

STUDY OF THE FACTORS INFLUENCING SEX DIFFERENCES IN THE CAREER MOTIVATION OF IRANIAN HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT. *The purpose of the study was to investigate some factors thought to influence sex differences in the Career Motivation of Iranian high school students. Subjects (n = 206) were balanced on sex, ages 17-18 and attending schools in Tehran, Iran. Measures included the criterion career motivation and six predictors: Sex, Social Class, Early Family Socialization, Religious Orientation, Community Resources and Community Discrimination against women's careers.*

Multivariate regression analyses with partial correlations were used to test hypotheses. Hypotheses were that males would score higher than females on career motivation; upper middle class students would score higher than lower middle class students on career motivation; Scores on Early Family Socialization, Community Resources and Religious Orientation would be positively correlated with Career Motivation; and Community Discrimination would be negatively correlated with Career Motivation. Interactions were expected for Sex, Religious Orientation and Social Class. Main effects found in the regression analyses supported hypotheses related to Sex, Social Class, Community Discrimination and Early Family Socialization. It remained for the interpretation of three significant interaction effects to shed light on the contribution of Religious Orientation to Career Motivation. The three significant interactions found were Sex × Social Class; Sex × Religious Orientation; and Religious Orientation × Community Discrimination. It appeared that the religion measure was confounded by the new movement within Islam led by the Mojahedin Khalgh group that is supportive of women's careers, in contrast to the dominant Shia Islam group. The Community Resources measure was significantly ($p < .05$) and positively related to career motivation but it did not contribute importantly to the prediction equation. The equation derived including interaction terms accounted for 41% of the variance. It was concluded that the analysis used provided an important addition to understanding complex phenomena such as career motivation in a changing social context.

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INTRODUCTION

In the United States and most other countries in the world, men have traditionally filled most of the achievement roles in society. The family has been designated as the central focus of a woman's life, while the provision of material and financial support has been assigned to the men.

Recently, women throughout the world have begun to find they can fill achievement roles in the economy as well as men. They have also been more successful in demanding and getting more equal access to educational, occupational, political and social opportunities. In many modern, industrial countries, however, such as the U.S., women still contribute less than men to society through their careers (Farmer, 1978). This has been partly the consequence of the difficulty women experience in trying to assume full and equal roles in the work and academic worlds and at the same time maintain the demanding roles of homemaking and childbearing.

In Iran, despite all the changes brought about in the past 40 years, the educational system, along with political, legal and economic institutions uphold male hegemony. Educational opportunities are more available for men than for women. The National Statistics of Iran in 1971 indicated a 22.2% greater literacy rate for men than for women in urban areas. The rate was also in favor of men in rural areas (Sedghi, 1976). The rate of literacy increase during 1956-68 was 1.2% for urban women and 0.4% for rural women (Plan Organization, 1973).

Legal reforms related to changing women's status in Iran include the granting of voting rights, 1963, the Family Protection Laws, and the Family Protection Courts, 1967, revised 1976. These have brought about a largely theoretical, rather than a practical change for women in Iran. Moreover, the pervasive religion represents a highly traditional approach toward women's role in society and with its recent resurgence via Khomeini's ascent to power the situation for women in Iran continues to be both inequitable and uncertain.

A theoretical perspective for examining sex differences in career motivation in Iran was adopted from the work of Farmer (1978, 1980). Crosscultural researchers have challenged the strength and stability of the effect of personality factors on the motivation of women and men and have suggested that changing the social sanctions in the environment—the community and work place may affect motivation and achievement behavior more (Amiri, 1978; Maehr, 1974; Weiner, 1974). The present study adopted this perspective and emphasized the contextual point of view implied in which changes in the behavior and motivation of people were expected to be more related to the changing social environment than to the self-concepts (values, interests) of the individuals.

Discrimination and lack of resources in the environment related to career development are probably the most critical factors. However, some

background variables and personal values were also considered to have an important relationship to the career motivation of Iranian men and women. These are discussed next.

Early Family Socialization

If women show lesser achievement motivation compared to men, and inappropriate attitudes and lack of the basic behaviors necessary to maximize their achievement opportunities, one reason may well be because of the early achievement training given them and the early achievement and career models presented them in the home (Rubovits, 1975). Several studies have lent support to the conclusion that early training in achieving behaviors and child-rearing patterns, especially within the American middle class home, is different for girls than for boys (Moss & Kagan, 1961; Crandall & Battle, 1970).

In Iran it has been traditionally the male who has been trained to be the achiever, given the best education, encouraged to enter a profession, to work hard and to be independent (Sedghi, 1976). It has been the female who has been taught not to worry her head over a career because a woman does not have to support herself (i.e., her husband or family will support her). Sedghi noted that there is still more attention paid to sons than daughters in Iran. Due to traditional as well as religious attitudes, social interactions are generally more restricted for women as well.

Social Class Difference

Thus despite all changes brought to the culture and society of Iran in the past decades, the position of the new generation of women is still highly dependent on their socioeconomic status (SES) (Sedghi, 1976). The new ideas and approaches toward woman's role in society seems to have affected primarily upper class women in urban areas. Very rarely have they affected the lower classes in urban and rural areas. There are indications that the introduction of modern technology, which is slower in rural and poorly populated areas, may actually widen the inequality of the sexes in those areas where the lower and lower middle class reside (Callaway, 1975).

Religion

Traditionally Islam is a masculine-biased religion and has institutionalized male domination in Iran through its provision for active and dominant roles and responsibilities for males in economic, commercial, educational, and almost all social institutions. Particularly in the case of the institution of the family, male domination is provided through marriage, divorce as a

man's privilege, male polygamy, the system of *sigha*, and so on (Sedghi, 1976).

