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Hispanic/Latino Student Community Cultural Wealth, Social Networks, and Career Development at the University of Wisconsin-Whitewater: A Report by the Networks and Cultural Assets Project (NCA)

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

While Hispanic/Latino students maintain high aspirations, their college graduation rate from Wisconsin universities is 12 percentage points lower than that of their White peers. Research shows that this lower rate may be exacerbated by programs and services that depict historically marginalized groups as “lacking” resources for college and career success. More study is needed to document and understand the strengths Hispanic/Latino students bring to college and the career development process, and to identify ways local educators can help students build upon their existing resources.

This report contains findings from a pilot study by the **Networks and Cultural Assets Project (NCA)** focused on the career development, cultural assets, and social networks of Hispanic/Latino students at the University of Wisconsin–Whitewater (UWW), a public comprehensive university of about 11,000 undergraduates in rural southeastern Wisconsin. In partnership with UWW staff, NCA seeks to better understand student resources by drawing on the Community Cultural Wealth framework and social network analysis. This study had four objectives:

1. Measure UWW Hispanic/Latino students’ **campus engagement**, including their feelings of membership at UWW and their use of campus and career services, as well as their **career attitudes**.
2. Measure Hispanic/Latino students’ **Community Cultural Wealth (CCW)**, or sociocultural strengths nurtured in communities of color, and linked **social support networks**.
3. Measure how UWW Hispanic/Latino student characteristics, campus engagement, career attitudes, CCW, and social support networks **relate to and build on one another**.
4. Provide student services professionals, administrators, and faculty with data-supported **insights** that can help improve support for Hispanic/Latino students at UWW.

After consultation with UWW educators, NCA researchers administered surveys (n=129) and interviews (n=20) in August and September 2021 to students identifying as Hispanic/Latino at UWW. The survey and interview questions focused on each student’s demographics, campus engagement, career attitudes, CCW, and social support networks. Below, we present key findings on these factors and their interrelationships from the sample.

Sample Demographics

- While most survey participants identify with multiple origins, over 80% of the students in the sample identify as Mexican, Mexican American, or Chicana/o.
- Seventy-four percent of students in the sample identify as first-generation college students.
- Eighty-one percent report having at least some financial concerns and 53% work at least 16 hours a week while attending UWW. Still, the overwhelming majority (83%) report receiving mostly A’s and/or B’s.

Campus Engagement

- On average, Hispanic/Latino participants feel a moderate sense of membership or “belonging” on the UWW campus.

- Eighty-four percent of survey participants have hung out at the University Center and 62% have interacted with UWW career advisors. About 36% said they had visited the Career and Leadership Development office.
- Students sought general academic/career advice or resume assistance from career staff, often spurred on by course assignments. Those who did not visit career staff said they did not have the time, did not know how to contact them, or did not know what they offered.
- Several interviewees described using informal social channels to get academic and career advice. Some students reported being more comfortable with advisors who shared their gender, racial, or other identities.

Career Attitudes

- On average, students reported a general, if slightly hesitant, sense of control over their future ability to do the work they want despite challenges—otherwise known as “work volition.”
- When asked what considerations are most important to their career paths, students score “work-life balance” the highest.
- Interviewees speak to the importance of personal values and community service as they consider future careers. They also note the strong influence of family support for their chosen careers, as well as their desire to be geographically close to family in future jobs.

Community Cultural Wealth

Our survey and interviews use the CCW framework (Yosso, 2005) to gather information on student cultural assets or “Capitals,” including the capacity to maintain hope (Aspirational), family knowledge and support (Familial), multilingual styles and skills (Linguistic), the ability to maneuver in predominantly White spaces (Navigational), an understanding of and desire to act on injustice (Resistant), and a sense of faith (Spiritual).

- Survey results suggest that the students in this sample have very high levels of all forms of CCW.
- Students’ CCW is related to their use of campus resources and career values. The career considerations of students with higher levels of Familial, Resistant 1 and 2, and Spritual Capitals are more service- and value-driven, for example.
- Family Capital is an all-important form of CCW among participating students. Family relationships provide motivation, guidance, and support that can help students through college.

Social Support Networks

Students can receive various forms of cultural wealth and support through their interpersonal networks, another form of CCW that Yosso (2005) refers to as Social Capital.

- Students’ demographic characteristics impact the kinds of relationships they form and the types of support they receive. For example, students with higher levels of financial concern are less likely to have contacts who help them form strategies for navigating campus.

- The plurality of people (44.9%) in students' career and academic discussion networks are family members.
- Students with larger social support networks report higher levels of Aspirational, Navigational, Familial, and Spritual Capital.
- While there are general social network trends across Hispanic/Latino survey respondents, there are also many important within-group differences.

Recommendations

1. Communicate to Hispanic/Latino students that they belong on campus and be attentive to their Community Cultural Wealth.

- Hire faculty and staff of color.
- Offer more flexible options for advising that recognize limits on student time on campus.
- Provide faculty and staff professional development focused on asset-based support.
- Harness student interest in combating injustice through workshops, service-learning, and further support.

2. Employ asset-based narratives that depict Hispanic/Latino students as well resourced, agentic, diverse, and highly capable of achieving their goals.

- Celebrate bi- and multilingualism as skills of significant value at the departmental and institutional level.
- Partner with student religious organizations to facilitate guided conversations about careers and faith.
- Build authentic relationships with students that center interdependence, care, and coping.
- Use asset-oriented language that accentuates students' strengths and opportunities.
- Share the Community Cultural Wealth framework, and these asset-oriented data, widely.

3. Connect the existing strengths of students' networks with academic and career services.

- Pair students with peers with whom they can attend career fairs or conferences.
- Engage family members through orientations, academic/career discussions, and Spanish-oriented web resources.
- Create workshops where students can map and think creatively about how to grow their networks.
- Remind students that they can use their existing social networks to find jobs and share advice.

INTRODUCTION

Hispanics/Latinos are the fastest growing racial/ethnic group in the United States. Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, Hispanics/Latinos were enrolling in postsecondary education at increasingly higher rates (Douglas-Gabriel et al., 2021). While Hispanic/Latino students maintain high aspirations to attend and succeed in college, they are less likely to complete postsecondary degrees than their White counterparts (Excelencia in Education, 2018a). The graduation rate for Hispanics/Latinos at 4-year institutions in Wisconsin is 12 percentage points lower than that of their White peers (Excelencia in Education, 2018b).

As Ladson-Billings (2006) argues, disparities in educational outcomes for Students of Color in Wisconsin should be considered an “educational debt”—not an “achievement gap”—as these disparities are caused by exclusionary practices such as the diversion of economic resources away from communities of color (Gordon, 2019); the overdisciplining of Indigenous, Black, and Latina/o students in public schools (Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, 2019); the lack of teachers, faculty, and other role models of color (Chapman & Brown, 2020); and policies prohibiting undocumented students from accessing in-state tuition and state financial aid to pay for college (Huynh, 2022). Wisconsin public colleges and universities, which educate most Latina/o college students in the state (Excelencia in Education, 2018b), have an important role to play in giving Hispanic/Latino students what they are owed: economic, social, and cultural resources to support their academic and career goals. The focus of our study, the University of Wisconsin–Whitewater (UWW), ranks fourth among Wisconsin institutions in awarding degrees to Hispanic/Latino students—just behind UW–Madison, UW–Milwaukee, and Marquette University (Excelencia in Education, 2018b).

Disparities in educational outcomes for Students of Color in Wisconsin should be considered an “educational debt”—not an “achievement gap”—as these disparities are caused by exclusionary practices.

Historically, efforts aimed at “helping” Students of Color have been rooted in the false notion that these students lack the qualities necessary to succeed in higher education, and that their families do not pass on to them the requisite cultural knowledge and skills (Carales & López, 2020). Well-intentioned programs aimed at giving students the resources they are “missing” can quickly become demotivating, especially if such programs communicate to students that they and their families are “less than” and need guidance from White educators (Neri et al., 2021). In higher education, students are frequently described as “disadvantaged,” “culturally deprived,” “at-risk,” or “underprepared” (Rendón et al., 2015) and researchers ask questions like: “Why do so few minorities pursue STEM degrees?” or “Why are their grades lower?” (Harper, 2010; Pearson et al., 2021). While these questions are important for addressing the education debt, the phrasing puts the onus on students for existing inequality. In contrast, questions such as: “What are colleges and universities doing to dampen Hispanic/Latino students’ enthusiasm for STEM?” recognize that our educational system is responsible for the debt.

Recognizing the importance of this shift in thinking, student services professionals increasingly turn to **asset-based** frameworks, which emphasize the strengths students bring to their education (Neri et al., 2021). Community Cultural Wealth (CCW), an asset-based framework created by Chicana feminist scholar Tara Yosso, is regularly used to highlight the valuable assets Hispanic/Latino students bring to their schooling. These assets include resources such as *Aspirational Capital*, or students’ hopes for their future,

which drive them to pursue their goals even in the face of obstacles, and *Linguistic Capital*, or the ability to communicate in more than one language or style (Yosso, 2005). (For a complete description of the different forms of cultural capital, please see Appendix I.)

Importantly, students' CCW is nurtured in their interpersonal relationships and often converted into additional skills and resources through *Social Capital*, another form of CCW (Yosso, 2005). Hispanic/Latino college students bring a diverse array of Social Capital—from networks formed with family, friends, and others across various community and institutional boundaries—to their college and early career endeavors. Information and advice that are important to academic and career development flow through these networks, and bolster students as they navigate predominantly White institutions (PWIs) (e.g., Rios-Aguilar & Deil-Amen, 2012; Siebert et al., 2001). These networks, however, are often misunderstood and undervalued by college and university educators.

For these reasons, it is important for student services professionals to understand what local Hispanic/Latino students' CCW and academic and career social networks look like, what resources and values they derive from this capital, how these assets may relate to their engagement with campus services (e.g., career services, student resource and identity centers), and how, ultimately, students use these forms of wealth to achieve success. Armed with this knowledge, educators can identify ways to help students grow the assets they already have and acquire new resources (Kolluri, 2020). They can also better communicate their students' unique skills and needs to prospective employers and state policymakers.

It is important to understand what Hispanic/Latino Community Cultural Wealth and social networks look like, what resources they derive from them, how they relate to campus engagement, and how, ultimately, students use them to succeed.

PURPOSE

To address these issues, this pilot study has four main objectives:

1. Measure UWW Hispanic/Latino students' campus engagement, including their feelings of membership at UWW and their use of campus and career services, as well as their career attitudes.
2. Measure Hispanic/Latino students' Community Cultural Wealth (CCW), or sociocultural strengths nurtured in communities of color, and linked social support networks.
3. Measure how UWW Hispanic/Latino student characteristics, campus engagement, career attitudes, CCW, and social support networks relate to and build on one another.
4. Provide student services professionals, administrators, and faculty with data-based insights that can help improve support for Hispanic/Latino students at UWW.

The project, which is funded by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, also has a broader goal of developing survey and interview instruments for measuring CCW and social network capital. In the future, these tools can be used by teams of researchers and student services professionals at other institutions to both document their students' strengths and provide actionable recommendations for program improvement.

METHODS

To meet these objectives, our research team conducted a mixed-methods study of Latina/o students attending the University of Wisconsin–Whitewater in August and September 2021. All our participants were on a listserv of self-identified Hispanic/Latino students who elected to receive communication from the university regarding programming and services for minority students. We surveyed 129 students using an online instrument that asked about their Community Cultural Wealth, academic and career social support networks, use of campus resources, career-related values, and demographics. We also conducted semi-structured interviews over Zoom with a subset of 20 volunteers. These interviews were meant to provide more detail on students' pathways into and through UWW, college majors and career goals, academic and career networks, the social foundations of Community Cultural Wealth, and barriers and opportunities at UWW. Interviews were 44 minutes long, on average.

It is important to note that the students who participated in this study are volunteers and represent only 18.8% of the 686 students on the UWW Hispanic/Latino listserv. Despite this limitation, we hope this study can be of added value to educators at UW–Whitewater, as it reveals student assets and challenges that are not always apparent through institutional reports from admissions, the registrar, or financial services. The following findings are based on descriptive and associative statistical analyses of survey data as well as inductive coding of interview data. For more information about our research methods and analyses, please see Appendix II as well as the methods and data compendium published in tandem with this report (Jang-Tucci et al., 2022).

FINDINGS

Here we present survey and interview findings in two parts. **Part One** contains quantitative descriptions of participating students' demographic characteristics, campus engagement (e.g., a sense of belonging and career service use), career attitudes, Community Cultural Wealth, and social support networks.

Part Two provides quantitative and qualitative findings on how each of these factors influence one another in students' lives. It begins with a focus on campus engagement, moves to career attitudes and then Community Cultural Wealth, and concludes with social support networks.

PART ONE: UWW Hispanic/Latino Students' Cultural Assets, Social Networks, and Career Development

1. Demographic Characteristics

One hundred and twenty-nine undergraduate Hispanic/Latino undergraduates participated in the online survey, representing an 18.8% response rate based on the total number of students on the Hispanic/Latino listserv. We also conducted follow-up interviews with 20 Hispanic/Latino undergraduate students who completed the survey and indicated an interest in being contacted for an interview. Survey and interview sample statistics are presented in Table 1. For additional demographic information on participants, please see this report's methods and data compendium.

