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Understanding Women's Career Goals across Ethnic Identities

Dr. Regina M. O'Neill, Dr. Mary Shapiro, Dr. Cynthia Ingols, Dr. Stacy Blake-Beard

Regina M. O'Neill Professor of Management, Suffolk University, Sawyer Business School, email: roneill@suffolk.edu, phone: 617-573-8393
Mary Shapiro: Professor of Practice, Simmons School of Management, email: shapiro@simmons.edu, phone 617-521-3860
Cynthia Ingols: Professor of Practice, Simmons School of Management, email: cynthia.ingols@simmons.edu, phone: 617-521-3837
Stacy Blake-Beard: Professor of Management, Simmons School of Management, email: blakes5@simmons.edu, phone: 617-521-3833

Research on women's careers has been evolving over the last 50 years. Initially, research on men's careers was used to explain women's goals, barriers, and strategies; then White women's careers were used to explain all women's careers, regardless of race and ethnicity; finally, contemporary research breaks the homogenous, monolithic group of "women" into meaningful ethic groups. This study of 860 U.S. managerial women extends that research by comparing the career goals of White women, Black women, Asian women, and Latina women. Factor analyses show differences across all ethnic groups in how women strive for different career goals: contemporary goals (self-actualization and impact on the community), balance goals (claiming life outside of work), and conventional goals (measuring success by money and position). We offer explanations for the differences, directions for future research, and implications for women seeking leadership.

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, the concept of women's careers has come into its own. Hewlett and Luce (2005) indicated that women were being compared against a conventional career paradigm based on men's careers. This *work-is-primary* model connoted a commitment to work to the exclusion of non-work activities (Rapoport, Bailyn, Fletcher, & Pruitt, 2002) and suggested that women were deficient in their commitment to work and career advancement. Recent research (Shapiro, Ingols, O'Neill & Blake-Beard, 2009a; Shapiro, Ingols, Blake-Beard & O'Neill, 2009b) went a step further, suggesting women act as *career self-agents*, a term combining Peters' "self-employed" (1992), and Hutchins' "free agents" (1999). Through this model, individuals, acting as career self-agents, take control of their careers (Hall, 1996), which includes setting goals.

This early focus on women and their careers, however, was primarily on the careers of White women. McDonald and Hite (2008) speak to the responsibility of organizations to recognize career development programs for groups that are typically underrepresented or ignored in terms of understanding their career journeys. In response, scholars have looked at the career experiences of women of color (Byrd, 2009; Cocchiara, Bell, & Berry, 2006; Flores, Ramos, & Kanagui, 2010; Fouad & Byars-Winston, 2005; Kamenou & Fearful, 2006; Muller, 1998; Rosser-Mims, 2010). As more research has attempted to understand the impact of gender and ethnicity on career development and goals, we recognize the importance of studying women whose lives do not fit into a standard model (Kamenou, 2008). Our study helps move this important research stream and help forward.

The following literature review and research compare the careers of diverse groups of women. Researchers and practitioners who are interested in career research stand to benefit from the identification of differences and similarities across women of different ethnicities. Rather than treating women as a homogenous group, we specifically look at White women, Black women, Asian women, and Latina women.

Women's Careers and Goals
The history of career research mirrors the occupants of the managerial labor force. In the 1950s and 1960s, White, largely middle-class men built American corporations and career research focused on this population (Hartung, 2002; Wells, Delgado-Romero & Shelton, 2010). In 1962, only 15.3% of managers were women, and less than 3.8% of managerial women were Black (Garfinkle, 1975). Additionally, over three quarters of those women were managers in the female-dense occupations of retail sales, banks, restaurants, and offices (Meyer & Maes, 1983). Powell and Mainiero (1992) noted that scholars studying careers in the 1970s and 1980s believed that the theories and research on men's careers would transfer to women. In fact, women's careers were often viewed as special cases or as developmentally deficient (Gallos, 1989), and were regarded as aberrations to the masculine norm because of women's emphasis on relationships and their socialized interdependence (Powell & Mainiero, 1992).