Given the fact that more than 90% of the Iranian population are Moslems, Islamic tradition and values have a powerful base in the culture and the society. Therefore, it is expected that in Iran, women with a high religious orientation will score lower on career motivation measures than those with less religious orientation.

However, to study the effects of Islam on women's position in the present society in Iran, one has to consider the changes and modification in Islam that are taking place through the new Islamic movement (organization of the Mojahedin of the Iranian People, 1980). Some of the new perspectives are drastically different from the traditional aspects of Islam. As a matter of fact, religious leaders who are an important facet of the superstructure of society in Iran, have tried to make some accommodations with the new industrial mode of production which has replaced the old semifeudal system of economy in the past 15 years. The passing of the old peasant economy (feudalism) has resulted in, for example, the transition of extended families in the country into nuclear urban families. With a rising cost of living for the majority, many men cannot offer to marry more than one wife, so that polygamy is not practical with the new system (Salili, 1979). Economic burdens, which used to be largely on the shoulders of those who were the heads of extended households, are now shared by the couple in the nuclear family (Youssef, 1976). Therefore, the need for women in nuclear families to work is one aspect of reality that cannot be suppressed by traditional religious attitudes (Salili, 1979).

This new movement within Islam plays an important role in changing the culture and social values. But it creates an awkward situation so that, for example one sees an increasing number of the new generation of women working in factories, government, and universities dressed not in the traditional *chador* (foot length veil), but in a special clothing with a smaller veil and a long sleeved dress called the Islamic mode. Interestingly, one could also find these women among the anti-shah demonstrators prior to the 1979 revolution and in the heart of the current political movement. Therefore, this new trend within Islam makes it difficult to predict or explain the ways and mechanisms by which the new generation and women's position in particular are being affected. More elaboration on this theme is needed, but is beyond this study's capacity.

Most of the Muslims in Iran are Shia, a group which, compared to the other branches of Islam such as Sunni, has a history and tradition marked by militancy towards foreign influences in Iran. They have introduced tremendous modifications and revisions in the interpretation of the Koran (the Holy Book) to accommodate nationalist developments. This trend has resulted in a more positive approach toward modern science and technology as well as toward modern philosophies and political ideologies such

as socialism. While strongly anti-communistic in its nature, the Shia group implicitly perceives socialism as an adjustable political channel towards a monotheist's Islamic social system (Shariati, 1970; Asgari-adah, 1969).

Hypotheses were that males would score higher than females on career motivation; that upper middle class students would score higher than lower middle class students on career motivation; and that Early Family Socialization, Religious Orientation, Community Resources, and Community Discrimination would be significantly correlated with career motivation. Interactions were expected for Sex, Social Class and Religious Orientation when these data were analyzed as predictors of career motivation.

Subjects

The sample consisted of 206 Iranian high school seniors (100 male and 106 female), aged 17-18 years, who were attending government and "semi-private" schools in Tehran. In selecting subjects, a specific attempt was made to obtain schools from districts that represented either upper middle class or lower middle class residential areas. Based on consultation with some informed sources, two government high schools (one for males and one for females) were selected in southern Tehran which are well-known as representative of lower middle or lower class homes. Government schools are entirely supported by the government with almost no charge for tuition and fees. Particularly in southern Tehran, the student body consists mostly of lower middle and lower socioeconomic classes. The sample for the upper middle class students was selected from school districts in northern Tehran recognized as upper middle or middle class residential areas. Two semi-private schools were selected for this purpose. Semi-private schools are run by private individuals and are partially supported by the government; they charge tuition and fees and their students are drawn mostly from the middle or upper middle socioeconomic classes. The basic curriculum of both types of school is uniform and teachers have more or less the same amount of training. Semi-private schools, however, have more facilities and extracurricular programs than do government schools.

Procedure

Five of the six measures used in the U.S. study (Farmer, 1980) were translated into Farsi (the commonly spoken language in Iran) using the back translation technique (Werner & Campbell, 1970; Brislin, Lonner, & Thorndike, 1973). In addition to Tohidi, three Iranian graduate students at the University of Illinois were involved in the back translation process. A sixth measure was adapted from Salili (1979). Standardized instructions were used which told the subjects that they were being asked to fill out some

questionnaires which were concerned with students' attitudes and opinions towards some special issues.

During the summer prior to the collection of the data reported in this study a pilot study was run in Tehran by Tohidi with 30 students. Some items were dropped and others reworded as a result of the pilot.

The data were collected in Iran by Tohidi in 1977. The administration of the measures was done in group settings and took one hour. Because of the authoritarian atmosphere in most Iranian schools, it was decided to tell the students that participation would be voluntary in order to decrease their anxiety level and to increase their motivation to respond honestly and seriously. Most students completed the measures and did not take the option to leave.

The students were told that there were no right or wrong answers, the results would have no effect upon their academic grades or school records, and they could ask any question they might have. The measures were coded with a sequence of numbers making it unnecessary for subjects to write their names.

Dependent Variable: Career Motivation

The criterion variable of career motivation was measured using Holland's (1977) procedure for assessing occupational daydreams and the expressed level of career aspiration of subjects. Predictive validity for the procedure was greater ($Kappa = .44$) than that obtained for a longer measure developed earlier by Holland ($Kappa = .33$). Kappa is a validity coefficient used with nominal data. Reliability data for the daydream measure ranges from .67 through .71. Occupations were scored for SES level using the Duncan Socioeconomic Status scale (Duncan, Featherman, & Duncan, 1972). This scale has been developed as an SES index using U.S. Census data based on *income* and *education*. Duncan found these two variables to be effective estimates of the prestige rating of occupations. Tohidi adapted the Duncan scale for use in scoring the expressed level of career aspiration among Iranian subjects. For example, some occupations in Iran have less prestige than the same occupation in the U.S., others have greater prestige. Examples are lawyer which coded high in the U.S. and moderate for Iran; and merchant which was coded moderate in the U.S. and high in Iran. Numbers ranging from .01 to .96 were assigned to each of the occupations a subject listed and then averaged to form a Career Motivation score.