Table 1. Survey and interview sample of UW–Whitewater Hispanic/Latino students

Measure	Survey		Interview	
	N=129	%	N=20	%
Gender				
Male	55	42.6	7	35.0
Female	70	54.3	12	60.0
Transgender	0	0.0	0	0.0
Non-binary	4	3.1	1	5.0
Race				
American Indian or Alaska Native	2	1.6	1	5.0
Asian or Asian-American	2	1.6	0	0.0
Black or African American	1	0.8	0	0.0
Hispanic or Latina/o	129	100.0	20	100.0
Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	0	0.0	0	0.0
White or Caucasian	40	31.0	6	30.0
Identified single race	87	67.4	14	70.0
Identified multiple races	42	32.6	6	30.0
Identified Hispanic/Latino Origin				
Mexican/Mexican American/Chicano	108	83.7	17	85.0
Cuban	3	2.3	0	0.0
Puerto Rican	10	7.8	1	5.0

Measure	Survey		Interview	
	N=129	%	N=20	%
Other	15	11.6	2	10.
Identified multiple origins	110	85.3	17	85.0
Year in School				
1st year	1	0.8	0	0.0
2nd year	32	24.8	4	20.0
3rd year	51	39.5	9	45.0
4th year	36	27.9	5	25.0
5th year or more	9	7.0	2	10.0
Enrollment Status				
Full-time or mainly full-time	115	89.1	19	95.0
Part-time or mainly part-time	9	7.0	1	5.0
Equal mix of full- and part-time	5	3.9	0	0.0
Financial Concerns				
No concerns	24	18.6	2	10.0
Some concerns	76	58.9	12	60.0
Major concerns	29	22.5	6	30.0
Major				
Arts and Humanities	10	7.8	2	10.0
Biological/Life Sciences	7	5.4	2	10.0
Business	49	38.0	5	25.0
Education	20	15.5	4	20.0
Engineering	1	0.8	0	0.0
Health Professions	2	1.6	0	0.0
Math and Computer Science	11	8.5	2	10.0
Physical Science	0	0	0	0.0
Social Science	22	17.1	4	20.0
Other Majors	2	1.6	1	5.0
Not listed	2	1.6	0	0.0
Mean Age	22.62 (SD=6.70)		22.75	

Notable findings from the UWW survey sample include:

- Over 80% of the students in the sample identify as Mexican, Mexican American, or Chicana/o, which is slightly higher than the percentage of Mexican Americans in the Latina/o population of Wisconsin as a whole (70%) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020a). Most participants identified multiple Hispanic/Latino origins, reflecting high rates of non-co-ethnic intermarriage among Latinos in the United States (Qian et al., 2018). Given the probable supermajority of Mexican, Mexican American, and Chicana/o students on campus, UWW educators may need to consider whether existing programming effectively incorporates the diversity of the Latina/o experience in the United States.
- Seventy-four percent of students in the sample identify as first-generation college students. In other words, they indicated that neither of their parents had received an associate degree or higher. Only 3% report having dependent children themselves.
- Eighty-one percent of students in the sample report having at least some financial concerns, and 53% work at least 16 hours a week while attending school. Yet, despite maintaining this level of employment, the majority (83%) report receiving mostly A's and/or B's.
- The majority of Hispanic/Latino students in the study sample are majoring in business (38%), education (16%) or some discipline in the social sciences (17%). Only 16% are in science, technology, engineering, mathematics, or medical (STEMM) majors.

Key Takeaways

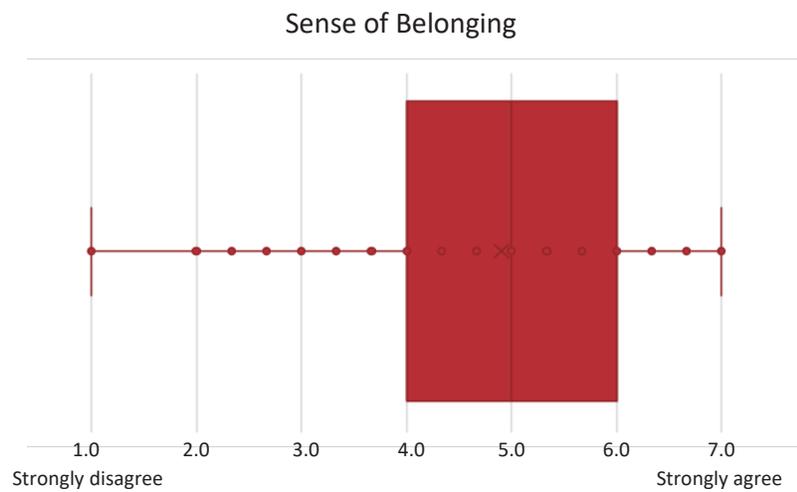
Most of the Hispanic/Latino students in the survey sample identify as Mexican, Mexican American, or Chicana/o. Though many students report facing multiple challenges at UWW—including being the first members of their families to attend college, long work hours outside of college, and financial concerns—they are excelling academically.

2. Students' Campus Engagement

Sense of Belonging

We measured several important factors to better understand Hispanic/Latino student engagement on the UWW campus. Previous research suggests that the degree to which a student feels like they are a member of their campus community, called a “sense of belonging,” is key to college success along multiple dimensions (Hurtado & Carter, 1997). An increased sense of belonging also leads students to use campus resources more often (Gopalan & Brady, 2020). Figure 1 depicts students' composite sense of belonging scores on a scale from 1 to 7 representing the extent they agree with statements such as, “I feel that I am a member of the campus community.”

Figure 1. Survey-reported sense of belonging among UW–Whitewater Hispanic/Latino students (n=129)



Key Takeaways

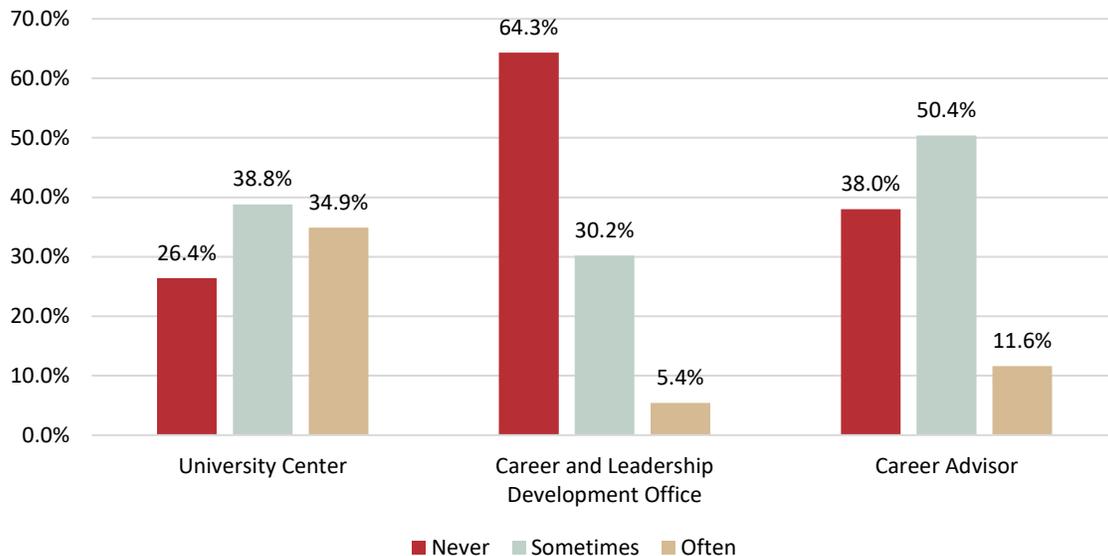
On average, Hispanic/Latino student survey participants feel a moderate sense of belonging on the UWW campus. Belonging feelings vary widely, however, and 15% of students do not feel like they belong within the UWW campus community.

Career Service Use

This study is also meant to provide local educators with data on Hispanic/Latino students' use of important UWW campus resources, which often relate to academic success (e.g., Robbins et al., 2009). To measure campus engagement, our survey asked students about their engagement with the UWW University Center, Career and Leadership Development office (CLD), and UWW career advisors.

As shown in Figure 2, eighty-four percent of the participants reported having “hung out” at the UWW University Center, which houses student organization offices, student services, dining, and recreation. While only 36% of students reported visiting the CLD, 62% reported “sometimes” or “often” interacting with a UWW career advisor. This discrepancy indicates that some students interact with career advisors outside of visits to the CLD—perhaps through classes, workshops, or online counseling sessions.

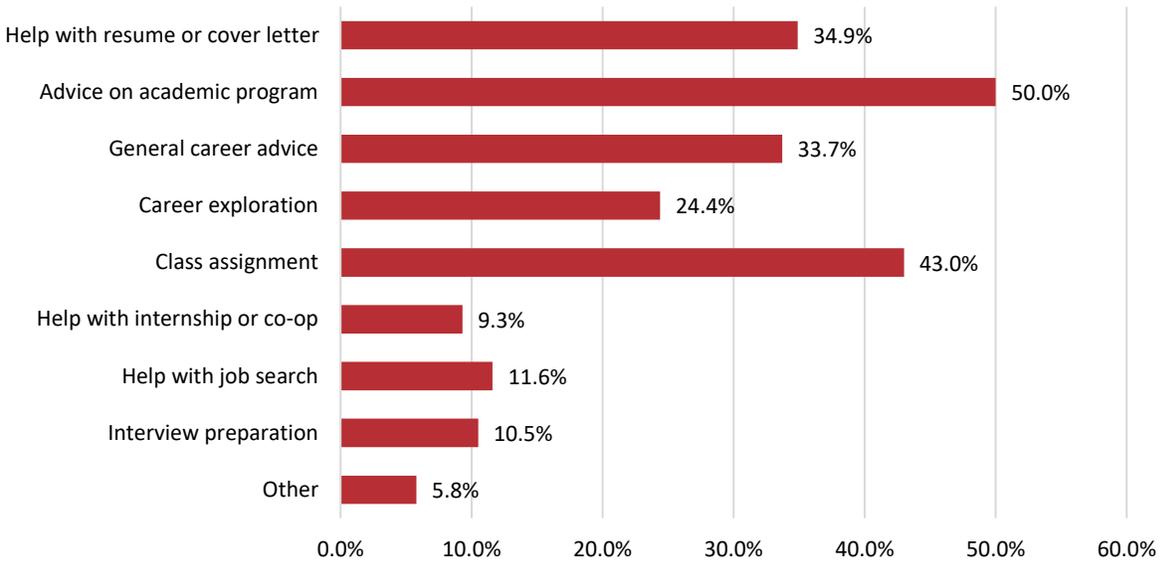
Figure 2. Survey-reported UW-Whitewater Hispanic/Latino students' usage of career services since entering college (n=129)



Students seeking career advice, either from a visit to the CLD or a career advisor, were also asked for their reasons for using these resources. As Figure 3 indicates, the most commonly listed reasons were seeking advice about a specific academic program, help with a class assignment, feedback on resumes and cover letters, or general career advice. Survey participants were less likely to report visiting a career counselor for later stage support (e.g., conducting job searches, preparing for interviews, helping with internships or co-ops), though some interviewees noted that the CLD provided valuable assistance on mock interviews, resume building, and other career-related skills.

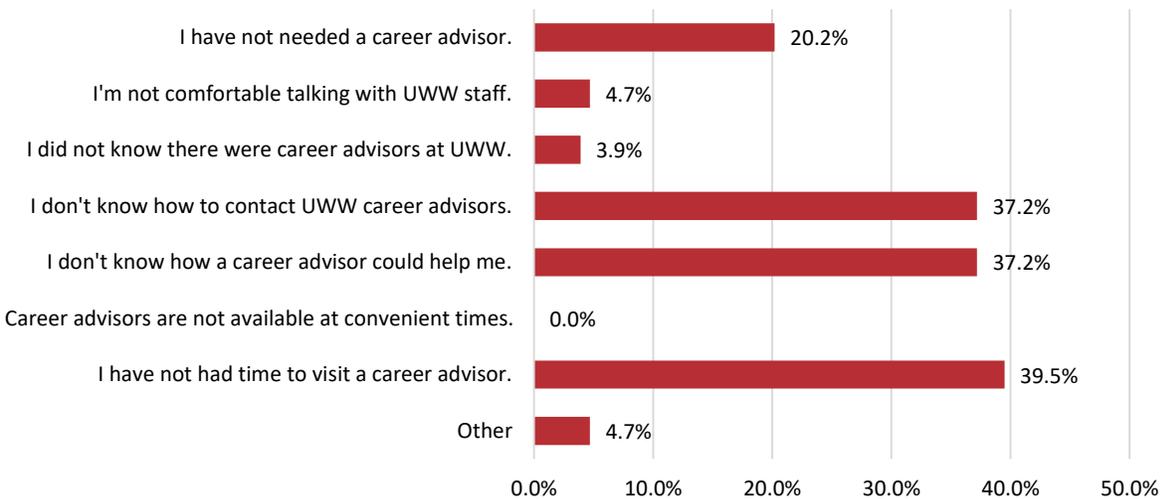
Students were less likely to report visiting career counselors for later stage support—like help with job searches or preparing for interviews.

Figure 3. Survey-reported reason(s) UW-Whitewater Hispanic/Latino students seek career advice (n=86)



Students not seeking career advice were asked to indicate their reasons for not utilizing these services. As Figure 4 indicates, the most cited reasons were limited time, lack of awareness of the work career advisors do, and not knowing how to contact these professionals. None of these students reported that the lack of convenient meeting times on the part of career advisors was a barrier to their engagement.

Figure 4. Survey-reported reason(s) why UW-Whitewater Hispanic/Latino students have not used campus career resources (n=43)



Key Takeaways

Eighty-four percent of survey participants have spent time at the University Center and 62% have interacted with UWW career advisors. About 36% said they had visited the Career and Leadership Development office. Students sought general academic and career advice or resume assistance from career staff, often spurred on by course assignments. Those who did not visit career staff most often said they did not have the time, did not know how to contact them, or did not know what they offered.