By 2000, 31% of managers were women (Padavic & Reskin, 2002), the research on women's careers increased. As 20% of the new entrants into the U.S. workforce between 1990 and 2005 were non-Euro-American women (Sharma & Givens-Skeaton, 2009), scholars began calling for studies to differentiate women as a monolithic demographic group and separately study women of color (Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Proudford & Thomas, 1999; Blake-Beard, 1999; Shapiro, et al., 2009a; Reynolds-Dobbs, Thomas, & Harrison, 2008; Hartung, 2002; Ross-Gordon & Brooks, 2004; Wells et al., 2010; Flores, Berkel, Nilsson, Ojeda, Jordan, Lynn, & Leal, 2006). As Hite (1996) noted:

> During the past two decades, an increasing amount of research has focused on career progress for women…. however, the aspect of race is rarely mentioned. In response, recent studies have begun to refute the implicit assumption that references to 'women'….include all women, and that the experiences of all women are similar….and in reality they are describing White women. (p. 11)

Fouad and Byars-Winston (2005) noted that little is known about the role of race and ethnicity in career processes. To help better understand this role, it is important to first understand women's career goals.

The language scholars use to describe career goals varies in the literature. Locke and Lathan's (1984, 1990) Goal Setting Theory links organizational goals to people's goals. Maier and Brunstein (2001) further define personal work goals as representations of what people are striving for in their lives. Extending this further, scholars use "career success" to describe goals (Heslin, 2005; McDonald & Hite, 2008). Arthur, Khapova, and Wilderom (2005) defined "career success" as "the accomplishment of desirable work-related outcomes at any point in a person's work experiences over time" (p. 179). Dik, Sargent and Steger (2008) studied "strivings" as a way of assessing goals. Some scholars further divide goals into objective (status, rank and material success) and subjective (pride, self-worth and satisfaction) categories (Nicholson & de Waal-Andrews, 2005; Powell & Mainiero, 1999). The question remains: how are goals formed?

Lent and Brown (1996) built on Bandura's Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) to recognize the influence that personal, contextual and social cognitive factors have on learning, interest formation, and the development of career goals.

> People's beliefs about their ability to perform certain tasks (i.e., self-efficacy) and their beliefs about whether their efforts will ultimately be successful (i.e., outcome expectations) mediate whether individual preferences will become career goals (and eventually actions). (Gushue & Whitson, 2006, p. 379)

Additionally, SCCT recognized the role that person or personal factors (biological attributes such as gender and ethnicity), background contextual factors (such as social support and parental education levels), and proximal contextual factors (such as perceived barriers) have on individuals' learning experiences, which in turn affected their self-efficacy and outcome expectations, which in turn affected their goals (Ojeda & Flores, 2008). With the inclusion of personal factors, SCCT opened the door for exploring the impact of race and gender on the career goals of people.

Women of Color: Careers and Goals
Research acknowledges difficulty in ascertaining women's career goals because of structural and cultural barriers (Dainty, Bagilhole, & Neale, 2000), social norms about femininity and competition (Fels, 2004), women's tendency to shift priorities

over their lifetimes (Mainiero & Sullivan, 2005), and the "adaptive" nature of women's goals as they flexibly accommodate to "the reality of the current situation" (Hite & McDonald, 2003, p. 227). Likewise, Gallos (1989) argued women's goals were more "holistic" than men's, implying their goals acknowledged many components of their lives. Indeed, the work of Shapiro and colleagues (2009a, 2009b) revealed this complexity. In their study of 389 managerial women, three categories of goals emerged: "contemporary" (making a positive impact, role modeling, intellectual challenge); "balance" (having time for personal relationships and interests); and "conventional measures of success" (marking success by status, leadership positions, and money). The inclusion of personal factors has permitted researchers to include the influence of social factors such as race, culture, and gender on career goals (Gushue, 2006).

Lent, Brown and Hackett (2000) use their SCCT model to focus on self-efficacy, outcome expectations and goals, and discuss how these variables are influenced by gender and ethnicity. Phinney and Ong (2007) define cultural identity as "aspects of the self that are shaped and defined by one's culture and feelings of belongingness to cultural groups" (p. 413). Byars-Winston (2010) stated that racial and ethnic identities represent two types of cultural identity, noting that both are products of assignment by others and assertion by people within the group. Brooks and Clunis (2007) described the evolution of the concept of race, noting that historically it referred to biological differences between people and ethnicity may be defined as people with common cultural traits they see as distinct from those of others. Ethnic identity may be defined as a multi-dimensional construct that includes feelings of ethnic belonging, pride, and a secure sense of group membership (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996). While scholars have begun seeking the role culture, race and ethnicity play on career goals and development, few have researched the simultaneity of race and gender (Holvino, 2010), and fewer still have looked at inter-group differences. However, what have scholars learned about women's career goals in diverse cultural and ethnic groups?

