 2004) in the studied villages has led to the proliferation of villa construction in the countryside. This has brought on numerous legal actions by local people against the illegal construction of second-homes, land-use changes, and encroachment on national lands. To address this issue, the government must formulate policies to preserve the indigenous structure of the villages. It is due to the fact that the uncontrolled and unplanned growth of rural tourists and, consequently second-homes, runs counter to the two principles of sustainable rural development and sustainable rural tourism development in the eye of villagers.

Basically, the fact that second-home tourism should thrive in rural areas or summer houses is a challenging issue for the planners and managers of rural development. In some cases, the conceptual and developmental clash over the development of the

rural nucleus in the country or at least in the vicinity of the natural landscape has inevitably escalated conflict in rural areas in connection with the home tourism trend. Therefore, the engagement of villages in second home tourism calls for a planned, selective and limited flow of tourism in the field of second home tourism, in which the capacities of villages are taken into account. It is because the over-expansion of second-homes in rural areas, aside from causing a rift in rural areas, has fueled social conflict among local people with the owners of second-homes, which can lay the ground for further civil protests. According to Hall and Müller (2018), villagers believe that the owners of the second-homes see the village merely as a temporary place to sojourn and have fun without any sense of belonging. On the contrary, to local people, the village embodies the primary place of residence and activity to which they belong. These divergent views are the source of conflict between these two groups. Also, according to Tonner, Hamilton, and Hewer (2016), because second-home tourists cannot live like a local and observe their behavioral patterns of urban life, tensions and conflicts are inevitable.

To cope with this situation, it is essential to foster a sense of attachment and spatial dependence by fostering public participation. To local people, this conflict is also evident in the way environmental resources are exploited. That is, the local people use resources for production and livelihood, whereas the owners of second-homes exploit rural resources for fun and leisure. Indeed, as Almeida et al. (2017) note, conflicts may arise from resource scarcity (inequality in distribution, access, and use of resources). Therefore, when issuing permits for second-homes, it is vital to account for the environmental capacities and resources of the villages. The findings also revealed that the development of second-homes has sparked physical changes in the rural environment, which are not welcomed by the villagers, as they run counter to the nature of the village and the type of livelihood and rural life.

The escalation of conflicts in the short run, in addition to disrupting the social order of the destination villages, mounts an obstacle to rural development in the long run. Moreover, as suggested by the findings of (McAreevey, McDonagh, & Heneghan, 2009), it can even harm the indigenous identity of the villages as tourist destinations in the long term, turning the villages into villa towns or opulent residences. Therefore, the local architecture of the villages must be preserved, even by the owners of the second homes. It is necessary to give priority to the rural architecture in the construction of the second homes in order to hamper possible physical conflict. Therefore, the unplanned and unbridled growth of second-homes in rural areas in the absence of a systematic plan, not only makes little contribution to sustainable rural development but also gives rise to a host of problems in economic, socio-cultural, and environmental fields for the villagers.

5.2. Conclusion

In the tourism literature, tourism development in local communities is seen as a strategy for rural development (Maroto-Martos, Voth, & Pinos-Navarrete, 2020; Nooripoor, Khosrowjerdi, Rastegari, Sharifi, & Bijani, 2021). Nevertheless, the growth of unrestrained tourism in various forms can wreak havoc on local people and their living environment. The deleterious effects will spark conflicts between the local community and the tourist community. As this study demonstrated, the unplanned and unrestrained growth of

second homes beyond the capacity of rural areas has changed it into a fixed pattern of tourism in rural areas, which in turn has been linked to a raft of contradictions. The conflicts triggered by the expansion of second homes in the view of the local community can be classified into 7 key categories, including economic conflict, structural conflict, mass, and unplanned tourism, civil protests, social conflict, environmental conflict, and physical conflicts.

The results of the interviews suggest that the inadvertent growth of rural second-homes is driven by internal factors in the villages (supply) and external pressures (demand) so that in rural areas, the low income of villagers, coupled with the strong motivations to emigrate, especially among the youths, and to buy a house in the city are major motivations that urge rural residents to sell their houses and lands to urban outsiders. Also, the absence of strict laws on the buying and selling lands and houses in rural areas, poor supervision of construction and land-use change, and the pressure wielded by the rich urban people are among the external factors underpinning the construction and expansion of second-homes. The brokerage of real estate agents in dealing in rural houses and lands is one of the factors associated with the rise of prices and the incentives for sales by the villagers. Therefore, monitoring rural housing and land transactions and legalizing these deals can be effective in controlling the growth of rural second-homes. In such a situation, brokers, in order to gain more profits, take side with the second-home-owners, or villa-building groups, at the cost of swindling the villagers. Also, in some cases, they assume the role of villa builders, buying cheap houses and fertile lands from the villagers. Therefore, the expansion of second-homes in rural areas, which is rooted in economic factors, can provoke economic conflicts. Therefore, strategies to financially empower the villagers and manage the capital of local people can make a significant contribution to curbing the unplanned growth of second-homes.