Independent Variables

With the exception of sex, the following predictor variables represent factors which have been measured previously through questionnaires in the U.S. and were especially developed with Likert formats, for a large

collaborative project by Farmer (1978) and her research team. The internal consistency and construct validity of the measures reported here are based on Farmer's data.

Early Family Socialization

The early family socialization instrument, with 20 items, was designed to measure three facets of an individual's perceptions of his or her early learning experiences with parents and siblings: (a) encouragement by parents of emotional and financial independence; (b) quality of the home environment in terms of affect (warm, rewarding versus cold, rejecting); and (c) value placed upon his or her achievement by parents, siblings, relatives and "significant others." Items were adapted following the pilot study described earlier. For example, the item asking students "What was the major method used by your father to discipline you when you were young?" was changed to "What was the main method used by your father when you did something he disapproved of?" The reliability of this measure was .86.

Community Resources

This instrument was designed to measure the degree to which subjects perceived support and resources in the environment for the academic and career aspirations of women. Items represented beliefs about: (a) attitudes and expectations of significant others (i.e., husbands, children, family, etc.); (b) equality of access to education/training and employment, and availability of child care, home-making conveniences, domestic help, shared home-making behavior by both spouses; etc.; and (c) supportive legislation. The reliability of this measure was low .55 probably due, at least in part, to its shortness (7 items).

Community Discrimination

This inventory contains 13 items representing a set of beliefs commonly accepted by employers and educators which discriminate against females in relation to education and work. This inventory measured the subject's perceptions and attitudes concerning these kinds of beliefs. The reliability coefficient was .93.

Religious Orientation

The religiosity of subjects was measured by a questionnaire, using 8 items, developed by Salili (1979). Salili developed items based on a series of interviews in Mashhad, Iran in which the question was asked, "What is a religious person?" Content analyses of answers to the question resulted in

identifying several themes which were used to form questionnaire items. Items such as the following used a five-point Likert scale with 5 = very much and 1 = not at all: "To what degree do your parents encourage you to pray?" "To what degree are religious people in your family admired by other members of the family?" and "Do you think a woman should be obedient to her husband?" Tohidi added three items with the same response format, about attitudes toward giving alms, going on a pilgrimage, and belief in religion as necessary for happiness. Other items such as "Who are the persons who pray in your home?", "Who are the persons in your home who fast?" and "In your home who are the persons who go to mosque/church?" were followed by five choices: everyone = 5, father and mother = 4, father or mother = 3, almost no one = 2, no one = 1. Another item asked "Do you think a woman should be obedient to her husband in: all things = 5; most things = 4; some things = 3; few things = 2; and nothing = 1. A final item was asked "Do you think a married couple's relationship should be: superior for the husband = 5; somewhat superior for the husband = 4; mutually determined by husband and wife = 3; superior for the wife = 1; and somewhat superior for the wife = 2.

Socioeconomic Status (SES)

Subjects were classified into either upper middle class or lower middle class, according to their schools (i.e., whether they were from northern or southern Tehran). The subject's personal data was employed as a double check on her/his socioeconomic class assignment.

Analyses

The analyses were conducted by Weiss, the third author. The intent of the analysis was to implement Cohen's (1978) hierarchical block analyses, a form of multiple regression analyses which enters predictors as a block, followed by all possible two-way interactions as a second block.

RESULTS

Table 1 contains some very general information about how the Iranian students scored on the seven measures. The average score on Career Motivation (CM) was approximately 79, which indicated that the average Iranian high school student from the sample desired to enter an occupation such as that of pilot, marine, or movie director. However, the CM range (not included in the Table) varied from 50 (one or more students were content with becoming artisans and interior decorators) to 92 (at least one student wanted to be a physician). There were 106 females and 100 males, and of those, 107 were from a lower middle class and 99 from an upper

TABLE 1
Intercorrelation Matrix, Means, and Standard Deviations of Criterion and Main Effects

	CM	Sex ^a	SES ^b	Ear. Soc.	Relig.	Com. Res.	Com. Disc.
Career Motivation (CM)	1.00						
Sex ^a	-.45 ^d	1.00					
Socioeconomic Status (SES) ^b	.27 ^d	-.06	1.00				
Early Family Socialization (Ear. Soc.)	.24 ^d	-.09	.16 ^c	1.00			
Religion (Relig.)	.14 ^c	-.31 ^c	-.11	.10	1.00		
Community Resources(Com. Res.)	.17 ^c	-.03	.30 ^d	.39 ^d	.00	1.00	
Community Discrimination (Com. Disc.)	.03	-.52 ^d	-.26 ^d	-.08	.38 ^d	-.24 ^d	1.00
Means	78.98	.03	-.04	3.48	3.38	3.07	2.99
Standard deviations	7.81	1.00	1.00	.62	.57	.57	.73

^aSex was effect coded in the following manner: Males —1; females 1.

^bSES was nominally coded: —1's were assigned to the lower middle class; 1's were assigned to the upper middle class.

^c $p < .05$, $df = 204$.

^d $p < .01$, $df = 204$.

