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# **The legend of water consumption**

**Case study of Iranian immigrants in Sweden**

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## **Abstract**

The aim of the current thesis is to consider the changes of behaviors toward water consumption among immigrants. This thesis includes the interviews with 22 Iranian immigrant men and women who migrated to Sweden 20 years ago. The theoretical conjunction point contains three theories. Two of them are counterpart in one hand and complementary on the other hand. The first theory is Habitus which explains that the inherited behavior causes the persistence of individuals toward changing. The second theory is Acculturation which clarifies that individuals adapt themselves with the culture of host society in the context of time. The third theory is Ecofeminism which stands in relation between women and nature.

By including prime experiences of the studied group in Iran, changes of those experiences in Sweden, the effect of environmental awareness and type of houses on their behaviors, it could be said this thesis illustrates the theories of Habitus and Acculturation which have objective evidence. The evidences show studied group in some aspects adapt themselves with host society and change but still they are insisting on some other prime behaviors. As women pay more attention to environment, they become more aware about environment. Consequently, it makes them more acculturated group compared to the men. This fact could be legitimized when the theory of Ecofeminism lends its definition about the origin of women in caring about the environment.

Yet, the change of water consumption behavior is the subjective concept; it is hard to specify the level of changes. The notion of this group about themselves shows the different levels of their behavioral changes; meaning it determines how much these changes result from the effect of acculturation in new society and how much come from the habitus as an inherited experience of their past.

***Key words:*** *Acculturation, Behavior, changes, Habitus, Water consumption.*

## ***Acronyms***

*ECLAC: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean*

*UNESCAP: United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific*

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## 1- Introduction

Migration is a complicated process for the immigrants and it takes time for them to realize in which society they enter. In a structural perspective, migration is not considered just as a major process for the country of origin but for the country of destination as well. Both countries of origin and destination are affected directly in the way that cultural structures will change automatically. The following studied examples state the immigrants' changes in habitus based on integration or adaption. However in this thesis, it is tried to show the aspect of acculturation.

According to Bendixen (2010) who studies the Muslim immigrants in Berlin, the religious norms and values takes place as continues cultural change, within a tradition-oriented society. So, the changes of religious among immigrants especially their second or third generation is inevitable. Hence as Bendixen (2010) believes "Movement or migration adds another dimension to religious change as immigration always change how religion is transmitted" (Bendixen, 2010: 97). This change trends to diasporas which modify the religious values as the years pass for immigrants far from their country of origin.

Regarding to Inglis (2004) who studies the situation of immigrants in Australia, the significance of Australian qualification and experience for absorbing appropriate employment led to an important recent change in immigration policy in order to get the permanent residency. "The effect of these changes in immigration policy is a significant change in the class and educational background of immigrants" (Inglis, 2004: 186-204). However, immigrants had primary or lower secondary levels of education during 1950s and 1960s, now the norms for immigrants has changed to the middle class backgrounds of education to get the permanent residency.

Based on Cueto's (2009) study about the students as immigrants in Belgium, international students could be affected by dietary habits regarding the new environment as they are situated in. "International students apply different mechanisms to cope with diet-related transnational stress" (Cueto et al., 2009: 88). So, students from various nationalities trend to cope with diverse food and dietary environments. Consequently, they adapt themselves with perceptions of temporal dietary changes in a new society.

Taylor et al (2006) in their study pay attention to the gender perspective of Guatemalan women when they find themselves working in United States and earning U.S dollars. These women do not desire to get dependent on their husbands if they return to their home town.

“Because Ladina and Maya women increasingly participate in international migration, their views about traditional gender roles, relations, and ideologies at home inevitably change” (Taylor et al., 2006: 15). This experience often helps Guatemalan women immigrants to break their bonds that chambered in traditional gender norms.

Regarding Tastsoglou’s (2006) article who studies the opportunity for immigrants after their migration to change their previous positions, In Canada, Nigerian immigrants become aware of their new career situation and discover the hidden aspect of themselves that they have never known about (Tastsoglou, 2006: 223).

Back to Sweden, this thesis focuses on in what extent Iranian immigrants change or resist toward new norms in using of water when they migrated from a country with water scarcity to the country with water redundancy. For the current thesis, this shifting of behavior toward water from the culture of sending country to the culture of host society is the main reason to collect acculturation as a concept and put it in a relation with water consumption.

## **2- Problem statement**

In this thesis the Iranian immigrants is the sample of the study. The philosophy of choosing this ethnic group is by the fact that between Sweden and Iran a part from geographically distance there is a huge difference in case of behavior, culture, etc. According to Naghdi (2010) who studies the openness of Iranian in host societies, Iranians in comparison with other Asian immigrants such as Turkish, Arabs, and Pakistanis are more positive acculturated group and in gender perspective among this ethnic the high rate of the acculturation belongs to women” (Naghdi, 2010: 202). As the Iranian immigrants are perceived as rather acculturated in Sweden, still some difficulties in their acculturation are noticeable. This thesis will observe these difficulties in their daily practices in water consumption to analyze if this practice has been changed regarding their acculturation or it still exists as it is used to be regarding to their habitus. The current thesis is about this phenomenon of the Iranian migration in Sweden.

- **2-1- Aim**

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the acculturation of Iranian immigrants in water consumption during last 20 years within Sweden with consideration to the gender perspective. It

seems acculturation is more applicable in comparison with other concepts like assimilation, adaption, etc to realize to what extend the immigrants have challenged with cultural shifts between two countries. This could help to explore how they resist or change themselves and their practices toward the culture of the host society.

One of the visible differences between Iran and Sweden is the situation of water in these two countries. The poor situation of water in Iran and the rich situation of water in Sweden make parts of different culture, attitude, habitus, and behaviors toward water consumption.

When immigrants migrate to the new country they normally are challenged with other problems which does not let them to think about their daily routines however independently these routines are significant. Hence, the main point in this thesis is to examine the subject from immigrants' side in order to realize how Iranian immigrants behave within the field of water consumption while they are entering to the host country with its own culture.

- **2-2- Research questions**

According to the aim of the study, the main research question is:

- How has been the behavior of Iranian immigrants in water consumption effected during last 20 years in Sweden?

To be able to answer this question, it was broken to three following sub-questions:

1. Does the culture of host society, affect Iranian immigrants to change their water consumption?
2. Do Iranian immigrants resist or welcome to change in their practices of water consumption?
3. Which gender is the most acculturated among Iranian immigrants in water consumption?

- **2-3- Research strategy**

After surveying the studied literatures in the introduction, the situation of water and Iranians are discussed in order to have prime themes when the circumstances will be explained in following chapters. Important terms are integrated in the part of theory to realize the concepts which have direct relation with the applied theories. These theories are divided in to Acculturation, Habitus, and Ecofeminism.

Further, the next chapter is the methodology and approaches part. Preparation of interviews with individuals, explaining the strategy of choosing, and making connections with interviewees, clarifying the type of method, and interviews are embedded in this chapter.

After determining the four significant themes in the next part, data findings and analysis would be discussed which consists the main body of this thesis. All collected data, interviews, extracting information of immigrants, analysis, and discussion are included in this part. Evaluating the changes among gender and scrutinizing the reasons is the focus in the part of water consumption in gender perspective.

Finally, the conclusion will be presented in the analysis and discussion to highlight the most important approaches to conclude the thesis.

### **3- Water and Iranians**

In this section, first the situation of water in Iran and secondly the wave of migration from Iran to other countries such as Sweden are considered.

- **3-1- Water situation in Iran**

Iran is located in southwest of Asia and it has been bordered by Gulf of Oman and Persian Gulf in the south and also Caspian Sea in the north. Geographically, about 54% of this country is covered by the complex chains of mountains named as Zagros in the west and Alborz in the north (Soltaniehha, 2011: 25). Since the mountain chains are extremely high for rain clouds to reach to the central regions, there are intense climatic barriers to the Central Iranian Plateau.

Nevertheless, the country has a variety of climate areas and land forms in every corner. For example, north and west of Iran receive a good deal of snow and rain. In contrast, 2/3 of Iran, the central and eastern parts consist of desert basins such as the Kavir desert and the Dasht-e Lut which are occupied by many salt lakes (Soltaniehha, 2011: 25). Sufficient and proper precipitation is not accessible due to about 72% of that goes as evaporation and transpiration (Molanezhad, 2008: 3). Generally, the average amount of precipitation over Iran is 252 mm/year, which is less than 1/3 of the world average. While annual precipitation usually exceeds 2,000 mm in some of the northern parts of the country, it may be less than 20 mm in desert areas (Alizadeh, Keshavarzi, 2005:95). That is why Iran has been always faced with the fact of water

scarcity as a disaster. “According to United Nations sustainable development commission index and with regards to its water scarcity, Iran is classified as a country with a severe situation” (Jahani, Reyhani, 2006: 2).

During the history of Iran, people have had problem with water consumption and found ways to answer their demands and shape their behaviors. Basically, various climates in every corner of Iran cause people to experience multifarious cultures of water consumption based on the manner of supplying and consuming water. For example, rivers and wells (Qanats) are the main sources for Iranians to provide water for their daily consumption or irrigation for farms and lands (Jahani, Reyhani, 2006: 3). This type of water supplying from sources shaped specific culture of water consuming among people who were living in regions which were reach in water sources but poor in having piped water. After some years following to increase in water demand, the construction of a canal, 53 Km in length, was started in order to convey water to Tehran in 1927 (Jahani, Reyhani, 2006: 8). “In 1950, the construction operation of the first drinking water pipe network was started to supply water for the population” (Jahani, Reyhani, 2006: 8). This fact created different culture of water consuming among people who had this opportunity to utilized piped water.

Hygiene development, population growth, agriculture and industry extension increase the water requirement which caused the gap between supply and demand of this valuable resource in arid Iran. Currently, “studies reveal that about 89.5 billion cubic meter of the total renewable water resources are used for the sectors of agriculture, industry, mines and home usage” (Ehsani, 2005: 1)

According to the World Bank (2004) in Iran, tariffs and water bills were low by comparison with tariffs practices in other countries such as Jordan, Tunisia, and Yemen with similar and even lower per capita income than Iran. The significant gap between the tariffs and real costs of services was a source of challenge before modifying the tariffs system of urban water services in Iran (Motevallian, Tabesh, 2011: 6). As a result, there was not a strong economic index to limit the people’s water consumption and switch it to the standard patterns. However, in Sweden, the tariffs cover on average 99% of the total costs of operation and the remaining 1% come by smaller municipalities to subsidize by the means of local tax. Two third of the large municipalities cover all their costs by means of tariffs (<http://www.nsva.se>).