Thus, it can be argued that economic inequalities, especially in rural areas, have urged local people to sell land and migrate to cities. Therefore, with the depopulation of villages and the inflow of wealthy people to buy rural lands, especially in areas with pristine landscapes and pleasant climate, natural and rural landscapes have been damaged, giving rise to aberrations such as illegal villa construction, especially in less developed destinations. In the wake of this uncontrolled expansion and growth, villagers will either be forced to leave their villages or confront problems such as tension with non-natives, which in turn will deepen conflict in their social life.

The rise of conflicts has thrown the social environment of rural areas into disarray. As such, villagers have resorted to strategies such as the expression of public discontent, social distancing, and indifference to exhibit their protest. The ramifications of this issue have incited social conflicts in which villagers find that their values like rural identity, behavioral issues such as the spread of urban living patterns and humiliation of villagers, as well as emotional issues like villagers' resentment and frustration coming to fore as environment conflicts in their place of residence.

Thus, the expansion of rural second-homes intensifies social conflicts, contributes to the disappearance of indigenous rural lifestyles, forces native villagers to leave the village, causes a social and physical rift in the village, fosters gentrification and expansion of urban neighborhoods in rural and fuels illegal land-use change. Therefore, the considerable surge in second-homes has sparked disputes between villagers and the owners of second-homes, increasing legal complaints made to the judiciary. In addition,

the expansion of second-homes exacerbates the rise of land prices in villages, fomenting excessive land grabbing in rural areas. As a result, the villagers and the owners of the second-homes, considering the growing value of the lands, strive to take possession of the national lands in the villages. Therefore, the constant and regular patrol of villages by government institutions is required to control and monitor this trend.

Therefore, in order to manage the conflicts between the villagers and the owners of the second-homes, executive and supervisory laws and regulations should be enacted regarding the construction of the rural second-homes. Also, more executive power should be awarded to local managers to deal with and thwart the mushrooming of second-homes. On the other hand, it is necessary to raise awareness of villagers about the deleterious effects of the uninhibited growth of second-homes and the unsupervised sale of land and houses to urban outsiders. It is also crucial to find ways for second-homeowners to integrate into the local community by observing values and respecting indigenous culture.

In general, the management of conflicts between the local community and second-homeowners can be instrumental to protecting the indigenous life of the villagers and preserving the sustainability of rural life and the rural environment. That is, according to the theory of social conflict, identifying and analyzing the conflict between the local host community and the second-homeowners can be effective in managing rural cohesion, promoting interaction between these two groups, preventing the unplanned growth of rural second-homes, raising awareness of the two groups. Therefore, this issue can be studied and analyzed through grounded theory.

Despite the limitations of the study in terms of data collection, it exhibits diverse dimensions of conflict between the host community and second-homeowners in local communities. Hence, it can be a valuable guide for policymakers, planners, and managers at various levels in relation to rural second-homes and sustainable rural management. Therefore, some constructive executive laws and supervisory tasks can be included in the rural management plans vis-a-vis second-homes. As such, defining specific capacity for the construction of second-homes in each village, the chaotic and unrestrained expansion of second-homes could be controlled to a large extent.

What is interesting about these findings is the conflict-provoking nature of second home tourism in rural areas. According to the results, though second home tourism may be perceived as a natural part of the lifestyle in some parts of the world such as Scandinavian countries, Canada and New Zealand, in some other regions such as Iran, it has turned into a controversial and challenging social, economic and political issues. This mirrors the inappropriate approach of the social, political and legislative system as well as poor planning and rural development in the country. In fact, at the level of policymaking and legislation, little attention has been paid to sustainable rural development. In particular, the reconstruction and refurbishment of the rural economic structure have been neglected, and there is no codified plan and framework for the development of rural tourism, especially second homes. This has triggered violations including villas or second homes that are built as an unwanted appendage in the context of rural tourism, so that every often and then, the government orders the demolition of some villas to free up the territory of rural areas. However, the experience of recent years shows that not only the trend of villa construction, mountain encroachment, land grabbing, and encroachment of the rural boundaries has not been halted,

but new legal cases for rural second homes have emerged. According to the findings, what distinguishes this research from other scholarships on second-home tourism in the world is that the construction of second homes in Iran without any supervision, planning and legal force to control the construction has led to the change of land use. Since this change of land use has not been within a proper legal framework, it is deemed as a violation, which has stirred up conflicts between local residents and owners of second homes.

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