TABLE 2
Summary of Statistics of Significant Terms from Hierarchical Block Analysis:
Career Motivation as the Dependent Variable

Source	R^{2a}	F
Main effects		
Sex	.20	-61.53 ^b
Socioeconomic Status	.05	15.54 ^b
Early Family Socialization	.02	4.81 ^c
Community Discrimination	.02	-7.36 ^b
Two-way interactions		
Sex \times Socioeconomic Status	.02	7.70 ^b
Sex \times Religion	.01	4.97 ^c
Religiosity \times Community Discrimination	.04	12.28 ^b

^a Overall $R^2 = .41$.

^b $p < .01$.

^c $p < .05$.

middle class school. The group as a whole tended to score above average on Early Family Socialization and Religious Orientation (3.48, 3.38 respectively) which suggested that the students' families exerted some influence on their children to be independent and to achieve academically and that the students placed an above average value on religion. In contrast, the average scores for Community Resources and Community Discrimination (3.07, 2.99 respectively) were almost exactly in the middle of the possible scoring range and thus gave no indication of a tendency for the group to lean toward one side or the other, although the relatively high standard deviation (.73) for Community Discrimination signalled that responses varied widely on this measure. Turning to the interrelationships between the variables all the independent variables with the exception of Community Discrimination were significantly correlated with CM in the expected directions. Also several predictor variables were correlated among themselves.

There were three two-way interactions significant (Table 2) from the possible 15 two-way interactions. *Religion \times Community Discrimination* emerged as the strongest; it accounted for 4% of the CM variance over and above the main effects and other two-way interactions.

Interpretation

It was felt necessary at least to frame some educated guesses about the nature of the three significant interactions before embarking on the actual interpretation. Hence, the following: It was expected that the *SEX \times SES* interaction would be ordinal, rather than disordinal, with the general trend

intact—males possessing higher CM than females and upper middle class scoring higher on CM than the lower middle class. It was considered a different story with Sex \times Religion, however. It was believed that the higher a male scored on Religion, the higher his CM score, because a religious Moslem believes that it is a man's duty to provide for his family. Quite the opposite was expected for females. Concerning the Religion \times Community Discrimination interaction, it was thought that high Religion and low Community Discrimination would produce high CM, whereas low Religion and high Community Discrimination would produce low CM.

In All of the following, CM means or simple correlations, whichever were applicable, were addressed first, as a basis for comparison with the later presented CM_{res} means or part correlations, which were purportedly closer to the significance tests and thus, hopefully, representations of what actually was occurring.

Sex. The CM means for males and females corresponded exactly with what was expected: Males scored higher on CM than females (males, 82.63; females, 75.53). The CM_{res} means corroborated (males, 2.99; females, -2.82).

SES. Again, the CM means reflected the expectations. The upper middle class students scored an average of 81.19 while lower middle class students scored an average of 76.92. The corresponding CM_{res} means were 1.70 and -1.58. Once again, the CM_{res} means were in relative accord with the CM means.

Early Socialization. Recalling that the simple correlation between CM and Early Family Socialization was .24 (see Table 1) the part correlation partialling out the other main effects from CM was .14.

Community Discrimination. Referring back to Table 1 for the simple correlation between Community Discrimination and CM, it proved to be virtually zero (.03). In contrast, the part correlation partialling out the other main effects from CM was significantly negative at the .05 level (-.14). The hypothesis was supported.

Sex \times SES. According to the CM means (see Table 3 and Figure 1), the Sex \times SES interaction was ordinal with males scoring higher on CM than females. The situation changed quite a bit when CM_{res} means were employed (Figure 2). Upper middle class males scored the lowest on CM_{res} . However, upper middle class females scored higher on CM_{res} than lower middle class females. Also, lower middle class males and upper middle class females aspired at about the same level with respect to CM_{res} .

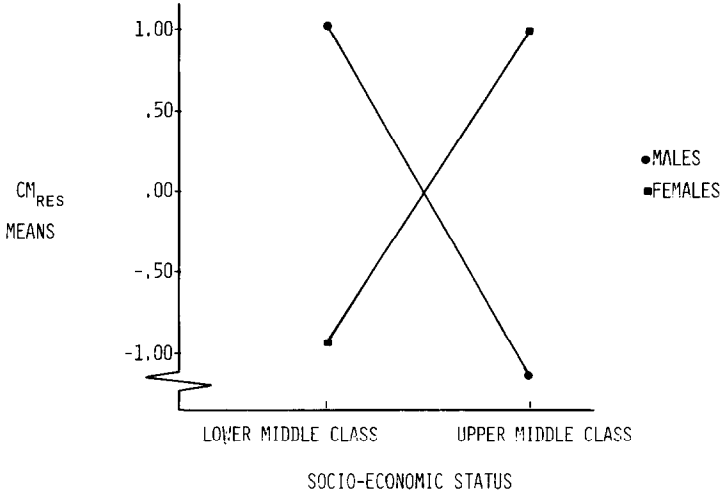


FIGURE 1. Graphic Representation of the Sex \times Socioeconomic Status Interaction on Career Motivation (CM).