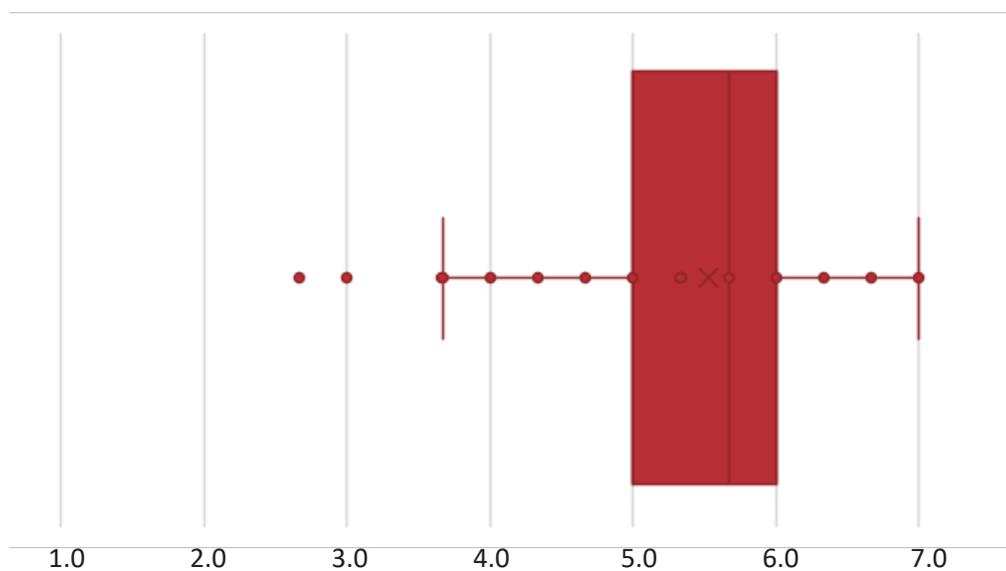
3. Students' Career Attitudes

Work Volition

In addition to career services use, we measured other factors related to students' career interests and self-efficacy. "Work volition" refers to the student's feeling that they can make the career decision they prefer—from initial job selection to subsequent career choices and changes—despite obstacles in their path (Duffy & Dik, 2009). The concept has been associated with a variety of positive outcomes, including job satisfaction (Duffy et al., 2015) and career adaptability (Autin et al., 2017).

Because of its centrality in the college-to-career transition literature, we measured work volition using a well-tested 7-point scale that asks students the extent to which they agreed with statements like, "I feel total control over my future job choices." Figure 5 depicts the mean and range of students' scores.

Figure 5. Survey-reported work volition of UW-Whitewater Hispanic/Latino students (n=129)



Average survey participant scores fell between “somewhat agreed” and “agreed,” meaning as a group students indicated a general—if slightly hesitant—sense of control over their future job choices and ability to do the work they want despite challenges.

Career Values

We also investigated careers students thought they might go into after college as well as the factors students considered when thinking about these career paths, including income potential, the availability of jobs, family needs, etc. Notable findings from these survey questions include:

- The highest proportions of the students plan to enter educational instruction and library careers (17.1%), business and financial operations (15.5%), and management (15.5%). Community and social service (10.1%), and computer and mathematical occupations (10.1%) follow (Figure 6).
- On a scale from 1 (not at all important) to 5 (very important), students regarded most of the listed career considerations as highly important, with an average ranging from 3.8 to 4.4.
- Work-life balance was the most important consideration (averaging 4.4) for the students, followed by job availability (4.33), income potential (4.23), the expression of personal values (4.18), family needs (4.12), and service to community (3.83) (Figure 7).

Figure 6. UW–Whitewater Hispanic/Latino students’ prospective occupations (n=129)

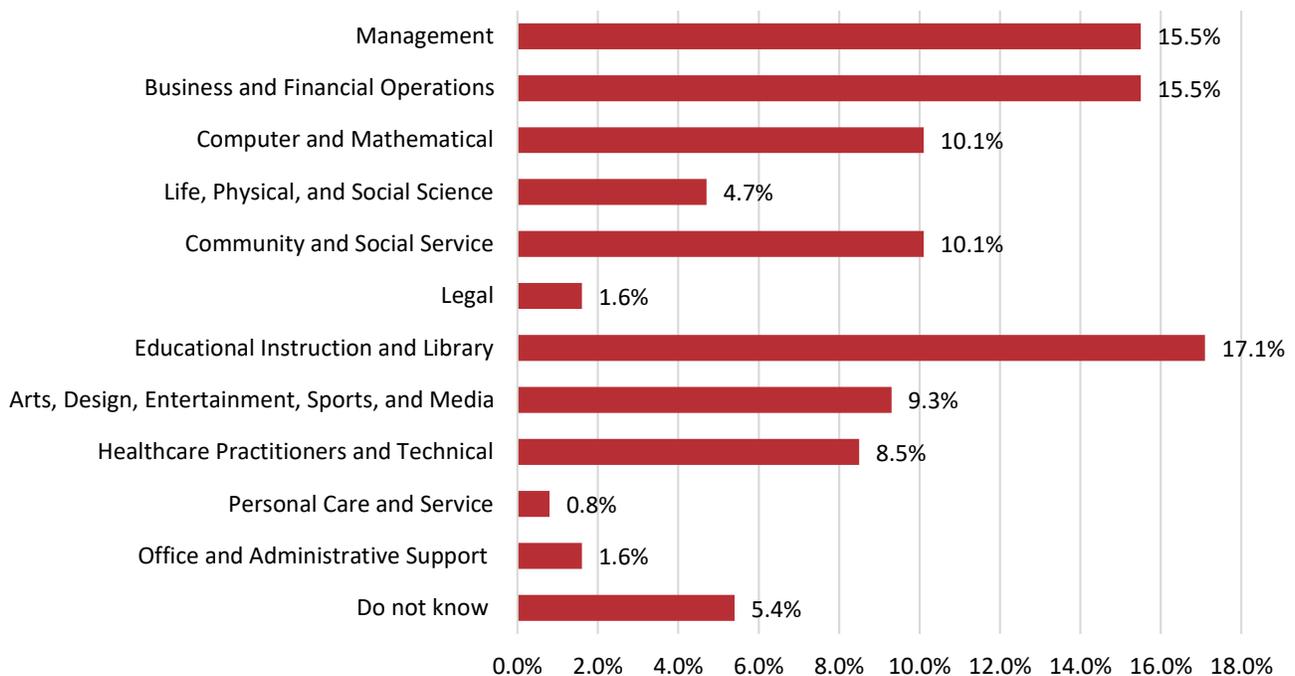
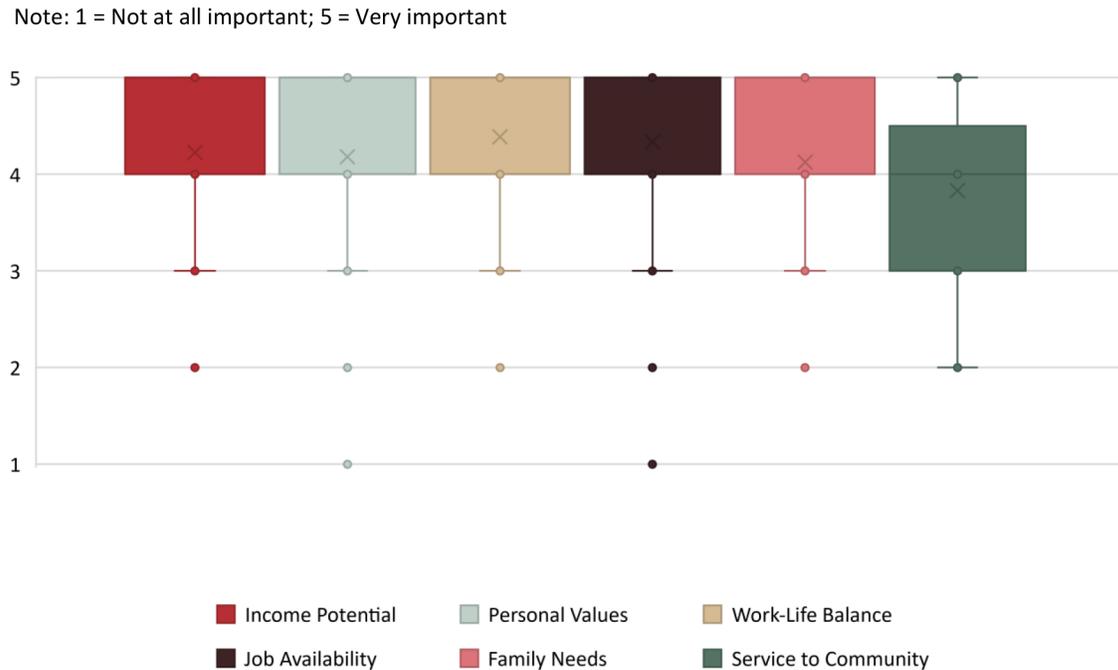


Figure 7. Survey-reported career considerations of UW-Whitewater Hispanic/Latino students (n=129)



Key Takeaways

Overall, Hispanic/Latino survey participants have a moderately strong sense of control over their future career choices and trajectories. Large proportions of students plan to pursue careers in education, management, or business and financial operations. When asked what considerations are most important to their career paths after college, students score “work-life balance” the highest.

Because students generally assigned high scores to all these career values, we identified different groups of students based on those career values that are most important to them (Table 2). This “cluster analysis” suggests that these UWW Hispanic/Latino students can be classified into three groups based on their career values:

- **Realistic** students are those who are focused on income potential and job availability (35.7% of the sample). Men and students with dependents are overrepresented in this group. Transfer students, however, are underrepresented. Students who pursue business and financial occupations, computer and mathematical occupations, and community and social services occupations are overrepresented in this group.
- **All important** students are students who highly value all career considerations (51.2%). Women and transfer students are overrepresented in this group while first generation students and students with dependents are underrepresented. Students who pursue management occupations, educational instruction and library occupations, and healthcare occupations are overrepresented in this group.

- **Value oriented** students are those who are focused on personal values and dedication to community (13.2%). Women are underrepresented in this group. Students who pursue life, physical, and social science occupations, educational instruction and library occupations, and arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media occupations are overrepresented in this group.

Students' orientation to their future work impacts their use of on-campus resources. This is evidenced, for example, by the fact that "realistic" students are more likely to have visited the University Center or a career advisor than other students in the sample. "All important" students are less likely to have visited the University Center or a career advisor compared with other students in the sample.

Table 2. Student groups based on career values, with average scores

	Cluster 1 "Realistic"	Cluster 2 "All important"	Cluster 3 "Value oriented"
Income Potential	4.35	4.44	3.06
Expressing Personal Values	3.39	4.71	4.24
Work-life Balance	3.98	4.85	3.71
Job Availability	4.28	4.70	3.06
Family Needs	3.65	4.70	3.18
Service to Community	3.20	4.23	4.00
Number of Members	46 (35.7%)	66 (51.2%)	17 (13.2%)

Note: We used k-means cluster analysis using SPSS 28.0.0.0. We explored the solutions of k=2 to k=10, allowing up to 30 iterations. Ultimately, a three-cluster solution (k=3) was selected as an optimally descriptive and parsimonious classification of the data. Convergence was achieved through 7 iterations.

Key Takeaways

UWW Hispanic/Latino students can be classified into three groups based on their career values. Compared with other students, students in the "realistic" group are more likely to have visited the University Center or a career advisor. "All important" students are less likely to have used these resources.

4. Students' Community Cultural Wealth

Using the Community Cultural Wealth framework (Yosso, 2005), one of the primary goals of this study was to measure and better understand the different strengths Hispanic/Latino students bring to college so that academic and career educators can build on these strengths at UWW. Following Yosso (2005), our survey measured several different forms of sociocultural assets Students of Color bring to campus, including Aspirational, Familial, Linguistic, Navigational, Resistant 1, Resistant 2, and Spiritual Capitals described in Table 3. We measured Social Capital using social network analysis, described in the next section. (We describe our development of these survey questions in detail in Appendices I and II as well as in the methods and data compendium.)

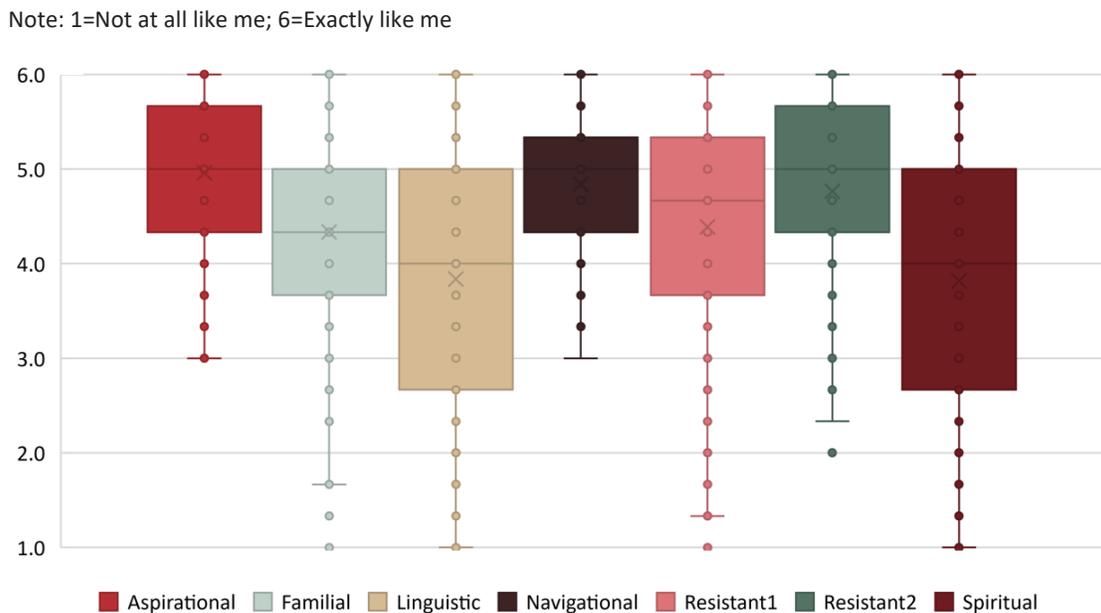
Table 3. Forms of CCW

Capital	Description
Aspirational	The capacity “to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers” (Yosso, 2005, p. 77).
Familial	Knowledge, sense of history, intuition, values, and lessons of caring and coping that are inculcated in and passed through kinship networks and that foster collective consciousness.
Linguistic	Skills developed through communicating in more than one language or style.
Navigational	The ability to navigate institutions and spaces that were “not created with communities of color in mind” (Yosso, 2005, p. 80).
Resistant 1	Understanding of, and ability to recognize, injustice and oppression in society (Sablan, 2019).
Resistant 2	Motivation to challenge injustice, inequality, racism, and subordination (Sablan, 2019).
Spiritual	The feeling of being guided by a higher purpose from God, a religious faith or community, or a general sense of spirituality (Rendón et al., 2015).
Social	Networks of people and community resources that provide emotional support, information, and financial or other material needs and are an all-important medium through which the other forms of cultural wealth develop and flow.