- **3-2- The wave of migration in Iran**

Normally, there are many factors which cause migration with different characteristics at different time in societies. These factors mostly are related to individuals' life situations in order to force them to migrate. There are some push and pull factors which shape the migration between sender and receiver countries. Samers (2010) exemplifies job opportunities, better standard of living, and freedom as pull factor. In following he describes poverty, political repression, and war are the push factors (Samers, 2010: 57, 58). He adds that war, environmental stress, and chronic unemployment as push factor could shape the migration patterns (Samers, 2010: 15). If it tends to specify this fact, it could be claimed that time to time, different push factors like unemployment or intellectual tendencies, and especially war play significant roles in Iran's migration patterns (Naghdi, 2010: 198). Lee (1969) writes "In the United States, economically the most advanced of nations; rates of migration are unbelievably high, one in five persons changing his residence each year. In other economically advanced countries, like Sweden, Canada, or West Germany, we find this repeated at somewhat lower level" (Lee, 1969: 54). With one glance to table.1, it could be seen the destination of Iranian immigrants matches with the fact as Lee (1969) mentions.

Table. 1: Iranian Immigrants admitted to the different countries

Country/year	1961-1970	1971-1980	1981-1990	1991-2000	2001-2005
USA	10291	46152	154857	112597	55098
Germany	7298*	14173	67022	24131	6024 **
Canada	620	3455	20700	41329	25350 **
Sweden ***	384	3249	38167	16804	6086
UK	---	---	---	12665	8640

Notes: \*excludes 1961, \*\* excludes 2005, \*\*\*in some years Swedish data was based on Iranian immigrants by place of birth while in other years it was based on place of last residence.

Resource: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?ID=424> 31.1.12

Basically, there are three waves of migration in Iran; the first is in last years of Qajarid era beginning from 1950, when Iran's slow recovery and resumption of oil production took place after World War II (Hakimzadeh, 2006). Revenue from oil caused immediate change in Iranian

society from traditionalism to modernization, and it motivated middle and upper class families to send their children abroad for higher education as student (Hakimzadeh, 2006). The main migration in this era was toward France as the prior destination (Naghdi, 2010: 198).

The second wave belongs to Communists and leftists who headed toward the former Soviet Union (Naghdi, 2010: 198). This migration took place in Pahlavid era and it lasted in 1978-9. Also, some students who were sent in Pahlavid period resided in host countries (Naghdi, 2010: 198). During the revolution of Iran (1978-9) many of the students' relatives joined them (Hakimzadeh, 2006). At that time, most educated and highly skilled individuals left Iran for better opportunities in another country (Hakimzadeh, 2006).

The third wave of migration includes people who avoided the political situations and Iran- Iraq war after the revolution of Iran (Naghdi, 2010: 198). Apart from students, this time working class labor immigrants sometimes with lower education levels and less transferable skills migrated to different countries (Hakimzadeh, 2006). During the war which lasted until 1989 Iranians migrated to Western Europe and Scandinavia as (political) refugees (Naghdi, 2010: 198). In this case, the war as a push factor which is mentioned by Lee (1969) was the main reason for Iranians to migrate, especially to Sweden. The main subject of the thesis is oriented around the third wave of Iranian migration.

Table. 2 shows the amount of Iranian's migration to Sweden between 1984 and 2010. Different types of Iranian immigrants like asylums, reunification, labor market, student, and refugees are described in this table.

Table. 2: Different types of Iranian migration to Sweden (1984-2010)

Type \ year	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
asylum	1723	4524	6282	5477	5022	4573	4323	1266	753	339	382	451	401	356	613	854	739
reunification	-	-	802	1619	2072	2509	1866	1748	1585	1268	1192	1104	844	758	972	718	852
Labor market	-	-	4	-	3	2	2	1	2	-	6	-	2	-	2	2	6
student	-	-	13	17	8	8	8	4	12	18	12	8	13	17	15	27	29
refugees	27362*						1842	2709	1741	662	756	386	742	836	1018	310	512

Type \ year	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
asylum	780	762	787	660	582	494	485	799	1144	1182
reunification	811	683	699	605	626	830	763	709	824	798
Labor market	6	3	4	3	7	38	24	29	-	1
student	42	84	87	218	266	349	595	941	1164	1446
refugees	606	540	272	832	230	790	284	326	358	459

Notes: \*includes 1980 to 1989

Resources: <http://www.migrationsverket.se/info/3719.html>.

Author 30.1.12

## 4- Theoretical Framework

In this part three theories are presented to consider the changes among immigrants. The first is the “acculturation theory” from different perspectives by Everett Lee (1966), John Berry (1997), and Young Yang Kim (1988). Before jumping to the explanation of this theory it would be better to clarify the meaning of acculturation.

Acculturation is the cultural shifts of one group of people (Berry, 1997: 7). Redfield et al (1936) present the vast meaning as “acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different culture come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups” (Redfield et al., 1936: 149). Also, in another academic study by Tung (2011) it is defined as the process of adapting to and becoming absorbed into the dominant social culture (Tung, 2011, 383). In addition, acculturation is explained by Ellison et al. (2011) as the process by which the foreigners adapt the attitudes, values, customs, beliefs, and behaviors of another culture (Ellison et al., 2011: 478). And finally as Dow (2011) believes “acculturation is the process of coping with a new and largely unfamiliar culture” (Dow, 2011: 222)

The theory of “Acculturation” considers how individuals who had lived in one cultural context manage themselves in order to adapt to the new cultural context in the process of migration<sup>1</sup>.

The second theory is the “social habitus theory” by Pierre Bourdieu (1990). To draw a picture of habitus, different definitions are presented below.

Becker and Muller (2009) explain that habitus is the unconscious action that characterizes the different behaviors of people (Becker and Muller, 2009: 175-176). As Ernste (2006) clarifies habitus is the permanent schemes of some one’s thinking, acting, and perceptions (Ernste, 2006: 7). Dagmag (2006) points to the definition of habitus by Mauss as those aspects of culture that are anchored in the body or daily practices of individuals, societies, nations (Dagmag, 2006: 70). The complete definition is presented by Bourdieu (1968) when he mentions a system of

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<sup>1</sup> This theory is under question since it shows the aspect of “we” as developed westerns and “they” as undeveloped immigrants which grants a big gap between them. The trace of colonization could be visible especially when this interpretation is brought as: this is immigrants who must adapt themselves with the host culture. In other words, westerns are norms and immigrants as others are not norms. Though this theory is such a kind of Eurocentrism but it is still preferred to be use.

lasting, transportable disposition which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks (Bourdieu, 1968: 91). He adds Habitus is “systems of durable, transposable of dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures that is as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively ‘regulated’ and ‘regular’ without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor” (Bourdieu, 1990: 53). Habitus is the special field that persons in a society are trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in determinant ways.

The theory of “Habitus” points out to the fact of habitus which shapes the way of people’s behavior and thinking in the contexts of time and space. In fact this theory explains how people could resist or accept the changes in new fields.

The rest related theory to gender perspective named as “Ecofeminism” by Shiva (1989) and Rose et al (1997) which differentiate the origin of men and women when it makes different gender habitus. This point will be improved in the subject of “Feminists evaluate Bourdieu” as it comes in following.

The philosophy of choosing Habitus and Acculturation theories is to demonstrate that it is not just habitus which is brought to show the resistance of people in changing process but also acculturation is boded on immigrants’ changes from another perspective. In addition, the reason of using Ecofeminism theory is to show the gender differences as two different origins which cause different habitus and consequently various behaviors.<sup>2</sup>

One of the factors of changing process of immigrants is the difference between country of origin and destination. Lee (1966) states “persons living in an area have and immediate and often long-term acquaintance with the area and are usually able to make considered and unhurried judgments regarding them” (Lee, 1966: 50). However, this sometime is in contrary in destination and makes some disadvantages for immigrants’ practices as soon as they receive to country of

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<sup>2</sup> Despite this theory is already under question by contemporary feminists due to its lack of depth and its simplification of causal processes of men and women, it is still preferred to use in thesis progress since there are male and female different capacities which create different behavior based on their masculine and feminine habitus. Hence, it stands on sexual differences as two different origins and as Shiva (1989) writes do have a bipolar distribution.

destination and consider the differences between the area they live and the area they reach. Bourdieu (1990) in his theory points to the habitus as the core of individuals' practices and states their uncertainty about the changes in a new area is because of the past experiences which are the source of current practices. "The habitus produces individual and collective practices. It ensures the active presence of past experiences; tend to guarantee the correctness of practices and their constancy over time" (Bourdieu, 1990: 54). In this stage immigrants get confused since they are not sure if they have to change practices that they bring with themselves to the new area and exactly in this time the hardness or easiness of changing process takes place for immigrants. Kim (1988) states "we would need to concentrate on acquiring new cultural communication practices and be willing to put aside some of the old ones" (Kim, 1988: 1).