Sex \times Religion. the CM means (see Table 4 and Figures 3 and 4), males scored higher on CM than females over all levels of Religion. The CM_{res} scores for males became greater as their Religion scores grew larger. As the females' Religion scores increased from low to intermediate, not only did

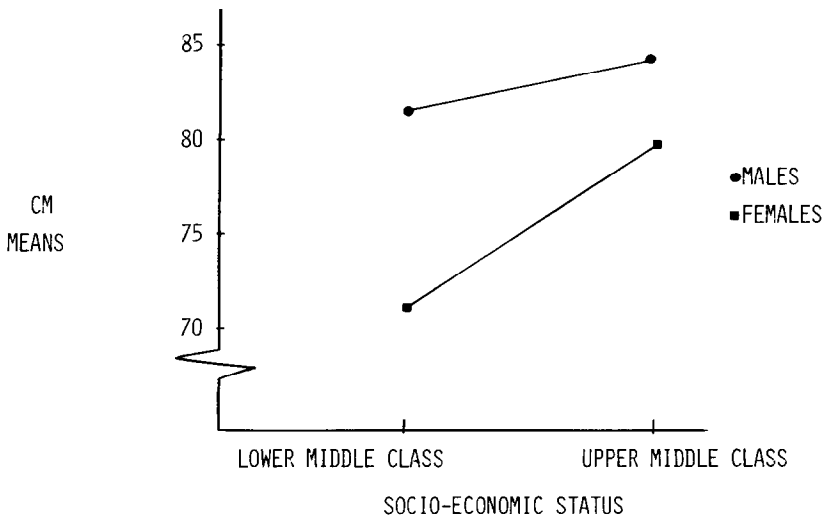


FIGURE 2. Graphic Representation of the Sex \times Socioeconomic Status Interaction on Career Motivation Residualized (CM_{res}).

TABLE 3
Nature of Sex \times Socioeconomic Status Interaction on Career Motivation (CM) and Residualized Career Motivation (CM_{res})^a

Socioeconomic Status	Sex	
	Males	Females
Lower middle class		
n^b	55	52
CM mean	82.07	71.48
CM _{res} mean	.84	-.89
Upper middle class		
n^b	45	54
CM mean	83.31	79.42
CM _{res} mean	-1.03	.86

^aCM_{res} scores were obtained by removing the effects of all other two-way interactions (except Sex \times Socioeconomic Status) and all main effects.

^bNumber of subjects in cell (cell size).

their CM_{res} scores increase, but their scores were consistently higher than their male counterparts' under the same conditions. However, the females' CM_{res} scores took a deep plunge at the high Religion condition. Thus, the prediction of the nature of the Sex \times Religion interaction was largely

TABLE 4
Nature of Sex \times Religion Interaction on Career Motivation (CM) and Residualized Career Motivation (CM_{res})^a

Religiosity	Sex	
	Males	Females
Low ^b		
n^c	24	49
CM mean	81.62	75.45
CM _{res} mean	-1.52	.29
Intermediate		
n^c	34	40
CM mean	82.68	76.20
CM _{res} mean	-.47	.40
High ^b		
n^c	42	17
CM mean	83.17	74.18
CM _{res} mean	1.25	-1.77

^aCM_{res} scores were obtained by removing the effects of all other two-way interactions (except Sex \times Religion) and all main effects.

^bThe cutoff points between Low, Intermediate, and High Religion were the 33rd and 66th percentiles, respectively.

^cNumber of subjects in cell (cell size).

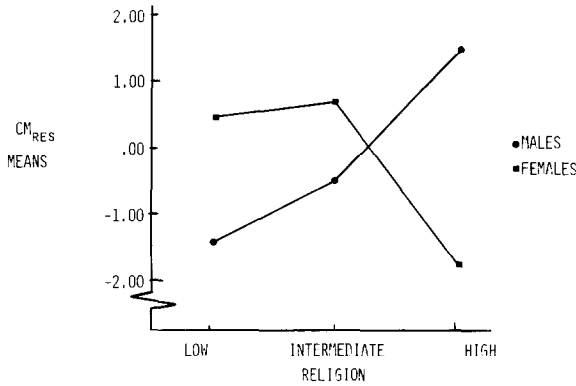


FIGURE 3. Graphic Representation of the Sex × Religion Interaction on Career Motivation (CM).

substantiated, plus there was additional evidence that females' career motivation scores were able to be at least as large as males' CM scores under certain circumstances (i.e., moderate to low religious orientation).

DISCUSSION

Substantive Interpretation

In the interpretation of the results with respect to substantive concerns, some assumptions were maintained. First, it was assumed that CM_{res} means

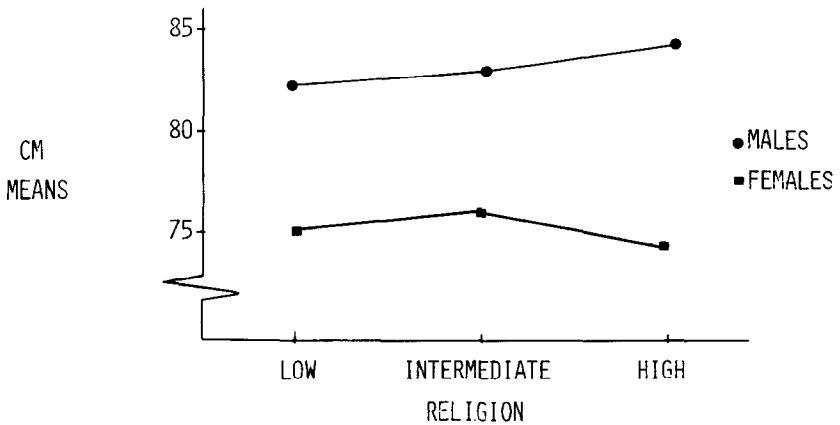


FIGURE 4. Graphic Representation of the Sex × Religion Interaction on Career Motivation Residualized (CM_{res}).

were closer to our interests not only statistically speaking but substantively as well.

Another assumption underlying the interpretations was that since all the significant interactions were disordinal according to the CM_{res} means, they gave more of a total picture of the factors affecting CM than the significant main effects. As expressed earlier, the significant main effects were quite strong in terms of describing phenomena "on the average" but as they were all components of significant disordinal interactions, it automatically laid them suspect to their powerfulness with respect to describing phenomena "as a whole." Therefore, only significant interactions were considered for further theoretical interpretation.