Bañuelos, 2021, p. 8 (adapted from Yosso, 2005)

Survey results suggest that the students in this sample have very high levels of CCW. The maximum score possible on each scale of CCW is six, which is achieved if a student thinks a particular CCW trait describes them exactly. As Figure 8 demonstrates, the mean score for most forms of CCW is well above four, with Navigational and Aspirational Capital being particularly high. Two notable exceptions are Spiritual and Linguistic Capital, which have lower average scores. This is likely because monolingual students are likely to score low on Linguistic Capital items while students without a spiritual or religious practice are likely to score low on Spiritual Capital items.

Figure 8. Survey-reported Community Cultural Wealth (CCW) of UW-Whitewater Hispanic/Latino students (n=129)



Because students generally scored high across the CCW scales, we thought it useful to categorize students into groups based on similarities in their scores. This cluster analysis revealed four different groups of students:

- **All high** students are those with very high levels of all forms of CCW (31.8%). Women and transfer students are overrepresented in this group, while students with dependents are underrepresented.
- **Pioneer** students are students who maintain high aspirations and the ability to navigate educational institutions, but who do not rely as heavily on family or religion/spirituality (25.6%). Students with dependents are overrepresented in this group, while women and transfer students are underrepresented.
- **Pragmatists** are students who see injustice in the world and have a strong desire to change it, but who are not guided by religion/spirituality (15.5%). Students with dependents are overrepresented in this group.
- **Ambitious** students want to change the world but do not see society as unjust (27.1%). First-generation college students and students with dependents are underrepresented in this group.

Table 4 demonstrates the distribution of students across these groups, as well as their average scores on each of the CCW scales.

Table 4. Student groups based on CCW, with average scores

	Cluster 1 "All high"	Cluster 2 "Pioneer"	Cluster 3 "Pragmatist"	Cluster 4 "Ambitious"
Aspirational	5.27	4.16	5.45	5.07
Familial	4.89	3.20	4.48	4.68
Linguistic	5.15	3.75	2.87	2.94
Navigational	5.20	4.24	4.95	4.92
Resistant 1	5.24	3.97	4.80	3.55
Resistant 2	5.37	3.70	5.38	4.70
Spiritual	4.87	2.43	1.83	5.03
Number of Members	41 (31.8%)	33 (25.6%)	20 (15.5%)	35 (27.1%)

Note: We used k-means cluster analysis using SPSS 28.0.0.0. We explored the solutions of k=2 to k=10, allowing iterations up to 30. Ultimately, a four-cluster solution (k=4) was selected as optimally descriptive and the most parsimonious classification of the data. Convergence was achieved through 14 iterations.

As we will explain further below, there are some notable differences between these student groups in their use of campus resources. For example, "all high" students are more likely to have visited the CLD, while "pioneers" are less likely to have visited. "Pragmatists" are more likely to have visited the University Center while "ambitious" students are less likely to have visited.

With varied scores on these measures, there is the temptation to rank groups or compare their levels of CCW. This framework, however, reminds us that while all these students have very high aspirations, they may simply have different ways of reaching their desired ends given other strengths. Highlighting differences between groups is a good reminder that Hispanic/Latino students at UWW are not a monolithic community.

Key Takeaways

UWW Hispanic/Latino students have very high levels of CCW, particularly when it comes to their hopes for the future, though students across the survey sample vary in numerous ways. Students can be grouped depending on their varying levels of different forms of CCW, and these groupings can associate with student use of campus resources.

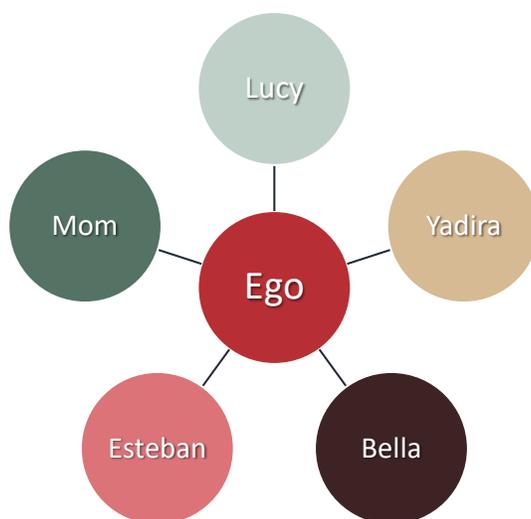
5. Students' Social Support Networks

Students can receive material and nonmaterial support from their interpersonal networks, another form of Community Cultural Wealth that Yosso (2005) refers to as Social Capital. Social connections and interactions with friends, classmates, family, educators, or others in students' social circles may provide emotional, informational, and practical support, and are an all-important medium through which the other forms of cultural wealth develop and flow (Yosso, 2005). Similarly, relationships that include academic and career discussion can be important to career development (e.g., Siebert et al., 2001).

Social connections and interactions with friends, classmates, family, educators, or others in students' social circles may provide emotional, informational, and practical support, and are an all-important medium through which the other forms of cultural wealth develop and flow (Yosso, 2005).

To measure Social Capital and these forms of support, we used "social network analysis," a research method that asks participants to list important people they talk to about specific topics, and then to provide information on the people listed (Wasserman & Faust, 1994). Researchers then study the characteristics of these relationships to see how they might influence participants' beliefs, attitudes, and behavior. The data produced by social network analysis can be represented in diagrams depicting connections between "egos" (the participant) and "alters" (their contacts). An example diagram is displayed in Figure 9.

Figure 9. Ego network diagram



To better understand the composition of students' core social support networks, as well as the kinds of support they receive, we asked respondents to list up to six people with whom they discussed academic or career matters—such as their major area of study, academic or career goals, or job opportunities. We then asked a series of questions about the people they listed, including the contacts' roles (family members, fellow students, etc.), the strength of their relationships, demographic information (e.g., race, gender, education level), and the help they provided. Using these data, we measured four Social Capital network characteristics that the research literature has shown to be important to one's social support:

- **Network size** is the total number of people in each student’s academic and career network. Larger social networks, which have been linked to increased social support and mobility (Lin, 2001), can increase access to original information or knowledge from a wider variety of contexts.
- **Density** represents the proportion of interrelationships among one’s network contacts, from 0.00 (no network contacts know one another) to 1.00 (all network contacts know one another). Higher network density is associated with greater support, shared norms, and stronger social safeguards (Putnam, 2001). Less dense networks, however, have been linked to less social constraint as well as more access to novel information (Burt, 2000).
- **Homophily** represents how similar network contacts are to ego by chosen demographic characteristics (i.e., gender, race/ethnicity), with -1.00 meaning all contacts are dissimilar to ego and +1.00 meaning all contacts are similar to ego. Studies have indicated the more diverse the contacts in one’s network, the more diverse the social resources one receives through that network (McPherson et al., 2001). Network homophily can also, however, be identity-confirming and foster a stronger sense of social membership and comfort (Milton & Westphal, 2005).
- **Tie strength** is the perceived strength of relationships between ego and their contacts on a scale from 1 (distant) to 4 (very close). Closer ties enhance social cohesion and the more efficient exchange of complex knowledge or advice (Levin & Cross, 2004), though weak ties have also been shown to increase one’s access to new information (Granovetter, 1973).

In Table 5 we display measures of these social support network characteristics among survey respondents.

Table 5. UW–Whitewater Hispanic/Latino students’ social support network characteristics

	Sample Size	Mean	Median	SD	Min-Max
Network Size	91	3.65	3	1.57	1-6
Network Density	83	0.38	0.33	0.33	0-1
Average Tie Strength	91	3.23	3.25	0.67	1-4
Gender Homophily	91	0.08	0	0.64	-1-+1
Hispanic/Latino Homophily	91	-0.08	0	0.70	-1-+1

Note: See Appendix II, Table 8 for definitions and measurement methods.

On average (n=129), survey participants identified 2.57 people (SD=2.13) with whom they discussed academic or career-related matters. Those who discussed academic and career issues with at least one person (n=91) said they spoke to 3.65 people (SD=1.57) on average (network size). Student academic and career network contacts were moderately interconnected, with just over a third of contacts within student networks knowing other contacts in their network (density). On average, students felt “close” to the contacts they listed (tie strength). Further, students showed a slight preference for similar gender discussion partners and non-Hispanic/Latino discussion partners (gender and Hispanic/Latino homophily).

Table 6 provides additional demographic information on students’ contacts and indicates the types of support they receive from their networks.

Table 6. UW–Whitewater Hispanic/Latino students' social support network contact attributes (n=332)

Measure	N	%
Gender		
Male	131	39.5
Female	199	59.9
Transgender	0	0
Non-binary	2	0.6
Race		
American Indian or Alaska Native	2	0.6
Asian or Asian American	11	3.3
Black or African American	15	4.5
Hispanic or Latina/o	152	45.8
Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	1	0.3
White or Caucasian	173	52.1
Relationship with Ego		
Spouse or Significant Other	30	9.0
Family	149	44.9
Friend	83	25.0
College Student	27	8.1
College Educator	55	16.6
Co-worker	18	5.4
Spiritual Advisor	2	0.6
Other	40	12.0
Education		
Less than high school	28	8.4
High school diploma or GED	124	37.3
Associate degree	44	13.3
Bachelor's degree	72	21.7
Master's or Professional degree	48	14.5
Doctorate degree	16	4.8

Measure	N	%
Kinds of Support		
Providing material aid	148	44.6
Maintaining hope for the future	267	80.4
Sharing problems or worries	202	60.8
Modeling caring for community	199	59.9
Developing skills for navigating campus	160	48.2
Helping oppose things that are wrong	162	48.8
Engaging in relaxation or leisure	203	61.1

Notable findings on students’ social support networks include:

- Family (44.9%) and friends (25.0%) are the most listed relationship types, followed by college educators (16.6%), spouses or significant others (9.0%) and other college students (8.1%).
- Family members have lower levels of education than other kinds of contacts. However, all else being equal, family is a significant source of material support (e.g., money, food, clothing) for students.
- Most of the students’ contacts are either White (52.1%) or Hispanic/Latino (45.8%), with 4.5% identified as both White and Hispanic/Latino. Students report being closer to their Hispanic/Latino contacts than they are to contacts from other racial groups. This may be driven, in part, by the fact that students’ networks are family heavy: family members are often close and frequently share the same race/ethnicity.

Key Takeaways

Most students talked about academic- and career-related issues with a few other people, most of whom were family or friends. Students reported that most contacts helped them maintain hope for their futures (Aspirational Capital). Many also offered students an opportunity to relax or the chance to talk through worries. Notably, nearly 60% of contacts modeled for students ways to care for members of their community (Familial Capital).

PART TWO: Factors Influencing UWW Hispanic/Latino Students' Career Development, Cultural Assets, and Social Networks

Part Two identifies connections between career values and attitudes, cultural assets, and social support in UWW Hispanic/Latino students' everyday lives. We offer paired quantitative and qualitative results on the factors influencing campus engagement, career attitudes, Community Cultural Wealth, and social support networks.

1. Factors Influencing Students' Campus Engagement

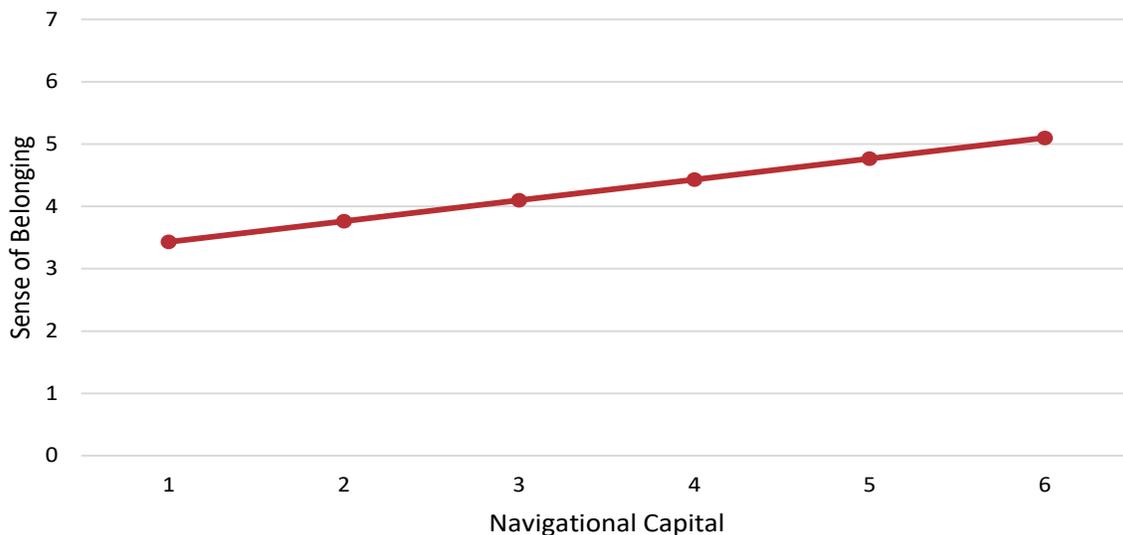
Sense of Belonging

Students who feel like they belong to their campus community are more likely to thrive in college (e.g., Museus et al., 2017). Here we show a factor that is associated with stronger feelings of belonging, as well as student perceptions of membership and fit on the UWW campus.

Survey Results: What Student Characteristics Relate to Campus Belonging?

Using linear regression analyses, we examined how different attributes of Hispanic/Latino students relate to their sense of belonging. Among the characteristics we examined, only one variable significantly influenced students' sense of belonging: Navigational Capital. Our findings suggest that students with higher levels of Navigational Capital feel more strongly that they belong to their campus community. Figure 10 shows the predicted mean score of students' sense of belonging by their level of Navigational Capital.