The personality of immigrants is the other factors in changing process. This fact could help immigrants to change or not to change. As a result the personality leads immigrants to acculturate or not acculturate themselves with the new society. Lee (1966) declares "there are personalities which are resistant to change and there are personalities which welcome change for the sake of change" (Lee, 1966: 51). For those who are pointed out by Lee as welcome personalities Berry (1997) adds, as immigrants try to acculturate themselves, their experiences are judged to put on no difficulties and changes are likely to be rather easy and behavioral shifts will follow smoothly for them (Berry, 1997: 18). So, it could be claimed that for these types of immigrants, changes is not a big problem. But for those who are mentioned by Lee as resistant individuals, Bourdieu (1990) clarifies "early experiences have particular weight because the habitus tends to ensure its own constancy and its defense against change" (Bourdieu, 1990: 60). In other word, some immigrants insist in their past experiences and are not subject to change anyhow. The reasons of immigrants' resistance toward changes are explained by Bourdieu (1990) as habitus which is the principal of collective perceptions that has tendency to confirm and reinforce rather than changing them (Bourdieu, 1990: 64). He, also, brings up another aspect of this reason and writes the tendency of groups to persist in their ways could be the source of their misadaption since individuals in groups create social and economic conditions which could be permanent and the changes of these dispositions could be hard for bodies (Bourdieu, 1990: 62). Hence, immigrants who are welcome to change could acculturate themselves easily since they utilize the context of changing which is made by the society. In contrary resistant immigrants are still dealing with the problems which result from misacculturation. This fact

leads to what Kim (1988) notes as “by refusing to change, we can minimize the change. By accelerating our adaptive efforts, we can maximize it” (Kim, 1988: 2)

The people’s ability to participate in a new society is the other factor of changing process of immigrants. Lee (1966) believes that people have different reactions to the bunch of positive and negative factors in origin and destination, or different abilities to dominate the obstacle, and they are different from each other in the basis of the personal factors (Lee, 1966: 56). These differences make the different levels of participation in society. Berry (1997) summarizes Lee’s sentence and discusses people are known to vary in the levels of participating in community changes (Berry, 1997: 7). Nevertheless, the diversity of people has direct relation with the various abilities for incorporation in a society. This fact from Bourdieu’s perspective is considered by “habitus which is through the capacity for participation, and utilize the body’s readiness to take seriously the performative magic of the social capitalism” (Bourdieu, 1990: 57). In addition, Kim (1988) strongly believes on what Lee and Bourdieu declare as abilities of people in participation into societies and he continues the adaption of immigrants is the “ability to communicate in accordance with the norms and practices of the host culture and actively engage in its social communication processes” (Kim, 1988: 1). In following, Kim (1988) adds a delicate point to the clarification of immigrants’ abilities to participate and that is the role of host society when he declares multiple forces are at work at the same time surrounding the communicative linkage between the individual and the host environment (Kim, 1988: 1). So, it could be mentioned that immigrants personal achievements in adaption into society are the respect of the human capacity to adapt, to deal with problems, and learn from others.

Berry, Lee, and Kim open a new gate to the issue of changes when they point out to the role of the dominant and host society as other factor however Bourdieu does not discuss it in his theory. Lee (1966) states “sometimes there is uncertainty with regard to the reception of immigrants in new area” (Lee, 1966: 51). This bodes that it is not just immigrant who have to adapt themselves rather it is dominant society as well to accept immigrants. Berry (1997) continues that immigrants as “minorities in a society are becoming a part of the mainstream culture. Although this does occur in many plural societies, it does not always occur, and in some cases it is resisted by either or both the dominant and non-dominant cultural groups” (Berry, 1997: 8). The acceptance by both groups to live in culturally different context needs the adoption of non-dominant group in one hand while on the other hand the preparation of dominant groups

to adapt national institutions (education, health, social services) is required. Kim (1988) expresses “in some cases, adaptive successes may be almost entirely due to the openness, strength, and positivity of the stranger’s characteristics, which enable the stranger to overcome even the most severely unreceptive host environment (Kim, 1988: 1). So, after immigrants’ adaption into society now it is the society and its residence’s role to accept immigrants as strangers in their communities and prepare themselves for the receptions of them.

The mentioned factors in theories vary the changing process of immigrants as easily, hardly or never happened. There are different aspects in changing process of immigrants when they arrive to the new area but the most important one is the cultural changes. As Berry (1997) states it is a result of living with sets of cultural influences and behaviors (Berry: 1997: 17). Cultural changes range from relatively superficial changes in what is eaten or worn, to deeper ones involving languages shifts, religious conversions, and fundamental alternations to value system (Berry: 1997: 17).

From gender perspective, deeper lens is needed to explore habitus and acculturation. In this regard it is necessary to utilize the theory of “Ecofeminism” and apply the subject of “Feminists evaluate Bourdieu” as its complementary. Shiva (1989) brings up the subject of Ecofeminism which points out to the mechanisms of gendered subjectively. In other words, the ideas of people as male or female, gender differences, in feelings and habitual responses to the world, the gendered conceptions of the interests could be seen as the participation in environmentally practices. (Shiva,1989: 178). In this regard women as the effective gender are closer to nature and are more environmental activists. They are nurturing and caring the environment so their potential of caring, fertility, and procreation grant them the lens of observing “the others”. The relation between women and the environment as Rose et al. (1997) notes is mostly constructed since as Shiva (1989) gives the reason they are supposedly more down to earth, and more respecting of all forms of life. Basically Shiva (1989) points out to gender differences which make the different habitus. Consequently, multifarious habitus created various behaviors of men and women. Hence, it could be claimed what women do are the result of their origins or in other word as Shiva (1989) says it is from their femininity nature –women’s characteristics of giving birth, their observing toward others or environment-. This point exactly overlaps with the subject of “Feminists evaluate Bourdieu”.

Bourdieu in his theory of habitus differentiates social fields, but the faded important factor in his theory, mentioned by feminists as the package of gender, identity, and change. Feminists reply to Bourdieu's determinism of the habitus and social field, when they enable the role of the durability of gender norms. McNay (1999) writes Bourdieu did not pay any attention to the identity of male and female however these two genders have different instituted behavior which grants the code of masculine and feminine (McNay, 1999: 107). This part is ended up with the sentence of McLeod (2005) when he seals the idea of McNay and adds feminists in this theory making the meaning for the relationship between gender, habitus and social field (McLeod, 2005: 25).

## 5- Method

This part discusses the method which is used for this thesis. Here, the material that is used for discusses supports or challenges the theoretical part is brought up.

- **5-1- Ethnography as qualitative method, Semi- structure interview as a tool**

Words and text as rightful data in qualitative methods play significant role since they contain life history study, discourse analysis, visual analysis, and ethnography (Aitken, Valentine, 2006: 341). In this thesis it is tried to use the ethnography as a qualitative method. Regarding Hancock (2002) ethnography lies on cultural parameters of a group like common experiences or their particular regions (Hancock, 2002: 4, 5). In this case, I try to interpret data from the opinion of the studied Iranian immigrants about their water consumption experiences within Iran and then Sweden as particular regions. Hancock (200) writes interviews as data collection techniques in ethnography could be useful for doing research (Hancock, 2002: 5). In this spot, Silverman (1993) says, interviews are shown as dialogues with a goal of finding deep perspective into people's experiences (Silverman, 1993: 146). For this thesis, semi structure interview was chosen due to its open ended nature of the questions as Hancock (2002) mentions in his article (Hancock, 2002: 9). The reason of using this type of interview is the need of tasting the different experiences of people regarding water consumption. In addition, in many cases the manner of changing in immigrants' practices could be explained in details. With the semi structure interviews it could be easier to know in which parts or aspects the immigrants' practices were or

were not changing and what would be the reasons but in statistics as an example of a tool in quantitative methods, the reason is explained in brief.

- **5-2- How the interview is created?**

According to Geiger (2010) if the main point of an empirical study is assumed as applying from the literature to the reality, then in this thesis, it is tried to find out the relevance of literature as a theory and the interviews as a reality on this research topic. That is the main reason of choosing semi- structure interview.

The interviews were done in Persian language which needs to translate to English for the analysis part. Therefore, the daily language of the interviewees unintentionally was switched to the written one in the process of translating to English. But it is trying to keep the accuracy in every part of the interviews which is the base of the work.

Basically, the questions are provided in three parts. First part's questions go to the background of interviewees such as the amount of family members or their ages. The second part of the questions belongs to the life of interviewees in Iran such as the access to facilities or the manner of supplying water. Finally, the rest of questions relate to the daily life of interviewees in Sweden such as the changes of their practice in water consumption or learning new norms of the society about water issues. (See Appendix.1)

Actually the questions as criteria for analysis oriented around the water consumption in taking shower, washing dishes, cleaning, and watering flowers.

- **5-3- How the interviewees are founded?**

An easy way to make interviews possible is through the social networks of the interviewees. In this thesis, using friend or friends of friends' networks is the way to find Iranian people trend to be interviewed, and this word-of-mouth turns to the snowball method. There is a cultural Iranian institution exists in Sweden where Iranian people join it by attraction to their culture and the will to talk Persian. This institution has short activities to share information about environmental- friendly practices by brochures, clips, and speeches by experts. It helped a lot to collect the interviewees and make interviews. Also, with the help of an Iranian student another community of Iranians was founded as a rest of interviewees. Deeping to this network opens new gate to interview with other people.

The gender of immigrants is determined by “M” as “Male” and “F” as female. Their relationship may differ. For instance, M. 7 introduce two friends of himself as M. 8 and M. 9. Also, immigrant F. 9 introduces her friend as immigrant F. 11. Immigrants F. 5, F. 6, M. 8, and M. 9 introduce their partners as M. 10, M. 11, F. 9, and F. 10 respectively. But immigrants F. 1, F. 2, F. 3, F.4, M. 1, and M. 2 do not correspond to the snowball effect. (See table.3)

- **5-4- How contacts with interviewees are made?**

As the interviewees were founded, exchange of emails and telephone numbers between me and them has been done. In next step, the telephone call or emails have been made for fixing the time for the face to face interview then the interviewees are let to choose the place of the interview by their options. Some cases have been interviewed in public places and the other preferred to have the interview in their own place. So, the possibility for direct observation becomes almost zero.

- **5-5- How absorb the interviewees’ trust to interview?**

It is attempt to treat with interviewees honestly in order to perhaps create the atmosphere of trust far from harms and wrongs to get the interviewees’ feedback while they are answering to the questions. It was needed to clarify the subject specifically and explain there is no advantage for anybody to lie.

Hence, as soon as I meet the interviewees, the subject of the thesis and the goals are briefly explained. Then my ID card is showed and the questions are passed to them in order to know what type of questions are going to be asked and what type of important information is needed such as the daily routines, their understanding and concerns of their lives in water consumption. In this regard, Aitken and Valentine (2006) mention it is needed to explore different angle of the immigrant’s daily routines, their actions, concerns, and interpretations in interviews (Aitken, Valentine, 2006: 90).

Before starting the interview, the interviewees are asked if they let to record their voice and also if it is possible to mention their names in the thesis. In most of the cases they accept to record their voices (except F. 2, F. 4) but prefer not to use their names. So, confidentially methods was omitted and instead the coding system was used by numbering them as F.1, F. 2 or M. 1, M. 2 as mentioned before.

- **5-6- How the interviews are managed?**

While the interviews take place, it is tried to manage whole the conversation around the main question of the thesis.