The Sex \times SES interaction probably gave the clearest indication over all the other interactions of the beginning of the influx of changing social norms in Iran. As expected, females from the lower middle class high school appeared to have much less motivation for a career than did lower middle class male high school students. This fit in line with traditional thinking on sex roles: men were the workers and the providers; women were provided with husband, home, and family. In many societies where changes in social values were observed taking place, those of the lower middle class tended to cling longer to their traditional beliefs than did those of the upper middle class (Sedghi, 1976).

On the other hand, there seemed to be a reversal occurring among the upper middle class: females' career motivation was much higher than males'. As a matter of fact, the upper middle class females' career motivation was on about the same level as that of the lower middle class males, and the aspirations for a career on the part of the upper middle class males was even on a slightly lower level than that of the lower middle class females. The upper middle class females' high desire for a career may reflect the greater acceptability of the idea of the working woman in Iran. However, it was a little baffling that the upper middle class males' career motivation was so low. The speculation that the upper middle class males were feeling threatened by the emergence of women in the labor force could have only accounted for a very small portion, if that much, of the total explanation. More plausible reasons were probably related to the relative wealth of the upper middle class males' families. Those males in the upper middle class school who belonged to the upper class, one or more of the 1000 independently wealthy Iranian families, probably did not have to worry about obtaining careers. They could afford to be "playboys" at least until they were 30 to 35 years old. Keeping in mind that variability due to Early Family Socialization was removed here in that whether a family taught their children to be independent or not was kept "constant," it seemed that these upper middle class males chose more glamorous-type occupations such as movie directing, piloting of airplanes, and becoming marines, all of which did not rate very high on the CM scale. Still, it is usually taken for granted by Iranian society that upper middle class males

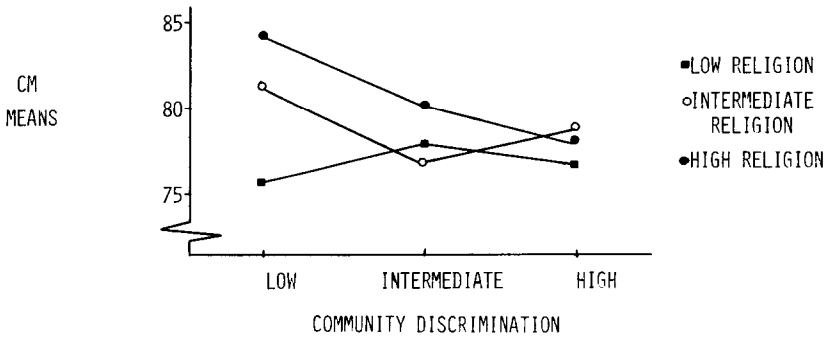


FIGURE 5. Graphic Representation of the Religion \times Community Discrimination Interaction on Career Motivation (CM).

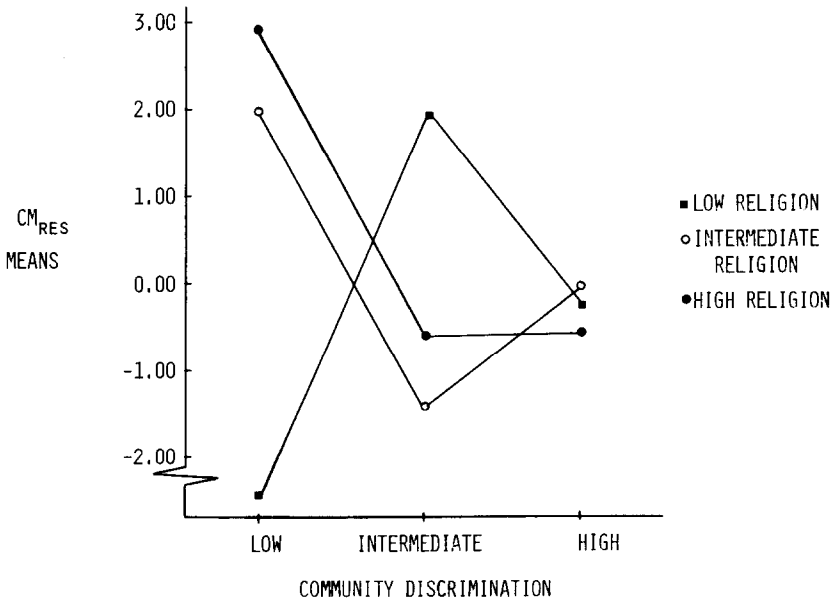


FIGURE 6. Graphic Representation of the Religion \times Community Discrimination Interaction on Career Motivation Residualized (CM_{res}).

TABLE 5
Nature of Religion \times Community Discrimination Interaction on Career Motivation (CM) and Residualized Career Motivation (CM_{res})^a

Community Discrimination	Religion		
	Low ^b	Intermediate ^b	High ^b
Low ^c			
<i>n</i> ^d	33	25	11
CM mean	76.09	80.84	83.54
CM _{res} mean	-2.33	1.82	2.79
Intermediate ^c			
<i>n</i> ^d	24	29	13
CM mean	78.50	77.28	80.38
CM _{res} mean	1.78	-1.30	-.59
High ^c			
<i>n</i> ^d	16	20	35
CM mean	78.81	79.85	79.71
CM _{res}	-.09	.12	-.58

^a CM_{res} scores were obtained by removing the effects of all other two-way interactions (except Religion \times Community Discrimination) and all main effects.

^b The cutoff points between Low, Intermediate, and High Religion were the 33rd and 67th percentiles, respectively.

^c The cutoff points between Low, Intermediate, and High Community Discrimination were the 33rd and 67th percentiles, respectively.