Figure 10. Predicted mean sense of belonging score by Navigational Capital



Interview Perspectives: Feelings of Membership and Fit in the Campus Community

How, though, did students explain their feeling of belonging in interviews? Students who are involved in gateway programs, student organizations, and fraternities or sororities often mentioned that such activities helped them to get used to campus culture. College educators and classes also support students to develop a sense of belonging. One student described a Spanish instructor who provided rich information on the broader Hispanic community and who helped her appreciate the value of her Latina identity on campus. With guidance from this instructor, she said, class became a small community of Hispanic/Latino students:

Through that Spanish class that I took for a semester, I did get to meet a lot of students who were Hispanic, and it was nice because I got to interact with them more and become friends with a couple of them. So it kind of helped to have that—their shared experiences and getting to talk to them about what it was like going off to college and not being around your family anymore...it was just nice. We all kind of shared very similar experiences. Some were a little different, but it was still a very common experience for a lot of us. So it's just nice knowing that we had a group, and we all were sharing that experience together.

On the other hand, students who perceived themselves as having very different political beliefs, life experiences, or work or family responsibilities than the average UWW undergraduate often reported feeling a sense of detachment from the campus community. One student—a father who had transferred to UWW from community college—described how student support staff would not adjust to his specific needs. This left him feeling like there was not a place for him at UWW:

I reached out and said, “I get that, I’m a 28-year-old, I’m full-time working, can...I just schedule with you a one-on-one?” He said, “Nope, you need to attend this orientation.” I’m like, I’ll just go screw myself then. Whitewater...has the SOAR, the Student Orientation and Registration, whatever, eight hours long. I messaged an advisor before the transfer, I said, “Hey, I’m a full-time employee, I have a son, I need to get him from school, like, I can’t go to this.” And they said, “Then you can’t sign up, you have to attend this.” But, I’m like, “Well, [previous community college] catered to adult students so nicely.”

Although we did not find statistical associations among sense of belonging, having dependents, or working longer hours, we did find that students with dependents were much less likely to have a person with whom they talk about academic and career matters. They were also less likely to visit the CLD than their peers without children.

Key Takeaways

Surveys indicate that higher levels of Navigational Capital predict more of a sense of campus belonging. Interviewees reported that shared experiences with fellow students and educators through classes and programming helped them feel like they belong. Students who perceived themselves as having different beliefs, experiences, or responsibilities, as well as different service needs, often reported feelings of alienation.

Career Service Use

Survey Results: Who Visits the University Center, Career and Leadership Development Office, and Career Advisors?

Research shows that student feelings of belonging relate to campus engagement and service-use (Gopalan & Brady, 2020), which in turn can enhance academic success (e.g., Robbins et al., 2009). Using linear and logistic regression analyses, we tested how different attributes of Hispanic/Latino students relate to students' time at the University Center and their use of career services. Notable findings from the quantitative analysis include:

- Who is **more likely to hang out at the UWW University Center**?
 - Full-time students
 - 3rd-4th year students
 - Students who have a friend or college educator in their social support network
 - Students with a greater sense of campus belonging
- Who is **more likely to visit the CLD**?
 - 3rd-4th year students
 - Students for whom income potential is a more important career consideration
 - Students with a greater sense of campus belonging
- Who is **less likely to visit the CLD**?
 - Students with dependents
- Who is more likely to **interact with career advisors**?
 - 3rd-4th year students
 - STEM and business majors
 - Students for whom income potential is a more important career consideration
 - Students with larger social support networks
 - Students who receive material aid (e.g., money, food, clothes) from contacts in their support network
- Who is **less likely to interact with career advisors**?
 - Students who have contacts in their support networks they can share important problems or worries with

Key Takeaways

Students further along in college, with greater feelings of belonging, are more likely to engage with the University Center and the CLD. Similarly, students who highly value career income potential are more likely to interact with career advisors. The characteristics of student social support networks—including the number, roles, and specific support offered by academic and career discussants—connect in different but significant ways to service engagement.

Interview Perspectives: Informal Pathways to Career and Academic Guidance

In interviews, some students expressed the belief that advisors in the CLD would not have the kind of specific knowledge needed to help them navigate their chosen career fields. Others had not heard of the CLD or its services, perhaps because of information overload. Indeed, though interviewees seemed to agree that UWW had a wide array of beneficial services, there was some annoyance that the sheer number of different resources for underrepresented students—and the array of emails with information on these resources—could make looking for help confusing. In describing how important information on the CLD often seemed obscured by the many other messages she was receiving from UWW, one student said, “How can something shine when it’s always being covered?”

Interviewees also revealed that they do not always follow formal institutional channels to get career or academic advice. Instead of consulting the advisors who had been officially assigned to advise them, several students said they talked to UWW faculty or staff with whom they had already developed relationships and who showed an interest in helping. Approachable, understanding instructors seemed to be a significant resource for students. Many interviewees, for example, described developing relationships during class with faculty members, usually faculty who initiated contact, had time to talk, and showed they cared about students as individuals. These faculty eventually came to advise the students in different ways. In some cases, advice was limited to the instructor’s specific major or content area. In other cases, however, instructors provided advice on multiple issues. In effect, several of the students we talked to were curating advisor networks that best met their plans and needs. One double major explained her thinking in this regard:

I didn’t really have anybody else but them...they helped me make decisions about what I was going to do, what I wanted to do, how I was going to do it. They helped me manage my time with school...they guided me to do everything, even to apply to jobs and interviews, building resumes... certain professors know how to do certain things. My advisor from one department was very different than advising from the other department.

Students stressed that having good personal relationships with UWW faculty and staff increased their likelihood of turning to these individuals for career and academic support. In several cases, students felt more comfortable interacting with people who shared their identity in some way (e.g., gender, race/ethnicity, life experiences) over an assigned advisor who was male or White. One student, who described a UWW instructor as her “mom away from mom,” explained why she utilized this person’s support more than that of her academic advisor:

She is a woman. My assigned advisor, my freshman, was a man, so it was a little harder just because I feel like I can’t relate to him in certain ways. And then, she is a minority. I think she might be mixed, I’m not quite sure. She’s really light-skinned, but I’m not sure if that’s what she is. So she is a minority and I am a minority as well, so it’s a lot easier for me to speak to her about certain things.

This student's experience shows how cross-racial solidarity among members of underrepresented minority groups works in predominantly White spaces. The student is not sure exactly what race/ethnicity her mentor identifies with, but knows she shares the common experience of being non-White on campus.

Key Takeaways

Several interviewees said they are emailed a high volume of information on campus services, which can lead to confusion about the particularities of career services. Many described using informal social channels to get academic and career advice, interacting with staff and faculty through classes, campus jobs, and other activities. Some students reported being more comfortable with advisors who shared their gender, racial, or other identities.

2. Factors Influencing Students' Career Attitudes

Several additional factors help us better understand UWW Hispanic/Latino experiences with career development. Here, we first explore work volition, or students' perceived freedom of choice in their career decision making, which research has linked to job satisfaction and career adaptability (e.g., Duffy et al., 2015).

Work Volition

Survey Results: What Student Characteristics Relate to Work Volition?

Although most students agree that they will be able to make their desired choices about their future career, work volition does vary according to student characteristics. Linear regression analyses reveal that:

- Students who highly value family needs when choosing their careers have higher levels of work volition than other students.
- Students with higher levels of Aspirational Capital have higher levels of work volition.
- Students with higher levels of Resistant Capital 2 (i.e., a desire to actively improve their communities) have higher levels of work volition.
- Students who have higher levels of Resistant Capital 1 (i.e., belief that society is unjust), however, generally have lower levels of work volition.

Interview Perspectives: Social Justice Orientation, Financial Concerns, and Career Agency

Student interviews offered us a more nuanced perspective on the possible relationship between Resistant Capital 1 and work volition. Interviewees generally communicated high levels of volition in achieving their career goals, and many perceived their families' financial support and college advisors' assistance as a great help in allowing them to choose the careers they were passionate about. Financial concerns during college, however, were among the most frequently cited barriers to students pursuing the careers they wanted. Financial concerns also were closely associated with perceiving inequalities in society, indicating that students can feel less agency in choosing their career path if they are experiencing financial hardships and fundamentally see the world as unjust.

Key Takeaways

Work volition is higher among students who more strongly believe in their future success (Aspirational Capital), who desire to actively improve their communities (Resistant Capital 2), and who see family needs as more important when considering future careers (Familial Capital). Financial concerns in college and knowledge of racial/ethnic injustice (Resistant Capital 1), however, are associated with lower work volition. Interviews suggest that students may feel less career agency if they are experiencing financial hardships and fundamentally see the world as unjust.

Career Values

Next we present influences on career values, or the considerations that students report are most important to them as they make career decisions.

Survey Results: How Do Students Differ in Their Career Values?

Using linear regression analyses, we tested how different attributes of Hispanic/Latino students relate to their career values. Notable findings include:

- Who values **income potential** most?
 - Transfer students
 - STEM and business majors
 - Students who have someone in their social support network who has helped them oppose things they believe are wrong
 - Students who have someone in their social support network who provides them with the opportunity to relax
- Who values **expressing personal values** most?
 - Students with higher levels of Resistant Capital 1 (i.e., the belief that there is injustice in society)
 - Students with more of a sense of belonging on campus
 - Students with higher levels of work volition
- Who values **job availability** most?
 - Students who have someone in their network who has helped them oppose things they believe are wrong
 - Students who have someone in their network who provides them with the opportunity to relax
 - However, students who have someone in their network with whom they share important problems or worries value job availability **less** than other students when choosing their careers.
- Who values **family needs** most?
 - Students with higher levels of Familial Capital
 - Students with higher levels of Spiritual Capital
 - Students with higher levels of work volition
- Who values **service to community** most?
 - Female students
 - Transfer students
 - Students with higher levels of Resistant Capital 2 (i.e., a desire to actively change the world)
 - Students with more of a sense of belonging on campus
 - Students with higher levels of work volition
 - However, students who work more than 20 hours per week, as well as students who major in STEM, generally value service to community **less** than other students when choosing their careers.

Key Takeaways

Transfer status, student major, career attitudes, types of support from academic and career discussants, and CCW attributes relate to career considerations in various ways. Students who have network contacts who have helped them oppose injustices or who they are able to relax with show more pragmatic concerns about future careers, while the career considerations of students with higher levels of work volition and Familial, Resistant 1 and 2, and Spiritual Capitals are more service- and value-driven.

Interview Perspectives: On-the-Ground Factors That Influence Career Choice

In addition to asking students about their career values in our survey, we spent a portion of each interview discussing their reasons for their career choice. A mixed-methods approach is particularly useful for understanding career choices because student *narratives* about this highly personal decision cannot be captured in surveys. Interviews also often provide a different perspective than quantitative results.

For example, interviewees reported that their career and major decisions were largely based on their interests, passion, and personality–occupation fit. They found their career values and interests through high school and college courses, work experiences, and friends and family members pursuing the same career paths. Further, many of the interviewees we spoke to said that expressing personal values was central to their career decisions, while family support and other aspects of their future careers (i.e., income potential, job availability) merely played a supporting role. On the survey, however, expressing personal values ranked fourth, making it appear less important than it did in the interviews. Indeed, students did not mention work–life balance, income potential, or job availability directly at all in interviews, even though these career values scored highly on the survey. While this may be the result of response bias in interviews, it is also possible that students see these values as so inherently significant to career choice that they did not feel the need to mention them.

Career considerations, of course, are also based on students' social and cultural contexts. Though students often report that they make career decisions independently, family member support significantly influences whether they feel confident in these choices. One student, for example, told us that she decided to give up her original career goal because her mother opposed it.

[My mom] does have a really big impact on my decision making...maybe not specifically with picking my career, but definitely how I go about it and financial decisions and all those types of things that have to do with getting to my career.

The needs of family were also an important career consideration among interviewees. Several students, for instance, mentioned that they wanted to find a job close to their family so they could support them when needed. Others noted the same need, though said they did not want to live right next door. One student told us she learned from an older sibling that it was important to be near family.

Interviewee: I would like to stay close to home, so Southeastern Wisconsin...I would like to stay near the county where they live, within two hours of home because I know my sister, she worked, her first job was five and a half hours away.

Interviewer: Do you feel like when you think about your future career being close-by is something that's important or not really?

Interviewee: Not too—like maybe like an hour max but like not too close-by, you know.

Indeed, the prominence of this theme in interviews suggests that balancing career pursuits and one's commitment to family is a significant issue for Hispanic/Latino students. Proximity to family might be considered part of "life" in the expression "work-life balance," although students did not use the expression directly in their interviews.

Finally, student interviewees also described service to community as another important career consideration, reporting that they wanted their career to 'give back' to the community that had supported their development. Several students mentioned how their teachers, counselors, and other community members helped them to strive for their dreams and college education. Serving the community not only meant helping community members directly through their work, but also becoming role models for younger Hispanic/Latino students.

Serving the community not only meant helping community members directly through their work, but also becoming role models for younger Hispanic/Latino students.

My huge inspiration behind wanting to become a teacher is just like all the teachers that I had growing up that motivated me to go to college, like I kind of want to be that teacher for other students...I've always been a huge advocate of just like knowledge is power. Like no one can take knowledge away from you...I just, I love education and I just think that I just couldn't see myself doing anything else honestly.

Importantly, some students perceived the value of being bilingual for their community and expressed interest in using their language skills for other Latinos/as. For example, one student noted: "I want to go on to counseling, but I don't know exactly what specifically yet. But then being bilingual too, I can help a larger community."

Key Takeaways

Interviews show nuanced student perspectives on career choice that differ in tone from survey results. Here interviewees spoke to the importance of personal values and community service, which could be facilitated by bilingualism. They also noted the strong influence of family support and the desire to be close to family geographically.

3. Factors Influencing Students' Community Cultural Wealth

Survey Results: Social Network Characteristics Relating to Cultural Wealth

Yosso (2005) points out that social networks are an all-important medium through which the other forms of CCW develop and flow. We also know that social networks are an important conduit for academic and career information (Siebert et al., 2001).