In framing our work, we chose the terminology for our women's categories based on the literature and our sample. Scholars have noted the problem of using labels that obfuscate the many cultures subsumed under them (Rivera, Anderson & Middleton, 1999). Hite (2007) pointed out the dangers of these multi-dimensional labels and urged scholars to be cognizant of intra-group differences. In discussing the "Black" category, Byars-Winston (2010) pointed out that Black cultural identity

was constructed against the backdrop of slavery, a context that erased ethnic identities and socially assigned them the racial identity of "Black" in law and practice. Sensitive to women's cultural identities, we attempted to choose terms that reflect the breadth of ethnicities in our sample. Consistent with Rosser-Mims (2010) that there is no "essential or archetypal" Black woman, our "Black women" self-identified as African American, Afro-Caribbean, and African. Our "Latina women" self-identified as Hispanic/Latina, Mexican American/Chicano, many South and Central American countries, Spain, Portugal, and Puerto Rico. Our "Asian women" self-identified as Asian, Asian American, Chinese, Indian, Japan, Korean, Taiwanese, and Filipino.

Black Women
Gushue and Whitson (2006) found that Black, Latina and bi-racial girls of color who integrated race, ethnicity and egalitarian gender-role attitudes in their self-identity demonstrated high self-efficacy. They speculated that this "more fully integrated sense of self" may generate a greater confidence in being able to manage racism and sexism, explaining that the "self" also related to an increased confidence in pursuing nontraditional (male, higher status and income) careers" (p. 383). This was reaffirmed by Byars-Winston (2010) who noted that higher ethnic identity led to higher self-efficacy, a mediated influence on goals.

Daire, LaMothe, and Fuller (2007) studied 155 White and Black male and female college students and found future income and status had more influence on career choices for Blacks than Whites. Their research was consistent with earlier work, including Teng, Morgan and Anderson (2001), who found job security, good starting income, autonomy, a desire to serve others and community, and an important position were more important to Black than White students.

Latina Women
Riviera, Anderson and Middleton (1999) posited a model that recognized how self-efficacy interacted with cultural values (harmony, doing for others), social issues (discrimination and education level) and culture (the role of family and religion) and impacted Mexican American women's goals. They proposed that cultural elements, such as family structure, religion, and gender roles added complexity to Mexican American women's career development.

Since then, Flores and O'Brien (2002) found Mexican American adolescent women's career interests did not translate into career goals, and hypothesized that those women "may not have the luxury of choosing a career based on their interests"

(p. 24). Their study did support SCCT's proposition that the presence of support (in this case, parental support, a strong factor in the Hispanic collectivist culture) and the expectation of few obstacles did have a positive effect on career goals. Recently, Gushue (2006) studied 128 Latino, ninth grade students and found ethnic identity affected outcome expectations through its impact on self-efficacy.

Asian Women

Leong, Hardin and Gupta (2010) discussed how culture may impact the goals of Asian American men and women based on the differences generated from originating from collectivist cultures which focus on the interests, values, and goals of the group versus individualist ones that emphasize the individual's goals (such as North America and Europe). While individuals from collectivist cultures do not reject their own goals, they have internalized the group's goals to the point that it is difficult to differentiate between personal and collective goals. Yet the authors go on to state that "personal concerns such as values and interests become less salient with individuals who possess collectivist selves" (p. 472) and are more likely to have goals that align with their families' values and interests.

Differences across and within Groups

While studies focusing on ethnicity are increasing, there are still few studies that compare groups. Fouad and Byars-Winston's (2005) review of publications between 1991 and 2004 found only 16 studies that compared two or more racial/ethnic groups. Their meta-analyses found similar career aspirations for all groups, while perceptions of the opportunity to realize their dreams differed by racial/ethnic group. Lopez and Ann-Yi (2006) found no difference regarding self-efficacy across White, Latina, and African American women. However, the African American women expected more career barriers than either their White or Hispanic counterparts.