According to Silverman (1993) who believes telling interviewees about the interviewer's thoughts lets them to comment on what interviewer thinks (Silverman, 1993: 147) in this thesis it is tried to make the interviewees feel free to express their feelings while I was talking about my thoughts. Nevertheless, it is endeavored to catch the points to answer to the research question while interviewees argue. However, sometimes it is hard for the interviewees to answer some questions since the responses refer to long time ago and here the factor of "Memory" plays significant role. Hence, I just stand on the states and information which are more reliable and were mentioned surely by the interviewees.

After each interview, it is accentuated the possibility of sending the transcripts of the interviews to their Email or even on CD. But none of them consider it as a big deal perhaps because of two reasons: 1- the questions are not so sensitive to them. There are about their daily routines, 2- they see me open to them and simply express the thoughts and show the related documents. They are asked if in any case it would be necessary to use their sentence as a citation they will be informed for double checking and confirming the accuracy in advance by telephone or email.

- **5-7- Who are the interviewees?**

The sample is contained of 22 first generated immigrants including 11 men and 11 women between 45 to 70 years old who are living in Sweden at minimum of 20 years. The reason to choose the first generation of Iranian immigrants is their long-term background in Iran which is the element for gaining prime experiences and sometimes has more challenges in facing with the new experiences in Sweden. Also, they dealt more with obstacles, economic coercion or war in Iran. In addition, the reason of choosing 11 men and women is to compare them by gender perspective in the context of water consumption manner. Whole the face-to-face interviews have been conducted in Stockholm, from 5<sup>th</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> February 2012. All the interviewees have an occupation in Sweden or they are retired. Also, all of them were born in Iran, and migrated with or without their families. The studied Iranian immigrants do not concern only one type of

migration. The types of interviewees' migration are multifarious mostly as asylums, students, and refugees.

Most of the interviews have been recorded via Mobile and then transcribed. The lengths of the in-depth interviews are lasted between 50 minutes for the shortest and 1 hour and 35 minutes for the longest.

Table. 3: Information of interviewees <sup>3</sup>

Subject		Men	Women
Age	45-55	M.1- M.2- M.6- M.7- M.8- M.9- M.11	F.1- F.4- F.6- F.9- F.10- F.11
	56-65	M.3- M.4- M.5	F.2- F.3- F.7- F.8
	66-75	M.10	F.5
Origin	Tehran	M.1- M.4	F.2- F.3- F.6- F.7- F.8- F.11
	Other cities	M.2- M.3- M.5- M.6- M.7- M.8- M.9- M.10	F.1- F.4- F.5- F.9- F.10
Family member	5-7	M.1- M.2- M.3- M.4- M.6- M.7- M.9- M.11	F.1- F.2- F.3- F.4- F.7- F.8- F.9
	8-10	M.5- M.8- M.10	F.5- F.6- F.10- F.11
Current Position	Educated	M.1- M. 2- M.3- M.6	F.1- F.2- F.3- F.4- F.5- F.6- F.7- F.8- F.9- F.10- F.11
	Occupied	M.1, M.2- M.3- M.4- M.5- M.6- M.7- M.8- M.9- M.11	F.1-F.2- F.3- F.6- F.7- F.8- F.9- F.10- F.11
	Retired	M.5- M.10	F.5
Living length in Sweden	1975-1980	M.2- M.6	
	1981-1985	M.1- M.9	F.8- F.10- F.11
	1986-1990	M.3- M.4- M.5- M.7- M.8- M.10- M.11	F.1- F.2- F.3- F.5- F.6- F.7- F.9
	1991-1995		F.4

Notes: The base of division between Tehran and other cities in this table is the unequal distribution of facilities

Some interviewees moved from/ to Tehran and other cities because of their jobs

Author, 7.5.12

## 6- The four key themes

In this part, four key points are presented from the accomplished interviews study to analyze the process of changing and the levels of acculturation among Iranian immigrants in Sweden. These

<sup>3</sup> To keep the anonymous style of the coding system in the part of method, the cities where interviewees came from are deleted by the recommendation of supervisor.

points include: water supply and consumption in Iran, changes of water consumption behavior in Sweden, Environmental awareness, and housing condition in Sweden.

- **6-1- Water supply and consumption in Iran**

Based on the various types of supplying water, the interviewees experience different ways of water consumption. In arid area like Iran almost all people know how to provide water for their consumptions. Here four sources of providing water named as: well, cistern, river or spring, and pipe.

1) Well (Qanat): it is coming from drilling the ground to reach the underground water. By this system some people in Iran provided the water from underground by making holes which is called as wells or in Persian as Qanats. “It is demonstrated that ancient methods of groundwater management, such as the Qanat system, could provide a good example of human ingenuity to cope with water scarcity in a sustainable manner” (Salih, 2006:79). Among the interviewees three of them were providing water from wells.

2) River and spring: rivers are yielding huge amounts of water and have played vital role in nourishing people with fresh water for drinking and agricultural purposes in the past (Jahani, Reyhani, 2006: 3). Actually, rivers have been the core of management of (polluted) water resources which are yet used for drinking, domestic and washing purposes, or even for irrigation and agricultural food products (www.un.org). Seven of the interviewees based on their place of living have the experiences of providing water from rivers and springs.

3) Cistern: it has been used for saving rainwater and it was counted as one of the major sources of drinking water and partially for irrigation which had been available from some centuries up to the recent years (<http://www.eng.warwick.ac.u>). Cisterns could be visible in semi- arid areas. There were some villages and towns in Iran basically in south, east and central parts that cisterns were the main resource for water. Two of the interviewees who are coming from these parts supply the water from cisterns. Actually, they use the water in cisterns as potable water.

4) Pipe: the first water pipe line was constructed in capital –Tehran- in order to reply to the demand of city residents. Following to supply to the demand of population of 900,000, the construction of a pipe network with 53 km length, was started to convey water from Karaj River to Tehran (Jahani, Reyhani, 2006: 8). During the ever increasing population’s demand, the other

dams (Latyan, Lar, Taleghan, and Mamlou) were added to the pipeline system as the last solutions (Jahani, Reyhani, 2006:8). The pipeline network was developed gradually first from Tehran and then to other cities in Iran. In this regard, people who were living in Tehran could have more chance to use water pipe rather than wells, rivers or cisterns since the facilities in Tehran as Capital were almost more in comparison with other cities.<sup>4</sup> The urban water supply has increased from 75.5% to 98% during 1980s (Asadilour et al., 2012: 293). Among the interviewees the rest 10 could have chance to use water from pipes.

- **6-2- Changes of water consumption behavior in Sweden**

When immigrants migrate to the country of destination they would experience new norms of the new society. Regarding to the subject of this thesis, Iranian immigrants faced with the new norm in water consumption within Sweden after they migrated. Since the culture and in following the behavior of Iranian immigrants toward water differed from the Swedish ones, they found a gap between two cultures. As Koopmans (2010) mentions culture appears as a biggest gap between origin and destination country (Koopmans, 2010: 11).

This gap made a challenge for Iranian immigrants while they understood for more acculturation in daily routines they have to change their water consumption patterns and cope with the new norms. As a result, they walked through the path of changing process and in this way one interviewee completely changed, seven of them did not changed but 14 of them stacked in a position of welcome and resist toward water consumption changes.

- **6-3- Environmental awareness**

Awareness on water issues is defined as “the influencing attitudes and social norms of communities in such a way that behavior compliant with an efficient, environment friendly and safe use of water resources” (Schaap, Steenbergen, 2001: 10). Awareness aims for behavioral change based on various social norms. If this fact generalized in water issues, it would be considerable when Iranian immigrants were living in Iran low awareness of water consumption as general perception indicated that water is free right. While they moved to Sweden, the interviewees have learned from different channels to be aware and care about water. In this

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<sup>4</sup> Although the first canal was constructed through Tehran but still in different parts of the city people experienced different water supply which results from unequal distribution of facilities.

regard, the media both as printed and electronic play a significant role in raising awareness of water's value. Basically, wise water management except the scale from family size to the global size must encompass experimental education and awareness raising initiatives (<http://unesdoc.unesco.org>). In the scale of country, in Sweden current water management strives for general awareness of water cycle (Josefsson, 2007: 22) and this could be the reason of Iranian immigrants' awareness in Sweden which stimulate active and informed involvement of them.

- **6-4- Housing condition in Sweden**

In Sweden, it is possible to buy or rent a house or an apartment. Buying could be in the form of ordinary ownership (typical for houses) or by becoming a member of a housing co-operative (standard for apartments). Also, in apartments heating and hot water are generally included in the rent and other services such as electricity, and broadband may or may not be included (<http://www.arbetsformedlingen.se>). However, in most of the cases in houses the heating system and hot water are not included in the rent and this is individuals who ought to pay the separate fees. Therefore, rental apartments are more common than houses among citizens. Hedberg (2004) affirms, beside culture, economic factors often complement migration process (Hedberg, 2004: 31). Regarding this fact most of Iranian immigrants far from their segregated areas are living or prefer to live in apartments in order to avoid from paying extra fees for water as it is in houses. Among the interviewees five of them are living in houses and the rest 17 interviewees are living in apartments.

As Geiger (2010) mentions in Stockholm the level of segregation as a relative level of spatial concentration of some population such as Turkish, Iranians, Somalis is high (Geiger, 2010: 29) but it will not be explained in this thesis because of size and time limitation for analyzing and beside the housing conditions of interviewees belong to different part of Stockholm and none of them are segregated.

## **7- Analysis**

The findings of this part will be analyzed based on the four above themes. It would be better to stress that the criterion for distinguishing the effective water consumption of interviewees is based on more effective saving water by them in comparison with their past experiences. In

addition, different climates from south to north or west to east make people to experience multifarious styles of supplying and consuming which form various culture of water consumption in different parts of Iran.

- **7-1- Water supply and consumption in Iran**

During the interviews various reasons were discovered regarding to the manner of water supply and water consumption that needs to be analyzed. Hence, the reasons come under four sub-headings: obstacles and limitations, unequal distribution of facilities, number of families and economic problems, and Iran- Iraq war.