With these issues in mind, we measured the forms of CCW that associate with student academic and career social networks. Our survey results suggest a few important features of students' social support networks that influence their cultivation of CCW:

- Students with **larger social support networks** report higher levels of Aspirational, Navigational, Familial, and Spiritual Capital.
- Students with **denser social support networks** report higher levels of Aspirational and Spiritual Capital, and students with **closer ties to their contacts** have more Navigational Capital.
- Students who discuss academic and career issues with **others of the same gender** (i.e., “gender homophily”) report having more Aspirational and Navigational Capital.
- Students who have a person in their network **with whom they relax** report higher levels of Resistant Capital 1, meaning they are more likely to believe there is injustice in the world.
- In contrast, students who **list a co-worker** in their social support network report less Resistant Capital 2, meaning they are less likely to say they want to actively oppose injustice. This finding suggests that co-workers may temper students' ambitions for their professional lives.

While career development professionals have long encouraged students to expand their networks for career success, our results indicate that larger academic and career networks are also associated with higher CCW, another possible contributor to career gratification.¹ Further, the association between strong network ties and valuable Navigational Capital somewhat qualifies the idea that students need always focus on cultivating “weak ties,” or more distant relationships that are good for gathering job information (Granovetter, 1973).

Though these results show general network trends across Hispanic/Latino survey respondents, there may be important within-group differences. We therefore analyzed the network characteristics of the CCW student groups identified in the previous section. These include **all high** students (those with very high levels of all CCW forms), **pioneer** students (those who do not rely as heavily on family), **pragmatist** students (those who see injustice and have a strong desire to change it), and **ambitious** students (those who want to change things but do not see society as unjust). As displayed in Table 7, network results for these student group are as follows:

All high students have larger and more dense networks, lower gender homophily, higher Hispanic/Latino homophily, and stronger ties on average compared to other students.

- **Pioneer** students have smaller networks, lower network density, lower gender homophily, lower Hispanic/Latino homophily, and weaker ties on average compared to other students.

¹ It is important to emphasize that, without longitudinal data, the direction of causality remains unclear: do students who are better able to navigate campus build larger networks, or do students with larger networks get better at navigating campus?

- **Pragmatist** students have larger networks, lower network density, higher gender homophily, lower Hispanic/Latino homophily, and stronger ties on average compared to others.
- **Ambitious** students have larger networks, higher network density, lower Hispanic/Latino homophily, and stronger ties on average compared to all students.

Table 7. Network characteristics of student groups based on CCW

	Cluster 1 “All high”	Cluster 2 “Pioneer”	Cluster 3 “Pragmatist”	Cluster 4 “Ambitious”	All Students
Network Size	3.97 ▲	2.85 ▼	3.82 ▲	4.04 ▲	3.65
Network Density	0.40 ▲	0.28 ▼	0.31 ▼	0.46 ▲	0.38
Gender Homophily	0.03 ▼	-0.19 ▼	0.09 ▲	0.08 -	0.08
Hispanic/Latino Homophily	0.04 ▲	-0.11 ▼	-0.32 ▼	-0.10 ▼	-0.08
Average Tie Strength	3.34 ▲	2.99 ▼	3.36 ▲	3.27 ▲	3.23

Note: See Appendix II for variable definitions.

Results show that there are noticeable differences in social support among these CCW student groups. Pioneers, for example, have smaller networks, lower network density, lower tie strength, and contacts who more often differ by gender and race/ethnicity. This means that pioneers speak to fewer people about academic and career issues, but their networks may also offer them different, more “nonredundant” information (e.g., Burt, 2000). While college-based networking programs that help students build more academic and career relationships may benefit pioneers, findings also suggest these students have lessons of their own to teach regarding the power that comes from different sources of advice and information.

Key Takeaways

Student networks are beneficial in several different ways. The size, density, tie strength, and diversity of these networks, as well as the support roles of network contacts, relate to student cultivation of CCW. Though larger, stronger, and more dense networks correlate with higher levels of various forms of cultural wealth, more sparse networks with weaker ties can allow students to gain novel, helpful advice that bodes well for their career paths.

Interview Perspectives: Social Sources of Community Cultural Wealth

Interviews helped us identify a variety of sources of students’ cultural assets. Students talked quite a bit about their sources of Aspirational, Navigational, and Resistant Capital, even though they did not identify them as such. For example, students described parents, especially mothers, as inculcating the feeling that they can overcome any challenge to reach their goals. In some cases, a parent who was unable to achieve their own goals or who had to overcome significant challenges to do so served as the best role model. A student described deriving motivation from her mom’s triumph over her own challenges:

My mom, she grew up poor, like straight up poor. And she had a kid at like 17 and got... disowned by her family. And she just knew that she wanted a degree, and she worked for it. She got grants, scholarships, and went to school while having a kid and got her degree because she wanted it. She helped me realize that no matter where you come from, there's opportunities...I just feel it helps me not to make excuses for myself, because if my mom could do it, why can't I?

Other students mentioned their children or younger siblings as sources of Aspirational Capital. These students strove to achieve so that they could become role models for younger generations of Hispanic/Latino students. These findings indicate that motivation can come not from accomplished role models in the same positions students' aspire to (e.g., faculty), family members who exemplify perseverance, or younger people who need inspiration themselves.

In the literature on CCW, very close ties are often referred to as "fictive-kin" or "chosen family" (Duran & Pérez II, 2019), because they provide the same kind of unwavering social and emotional support as family. Our interview findings suggest that these kinds of close ties to non-family members may provide Resistant and Navigational Capital that family cannot. Students were more likely to mention talking about social inequality with friends, bosses, classmates, or professors than with family. Indeed, some students noted that they purposefully avoided such conversations with family, since they did not believe their family members shared their changing beliefs about issues of race and gender.

In other cases, students reported that professors of color were more likely to have shared experiences of marginalization and thus, were more likely to have strategies for navigating predominantly White spaces than their family members. Several students described first becoming aware of issues related to social justice in their sociology, gender and ethnic studies, and public health courses and continuing these conversations outside the classroom. One student, who reported that she could not have frank conversations about gender and sexuality with her parents when she was young, was pleased that her daughter is now learning about these issues from her college classes:

My daughter has literally sat in some of my sociology, gender classes with me, because it's been on Zoom...I talk with her very openly about everything. She knows about White privilege, she knows about the BLM [Black Lives Matter] movement, she knows you name it, she knows it. Because to me, the more you speak about it, the more you teach is really what it's about...They should learn about the equity issues that are controlling the world right now in this society...because they're the ones are going to change it. If we don't, they will, right?

Key Takeaways

While family relationships provide motivation, guidance, and support that can help students through college, family members cannot always provide students with everything they need. Close relationships with peers, faculty, and staff offer students the opportunity to try on new attitudes and beliefs, to discuss strategies for navigating predominantly White institutions, and to combat inequality.

4. Factors Influencing Students' Social Support Networks

Yosso (2005) identified Social Capital, which we measure using social network analysis of student academic and career networks, as an important form of cultural wealth. In our last section, we presented findings showing how varying academic and career network characteristics could relate not only to the cultivation of multiple forms of CCW, but also to some personal and professional benefits outlined in the network literature.

In this final section, we further explore the nature and value of UWW Hispanic/Latino student networks by presenting a few more key quantitative and qualitative findings.

Survey Results: Support Multiplexity, Family Ties, and Student Attributes

- *Students receive more types of support from their contacts—referred to as “multiplexity” in social network research—than we would predict based on the previous literature (e.g., Wellman & Wortley, 1990). Seventy-seven percent of contacts provide three or more dimensions of support (e.g., communicating about important problems or worries, sharing strategies for navigating college, providing money, food, or clothes) with a mean of six different kinds of support. Indeed, students’ networks provide in a variety of different ways, and any given contact may offer material, informational, emotional, and social support.*
- *Students receive more kinds of support from significant others and family members than from other kinds of ties, particularly college educators and co-workers. The strength of the relationship (e.g., close, distant) between the student and their alter is the most powerful predictor of receiving support.*
- *Students’ demographic characteristics impact the kinds of relationships they form and the types of support they receive. For example, students with more financial concerns are less likely to have contacts who help them navigate campus. Older students and those with more financial concerns are also less likely to have contacts who help them oppose things they believe are wrong.*

Interview Perspectives: Student Viewpoints on Family Academic and Career Support

A key takeaway from these findings is the centrality of family in students’ networks. Indeed, family members appear more often than UWW faculty/staff in networks of support for career- and academic-related matters—even when these family members do not have college degrees themselves.

Our interviews revealed more information on precisely how families operate as sources of career advice and support. Some students, for instance, reported gaining direct experience with the daily tasks of their future jobs through family members pursuing the same path. One student who hopes to become a special education teacher talked about the help she receives from her mom and sister, both of whom are teachers. “[My sister has] been inviting me to go to her classroom a lot to help set it up, and just she sends me good book reviews and good things to look at,” she told us. “Both my mom and my sister had student teachers, so they can tell me exactly what to do and what not to do when I am a student teacher.” This is consistent with previous findings from the career development literature, which suggest that family members’ careers are highly influential for young people, in part, because exposure increases their level of familiarity with a particular kind of work (Whiston & Keller, 2004).

However, even when family members do not share the same educational trajectories or occupations that their children aspire to, they act as important sources of career support. A parent who understands that a child is pursuing a goal that is important to them is an asset—regardless of their own background. One respondent describes the unqualified support she gets from her father:

He has always told me that, you know, I think the proudest thing is that you even went to college. I don't care of your grades, I don't care, I like the fact that you're there and that you're on the way to graduating, it's fantastic. So, he's always supported me in that way...He tries to come to all of my art shows, he tries to come to all of my presentations, he's very present. And that's something I really appreciate.

Key Takeaways

Individual contacts in student networks provide more sources of support than predicted—from material assistance to help navigating college. Again, family is key in this regard, with students receiving more kinds of support from significant others and family members than from others. Interviews further underlined the finding, explaining how parents could help students learn more about future work and/or act as strong sources of motivation and encouragement.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Our survey and interview data on UWW Hispanic/Latino college students supports some of the existing literature on the Latina/o experience at predominantly White institutions (PWI). However, because much of these data are specific to UWW, they offer some additional implications for UWW leaders and educators hoping to better support these students' academic and career success. Here, we list a few implications of our findings regarding (1) building campus belonging and respecting cultural assets, (2) employing asset-based narratives, and (3) helping students harness the strengths of their social networks.

1. Communicate to students that they belong on campus and be attentive to their Community Cultural Wealth in academic and career advising, and other student services.

We found that students who report feeling a greater sense of belonging on campus are also more likely to visit the University Center and the CLD, as are students who score higher on measures of Familial Capital. We also found that students are adept at finding mentors with whom they feel comfortable and seeking out various types of advice and support from different members of the campus community. The existing literature refers to these strategies as “constellation mentoring” (Hines et al., 2019). UWW leaders and educators can support students in their pursuit of the mentorship that is best for them through:

- Partnering with faculty and staff with whom students have developed a personal connection and asking them to refer students to the CLD. Working through these existing relationships also reduces information overload for students—an unfortunate side-effect of a large and thriving institution that contributes to a lack of awareness about the CLD.
- Hiring more faculty, career advisors, and other student services professionals of color. Even if these advisors are not Hispanic/Latino, our findings suggest that students may still feel more comfortable with them because they can share strategies for navigating PWIs.
- Providing UWW faculty and staff professional development focused on asset-based educational strategies—including active and experiential learning, group activities, and curricula that connect to students' lives (e.g., Castellanos & Gloria, 2007)—as well as equity, social justice, and cultural humility (e.g., Cooke & Chaplot, 2020)
- Offering students more flexible options for advising that recognize limits on their time and ability to be on campus. This may include virtual advising, evening or weekend office hours, exemptions from or alternatives to traditional orientation activities, and open houses or events that do not occur during the traditional workday.
- Harnessing students' interest in combating injustice or changing the world (i.e., Resistant Capital) through targeted workshops, service-learning, and support for students with this career orientation. Similarly, given that students with high Familial Capital are more likely to visit the CLD, programming and advising that is sensitive to students' commitment to their families—either in improving their families' lives, making them proud, or remaining geographically close—can help maintain and increase levels of engagement with career services.

- We found that students who have someone to talk to about important concerns or problems value job availability less than other students, suggesting that students may be less anxious about how many jobs will be available in their chosen career field if they have a friend, advisor, or family member they can go to with their worries. With this in mind, career service professionals and counselors can look to alleviate student worries by being available to listen to and talk through students' concerns, providing information and costs/benefit analyses of various job market factors, or, importantly, acting as a source of encouragement and aspiration by reminding students of their strength, knowledge, support, and career goals (Duran et al., 2021).

2. Employ asset-based language and narratives that depict Hispanic/Latino students as well-resourced, agentic, diverse, and highly capable of achieving their goals.

Our findings show that UWW Hispanic/Latino students successfully balance a variety of academic, work, and family responsibilities, maintain high hopes for their futures, and are adept at navigating the college environment. Many of them also possess useful language skills, the desire to honor their families, and a commitment to improving society. Those with religious faith or spirituality are also more likely to feel that they are free to pursue the careers that are most fulfilling to them.