Moreover, it is important to recognize the potential differences within groups. Fouad (2002) proposed that age and gender may produce greater differences in goals within an ethnic group than between groups. Leong et al. (2010) also called for the recognition of generational differences in how people identify with their ethnic culture and the dominant culture.

The purpose of this research is to build on previous work on women's career goals to consider the careers of women of color. We begin with two primary research questions: (1) What career goals do managerial women in the United States have? and (2) How might those goals vary across ethnicities?

Methods

To help insure representation from as large a population of women as possible, we collected data from four sources. First, we collected survey data from attendees at an annual Women's Leadership Conference sponsored by a northeast college. Because most participants were White women, we then reached out to women of color through three organizations. Approximately 2,200 women had the opportunity to respond and 860 replied. Our survey was sent to 100 members of a non-profit Latina organization that supports women's careers; we received 78 responses. We also sent our survey to 1700 members or an organization that works to advance professionals of color; we received 235 responses from women. Finally, we sent our survey to 400 members of an internal Latina women's group at a large company, and we received 220 responses. We are not able to calculate a response rate because some surveys were collected via the snowball technique. Given the difficulty in accessing professionals of color, we used this technique as a way to ensure a maximum number of responses.

Together, our full sample of 860 respondents consists of 207 Black women, 40 Asian women, 309 White women, and 304 Latina women. These women average 42 years old and have an average work experience of 18 years. 85% hold college degrees, 60% are married, and 45% have children at home. Additionally, 93% are currently employed full time, 81% contribute 50% or more to the household's total income, 40% are in middle or higher levels of management, and they have an average salary of $112,000.

Using a questionnaire from previous research (Shapiro et al, 2009a), participants rated 16 goals on a five-point scale, ranging from 1 (*not important)* to 5 (*extremely important*). Because this is an exploratory study, we used a combination of frequencies and factor analyses to understand different groups of women.

Analyses and Results

To first determine which career goals women identified as most important, we examined the percentages of each of the 16 goals women chose. Table 1 presents the percentages of the goals that women – both in aggregate and across ethnicities – identified as being very important or extremely important. In comparing the top and bottom choices for a) all women, b) White women and c) women of different ethnicities, we see that women of different ethnicities' career goals can vary quite a bit.

To understand these fine-grained differences, we conducted a series of exploratory factor analyses on the importance of goals. In all analyses, we used principal factor analysis with varimax rotation without specifying any particular number of factors. We performed factor analyses on all 16 of the goals: for all

women; for women of color; for White women; for Black women; for Latina women; and for Asian women.

To select items that best represented each factor, we selected all items that had a factor loading greater than or equal to .50. In addition, in interpreting our results we considered whether items had clearly loaded on one factor only; however, items that had similar loadings on more than one factor are presented in italics in each of the factors where they loaded. Finally, factors with only two items are not given much consideration. Table 2 presents a summary of all factor analyses, presenting those factor loadings and items that grouped into clear factors. Examination of the eigenvalues for each factor analysis indicates that the derived factors for each group explain between approximately 57% and 70% of the variance; specific percentages are shown in Table 2 in parentheses for each group.

Our first exploratory factor analysis on all 16 of the goals "for all women" generated four factors. The first and second factors consisted of five items each. The third factor consisted of three items, and the fourth factor consisted of two items. We believe the first three factors represent the goals of women and reflect the multi-dimensionality with which they approach their work and lives. We label these three strong factors: Contemporary Career Goals, Balance Goals, and Conventional Measures of Success Goals. The fourth factor contains only two items, and it appears to reflect what we label as Financial Goals.

We next conducted a factor analysis on the goals "for all women of color." The first and second factors both consisted of five items each. The third and fourth factors consisted of three items each; however, the item "make a great deal of money as a measure of my success" loaded onto both factors as a third item (shown in italics).