### **7-1-1- Obstacles and limitations**

The group who discuss about their limitations in water supplying shares their different experiences. Almost 12 of the interviewees tell they supply water from wells (Qanats), cisterns, rivers, and springs. Actually, in past the sources for supplying water for these interviewees were these four choices in different parts of Iran and as time goes the piped water was generalized. As a whole, water supplying was a serious obstacle for people. M. 9 was one of those people who experienced the hardness and say:

*“We supplied water from wells (Qanat) and we had limitation in water consumption as well. For example we climbed the mountain and supplied our potable water from the spring at 12 A.M”.*

The hardness of water supplying affected on water consumption too. For instance, in taking shower the water should be consumed as lowest as it is possible in order to decrease the amount for footwork to and from sources of supplying water.

In this study, the interviewees who supply water from the mentioned water sources consume the low water since they realized the scarcity and the limitation of water. Keshavarzi et al. (2006) seals this fact in his study and shows the variability of water consumption depends on water availability and cultural behavior or habits of water consumers. He writes “water consumption is mostly based on some behavioral and cultural aspects” (Keshavarzi et al., 2006: 1177).

For this people who supplied water hardly, the meaning of water is more than a production in a pipe and that meaning is hidden in springs or cisterns as sources for supplying water. Nevertheless, in most cases water consumption was done with its own sensitivity which gradually became as a culture among them. M. 8 say:

*“Water consumption for us was the most serious problem so we warn each other to consume it lower. As a result the water which was used for washing dishes preferably was used for watering vegetables rather than through it away”.*

Also, F. 3 remember when she wanted to wash the dishes she had to pumped water from cistern to pond.

The data of this part could be aligned with the theory of Berry (1997) when he notes cultural factors affect on display of individual human behavior. Individuals normally treat in ways that correspond to cultural influences (Berry, 1997: 6).

#### **7-1-2- Unequal distribution of facilities**

One of the factors which results different styles of water consumption in Iran is the unequal distribution of facilities. In this way the facilities such as refined water or piped water in cities and counties of Iran caused people experienced different types of water consumption. This fact could also be seen in a city which has not an equal facilities distribution between its two zones. M. 4 define the situation of unequal distribution among cities and counties in Iran as:

*“There was a difference of water consumption between west and east of Tehran. People who settled in east were more cautions since they bought water and it was entered by some clay pipe to people’s houses for consumption. In contrast, the people who settled in west were never careful about water because they could consume water whenever they want”.*

This shows people in east of Tehran had limitations to supply water but people in west could have water whenever they desired without any limitation like buying water as people in east of Tehran did. Jahani and Reyhani (2006), the members of scientific board in water research institute, write the subject of unequal distribution of facilities in Iran has been and still is threatening and especially it is going to make Tehran to touch the danger of water crisis and scarcity.

This inequality of facilities distribution between two cities was a deep problem. M. 4, as a person who was living in west of Iran with higher facilities, explains after his moving to south of

Iran with lower facilities he had to refine water with the prime methods as a job which he has never done before. He clarifies:

*“I passed water from hosiery and then poured it to the bowl, next boiled it and after the water got cold it was ready to use. When I looked into that hosiery I could see the dusts and worms”.*

It is obvious without saying that in such a kind of situations people who settled in cities with limited facilities had to change their habitus and tried to care about water very much and attempted to use water based on their needs in order to save water and consume it logically. That is because the circumstances affected on their behaviors and habits toward water consumption. F. 1 is one of those people who lived in such a kind of cities with its limitations and she always faced with the water scarcity. She remembers that she has to wash clothes in pond and she had to break the iced water in winters for the washing.

More than half of the individuals in this study changed their behavior toward water consumption when they move to another city with developed facilities such as piped water. F. 6 say in Dezful<sup>5</sup> she ought to care about water but as soon as she moved to Tehran with developed facilities she was not caring about water anyhow.

In contrary, the vice versa story was told by two cases. These two interviewees including M. 2 and F. 4 moved from cities with higher facilities to city with lower facilities. They mention that they must care about water since there was water shortage and they had to consume water less and this was very hard for them but as time passed they learned how to use water less, even in taking shower. Based on Bourdieu's (1997) theory about resistance of individual toward changing, this part could be against what he says. This studied group has to change their practices in water consumption under the effect of the environmental circumstances however they tolerated hardness and difficulties this means they could not resist against the changes. In other word, the circumstances affect on people's behavior and force them to change their prime experiences (habitus).

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<sup>5</sup> The city in south of Iran with low facilities

### **7-1-3- Number of families and economic coercion**

All the involved interviewees belong to big families between 5 to 10 members. This fact, itself shows the problems of the families about all the affairs in their lives such as the need for welfare, the need for education and even the need for water. In this regard, Molanezhad (2008) in his report to UNESCAP, illustrates how Iran's population growth has direct effect toward the need for more water in crowded areas and water facilities management. He adds it seems Iranian families need more management from the side of government in order to cross the limitation of water in one hand and shrink the population growth on the other hand.

Hence, the number of family members has affected on their behavior of water consumption regarding limitations in facilities. F. 2 who is coming from 6-member family mention:

*“On that time we had water heater which had its own limitation while it was working. Especially in winter we had lower warm water. So we had to manage who takes shower first and wash himself/herself in a way to let the next person having this chance to take a shower with warm water. As a result, the water consumption decreased automatically”.*

In the same study by Washington University, water using among American families shows households mostly consume water between 40 to 60 gallons but this amount in big families exceeds 80 gallons per day (<http://www.energy.wsu.edu>).

The subject of being a big family includes another point which was the economic coercion. As a result in water consumption, studied group had to be careful and try to save water as best as they could in order to have the most economic efficiency. Actually, the reason of saving water or consuming lower water by these people was the economic coercions. Again this fact could be lied in contrast with what Bourdieu (1997) says as, the practices stand neither in the determination of external factor to the agent nor in the decision of the reason (Bourdieu, 1997: 50). But in this case the obtained data shows economic coercion as an external factor could be a reason for individuals' practices which results the low water consumption among them.

In this group their awareness about water consumption was rooted in economy. While the cost of water made the family to be under pressure, it obligated them to observe water in order not to pay extra fees for it. F. 11 who belongs to the 9-member family remembers when the cost of water increased her parents warned her and her siblings to use water lower.

Lower water consumption regarding to economic issues was not the only struggling subject among families but between landlord and tenants. The landlord warned the tenants to consume water less in order not to pay extra fees. M. 6 say:

*“When I was a tenant my water consumption became too low since my landlord warned me if in any case I use water more I had to pay the extra money for the water. Consequently, I was observing water a lot”.*

So, this group have economic perspective toward every angels of life and brought it with themselves from country of origin to the country of destination and with this point of view they have lived here however nowadays this perspective mix with the environmental awareness which will be explained in the coming section.

#### **7-1-4- Iran- Iraq War**

There is another reason that almost all the involved interviewees had challenge with it. That was the war between Iran and Iraq (1980-1988) which influenced on the water consumption behavior of individuals and obviously reduced it. Generally, when war enters to the border of a country it brings its own culture with itself through the boundaries. It means while the society has challenge with the scarcity of facilities during the war, people adapt with the urgent circumstances automatically. In Iran urgent circumstances summarized more in water scarcity during war that led people to prioritize which issue should be done first.

Basically during war, studied individuals determined the contemporary solutions for their affairs especially for water. M. 4 say:

*“During the scarcity of water, one of our neighbors brought water from the nearest spring by his tanker and distributed among other neighbors. Therefore, during the war we used less piped water and simultaneously felt less water shortage but it was the contemporary solution”.*

F. 6 also, talk about her experience during war:

*“There was a dale in our house that we cut half of it and put a barrel under it. When it was raining, drops were going by the dale to that barrel and we could gather water for our daily consumption. In this way we reduce the water consumption during the war however before war we used more water”.*

It seems the studied group had to act against their habitus or quitted them which mean they changed their habits because urgent circumstances influenced on their life styles. They did not have any choices unless to adapt themselves with the circumstances meaning in this case they had to change their habits. This could be in contrary with the theory of Bourdieu (1997) when he believes people resist toward changing and their experiences still remain strength. Regarding the studied group, the changes of their experiences proof circumstances could not let the habits to stay stable.

This group also became familiar with water management and they used water with the lowest percent of lavishing. For example, when the water disconnected from the pipes they saved water in advanced in various bowls for various usages such as washing dishes or using in toilets; and after water connected again they used the saved water for other purposes such as making food.

- **7-2- Changes in water consumption behavior in Sweden**

The process of changes in water consumption among the interviewees divides them in to three groups: 1- welcome to change, 2- resist to change 3- welcome - resist to change. Each group has its own characteristics based on their experiences during their lives. Here they are explained separately.

### **7-2-1 Welcome to change**

Among 22 interviews only one person (M. 1) states that he is completely changed. This changing contains the practices of his daily routines about water from washing dishes to taking shower. When he was in Iran he took a shower but after he came in Sweden his practice completely changed and since then he took bath instead of shower because -far from its accuracy or fallacy- his understanding about showering was like the amount of water consuming in taking shower equals with each 4 baths. He also, mentions:

*“In washing dishes I prefer to have the Swedish style -using two chamber pots- because I think I consume less water rather than washing under the tap as Iranian style, however my mum criticizes me but I personally could not accept her style of washing”.*

There is perhaps a main reason to verify this fact and that is age. When he migrated to Sweden he was only 16. This may means he was open to accept the culture of receiving country.

Berry (1997) in his diagram names the age as one of the moderating factors prior to acculturation. He also states “age has known relationship to the way acculturation will proceed. When the acculturation starts early, the process is generally smooth” (Berry, 1997: 21). He adds in early ages behavioral shifts is likely to be rather easy (Berry, 1997: 18). This fact becomes visible when M. 1 mention as soon as he absorbed into society, he immediately learned how to live and how to practice daily routines even in water consumption. It seems his active participation in society lets him to be acculturated and qualified person. This is exactly what Kim (1988) says in his theory that involvement and having active network with the local community makes a worthy person in host society (Kim, 1988: 1). Participation and having network for M. 1 as he says creates the feeling of belonging which lets him to play his role for his society as a responsible person toward his social duties such as obeying the social rules and norms, respecting others’ rights and respecting to the nature like logical consuming water in order to accompany with the existing movement in a society.

### **7-2-2 Resist to change**

Among the studied group, 8 individuals including F. 2, F. 7, M. 3 (as group A), M. 7, M. 2, M. 10, and F. 5 (as group B) have not changed their water consumption pattern after their migration. They still have their own pattern which they brought it from their hometown. But the deep difference between these two groups is in their accuracy of their behaviors in water consumption in Iran. Because of the prior information, field of jobs or the self-studies of group “A” about water it seems their behavior toward water is more logical in comparison with group “B”.