Despite these general trends, it is important to be sensitive to the diversity of the Hispanic/Latino experience at UWW. Latino/a students have different career values and experiences depending on their other demographic characteristics, Community Cultural Wealth, and network attributes. Our cluster analysis reveals that not everyone will identify similarly with the various forms of CCW in Yosso's (2005) framework. Educators should avoid making assumptions about Latina/o students' assets and, instead, learn more about what CCW students might possess through conversations about their background and interests. Here we offer some suggestions for supporting students with various forms of CCW:

- **For students with high Linguistic Capital**, celebrating bi- or multilingualism as a valuable skill—regardless of how the students acquired their languages—can model strategies for communicating language expertise to graduate schools and employers. White Americans who speak Spanish, for example, are often praised for having the intellectual prowess and cultural sensitivity required to learn a foreign language. Latina/o students, in contrast, are often expected to know Spanish. Even worse, at various points in their academic careers some students have had their bilingualism depicted as a weakness that inhibits their English language development. While most of the students we spoke to recognized multilingualism (in Spanish and other languages) as an asset, it is critical that their university and future employers do so as well. Universities can intentionally create programs or events in which Hispanic/Latino students can show their linguistic skills through oral history, storytelling, and proverbs (Duran et al., 2021).
- **For students with high Spiritual Capital**, partnering with student religious organizations to have guided conversations about the intersection of career and faith—including the concept of “service to community”—can help bring these students into the career center.
- **For students with high Familial Capital**, cultivating advising practices that recognize the importance of families in shaping students' academic and career paths and that build family-like relationships between students and advisors—in which collaboration, interdependence, care, and coping are the object of value and respect (Rendón & Muñoz, 2011)—might result in closer and more productive

relationships. Latinas/os are often depicted in popular media as being “family-oriented” (National Hispanic Media Coalition, 2012), so we caution against relying on this stereotype without a full understanding of a particular student’s academic and career motivations and background. Some students, for example, may be much more closely tied to chosen instead of biological family members (Duran & Pérez, 2019). “Pioneer students” in our sample, to use another example, show less interest in their family history and connections than other students but still maintain high hopes for their futures.

- Sharing the Community Cultural Wealth framework (CCW)—including these asset-oriented data about UWW students—with student organizations, faculty, academic and career advisors, and other interested parties can shift the focus to students’ strengths. UWW leadership might consider offering workshops on CCW to help students describe their assets to external audiences in a compelling way. Career exploration workshops can focus on the link between students’ life experiences, CCW, and career values. Similarly, communication with external stakeholders (e.g., large employers in the Whitewater area) can focus on these historically less celebrated assets as well.
- Finally, Hispanic/Latino student cultural wealth can also be reinforced through the purposeful use of asset-oriented *language*—in curricula, informational materials, program monikers, and scholarship—that accentuates student strengths, focuses on opportunities, and signals the importance of equitable, systemic change. Some examples of such asset-based language in the higher education realm include:
 - Excelencia’s Accelerating Latino Student Success ([ALASS](#)) Institutes
 - Kitchen and colleagues’ (2021) use of the language of “at-promise” over “at-risk” students in building models of major and career self-efficacy
 - The University of California, Davis’s adoption of the term “[rising scholars](#)” as opposed to “underrepresented students”
 - UWW’s cross-campus leadership forum for coordination and promotion of equity, diversity, and inclusion issues, the [Chancellor’s Committee on Inclusive Excellence](#). The name favors strength and opportunity over inadequacy.

3. Connect the existing strengths of students’ networks with academic and career services.

We asked students who they discuss academic and career matters with; the plurality of people in their social networks were family members rather than academic or career advisors. Both our qualitative and quantitative analyses support the idea that students develop their career interests, values, and preferences from these existing ties. They also receive a variety of different kinds of support from their social networks, including things like material support (e.g., food, clothing, money), strategies for navigating college, ideas on their career trajectories, and a diversion from their worries.

Through their networks, students found the resources they needed to enroll in college, maintain high grade point averages, and persist during times of unprecedented social and political upheaval. Most students in our sample are first-generation college students, are experiencing financial concerns, and work at least 16 hours a week—indicating that their social networks are helping them thrive under conditions that make college life more challenging. How can UWW educators further harness the existing strengths in students’ networks?

- Our findings suggest that having close relationships—especially with those of the same gender who also know one another—helps students build their Navigational Capital. This finding is consistent with previous research that finds that Latina/o students often grow their social networks by connecting first with peers that share their ethnic background (Duncheon, 2018; Kolluri, 2020). UWW career services staff might consider employing advanced Hispanic/Latino students for peer-to-peer academic advising, bringing Hispanic/Latino alumni to campus to discuss career opportunities, or creating groups of close peers with whom students can attend career fairs or conferences. Latinx Community Advocacy in Solidarity for Awareness ([La C.A.S.A.](#)) at The Ohio State University and the Latinx Student Mentoring Program ([LSMP](#)) at Michigan State University are good examples of this kind of college-based Hispanic/Latino community. The [First Generation Harvard Alumni](#) program also offers an example of how students can build networks with alumni across a shared identity.
- Students with dependents were less likely to report having a person with whom they could discuss career or academic matters, an unfortunate finding that may be related to time demands placed on student-caregivers. Because these students are as deserving of support as any other Warhawk, UWW leadership may consider whether there are sufficient opportunities for student-parents to meet one another, discuss their academic and career interests, and receive support from staff members trained to understand their unique assets and challenges.
- The centrality of family in students' support networks points to opportunities to engage family members in the academic and career development process (see, for instance, Castellanos & Gloria, 2007). We recognize that students are adults, responsible for and excited about their own autonomous choices. However, UWW already has existing programs for Warhawk families (e.g., Family Fest, Family Connections Facebook Group). For those parents interested in attending such events, it might be useful to have opportunities to connect with other Hispanic/Latino families and share strategies for supporting students. Considering that many family members of Hispanic/Latino students may speak Spanish as their primary language, the efforts to connect with Hispanic/Latino families can be as simple as providing resource pages for parents and families in Spanish, offering tours or orientation events in Spanish, and hosting family social events for Latina/o families in Spanish and English.
- Previous research indicates that underrepresented students can be intimidated by the idea of “networking”—particularly if it is perceived as building weak ties in a professional setting (Rincón et al., 2020, Tate et al., 2015). To reduce apprehension, workshops on “networking” can remind students that they use their existing networks every day to find jobs and internships, learn about major requirements, share information about classes, and discuss world events. Workshops where students can map their existing networks and think creatively about how to grow them can demystify the “networking” process.

Appendix I: Community Cultural Wealth

Yosso's (2005) Community Cultural Wealth framework is a direct response to educational research that describes marginalized groups as "lacking" in certain forms of capital: economic (i.e., money and property), social (i.e., networks of relationships), and cultural (i.e., tastes and values, cultural goods, credentials) (Bourdieu, 1986). For example, statements like "Those people just don't value education!" attribute inequality in educational outcomes to poor cultural capital among certain groups. While such statements are becoming less common, scholars and activists continue to point out how frequently educators' assumptions about students are still driven by this kind of deficit-focused thinking (Neri et al., 2021).

In contrast, Yosso's framework is intended to highlight the numerous resources students bring to their education from their families, communities of origin, languages, religious traditions, and personal experiences. Instead of locating the problem of unequal educational outcomes within students themselves, this perspective asks how schools are failing to harness and reward the existing strengths of their students. Along with the six forms of Community Cultural Wealth (CCW) in Yosso's original framework, we included a seventh (Spiritual Capital) from Rendón et al. (2015) in our study (see Figure 11).

Figure 11. The Community Cultural Wealth framework



Aspirational Capital refers to students' hopes for their future, which drive them to pursue their goals, even in the face of obstacles. **Familial Capital** encompasses knowledge, orientations, and practices that are passed on by families—including fictive kin and the communities in which students live. **Linguistic Capital** includes the ability to communicate "in more than one language and/or style" (Yosso, 2005, p. 78). **Navigational Capital** is the ability to navigate predominantly White institutions. Sablan (2019) identifies two different forms of **Resistant Capital**: Resistant Capital 1 is the "identification of oppression in society,"

while Resistant Capital 2 is the “motivation to transform oppressive structures” (p. 195). **Social Capital** consists of networks of people and community resources that provide students with instrumental and emotional support. Finally, **Spiritual Capital** is the feeling of being guided by a higher purpose from God, a religious faith or community, or a general sense of spirituality (Rendón et al., 2015).

It is important to note that these forms of capital are interrelated and mutually reinforcing. For example, a student whose family members work physically demanding jobs for low wages may be motivated to complete college to provide a better life for themselves, their parents, and their younger siblings (Pérez Huber, 2010). Here, Familial Capital nurtures motivational strength, which in turn, bolsters Familial Capital. Similarly, CCW can be converted into or combined with forms of “dominant cultural capital” (i.e., capital valued by groups in power and the institutions that serve them) (Kolluri, 2020). A student may receive scholarships or information about college from their places of worship, thereby converting their Spritual Capital into economic and Social Capital (Holland, 2017; Liou et al., 2009; Martinez, 2012). Finally, CCW is nurtured in and transformed by students’ interpersonal relationships, making the CCW framework a good partner for social network analysis. Programs designed to help students recognize, use, and grow their CCW can focus on developing their social networks as well.

Appendix II: Research Methods and Analysis

We used a parallel mixed-methods approach (e.g., Creswell & Plano Clark, 2017) to meet our research goals. This involves using survey and interview instruments at the same time to gather data from students on a central issue of interest. We then analyzed these data to better understand the issue from multiple perspectives.

Here, we focused on gathering information on the assets undergraduate students who identify as Hispanic or Latina/o at University of Wisconsin–Whitewater (UWW) bring to college. Our goal was to better understand these students' valued relationships, the cultural and social assets they get from these relationships, and related opportunities for local academic and career development. Please note that the methods herein are supplemented in much more detail in this report's methods and data compendium (Jang-Tucci et al., 2022).

Sampling

We used a nonrandom, purposeful sampling method to recruit UWW student participants into the study in August and September of 2021. UWW student services personnel working with our research team obtained an Excel spreadsheet-based listserv with information on all current students at UWW identifying as Hispanic/Latino who had agreed to be contacted by the university. While the listserv consisted primarily of undergraduates, it also included some current graduate students. A UWW student services professional then forwarded an email from the research team to these students with information on the study, a request for participation, and a link to an online survey. Students opening the link who reported being undergraduates and who identified as Hispanic/Latino were routed through the survey questions. A screen at the end of the survey asked if students were interested in participating in an interview for the study. Those who volunteered were contacted by a member of the research team to schedule a Zoom interview.

Ultimately, 129 students participated in the online survey, an 18.8% response rate. Twenty of these students participated in Zoom semi-structured interviews. Students completing the survey instrument received a \$25 Amazon gift credit while students completing the Zoom interview received an additional \$25 Amazon gift credit.

Instruments

Questions were developed based on research literature on student academic and career development, existing survey (e.g., HERI, 2019; Sablan, 2019; U.S. Census Bureau, 2020b) and interview instruments (e.g., Lewis et al., 2021), and Community Cultural Wealth and social capital theory. The instruments were vetted by content experts and pilot tests with students, who were interviewed about the instruments and whose feedback was used to further refine them. Through the design and testing process, one key consideration for the research team was the amount of time the instruments would take student volunteers to complete. To avoid overburdening students, we aimed to keep the survey completion time to 15 minutes or less and the interview completion time to about 45 minutes on average.

Survey

The research team designed the online survey to elicit characteristics and attitudes across a large group of students identifying as Hispanic/Latino on Community Cultural Wealth, academic and career social support

networks, use of campus resources, career-related values, and demographics. Here we describe the focal Community Cultural Wealth, social support network, and campus resources sections of his survey in more detail.

Community Cultural Wealth (CCW). To measure important Hispanic and Latina/o student cultural assets using Yosso's (2005) theoretical framework, we conducted a review of the CCW research literature among college students (Bañuelos, 2021) and studied previous CCW quantitative instruments. After we pooled existing items from Sablan's (2019) and Dika and colleagues' CCW surveys (2015, 2018), we chose and/or amended those items that we thought best measured the *Aspirational*, *Familial*, *Linguistic*, *Navigational*, and *Resistant 1 (justice-minded) and 2 (action-minded)* forms of CCW within the postsecondary context. We added amended items from Gorsuch and McPherson (1989), Rendón et al. (2015), and Steger et al. (2006) to measure *Spiritual Capital* (e.g., Pérez Huber, 2009). Respondents were asked, "On a scale from 1 (Not at all like me) to 6 (Exactly like me), please indicate how well each of the following statements describes you." Below the question, three to four statements were placed in randomized order in rows while 6 scale points, following Sablan (2019), were placed as column headers (1=*Not at all like me*, 6=*Exactly like me*).

Academic and Career Social Support Networks. We used "ego" network analysis methods to gather detailed quantitative information from each student (ego) about the people they talk to about academic and career matters (alters), or what we consider their *Social Capital* (Lin, 2001; Perry et al., 2018; Yosso, 2005). This method allowed us to gather information about relationships participants consider important, whether they cross formal or informal boundaries (on- or off-campus, family members, co-workers, etc.). Using respondent data, ego networks are mapped in sociograms with nodes representing the ego and alters and lines between nodes representing relationships. The survey's social network section closely followed long-established ego network data gathering techniques (e.g., Burt, 1984). It began with an item meant to establish whether survey respondents had recently spoken with anyone about academic or career matters:

Have you discussed academic or career matters—like your major area of study, academic or career goals, or job opportunities—with anyone during the last 6 months?

Participants who answered "no" skipped the social network section entirely while those who answered "yes" were asked to list up to six network alters with whom they had spoken about these issues. Respondents were then asked a series of follow-up questions on each of these listed alters, including what role they played in their life (e.g., Family member, Friend, College student, College educator); their gender, race/ethnicity, and education level; how close the respondent felt to the alter (Distant, Less than close, Close, or Very close); whether each alter provided material aid, emotional support, and/or a diversion from life's demands; and whether each alter helped the respondent maintain hope for their future (*Aspirational Capital*), modeled for them ways of caring for family or community members (*Familial Capital*), helped develop strategies for maneuvering through college (*Navigational Capital*), or helped them oppose things the student believed were wrong (*Resistant Capital 1*). The final questions in the section asked for the student's perception of interrelationships among their listed alters.

Campus Resources. With guidance from local educators, we also developed items for the survey that would give UWW administrators and staff a better idea of how students in the sample used campus resources. These items asked if students had (1) visited a UWW career counselor, (2) visited the UWW unit

formerly known as the Career and Leadership Development office (CLD), and (3) hung out at the UWW University Center, which previous research focused on African American undergraduates suggested was an important counter space for Students of Color at UWW (Lewis et al., 2021). To gather information on student reasons for using or not using these resources, the research team programmed two different sets of questions: one set asked students that reported not utilizing the resources to select any reasons for not visiting, while the other set asked students who had reported utilizing the resources to indicate the reason or reasons they had for seeking out career advice.