Table 1 – Frequencies of Goals

Goals	All Women N = 838	WOC N = 522	White N = 299	Black N = 143	Asian N = 36	Latina N = 297	Other N = 46
Be intellectually challenged	93.6	93.5	93.6	99.3	94.4	91.9	84.4
Develop my skills and expertise	92.2	92.7	91.4	92.3	97.2	91.9	95.7
Have time for personal relationships	90.0	91.2	87.3	87.3	81.0	93.6	95.6
Meet my financial obligations	88.9	88.2	90.3	88.5	86.5	86.5	87.0
Create a secure financial future	88.9	86.6	93.3	83.9	81.1	88.6	87.0
Do work I am passionate about	88.9	89.8	87.0	89.5	83.4	89.9	95.6
Work with people I enjoy	85.2	83.8	88.0	83.8	86.5	83.4	84.8
Do work that makes a positive impact on people and communities	85.0	87.6	80.2	87.4	89.2	87.8	84.8
Have time for outside interests (philanthropy, travel, hobbies, personal development, etc)	85.0	84.9	85.0	86.8	70.2	85.8	84.8
Be in a location of importance to me (proximity to family, job, geography, etc)	82.0	81.8	81.8	77.0	75.0	83.5	91.3
Be a role model for others	79.1	78.8	79.4	83.8	72.2	77.5	76.1
Receive recognition for making a contribution	78.6	76.6	82.1	72.1	91.8	75.6	84.7
Have children	65.7	67.3	62.2	55.8	72.9	73.0	61.4
Progress into top leadership positions	51.1	54.7	44.0	63.7	50.0	49.3	65.2
Increase my status by advancing to a prestigious position or organization	36.4	39.6	30.9	44.8	58.3	35.3	36.9
Make a great deal of money as a measure of my success	29.2	31.7	24.2	29.4	41.7	31.7	31.1

Represents cumulative % of goals ranked by respondents as very and extremely important

Table 2 – Summary of Factor Analyses

Groupings	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
All Women (57.74%)	.778 Do work I am passionate about .730 Do work that makes a positive impact on people and communities .675 Be a role model for others .674 Be intellectually challenged .603 Develop my skills and expertise	.781 Have time for personal relationships .709 Have time for outside interests .679 Be in a location of importance to me .635 Have children	.856 Increase my status by advancing to a prestigious position or organization .787 Progress into top leadership positions .645 Make a great deal of money as a measure of my success	.860 Create a secure financial future .844 Meet my financial obligations	
WOC (58.81%)	.781 Do work I am passionate about .723 Do work that makes a positive impact on people and communities .664 Be intellectually challenged .657 Be a role model for others .643 Develop my skills and expertise	.795 Have time for personal relationships .741 Have time for outside interests .670 Be in a location of importance to me .647 Have children .531 Work with people I enjoy	.857 Increase my status by advancing to a prestigious position or organization .772 Progress into top leadership positions .626 *Make a great deal of money as a measure of my success*	.535 *Make a great deal of money as a measure of my success* .856 Create a secure financial future .833 Meet my financial obligations	
White (63.76%)	.753 Do work that I am passionate about .730 Be a role model for others .725 Do work that makes a positive impact on people and communities .708 Be intellectually challenged .569 Develop my skills and expertise	.839 Increase my status by advancing to a prestigious position or organization .827 Progress into top leadership positions .625 Make a great deal of money as a measure of my success	.759 Be in a location of importance to me .738 Have children .660 Have time for personal relationships	.867 Create a secure financial future .854 Meet my financial obligations	.735 *Receive recognition for making a contribution*
Black (63.13%)	.812 Have time for outside interests .803 Have time for personal relationships .751 Have children .514 Be in a location of importance to me	.768 Do work that makes a positive impact on people and communities .742 Do work that I am passionate about .584 Be intellectually challenged .572 Be a role model for others	.826 Increase my status by advancing to a prestigious position or organization .811 Progress into top leadership positions .619 Make a great deal of money as a measure of my success	.869 Meet my financial obligations .721 Create a secure financial future	.843 Work with people I enjoy .626 Receive recognition for making a

Group	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
		.533 Develop my skills and expertise			contribution
Latina (60.71%)	.801 Do work I am passionate about .725 Be a role model for others .717 Do work that makes a positive impact on people and communities .675 Be intellectually challenged .646 Develop my skills and expertise	.793 Have time for personal relationships .748 Have time for outside interests .674 Be in a location of importance to me .638 Have children .567 Work with people I enjoy	.848 Increase my status by advancing to a prestigious position or organization .726 Progress into top leadership positions .678 *Make a great deal of money as a measure of my success*	.515 *Make a great deal of money as a measure of my success* .870 Create a secure financial future .829 Meet my financial obligations	
Asian (76.00%)	.796 Work with people I enjoy .789 Increase my status by advancing to a prestigious position or organization .700 Progress into top leadership positions .666 Have time for outside interests .642 Make a great deal of money as a measure of my success .626 Receive recognition for making a contribution .578 *Have time for personal relationships*	.831 Be intellectually challenged .822 Develop my skills and expertise .805 Do work I am passionate about	.857 Be a role model for others .653 Do work that makes a positive impact on people and communities .570 *Have time for personal relationships*	.847 Create a secure financial future .746 Meet with my financial obligations .542 Be in a location of importance to me	.906 *Have children*