The members of group “A” state they did not find any difference between their behaviors toward water in Iran and the norms of the water in Sweden. All of them say that they have not changed their behavior and still keep it as it is used to be in Iran. F. 7 as a member of this group explain her experience in Iran:

*“While I was washing dishes I never used tap water with high pressure instead I made a low pressure (strip of water) in order not to waste it”.*

M. 3 share almost the same experience while he was watering flowers with lower water pressure. They also insist there is something in their mind to consume water correctly.

In contrary, group “B” tell the different stories. They did not have any information about water as group “A” had. This fact affected on their behavior toward water. M. 2 say:

*“I open the tap water constantly while I’m washing dishes or taking shower or any other consuming purposes. My water consumption behavior has not changed at all. It is exactly same as it is used to be in Iran meaning the surrounding has not affected on me”.*

M. 7 who had Swedish home mates believes on their accurate style of water consumption but he still prefers to have his own water consumption behavior. F. 5 also say:

*“My behavior toward water has not changed since it is rooted on my habits”.*

This is the sound of habitus which is known here as a similar point between two groups. This fact leads to the theory of Bourdieu (1990) when he notes habitus loans its permanency from prime practices of individuals and it resists toward changing (Bourdieu, 1990: 60). For these groups it seems the previous practices as habitus -far from the accuracy or fallacy- shape their current behavior and it results on their resistance toward changing. In other word, past experiences could guarantee the current practices and their permanency in a context of time. In this case, it seems having or not having knowledge about water does not play any role since the weight of habitus is stronger. As Bourdieu (1990) adds in his theory the habitus trend to be reinforced rather than transformed (Bourdieu, 1990: 64) which could be visible for these groups.

In contrary with the first group -welcome to change- another reason for resisting group could be their ages which includes from 53 to 74 years old. It seems this people from the beginning of their migration process -when they were almost 33 to 54 years old- found it hard to change because of their ages, so the process for acculturation against what Berry (1997) notes was not smooth. It may verify acculturation could take place easier when someone in early ages starts its process but this group faces with acculturation in older ages and perhaps that is why they resisted towards changing and it is hard for them to acculturate.

### **7-2-3- Welcome - resist to change**

Almost about the rest 14 interviewees belong to the moderate group which is neither welcomed nor resisted in order to change. This means when these immigrants migrated to Sweden far from the factor of age they got stock between the two positions of welcoming and resisting. In case of water consumption they could not completely replace the new cultural behavior toward water consumption but it does not mean they totally resist toward the changing

of behaviors as well. Instead they could just transform their behavior into something that consist some of the old and some of the new norms toward water consumption. In this regard F. 6 say:

*“I have made changes in my practices but these changes are neither 100% Iranian norms nor 100% Swedish norms. I was trying to take the positive points of the new culture in water consumption practices and still keep the positive points of the old culture<sup>6</sup>”.*

M. 11 tell the same story and add he brought his practices from his hometown then extracted the positive points of the old culture and mixed it with the new one. But still he could not change his behavior toward some practices of water consumption.

These experiences leads to the theory of Kim (1988) when he writes it is needed to catch the new cultural practices and try to put aside some of the old ones (Kim, 1988: 1). For its acculturation, this group tries to change some of the practices to be more acculturated by catching the culture of receiving country and putting aside/keeping some of the old culture. Lee (1966) in his theory exactly points out to this fact and notes: “even before they leave, migrants tend to have taken on some of the characteristics of the population at destination, but they can never completely lose some which they share with the population at origin” (Lee, 1966: 57).

This fact shapes the behavior of the interviewees while they are consuming water. As an example M. 6 mentions:

*“While in Iran I was taking shower the tap water was always open but after I migrated to Sweden the consumption pattern of mine changed gradually now when I do the same practice I close the tap water since I feel why it must be opened whereas it could be closed. May be I learned this from my Swedish home mate and I find it positive”.*

The pattern of water consumption indebted to another factor named as background of this group in using water. M. 8 mentions whenever he wants to wash dishes he opens and closes the tap water. There is something in his mind to use water correctly. He adds:

*“This is because of my background in Iran when I remember how it was hard for us to supply and consume the water. That is now the reason I observe to close and open the tap water while I’m taking shower or washing dishes”.*

This fact overlaps with Kim’s (1988) theory when he writes the individual and cultural backgrounds play important role in facilitating the process of adaption (Kim, 1988: 2). In this

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<sup>6</sup> New and old cultures mean the culture of the receiving and sending country. To keep the accuracy of the answers, the author could not change the word since it is mentioned by the interviewee.

case, it seems the cultural background plays a role as a monitor which controls the current amount of water consumption.

The current group's openness, strength, and positivity toward water consumption in some cases are completely successful such as showering or washing dishes but in other practices like watering flowers they are still insisting on their inherited experiences and are not so adaptive perhaps because they yet look at to some water consumption practices with their Iranian lens.

- **7-3- Environmental Awareness**

As it is mentioned in the first part of the analysis almost all the interviewees faced with economic coercion which affects on their water consumption. When they migrated to Sweden they faced with the new issues of the culture of host society like environmental awareness. Almost all the cases mention that they did not have any especial view about environment in Iran but as soon as they migrated to Sweden they found to pay attention to it. However, it seems with the gender perspective as it will be discussed later, women are more aware than men. Awareness of environment affected on water consumption behavior of the studied group and made it intellectually. M. 3 say:

*“Paying attention to environment in Sweden is very important and this fact affected on my thoughts about water unconsciously”.*

M. 8 and F. 9 add that awareness have affected on their water consumption manner and changed it.

Furthermore, F. 9 mention in Iran the only subject of water was about its economic aspects. So if someone did not waste water it was because of the economic coercion not because of the identity of water as the environmental subject. Basically, in Iran people used water economically. Beside, media in Iran was not improved or if so it did not specified any title for environmental subjects like water as it does nowadays. Also, among people the exchange of information took place rarely. That is perhaps the reason to say why immigrants did not have awareness toward environment but when they moved to Sweden they realized that environment is a routine subjects of people and the media.

In a new place they have learned from different channels to be aware and care about water. In this regard the media like newspapers or Television have played a significant role in

raising awareness of water's value among this group. For Iranian immigrants of this study the opportunity for learning is mostly from Television, radio, and newspaper. For example, M. 6 say in his awareness radio, advertisement, and newspaper play key role.

F. 10 share her experience as:

*“In first years of my settlement in Sweden I still had the habits that I brought by myself from Iran but after some years passing I became more aware about saving water which I learned here. In Iran I used water for whatever I desired but now in Sweden I'm trying to consume water correctly”. F.6 state that in Iran she put the clothes of her child to the washing machine separate from her husband and her own so the machine was not full with clothes. Consequently, the machine was working twice and the energy and water were wasted as well. She adds “if on that time I had the current awareness of mine as I have now I have never done like this. If I put the clothes together, I could save water and electricity more”.*

This fact could link to the theory of Kim (1988) when he notes immigrants normally get the positive points of the culture of receiving country (Kim, 1988: 1). In this regard, Berry (1997) verifies this attitude and adds “for most acculturating individuals, after a period of time, some long-term positive adaption to the new cultural context usually takes place” (Berry, 1997: 13). Hence, long-term living in Sweden lets this group of immigrants to learn the positive point such as environmental awareness which helps them to peak their life quality. Lee (1966) in his theory declares people who are living in an area have long-term acquaintance with that area (Lee, 1966: 50). In this way, awareness of environment effect on their behavior toward water consumption and assists them to revise their past behavior. Nowadays, they have their economic perspective which is mixed with the fact of environmental awareness in a way that they could see water by its identity and consume it logically. Regarding to their awareness now they have a strong reason for their behavior toward water consumption and reach to the stage to vote or be the member of the green group (Milijopartiet) for the parliament. Schaap and Steenbergen (2001) confirm this fact when they state getting involve in awareness raising, gives people the opportunity to be participated in the movement, to have some influences over the direction of the current wave (Schaap, Steenberge, 2001: 55).

- **7-4- Housing condition in Sweden**

In this study, all the interviewees stress that housing condition affects on their water consumption behaviors. Among 22 individuals, 5 persons including F. 6, F. 9, F. 11, M. 8, and M. 11 are living in houses and the rest 17 individuals are living in apartments. F. 6 who is living in a house say she has to be careful about water using but on the other side F. 10 who is living in an apartment say she could consume water without any limitation. She adds if she lives in a house, she should use water sensitively.

The one who lives in house ought to pay fees for (warm) water and consequently care more about it as well but the one who lives in apartment pays less fees or in other word almost zero for water hence, he/she does not care about water as the one who is living in house.

Basically the group who is living in apartments believes the fee of water is divided among all the neighbors and it does not cost too much but the group who is living in apartment affirms they have to budget the fees themselves so they have to be careful how and when to use water. M. 1 who had the experience of living in a house for some years says:

*“One of the influences of living in houses is saving electricity and water”.*

Here, once again, the economic issue shows itself as a factor which this group has been familiar due to the background of living situation in Iran. They brought their economic provision by themselves as a habitus from their hometown and they are still thinking economically. This fact could be proved what Bourdieu (1990) notes as the power of the early habitus of individuals which is completely remained and seals the current practices (Bourdieu; 1990: 54). It seems because of this prime practice of the studied immigrants they prefer to live in houses rather than houses in order not to pay extra fees. Or if they are living in apartments they must have exact budgeting for their lives' expenses. F. 4 is the one who lives in apartment and say she encourages her friend to move to apartments when she sees they are complaining about the fees of houses.

The same study by Basolo and Nguyen (2009) shows immigrants in Orange county, California have the same story with housing conditions as Iranian immigrants have. In addition, Lutz (2008) in her study about migration has a meaningful interpretation for this status of immigrants. She notes “It is true that almost everything can be translated into costs and benefits and that a value in monetary terms can be attached to it” (Lutz, 2008: 13). F. 1 who is living in an apartment is a good example. She said she prefers to live in an apartment however she knows

in houses she could have more welfare and more privacy but she prefers to spend money for other affairs rather than paying for fees. If this point comes to be generalized in this theory, it could be said for almost all the member of the studied group that is what exactly happened because they have set economic factors in every corner of their lives even in housing conditions. They want to save their money or spend it in other field rather than paying for the house's fees.