Interview

We designed the semi-structured interview protocol to gather open-ended student perspectives on their pathways to UWW, college majors and career goals, institutional engagement, academic and career networks, the social foundations of Community Cultural Wealth, cross-cultural experiences and multilingualism, and barriers and opportunities at UWW. Here we briefly describe the four sections of the interview.

Student Pathways to College, College Majors, and Career Goals. The first interview questions were designed to have students describe their general background—mostly growing up and through secondary school, shown to be important to college and career pathways (e.g., Peralta et al., 2013). Each question was followed with more detailed probes meant to explore how family members, community members, and other relationships, which are important to the CCW framework (Yosso, 2005), may have influenced their pathways.

Institutional Engagement. It is well established that student contact with faculty, participation in campus organizations, and meetings with academic or career advisors—which we refer to as institutional engagement (e.g., Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991)—are important to college persistence and success (e.g., Davidson & Wilson, 2013). Our next questions and attendant probes asked students whether they were a member of any organizations at Whitewater, whether they spent time with instructors outside of class, and if they had participated in any meetings with UWW career advisors.

Academic and Career Networks and Social Foundations of CCW. We then posed a series of questions focused on students' academic and career social networks, using the Zoom "share screen" feature to show each respondent their unique sociogram populated with the network alters and ties they listed on the study's online survey. To better understand social dynamics underlying CCW, researchers asked students whether they had CCW-based interactions with people inside and outside their listed social network.

Cross-Cultural Experiences, Multilingualism, and Barriers and Opportunities. A wide body of educational research points to the challenges—and opportunities—that can come from students having to straddle two cultures between home and school (e.g., Espinoza, 2010; Fiske, 1988; Lowery-Hart & Pacheco, 2011). Yosso (2005) writes of the rich linguistic and communicative styles that Students of Color bring to educational spaces. For the final section, we asked students about the dynamics between their family, community, linguistic, or personal experiences and college, including how they balanced home and school cultures, multilingualism, and opportunities and barriers they had faced on campus.

Analysis

Quantitative

The research team conducted descriptive and inferential analyses using SPSS version 28.0.0.0. The analyses were based on three different datasets from the same sample (n=129). The research team also used The Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) for comparison purposes. The IPEDS datasets used in the analysis are 2020 Fall Enrollment (EF2020CP), 2020 12-Month Enrollment (EFFY2020), and 2016–2020 Degree Completions (C2016 A, C2017 A, C2018 A, C2019 A, C2020 A). Analyses that did not include any network variables were based on individual survey responses (n=129). Analyses about the respondents' network characteristics (e.g., network size, network density, average tie strength) were conducted based on aggregated survey responses of network characteristics (n=91). Analyses about individuals that support the survey respondents were based on alter data (n=332). Each result table will provide information on which dataset was used for the analysis.

Variables Used for Analysis. The variables used in the analysis are categorized into five parts: demographic characteristics, career values, career service use, social network characteristics, and CCW. Table 8 describes the variable information.

Descriptive Analysis. We analyzed the frequency, proportion, mean, and standard deviation of each variable. K-means cluster analysis was used to describe some key variables (e.g., career values, CCW) in more detail. Scale validity and reliability information is presented for continuous scales used in the survey (i.e., career values, CCW, Sense of Belonging, Work Volition).

Regression Analysis. We used linear and/or logistic regression analysis results on key variables. On each outcome variable, we examined (1) a base model using demographic variables as predictors (independent variables), and (2) two-step hierarchical regression models where the first step includes demographic variables as control variables and the second step examines the subject predictors. When the subject variable is categorical, the variable was encoded into dummy variables and entered. One of the dummy variables of each variable set was removed from the models as a reference group to reduce multicollinearity. All regression models were examined by using SPSS version 28.0.0.0, using enter method for examining predictors. Logistic regression models allowed iterations up to 30.

Linear regression models that have significance of F-test lower than .05, positive ΔR^2 values, and Durbin-Watson statistics ranging from 1.5 to 2.5 were considered significant. In this report, we highlight the predictors that have significance of F-test lower than .05 in the significant models. Logistic regression models that have a significance of Hosmer & Lemeshow test higher than .05 and Percentage of Correct Prediction (PCP) higher than 65.0% were considered significant. We reported predictors that have significance of t-test lower than .05 in the significant models.

Qualitative

The research team used deductive and inductive techniques to understand how students perceive cultural assets, social support, and other academic- and career-oriented issues in their lives. After each student interview was recorded, transcribed, de-identified, and loaded into NVivo 12 for initial coding, the qualitative analytical process began with the three researchers deductively organizing interview data into segments, a process sometimes referred to as “structural coding” (Saldaña, 2021). Here, comparatively

large but thematically similar tracts of interview text across transcripts are organized into code bins based on predefined protocol sections so data can be more easily managed for specific analyses.

For reporting purposes, we chose detailed qualitative analyses to conduct based on how the researchers thought specific portions of the interview data could best supplement and extend quantitative findings. In this report, because of space limitations, we chose to provide qualitative analyses for only a few sections of the report. For each section, researchers determined which interview segment or segments would encompass student statements on these themes, then created printouts with all the raw interview transcript data for these segments. Researchers then coded statements using short descriptive words or phrases to explore and guide analysis, eventually renaming and redefining code lists into larger and larger groups by similarity (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Saldaña, 2021). After refining code groupings based on the repetition of themes among interviewees and our CCW and social network theory, researchers used several representative interview statements to write a prose narrative meant to offer a more nuanced, rich summary for each section that would help provide context for the quantitative findings.

Table 8. Description of variables included in survey by category

Category	Variables	Description
Demographic Characteristics	Age, Gender, Enrollment status, School year, Working hours, Transfer status, First-generation status, Dependents (Having one or more dependent(s)), Financial concerns, Major	<p>Age: Calculated from birth year (2021 - birth year)</p> <p>Below variables are categorized as listed and converted into dummy variables.</p> <p>Gender: Female, Male, Transgender, Non-binary other (Transgender was removed because no respondent identified themselves as transgender)</p> <p>Enrollment status: Full-time, Part-time, Mixed</p> <p>School year: 1st–2nd years, 3rd–4th years, 5th or more years</p> <p>Working hours: Not working, 1–20 hours, More than 20 hours</p> <p>Transfer status: Transfer, Not transfer</p> <p>First-generation status: First-generation, Continuing generation</p> <p>Dependents: Having one or more dependent(s) - 0=No, 1=Yes</p> <p>Financial Concerns: No concerns, Some concerns, Major concerns</p> <p>Major: STEM, Education, Business, Other majors, Undeclared</p>
Career Values	Income potential, Expressing personal values, Work–life balance, Job availability, Family needs, Service to community	<p>Responses to: When thinking about your career path after college, how important are the following considerations?</p> <p>Options: 1=Not at all important; 2=Of little importance; 3=Moderately important; 4=Important; 5=Very important</p>

Category	Variables	Description
Career Service Use	Career advisor (Interacted with a UWW career advisor), University Center (Hung out at the UWW University Center), CLD Office (Visited the UWW Career and Leadership Development office)	Responses to: Since entering college, how often have you done the following? Options: 1=Never; 2=Sometimes; 3=Often
Network Characteristics	Network size	Number of indicated alters (range: 1–6)
	Network density	Ratio of observed ties to all possible ties in the ego network, excluding the ego (range: 0–1)
	Gender homophily, Hispanic/Latino homophily	Homophily refers to the tendency for people to seek out or be attracted to those who are similar to themselves (Oxford dictionary, n.d.). Therefore, gender homophily indicates a tendency to seek out support from the same gender, and Hispanic/Latino homophily means tendency to seek out support from Hispanic/Latino people. In this report, we used E–I (External–Internal) Index multiplied by negative 1 (-1) as a homophily index (range: -1–+1) -1 indicates complete heterophily (all alters in the network have different attributes from the ego), and +1 indicates complete homophily (all alters in the network have the same attribute as the ego).
	Average tie strength	Sum of all tie strength divided by number of alters (range: 1–4)
	Relationship types: Spouse or significant other, family member, friend, college student, college educator, coworker, spiritual advisor, and other relationships	Indicates if the student has an alter of each relationship type (0=No, 1=Yes)

Category	Variables	Description
Network Characteristics	<p>Support types: Material aid (material aid in the form of money, food, clothes, etc.), Hopes (help maintaining hopes or aspirations), Worries (sharing or communicating about important problems or worries), Community (guidance for caring, coping, or providing for community), Campus (help developing skills, knowledge, or strategies for maneuvering through campus and/or the college experience), Resistance (help opposing things that the ego believes are wrong), and Leisure (help engaging in leisure, relaxation, or a diversion from demands in the ego's life).</p>	Indicates if the student has an alter that provides each type of support (0=No, 1=Yes)
Community Cultural Wealth	Aspirational Capital, Navigational Capital, Familial Capital, Resistant Capital 1, Resistant Capital 2, Linguistic Capital, Spiritual Capital	Average of three items that measure each type of CCW (range: 1-6)

Limitations

This study should be read with some important limitations in mind. First, the data come from a self-selected sample of students who may not represent the wider Hispanic/Latino population at UWW. The survey's low response rate also suggests limited generalizability to the wider Hispanic/Latino student population. Second, surveys and interviews were truncated to reduce participant burden, limiting our ability to gather more sophisticated measures or delve further into student experiences and perspectives. Third, data are based on student self-reports that we were unable to verify through direct observation. Finally, this study does not show causality. Although our qualitative findings speak well to how students perceive Community Cultural Wealth and social support networks relating to decisions and pathways in their lives, only future studies based on experimental and/or longitudinal designs will provide statistical evidence of causal relationships between and among these factors.

Appendix III: Additional Table

Table 9. Hispanic/Latino undergraduate students by major (COMPLETION, Bachelor's degree, First Major)

Major (CIP Code)*	Wisconsin (%)**	UW System (%)**	UWW (%)**	UWW Sample (%)
Total	9,394 (100)	6,182 (100)	566 (100)	129 (100)
Natural Resources and Conservation (03)	102 (1.09)	87 (1.41)	4 (0.71)	0 (0)
Architecture and Related Services (04)	52 (0.55)	44 (0.71)	NA***	1 (0.78)
Area, Ethnic, Cultural, Gender, and Group Studies (05)	67 (0.71)	53 (0.86)	2 (0.35)	0 (0)
Communication, Journalism, and Related Programs (09)	551 (5.87)	376 (6.08)	53 (9.36)	5 (3.88)
Computer and Information Sciences and Support Services (11)	285 (3.03)	207 (3.35)	13 (2.30)	12 (9.30)
Education (13)	477 (5.08)	327 (5.29)	67 (11.84)	21 (16.28)
<i>Engineering/Engineering-related Technologies/Technicians (15)****</i>	528 (5.62)	359 (5.81)	6 (1.06)	1 (0.78)
Foreign Languages, Literatures, and Linguistics (16)	313 (3.33)	246 (3.98)	18 (3.18)	1 (0.78)
English Language and Literature/Letters (23)	159 (1.69)	107 (1.73)	15 (2.65)	2 (1.55)
Liberal Arts and Sciences, General Studies, and Humanities (24)	98 (1.04)	59 (0.95)	6 (1.06)	0 (0)
<i>Biological and Biomedical Sciences (26)</i>	709 (7.55)	456 (7.38)	32 (5.65)	8 (6.20)
Mathematics and Statistics (27)	95 (5.25)	69 (1.12)	5 (0.88)	2 (1.55)
Multi/Interdisciplinary Studies (30)	216 (2.30)	171 (2.77)	13 (2.30)	0 (0)
<i>Physical Sciences (40)</i>	140 (1.49)	84 (1.36)	8 (1.41)	0 (0)
Psychology (42)	634 (6.75)	377 (6.10)	28 (4.95)	14 (10.85)
Homeland Security, Law Enforcement, Firefighting, and Related Protective Services (43)	272 (2.90)	207 (3.35)	NA***	1 (0.78)

Major (CIP Code)*	Wisconsin (%)**	UW System (%)**	UWW (%)**	UWW Sample (%)
Public Administration and Social Service Professions (44)	295 (3.14)	231 (3.74)	56 (9.89)	6 (4.65)
Social Sciences (45)	709 (7.55)	454 (7.34)	46 (8.13)	2 (1.55)
Visual and Performing Arts (50)	493 (5.25)	300 (4.85)	28 (4.95)	2 (1.55)
Health Professions and Related Programs (51)	856 (9.11)	424 (6.86)	6 (1.06)	1 (0.78)
Business, Management, Marketing, and Related Support Services (52)	1,776 (18.91)	1,115 (18.04)	155 (27.39)	46 (35.66)
History (54)	97 (1.03)	66 (1.07)	5 (0.88)	1 (0.78)
Undeclared	NA	NA	NA	3 (2.33)

* Listed majors represent the only majors available at the UWW. The other majors that UWW does not offer are excluded from the table. The total number of awarded degrees in Wisconsin and UW System are based on ALL majors available at each institution.

** The indicated data is aggregated from the IPEDS 2015-2020 Completion Data. IPEDS 2020 and IPEDS 2015-2019 use different major classification methods even though they are similar. Therefore, the aggregated number is only for showing the general trend.

*** These majors are not provided by the UWW, but were indicated as respondents' majors in our survey.

****Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics, and Medical (STEMM) majors are italicized. Here, we define STEMM majors according to the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) STEM Designated Degree Program.

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NCA

The Networks and
Cultural Assets Project



About

The Networks and Cultural Assets Project (NCA) is focused on the social and cultural strengths of marginalized college students. In partnership with local educators, we use informational sessions and tested research methods to help practitioners better understand their students' Community Cultural Wealth, social networks, academic and career attitudes, and campus engagement. NCA is currently supported by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and based in the University of Wisconsin-Madison's Center for Research on College-Workforce Transitions (CCWT).

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ccwt.wisc.edu/applied-research/nca/

Keywords: Community Cultural Wealth, Latina/o college students, social network analysis, career development, asset-based research, cultural capital, social capital

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