* The percentage of the variance explained for each group is shown in parentheses.

We then conducted factor analyses on goals of each different group of women of color. White women, the first factor consisted of five items. The second and third factors consisted of three items each, and a fourth factor emerged with two items. A fifth factor with one item was not considered further (shown in italics). For Black women, the first factor contained four items; the second factor contained five items; and the third factor contained three items. A fourth and fifth factor emerged with two items each. The factor analysis for Latina women produced four factors: the first and second factors consisted of five items each; the third and fourth factors consisted of three items each; and, the item "make a great deal of money as a measure of my success" loaded onto both factors as a third item (shown in italics). For Asian women, the first factor consisted of seven items; however, the item "have time for personal relationships" also loaded onto the third factor which consisted of three items (shown in italics for both factors). In addition, second and fourth factors emerged with three items each. A fifth factor emerged with one item (shown in italics), which is not considered further.

Interestingly, in understanding what different women of color identify as their most important goals, the results of our factor analyses point to a number of similarities as well as differences for each ethnic group of women.

Discussion

In exploring the career goals driving women's career strategies, we identified three strong factors, which align with work by Shapiro et al. (2009a). First, contemporary career goals (defined as: do work I am passionate about; make a positive impact; be a role model; be intellectually challenged; and develop my skills) support the Aspen Institute's (2008) finding that women voice a higher concern than men for doing work that has a positive impact, and women's late career stage dominate concern for authenticity (Mainiero & Sullivan, 2005). Next, balance goals (defined as: time for personal relationships and outside interests; live in location of importance; and have children) include goals relating to the multiple roles in work and life. This need for balance has been well established by scholars (Mainiero & Sullivan, 2005; McDonald & Hite, 2008; Perlow, 1997; Stork, Wilson, Bowles, Sproull & Vena, 2005). Finally, conventional measures of success goals relate to conventional indicators of success (defined as: advancement to prestigious positions or top leadership; and make a great deal of money). These latter goals are consistent with the literature on objective career success markers (Arthur et al., 2005; Nicholson & de Waal-Andrews, 2005). Taken together, these three factors may help explain the complexity of women's careers as they juggle contemporary goals, the need for balance, and the traditional markers of success.

It is interesting to note that two goals - "create a secure financial future" and "meet my financial obligations" - loaded onto a fourth factor for all women, women of color, White women, and each ethnic group of women. This loading may be explained by the financial responsibility facing our particular sample. On average, our participants covered 73% of their households' income; on average, 34% of the sample (up to 50% for Black women) were responsible for 100% of their households' income.

Women of Color

Goals for all the women in our sample are very similar to goals of women of color. While we see some similarities in what different women of color identify as their most important goals, there are also a number of striking differences. The intra-group variability that we see in our results clearly demonstrates the importance of not categorizing women into one large homogenous group. As Brooks and Clunis (2007) note, research has tended to focus on Blacks and Whites, and then generalize the results to other groups. However, our results show that Hispanics and Asians, for example, indicated that they view themselves differently.

Our first interesting result comes in comparing the goals of White women with women of color. In general, White women and women of color identify the same top goals, but their secondary and tertiary goals are almost exactly transposed. More specifically, while both groups had contemporary career goals as the strongest factor, women of color identified balance goals as second and conventional measures of success goals third, while White women identified conventional measures of success goals as more important than balance goals. These transposed findings may be explained in part by how women of color often lead rich community and religious lives (Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Hewlett, Luce, & West, 2005; Byrd, 2009), and the gap between their work and personal lives is larger than the gap faced by White women. Kamenou (2008) proposed that while White women often move from a White personal life to a White work life, women of color often move from their own ethnic personal lives to a White work life, decreasing the likelihood of overlap. The time demands of those very different outside-work activities may be at the root of women of color's balance goals.