^d Number of subjects in cell (cell size).

would attain high occupational positions (Sedghi, 1976) and in actuality, they usually did. Perhaps, since it was something automatically expected, it was not necessary for upper middle class males to be highly motivated to attain these kinds of positions. One trait underlying the upper middle class, males and females alike, seemed to be that they could afford to dream. It was acceptable now for the females to think of obtaining careers for themselves, but it remained to be seen if they would actually do so.

In both the Sex \times Religion and the Religion \times Community Discrimination interactions (see Table 5 and Figures 5 and 6), there appeared to be an unanticipated confounding occurring in the Religion scores. As it was originally conceived, Religious Orientation was simply to measure the amount of religiosity a subject possessed within the primarily Moslem culture. The values of the traditional orthodox Moslem religion not only consisted of praying, fasting, and going to Mosque, but also involved beliefs about behaviors towards the poor, and women in relationship with men (Sedghi, 1976). In particular, Moslems were to be accepting of their lot whether rich or poor; it was considered God's will. One day every year the rich were to be charitable to the poor—

open the doors of their houses and invite the poor as their most honored guests, for example. Women were not to be seen in public, and wives were to be obedient to their husbands. Hence, given the former, Religious Orientation was thought to be a rather straightforward measure. Regrettably, the influence of the New Islamic Movement, which had gained momentum within the past two or three years, was to advocate a more political activist point of view and a slightly more liberal view on the status of women, especially in regards to education. Consequently, if a subject obtained a high score on the Religion measure, it was not known if he or she was highly religious in the traditional sense or in the newer sense. Similarly, it was difficult to explain the meaning of a low Religion score.

Keeping in mind the ambiguity of the Religion measure, one of the aspects of the Sex \times Religion interaction was that the high religious male was higher in his aspirations for a career than was the less religious male. Here, it did not matter which meaning Religion received because in both cases, the traditional versus the new, the man was favored over the woman particularly in terms of economic responsibility. The New Islamic Movement slightly narrowed the gap between males and females but still the male had the upper hand in many respects. Therefore, it was felt that it was quite self-evident that the high religious male would feel a great deal of responsibility on his shoulders and for that reason would feel highly motivated for a career so that he would be able to carry out his responsibilities. High religious females possessed very low aspirations for a career. It was reasoned that the sense in which Religion was taken was not terribly critical here either, except it was probably more likely that females who were traditionally religious would have been even less career motivation than those females who adopted the new values. In any case, it was thought that these females' career motivation would have been low in comparison with less religious females. The differential effect of the influence of the New Islamic Movement (Organization of the Mojahedin of the People of Iran, 1980) seemed to arise for moderately religious females; they scored the highest on career motivation over the other women. It was believed that this phenomenon would not have occurred if Religion only took into account the more traditional values. In that circumstance, only women who were not religious at all would have had high career motivation. The New Islamic Movement with its slightly more liberal attitudes about women encouraged moderately religious women to think about the possibility of obtaining careers, whereas such thoughts were basically taboo for any women who were religious to any extent in the traditional sense. Another feature brought to light by the Sex \times Religion interaction was that females who had low to intermediate religion could have just as high career motivation, if not higher, as their male counterparts if certain factors such as attitudes about women in the labor force were kept "constant."

The Religion \times Community Discrimination interaction was even more

complicated than the first two interactions discussed, and adequate explanations of its total influence on career motivation were hard to come by. Interpretations of its extreme effects were first attempted. Those students who were of intermediate to high religion and believed that women belonged in the labor force scored the very highest on career motivation. It was felt that these students had to have been primarily followers of the New Islamic Movement (Organization of the Mojahedin of the People of Iran, 1980) especially if they were females. As it turned out, almost half of these students were indeed females (only 17% of the total sample were involved here). If any of these students were religious according to the traditional view, it was supposed that they had to have been the upper class males, since it would have been the least inconsistent for them to be traditionally religious and still believe that women belonged in the labor force. Turning to the opposite end of the extreme, those who were of low religious orientation and also agreed that women belonged in the labor force had the very lowest career motivation. This was rather puzzling, but it was conjectured that these people were either upper class males who had the privilege of not being religious and not having to worry excessively about working for a living or alienated females who desired a more substantial change in the present society. What was even more perplexing was the fact that those who were of low religious orientation and did not believe strongly one way or the other about women being employed had relatively high career motivation. This was almost impossible to put within a general framework; one could have only speculated that these were competitive students who were not attracted to religion in any aspect for whatever the reason and who were not exactly enthused by having to compete against women on the job market. Everyone else had an average amount of career motivation. The mingling of different meanings within the Religious Measure seriously handicapped the interpretations here, but it was obvious that something very interesting was occurring, and it deserved further study. It probably would have been more instructive if a religious measure which reflected the differing dominant beliefs in Iran would have been employed.

SUMMARY

The results reveal that career motivation had significant and meaningful simple correlations with most of the predictors. Also, the predictors in combination seemed to account for much of career motivation variance (41%). The variables Sex, SES, Community Discrimination, Early Family Socialization and Religion had the strongest relationships to career motivation.

Consistent with the research findings in the U.S. Iranian female subjects,

particularly those from lower SES groups, showed lower career aspiration levels.

The effect of SES in predicting career motivation indicated that the lower SES group showed a lower level of career aspiration than the upper SES group except for males. It was speculated that this relation follows a curvilinear pattern rather than a linear one. That is, the extreme levels of SES (upper and lower) correspond with lower levels of career motivation and the middle class subjects possess the highest career motivation.

Although Community Resources did not load highly in predicting the criteria, it had a significant simple correlation with career motivation. The positive correlation between career motivation and Community Resources ($r = .17, p < .05$) indicated that the higher the subject perceived support for his or her career in the school, home and community the higher his/her career aspiration. This finding seems to be consistent with the hypotheses of this study as well as with some findings from the United States (Farmer, 1980).