As a whole, circumstances affect on the behavior of individuals. Because of economical coercions, limitations, big families or unequal distribution in Iran the studied individuals more or less were familiar with water issues. The urgent circumstances like war forced this group to consume water more sensitive than the past. Consequently, the theory of Bourdieu (1990) which indicate the existence of habitus toward changing approximately could not be applicable here. However it is deniable to say the theory of Bourdieu could be doable for those immigrants in this study who are still insisting on their habitus toward water consumption even after their migration and for immigrants who know the role of economic provision as their habitus in choosing their type of housing. Simultaneously, most of the studied cases are almost positive toward changing and they are following the outline as Kim (1988), Berry (1997) and Lee (1966) draw in order to quit some of the old behaviors of the old culture and try to accept the culture of receiving country. This fact could be seen in the issues of awareness and about the groups of welcome to change and welcome- resist to change. Regarding to water issues, this fact absolutely affected on the studied group's water consumption behavior since nowadays environmental awareness which is the new norm of the new society causes the more effective water consumption of this group.

## **8- Water consumption in gender perspective**

This part begins with the question as “Which gender are the most acculturated among Iranian immigrants in water consumption?” To answer to this question, it is needed again to point to the theory of Ecofeminism by Shiva (1989) when she declares the ideas of gender conceptions of the interests, feelings and habitual responses could be seen in extend of environmentally practices involvement from men or women's sides (Shiva,1989: 178). According to Ecofeminists, women are more friends with nature and consequently are more environmental activists. They have attention to environment and their surroundings. So, the answer could be seen in the sentence of

Shiva (1989) when she responds that women are more sensible to nature, and see themselves more responsible toward all forms of life (Shiva, 1989: 182).

Basically, women are known with nature, and nevertheless they have special interests in environmental protection. However “western feminists have suggested that third world women are more sensitive to environmental issues (Rose et al., 1997: 147)”; but still the observing lens of women and as Shiva (1989) mentions their femininity nature –their characteristics of giving birth, their observing toward others or environment-could be seen in environmental awareness.

The study of ECLAC (2000) is influenced by Ecofeminism when it illustrates the environmental awareness of Latin American women. They are potentially more environmentalist than men because of their natural habitats orientation (ECLAC, 2000: 18). As a result, they are more sensitive about the environmental policy making by government and try to obey the related norms and rules. This is what seems about studied Iranian women in Sweden. In comparison with men in this thesis, the highlighted difference between men and women are their environmental awareness. It is realized that in comparison with men, studied women are more aware of water not only in country of destination but also in country of origin. This fact overlaps with what Shiva (1989) mentions the gender difference could be visible in men and women’s participation in environmentally practices (Shiva, 1989, 178). As Shiva (1989) adds being close to nature shapes women’s habitual responses to the world and makes different behavior of women in front of men which legitimize the relation between women and nature as Rose et al (1997) point. By this, the awareness of the studied women surely influenced on their behavior toward water and makes it more intellectual in front of the men’s practices and consequently they become more acculturated. It seems they feel more responsible toward water. F. 4 mention “I have never done something which damages my society”. The question is does this instituted awareness of studied women lead them to have more effective water consumption rather than the studied men? There are four reasons in this thesis to proof this fact.

- **8-1 Traditional roles**

In Iranian cultural structure women occupied important position at home and played a vital role in house holding. In this thesis 8 out of 11 women played their traditional roles in a family as mothers or wives who dealt more with house wives chores including water consumption.

Consequently, they have been more aware to consume water intellectually for two reasons: the economic perspective and the environmental perspective. From the economic perspective F. 8 is a good example as she says when the water amount of family using got higher in Iran the warnings about consuming water peaked as well; this comes from the economic coercions of most families in Iran. On the other side from the environmental perspective, F.2 says:

*“While I have taken shower I observe not to open the tap water constantly since the stress of wasting water is annoying me”.*

This sentence could show the femininity nature of women in caring about environment as Ecofeminism stands for it. In contrary, studied men in Iran had or specified no time for home tasks mostly because they were thinking of the traditional main roles of women in house holding. M. 10 say saving water during war or caring about water consumption was the duty of his wife so he didn't have that competence to be aware about water issues. It seems the determined responsibility for this group of men in a family was only providing money or the basic resources. As a result, it is not far from the imagination that studied men did not deal with the issue of water as the same women did.

Migration may be the best or the only way which helps women to come out of their traditional frames. As Martin (2003) notes international migration influences on gender relations, especially the role of women in household and communities and increase the women's independency and power (Martin, 2003: 27). Hence, more than the past, the immigrated women can seek any occupations or educations according to abilities, potentials, and their situations in a new society. Martin (2003) continues when women from traditional societies migrate to industrial societies, they become familiar with the new norms and opportunities (Martin, 2003: 27). This is the thing which happened for the studied women as well. So it could be claimed they have jumped from their previous position to the current one while the gender relation changed during their migration process. Darvishpour (1999) declares after migration, Iranian women's situation in the family has changed socially and economically which improve their power resources (Darvishpour, 1999: 31). This means their traditional role is taken over when women are juxtaposing in new opportunities in education or occupation and making money which are found as new reasons for what are they doing or thinking independently in a new society like being more aware about the water consumption.

- **8-2 Education**

The second reason shows itself after the studied women's migration when they met the opportunity for higher education. These women in comparison with the same men are currently more educated than their predecessor because based on the interviewees' experiences the studied men were absorbed to the job market from the beginning of their migration process in order to meet the family's needs rather than continuing education. M. 10 and F. 5 as spouses are the good example for this part. They both were the literature teachers in Iran. After they migrated to Sweden, M. 10 as a man had to find a job as his previous one and taught the Persian literature as a private teacher. This means he ought to prepare the family's needs by his job and as he mentions he even could not learn the Swedish language sufficiently and he still is like this. But in contrary, F. 5 as a wife could have this opportunity to continue her education in Pedagogy, learn the Swedish language, work 60 hours in a week, and even open her business as sewing classes. In their attitude toward water consumption this gap could be so obvious. F. 5 say:

*"I learned to use low chemicals while I consume water. But I have never heard that Swedes look at the water as a problem".*

M. 10 have another interpretation of the same status. He says:

*"I have no special contact with Swedes so I am not into care about others thinking toward water. I do not pay attention".*

One interpretation of this small scale comparison could be resulted from the more opportunities for the woman in education or any other fields to care more about what is happening around, how the others consume water and parallel how she and her husband learned to use water from different channels. Berry (1997) notes education is a factor associated with positive adaption which works like a bridge for immigrants to cope with the new language, history, values, and norms (Berry, 1997: 22). This theory could be the explanation of the current situation of the studied immigrated women in Sweden. In this study, 9 out of 11 women reached higher education and the rest 2 absorbed to the job market as soon as they moved to Sweden. Almost all these women believe their education let them to have positive adaption and assist them to be aware about environment especially in water consumption. F. 4 mentions when she saw the hard steps of refining water directly on the course that she took, she became more aware toward water issues. In the same study, Alfaro (2010) shows the more awareness about

environment could be easily seen among higher Mexican educators rather than the lower ones. If this fact generalized in this thesis then it could be claimed that the studied Iranian women are more environmental aware since they have higher education in comparison with the studied men and they realize how to consume water effectively.

- **8-3 Occupation**

The occupation and its field- which results from women's higher education- is brought forward as the third reason in this study. Beside the two mentioned reasons the type of job plays significant role in women's awareness toward water consumption. In this study, 7 out of 11 women are working in the type of jobs which more or less relate to the environmental awareness. Nevertheless, they have dealt with the subject of water and have learned from their type of jobs to care about water and consume it efficiently. F. 1 who is working as a primary teacher mentions:

*“There was a showing an educational movie about water consumption in kindergarten for children, me myself simultaneously learned the showed water consumptions patterns and since then I made it applicable in my life gradually”.*

In contrary, among 11 men, 10 of them are working in different fields like shop owner or self- employed. This means because of their fields of jobs they are not dealing with water so much and consequently their awareness toward water consumptions would not be as it is among the studied women. During this thesis almost none of them share any experience of water consumption awareness in their work places. The only thing they mention is, their colleagues warn if they want to drink cold water it is better to gather the water in the jar and put it in refrigerator. Since by this, they would not let water to fall from the tap uselessly until it gets cold and ready to drink.

As Berry (1997) writes immigrants in their daily affairs encounter to what extent are culture and its characteristics considered to be important and this could be seen in working (Berry, 1997: 9, 12). One of these cultural characteristics in this study is environmental awareness among studied Iranian immigrants especially the women as it could be seen in their

working. So, it is possible to claim in comparison with studied men, women have had more possibility to work in a field which is approximately related to water issues in order to enable their awareness toward water consumption.

- **8-4 Integration**

If it is assumed that integration as “the inclusion of individuals in a system, the creation of relationships among individuals and their attitudes toward the society” (Bosswick, Heckman, 2006: 2) then it could be said that integration of the studied women in the new society is the result of their education and occupation which let them to make themselves involved in society’s movement and present their opinions freely. But independently, it could come as the fourth reason which assists the studied women to be more effective persons toward different aspects of life such as their awareness about environment especially toward water. As Bosswick and Heckman (2006) continue integration of immigrants into a host society should be as a concept to cover other concepts like acculturation, identification, placement and participation (Bosswick, Heckman, 2006: 3). Based on the findings of this thesis the studied women show their integration through the participation in host society. In other words one of the integration’s signs among the studied women is their participation. As Kim (1988) believes active participation in a society helps people to be a responsible person in a society (Kim: 1988: 1). Participation of the studied Iranian women in Swedish society makes them to be more liable persons toward the norms of the society which could be seen in environmental awareness and trying to consume water effectively. Women in comparison with men in this study were getting more included and feel they are competence more than the past to accompany with the existing movement of the society toward caring about water consumption as an environmental issue. F. 11 who knows herself responsible for the society say:

*“I distributed among my neighbors some brochures which were relating to the water consumption. I think as a person I was a message for my neighbors to make them aware”.*

This fact rings the bells of integration which creates the responsibility of women to participate in a society based on what Kim states.

In addition, Berry (1977) believes when the migration takes place; general changes profound in the group and on that spot individuals would get vary in the degree to which they include themselves into changes (Berry, 1997: 7). Exactly from the same point it could be mentioned that

the studied women vary from men in the new society. As it is illustrated in Figure. 1, women's traditional household roles in Iran, education, occupation, and their integration in Sweden ease the process of being aware toward environment especially water.