Black Women

In examining the results for Black women, we see a very different first factor compared with other ethnic and White women, namely the primacy of balance goals. Balance goals may be primary for Black women because of increased demands on their time, the misalignment of organizational policies, and stereotyping. First, Hewlett, Luce and West (2005) call out the increased demands on Black women to participate fully in their ethnic and religious communities. In meeting those demands, Black women find little relief from their employers whose flexibility policies are often limited to child and elder parent care (Blake-Beard, O'Neill, Ingols, & Shapiro, 2010). Balance goals become central as Black women struggle to find time to meet the demands beyond those of their immediate families. Additionally, balance goals may be more important because of the larger penalties Black women face

when unable to juggle family responsibilities. Cocchiara, Bell and Berry (2006) point out Black women are expected to miss work as single mothers, and when they do not miss work it is attributed to their need for income rather than work ethic. This difference may also be explained in part by the expectations these women have. For example, Lopez and Ann-Yi (2006) found that Black women expected more career barriers than either their White or Hispanic counterparts. As such, perhaps these women adjust their personal expectations to reflect the expectations of career barriers, noting therefore the importance of balance.

Not surprisingly, doing work that makes a positive impact on the community loaded very strongly on a second factor, perhaps because, as Cook, Heppner and O'Brien (2002) write, people of color may define themselves as part of a community. The factor loadings underscore the vital part of community in the lives of these Black women and the roles these women play in their communities. Rosser-Mims (2010) described these roles as refuges from hostile work places, and opportunities to be "caretakers' of the race." Hewlett, Luce and West (2005) found that 25% of Black women are active leaders in their religious communities (compared to 16% of White men), and 25% mentored and tutored (compared to 14% of White women). Contributing to their ethnic community is a natural outgrowth of the deeply ingrained "ethic of giving back" that drives many Black women (Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Rosser-Mims, 2010).

In the third factor, Blacks identified traditional success goals, placing these behind balance and contemporary goals. As noted earlier, a separate fourth factor around finances also emerged. While this factor has only two items, their loadings were quite high. The strength of these factor loadings make sense, given Daire et al.'s (2007) finding that future income has a greater influence on the career choice of Black college students than on White students. Other scholars have also found that Black college students place high value on job security, income and financial independence (Lewis & Collins, 2001; Teng et al, 2001).

Latinas

In general, our findings indicate that Latinas' goals are highly consistent with the goals of women of color. In particular, contemporary career goals, balance goals, and conventional measures of success goals were all indicated in the same order of loadings for Latinas that they were for women of color. This loading could perhaps be explained primarily by the nature of our sample; a majority of our Latina respondents were part of a large corporation, thus potentially limiting the variability in the types of goals these women have. Contemporary career goals, the strongest factor, are indeed representative of women's desire for work that is meaningful. In addition, perhaps for the Latinas, this finding may be somewhat consistent with their collectivistic culture where people want to do good for the community, put others before self, and be a role model (Hartung, 2002; Leong et al., 2010; Rivera et al., 1999).

For Latina women, balance goals were second most important, followed by conventional measures of success goals. This emphasis on balance may highlight Hite's (2007) perspective on strong family values in the Latin community. Perhaps life balance is more important than career success because of expectations Latinas place on family priorities – including marriage and motherhood – ahead of advancement opportunities (Hite, 2007). Similarly, Flores, et al. (2010) are very clear about the need for Latinas to adhere to the traditional female role of family first, not allowing women to pursue careers that interfere with home responsibilities.

Asian Women

Finally, it was very interesting to see that goals for Asian women are completely different than any other group. The first factor included goals from each of the three categories. We propose two possible explanations. The first could be our sample composition. Our sample is small (n=40) and our sample encapsulates many cultures in the "Asian" category (as indicated in the footnote). As a result, this mixture of cultures may result in an amalgam of goals. A second explanation could be that this first factor is indicative of the complexity of Asian cultures. On one hand, "work with people I enjoy," "have time for personal relationships," and "receive recognition for making a contribution" is consistent with Asian collectivist cultures where harmony and fulfilling others' needs before one's own are valued (Leong et al., 2010). On the other hand, hierarchy is well developed and maintained in these cultures, with strong vertical relationships (Leong et al., 2010). An individual's status is determined, among others, by their title and the prestige of their employer (Hall, 1976; Hofstede, 2001). Acting on those values, the conventional measures of success goals of "advancing to prestigious position or organization," "progress into top leadership," and "money as a measure of success" appropriately load onto the first factor for Asian women. This is consistent with Lent et al.'s (2000) SCCT model, suggesting that Asian American career choice will be more influenced by family involvement and acculturation than their own personal interests.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