It can be inferred from this study along with others (Farmer, 1980; Salili, 1979; Sedghi, 1976) that modification in education and employment practices could have powerful influences in decreasing sex discrimination and thus increasing the level of women's career motivation and participation. Results also suggest the desirability of increasing the resources available to facilitate women careers. More day-care centers are needed. Most importantly, real changes towards the elevation of the socioeconomic status of the majority of Iranian women are necessary if their career orientations are expected to improve.

Developing countries such as Iran cannot ignore a potentially productive labor force, the implicit value of women's active participation in the constructive development of the society at large.

The findings related to the influence of career motivation point to the current ferment and changing nature of ideology in Iran. These changes could be positive or negative for women's career development. Continued research, probing this aspect of change would be desirable.

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ABSTRACT TRANSLATIONS

Le but de l'étude était d'examiner certains facteurs supposés influencer les différences de sexes dans la motivation professionnelle

des lycéens iraniens. On a classé les sujets (N = 206) d'après le sexe, l'âge entre 17 et 18 ans et suivant les cours des écoles de Téhéran (Iran). Les mesures comprenaient la motivation professionnelle de critère et six prédicteurs: le sexe, la classe sociale, la socialisation de la famille primitive, l'orientation religieuse, les ressources communautaires et la discrimination de la communauté contre les carrières féminines.

On a utilisé des analyses de régression multi-variées avec corrélations partielles pour vérifier les hypothèses. Les hypothèses étaient que les hommes auraient de meilleurs résultats que les femmes en ce qui concerne la motivation professionnelle; les étudiants de la haute bourgeoisie auraient de meilleurs résultats que ceux de la classe moyenne en ce qui concerne la motivation professionnelle; les points relatifs à la socialisation de la famille primitive, les ressources communautaires et l'orientation religieuse seraient en corrélation positive avec la motivation professionnelle; et la discrimination communautaire serait en corrélation négative avec la motivation professionnelle. On s'attendait à des actions réciproques pour le sexe, l'orientation religieuse et la classe sociale. Les résultats principaux trouvés dans les analyses de régression ont appuyé les hypothèses relatives au sexe, à la classe sociale, à la discrimination communautaire et à la socialisation de la famille primitive. Il restait, pour l'interprétation de trois résultats réciproques d'importance, à éclairer la contribution de l'orientation religieuse pour la motivation professionnelle. Les trois actions réciproques d'importance que l'on a trouvées étaient le sexe x la classe sociale; le sexe x l'orientation religieuse et l'orientation religieuse x la discrimination communautaire. Il est apparu que la mesure religieuse s'est trouvée troublée par le nouveau mouvement islamique conduit par le groupe Mojahedin Khalgh encourageant les carrières féminines, en contraste avec le groupe dominant de Shia. La mesure des ressources communautaires était liée à la motivation professionnelle d'une manière significative ($p < .05$) et positive, mais elle n'a pas fortement contribué à l'équation de prédiction. L'équation qui en découle, y compris les équivalents d'actions réciproques, comptait pour 41% de l'écart. On en a conclu que l'analyse utilisée constituait un pas important dans la compréhension des phénomènes complexes tels que la motivation professionnelle dans un contexte social changeant.

El propósito de este estudio fue investigar algunos factores que se consideró influencian las diferencias entre los sexos en cuanto a la motivación ocupacional de estudiantes iraníes de escuela superior. La muestra fue balanceada en lo concerniente a sexo, edad (17-18 años), y los sujetos asistían a escuelas en Teherán, Irán. Las medidas incluyeron el criterio motivación ocupacional y seis pronosticadores: sexo, clase social, socialización, familiar temprana, orientación religiosa, recursos de la comunidad, y discriminación por parte de la comunidad hacia las carreras de las mujeres.

Para probar las hipótesis se utilizó "multivariate regression analyses" con correlaciones parciales. Las hipótesis planteadas fueron las siguientes: que los varones obtendrían mayor puntuación que las féminas en motivación ocupacional; que los estudiantes de clase social media alta obtendrían mayor puntuación que los estudiantes de clase media baja en motivación ocupacional; que las puntuaciones en Socialización familiar temprana, Recursos de la comunidad y Orientación religiosa estarían positivamente correlacionados con la motivación ocupacional; y que la Discriminación por parte de la comunidad estaría negativamente correlacionada con la motivación ocupacional. Se esperaban interacciones por Sexo, Orientación religiosa y Clase social. Los efectos principales descubiertos en

el análisis de regresión apoyaron las hipótesis relacionadas al Sexo, a la Clase social, a la Discriminación por parte de la comunidad y a la Socialización Familiar Temprana. Correspondió a la interpretación de tres efectos de interacción significativos aclarar la contribución de la Orientación religiosa a la motivación ocupacional. Las tres interacciones significativas encontradas fueron Sexo X Clase social; Sexo X Orientación religiosa; y Orientación religiosa X Discriminación por parte de la comunidad. Tal parece que la dimensión religiosa fue obscurecida por el nuevo movimiento del islám dirigido por el grupo de Mojahedin Khalgh, que apoya las carreras de las mujeres, contrario al grupo dominante "Shia Islam". La dimensión de Recursos de la comunidad demostró estar significativa ($p < .05$) y positivamente relacionada con la motivación ocupacional pero ésta no contribuyó de manera importante a la ecuación de predicción. La ecuación derivada, incluyendo los términos de interacción explica el 41% de la varianza. Se concluyó que el análisis usado representó una adición importante al entendimiento de fenómenos complejos como lo es la motivación ocupacional dentro de un contexto social cambiante.