The discussion above leads to this question, "what happened to women when the place of living changed but their habitus like environmental awareness is still remaining? The answer is hidden in the subject of "Feminists evaluate Bourdieu".

Despite Bourdieu in his theory makes differences among social fields, but still he misses the meaning of gender, identity, and change which feminists strongly insist on them. Feminists evaluate Bourdieu's deterministic theory of habitus and social field by strengthening the role of gender norms. As McLeod (2005) writes feminists in their evaluation of Bourdieu's theory believe on the habitus which releases between subjective dispositions and the objective structure of the field with regard to gender identities (McLeod, 2005: 21).

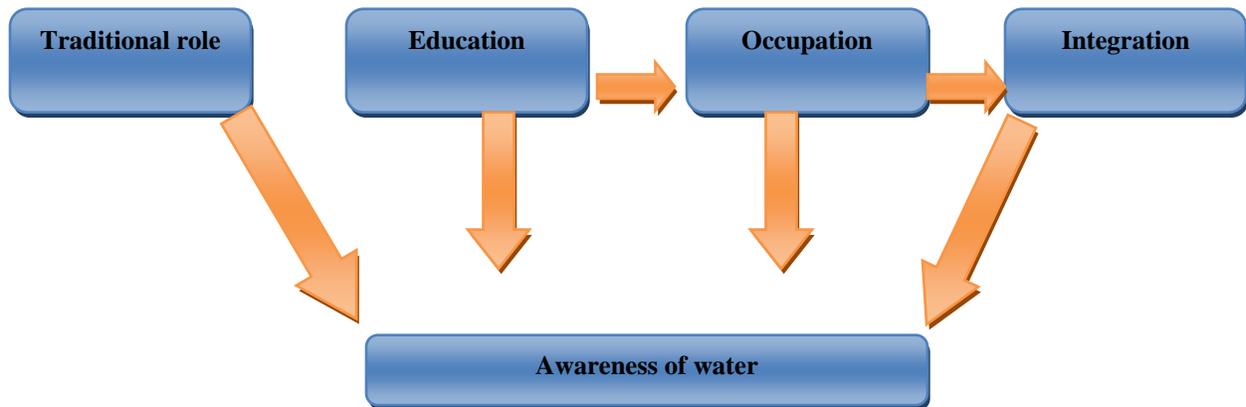
Moreover, McNay (1999) in her study points to the scarcity of gender role in Bourdieu's theory and confirms the feminists' attitude toward the relation between gender role and habitus. She mentions that "Bourdieu significantly underestimates the ambiguities that exist in the way that men and women occupy masculine and feminine identities which are not unified configuration" (McNay, 1999: 107). However, feminists strongly believe, instituted codes of gender's behavior play significant role in legitimizing the concept of habitus as Bourdieu states in his theory. Here, the gender norms in feminists' minds are defined as some habitus which are instituted in men and women and give them the code that lets to display behaviors as masculine and feminine. Caring about "the others" is the example of feminine behavior that Ecofeminists give it.

To reply the above question, it could be said environmental awareness of studied women as a durability of gender norms is a good example to emphasize their instituted codes of gender's behavior which comes from their habitus.

Feminists' engagements with Bourdieu offer productive new ways of conceptualizing the relationship between gender, habitus and social field (McLeod, 2005: 25). This means an approach that shows the symbiosis of change (instability) and continuity (stability) in gender differentiating levels of conformity with habitus. Relating to this thesis, exactly in this spot, the codal behavior of studied women like their awareness plays its role in the context of time. Meaning, during the time the continuity (stability) aspect of one habit like environmental

awareness from the studied women's side as instituted codes of gender's behavior is still remaining however the space has been changed (instability) from Iran to Sweden. McLeod (2005) notes "From the perspective of feminist, grappling with the extent to which, in different contexts and locations, field and habitus are differentially to how change and continuity happen subjectively, as complex processes that happen simultaneously" (McLeod, 2005: 24).

Figure 1. The process of water awareness among Iranian immigrant women, author 4.5.12



## 9-Limitations

In this thesis, the unit criterion could not be found. But it is tried to have a remarked standard of effective water consumption. Due to the different climate in Iran, there is not a unique water consumption culture in different parts among people. So, the only criterion in this thesis is based on more effective saving water by interviewees in comparison with their past experiences. It was difficult to determine this index since the understanding of saving water in studied individuals' minds could be totally different with what I interpret in my imagination. In other word there was not the unit understanding of saving water between each person of this group and me.

In this regard, observation could be known as another applicable method which was not utilized in this thesis, unfortunately. However using this method would take more time but it could draw better understanding for the author to realize the difference between what the interviewees'

interpretation of water consumption and what is their real behavior toward water. Surely, by this the result would be different as it is right now.

Hence, it is suggested for the further studies, including observation to the next work as a useful method could assist to have more fair and realistic results.

## 10- Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been to analyze the changes of Iranian immigrants' behavior within water consumption in Sweden. Most of the studied Iranian immigrants have lived different levels of acculturation process in host country. The thesis only has this selective sample and could not completely represent whole the Iranian immigrants in Sweden. So, the results could not be generalized but it could just illustrate different types of the experiences.

Despite the low exchange of information among the studied people or weak role of media which hindered the awareness of them, other reasons such as unequal distribution or limited facilities, big families, water supply obstacles, and war have been coerced people to pay attention to the subject of water and its consumption. This paradox results such a situation which lets the most studied cases to consume water with its own sensitivity and determination of the contemporary solutions especially in urgent circumstances. Consequently, the studied group was almost familiar with the subject of water and their water consumption behavior resulted not only from the above reasons but also from their economic coercion.

In this regard some of the studied individuals completely changed, some of them resist but most of them are in between. It means they could not totally change their water consumption pattern, but they only could transform their behavior into something that contain some of the old and some of the new norms. Here, the prime habitus of some immigrates comes from the economic coercion or their irregular water consumption. But the obvious point among them is they have less or no environmental awareness. When they migrated to the new society their economic coercion was faded up but simultaneously they got familiar with the subject of environmental awareness which caused the observation and consequently effective behavior of the group toward water.

In this way their economical coercions as the old norm combined with the environmental awareness as the new norm and these two facts influenced on studied immigrants' behavior

toward water consumption and results their synthesis. Meaning sometimes the trace of the sending country's norms and sometimes the trace of the host society's norm could be seen in their behavior toward water consumption. Actually, here acculturation of this group means their synthesis in water consumption behavior after long-term living in Sweden.

However, Bourdieu underestimates the role of gender and the flexibility of people toward changing but still his deterministic theory could be applicable in some issues of this study. On the other hand, the theory of acculturation is more applicable since it refers to the abilities of individuals to adapt to the culture or norms of the receiving country. In this study, most adaption of the individuals with the host society makes rather acculturation toward water consumption behavior.

In gender perspective, it seems the role of women in acculturating with the norms of the society toward water consumption is more obvious rather than men. This fact loans its accuracy from the perspective of environmental awareness. This more awareness of women comes from their traditional housewives roles which make this possibility to be more dealt with water. Women in their migration process have more chance for education to let them having deeper and scientific perspective toward water consumption. Because of their field of job, they are getting more knowledge about the manner of consuming water and their resulted integration from education and occupation assists this group to feel their competence and responsibility toward the society and allow them to participate in society's movement.

Beside all the mentioned reasons, as Shiva believes the femininity nature of women gives the possibility to be respectful to the environment and let them to be known as more environmentalists gender in comparison with men. The studied women are not excluded from this formula. Their awareness toward the environment is more visible when they are compared with the same men. Even it is hard to forget the role of habitus, it is deniable to say women's femininity nature makes their gender habitus which push the studied women forward to behave in a way that enables their awareness toward environment. As a whole, it seems Iranian women are most affected group and Iranian men are the most effected group in water consumption manners since the studied women are most adapted individuals in society and make more positive acculturation when they are compared with the same men.

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## Appendix 1: Sample of interview's question

### **General information**

- 1) How old are you?
- 2) How many people were in your family? Were you the youngest or the oldest child of your family?
- 3) When you have been migrated? How long have you been here?
- 4) What was your previous occupation? What is your current occupation?
- 5) Are you educated? In Iran or in Sweden? What was/is your field of study?
- 6) Did/Do you have religious family or not?<sup>7</sup>

### **In Iran**

- 7) In which city or country you were born?
- 8) Did you live in a city that you were born or you move to another city? If yes why?
- 9) If you had access to piped water how you consume water? share your experience
- 10) If you have access to other water resources how you supply water? share your experience
- 11) Did you touch water scarcity in the city you were living? If yes when you specifically faced with this problem? Explain how you deal with it?
- 12) Explain how you manage the water supply and consumption during war?
- 13) Do you remember that your parents or yourself negotiate or exchange data about using or saving water logically? Give an example How it was possible?
- 14) Do you remember how you and your family or even neighbors consume the water?
- 15) Did you get the warning of your family for using less or save the water while you used it or you personally were aware of that?
- 16) Did you learn from any channel to have logical water consumption in Iran? If yes what you have learned exactly?

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<sup>7</sup> In Islam it is obligated to make everything clean (wash) with water such as issues of [chirality](#), whether one washes the left or right hand and foot to step called as Vowzu before praying. The same rules could be seen in other tasks in Islam as well which unconsciously cause high water consumption.

### **In Sweden**

- 17) Are you living in house or apartment?
- 18) Does the place that you are living in, affect on your water consumption? How?
- 19) Why you choose apartment/ house for living?
- 20) Are you living alone or with some one? If your partner is not Iranian, does he/she affect on you to use water sufficiently?
- 21) Do you have any challenge yet with your partner or family in consuming water?
- 22) How you use water for drinking, cleaning, and washing in Sweden? Is it as the same pattern that you use in Iran or it is reshaped? If no explain why and how it changed? And if yes explain why it did not change?
- 23) How much you feel you are near to nature and pay attention to environment? How it effects on your water consumption?
- 24) Have you ever talked about water subjects with Swedes in daily routines? Does your communication with Swedes affect on your water consumption? How?
- 25) Do you learn to use water tactically in Sweden from any channel? If yes what you have learned exactly? How you make it applicable?
- 26) How much you participate in society? In which field (relating to water and environment)?