While this study provides noteworthy findings that extend research on the careers of women of color, it also has its limitations, providing multiple opportunities for future research. While our sample avoids ethno/racial homogeneity, our sample is closely aligned to class (as defined by educational level, working status, salary, and titles). The impact of class and socio-economic status may overwhelm ethnic differences. Some scholars (Emslie & Hunt, 2009; Hite & McDonald, 2003; Lautsch & Scully, 2007) have identified the burdens of employees in low-wage jobs. As such, research is needed that moves beyond managerial women to understand how women at other socio-economic levels and in lower levels of organizations manage their careers.

Additionally, this research studied women in the United States, and may be more indicative of cultural influences in the U.S. than from different ethnic groups. We urge caution in generalizing the findings from this sample of U.S. based, highly educated, managerial women to other populations. In addition, it will be critical to understand the many subcultures that exist within the "Latina" or "Hispanic" cultural label (Riviera et al., 1999; Hite, 2007), "Black" culture (Rosser-Mims, 2010), and "Asian" culture (Leong et al., 2010). Finally, our small Asian sample may not have been large enough to reveal meaningful characteristics of this group.

Implications for Women
This research suggests how important it is for women to recognize and address the various threads of influence that impact their own career goals. Clearly, following a one-size-fits-all career strategy has not, and will not, work. Ethnic identity has, and will likely continue to have, dramatic impact on women, their careers and personal choices, and goals they set for themselves (Fernandez, 1999).

When women, and particularly women of color, find themselves in the minority at work due to their gender and/or racio-ethnicity, they need to resist pressure to conform to majority career goals, and instead hold fast to their own, possibly different, career aspirations. Yet organization culture and structure will apply pressure for conformity: career paths, definitions of success, and criteria for promotions, are often set up to meet conventional goals (status, leadership, money). While these goals appeared in the first factor for Asian women, White women (second factor) and Black and Latina women (third factor) may find many organizational practices incongruous to their own values and motivators. Saying "yes" to those goals may mean feeling inauthentic, conflicted and unsatisfied. Additionally, many organizational practices tend to preclude balance goals altogether (24/7 availability, extended "face time", career-enhancing global assignments). This presents significant barriers for Black women (first factor) and for White and Latina women (second factor). And, if women use flexible work arrangements to meet balance goals, it may result in their commitment to work being questioned. Finally, meeting contemporary goals (work I am passionate about, make a positive impact, role model), the first factor for all women, may be in the greatest misalignment and may explain why so many women leave established organizations to begin their own companies.

While organizations continue to struggle to reinvent themselves to acknowledge, accommodate and benefit from diverse employees, how can women, who are in the midst of that struggle now, stay true to their own goals? Women can equip themselves with strategies for achieving their unique goals. Fletcher (1999) provides four strategies: 1) Naming: Articulate what your career goals are, and how the pursuit of those goals will benefit the organization. Build your value through good work, measure it, and then "name" it in terms salient to the organization (Carter and Silva, 2011). 2) Norming: Point out

the work practices that reward, and so motivate some employees, but are ineffective in rewarding and motivating others. Point out the cost of not expanding the practices so that all employees can be encouraged to do their best work. 3) Negotiating: Deal with issues around power (Shapiro, and create practices that address the broader spectrum of career goals. Craft pilots or experiments that foster incremental change. 4) Networking: Build networks that will validate and support your unique career goals (Deyton & Marlino, 2012).

Conclusion
The results of this study underscore the need for taking a fine-grained look at the careers of diverse groups of women. The distinctions we identified clearly show that collapsing all women of color into one group could obfuscate subtle - and not so subtle - differences among women. Awareness of the losses that accompany lumping groups together provides strong validation for the need for future research that examines ethnic groups as distinct entities, for the sake of scholars and for practitioners.

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