Chapter 4
Rethinking Weidman's Models of Socialization for Latinxs Along the Postsecondary Educational Pipeline

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There continue to be inequities in postsecondary outcomes for Students of Color[1] (NCES, 2017). Latinx[2] students, in particular, are more likely to enroll in less selective, broad access institutions, including community colleges (Carnevale & Strohl, 2013), which contributes to their inequitable graduation rates compared to white[3] counterparts (NCES, 2017). Moreover, the pathway into graduate school and the professoriate for Latinxs is inadequate, with Latinx faculty members representing only 4% of all full-time faculty at degree granting institutions, with their representation decreasing as professorial rank increases (NCES, 2016). These inequities are concerning, as Latinxs are the fastest growing racial/ethnic group in the U.S. and in postsecondary education, now representing the second largest racial/ethnic group in college behind white students (NCES, 2017).

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[1] We intentionally capitalize "Students of Color," "People of Color," and all forms as a way to acknowledge and center racially minoritized people within our research and writing.

[2] We use the term "Latinx" as a gender inclusive term for people who self-identify as having racial and ethnic roots in Latin America, South America, Mexico, and parts of the Caribbean. Latinxs are connected by colonization, geography, and culture, yet they are a heterogeneous and complex group of people.

[3] We intentionally use lower case "w" to refer to the white racial group as a way to decenter whiteness in our research.

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While we recognize that the pipeline into postsecondary education is damaged, with Latinxs being pushed out, priced out, or completely excluded at multiple points along their educational trajectories, here we focus on college and beyond. Although their access to postsecondary education has been historically elusive, the data suggest that Latinxs are finally entering college at rates reflective of their population in the U.S., at approximately 17% for both in 2015, but they are not completing degrees at a reflective rate, with approximately 12% of those graduating with bachelor's degrees in six-years identifying as Latinxs (NCES, 2017). So what happens to Latinx students while in college that causes them to leave?

Arguably there are a number of reasons why Latinx students depart college without getting a degree, but here we focus on the college environment, exploring the extent to which Latinx students become socialized into institutions in ways that facilitate their cognitive outcomes, such as graduation, as well as their socialization outcomes, including career choices, lifestyle preferences, aspirations, and values. Weidman (1989) argues that beyond the psychological aspects that early college impact models claimed to be most relevant to the long-term retention and persistence of students, there are also sociological elements worth considering. In other words, beyond individual affective and cognitive processes, there are structural elements that affect students' experiences and outcomes (Weidman, 1989). We agree, yet we question the extent to which Weidman's proposed models of both undergraduate and graduate socialization (Weidman, 1989; Weidman, Twale, & Stein, 2001) consider structural elements (i.e. white supremacy and patriarchy) that specifically affect the socialization of Latinx students.

As a result of their racial/ethnic positioning in society, Latinx students are overtly discriminated against and covertly minoritized along the postsecondary educational pipeline (Villalpando, 2004), which ultimately affects their socialization in college and beyond. By minoritization we mean that Latinxs are devalued in educational settings, denied access to educational resources, and excluded from educational opportunities (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2012). Arguably this process is sociological, as racism, eurocentrism, nativism, and linguistic oppression are systematic, historical, and cultural. From a sociological perspective, the long history of discrimination and minoritization in higher education cannot be ignored, as institutions of higher education have historically been spaces of social mobility for a distinct group of people (wealthy white men) while minoritized groups have had to fight their way in, often times met with resistance. As such, the postsecondary environment has always been an exclusionary space, rather than one that is adaptive to the diverse group of people that has entered (Hurtado, Alvarez, Guillermo-Wann, Cuellar, & Arellano, 2012).

Any sociological conversation about minoritized groups, therefore, must include a critical analysis of the systemic nature of their oppression in the U.S. and in educational settings. In this chapter, we use both Latino Critical Theory (LatCrit) (Hernandez-Truyol, 1997; Valdes, 1996) and Community Cultural Wealth (CCW) (Yosso, 2005) as guiding frameworks in order to rethink the Weidman models of socialization. We offer theoretical suggestions for making the models more applicable to Latinxs in postsecondary education, taking into consideration the unique sociological elements present for them as a minoritized group of people.

Conceptual Framework

When Weidman (1989) first conceptualized socialization for undergraduate students, he tried to make sense of the impact of college and how the college environment influences non-cognitive outcomes, or what he called, "socialization outcomes" (career choices, lifestyle preferences, aspirations, and values). He proposed socialization as a process by which undergraduates learn the norms of the institution and acquire the skills necessary to succeed within college and beyond. The conceptual framework proposed by Weidman (1989) includes the socialization forces of student background characteristics, the normative pressures of the academic and social structures of the institution, and the influences of both parental and non-college peer groups. The background characteristics in the model are similar to other college impact models, including family socioeconomic status, aptitude, career preferences, aspirations, and values, all of which have been shown to be correlated with positive student outcomes. Weidman (1989) contends that while students enter college with these pre-determined characteristics, they ultimately feel the normative pressures of the academic and social environments, including pressures from faculty and peers, as well as pressures from non-college forces, including family and friends from home. Successful socialization, therefore, necessarily requires students to manage each of these forces.

Building on these concepts, Weidman and colleagues (Weidman et al., 2001) extended the undergraduate socialization model to graduate students, arguing that students in graduate and professional programs must learn the skills, knowledge, and dispositions of their fields in order to be successful once they graduate. Moreover, there is a required level of commitment and involvement that the graduate student is responsible for, yet it is reciprocated at the organizational and structural levels by varying socializing forces such as the graduate program and the professional field. There is a need for graduate students to understand their professional identity and commitment to their chosen field, which occurs through both formal and informal processes (Weidman et al., 2001). Similar to the undergraduate model of socialization, the graduate model takes into consideration background predispositions, the culture and socialization processes within the institution, and professional and personal communities that contribute to the development of a professional identity and commitment (Weidman et al., 2001).

While both models have meaning and relevance for all undergraduate and graduate students, regardless of social identities and positioning, we question the extent to which they are considerate of the unique ways in which Latinxs experience the process of socialization. As scholars who ground our work in Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Chicana feminist epistemologies, we can't help but notice the lack of acknowledgment of systems of oppression that affect Latinx students' socialization, including white supremacy and patriarchy. Moreover, we note that Weidman's normative processes are actually *white* normative processes, meaning they privilege whiteness and white people, while marginalizing racial/ethnic ways of being and People of Color (Cabrera, Franklin, & Watson, 2017). Although Weidman (2006) has since recognized and acknowledged differences in socialization processes by

race and gender, we believe there is more work to be done in order to scrutinize the systems of oppression and history of exclusion that affects the process for minoritized groups, as well as address the underlying ways in which whiteness is valued in postsecondary education. To better understand the socialization of Latinx undergraduate and graduate students, we draw from two theoretical frameworks, CCW and LatCrit. Together, these frameworks recognize racism as an omnipresent force that affects the experiences and success of racialized people and demonstrate the values that Latinxs bring with them to college campuses that assist them in surviving oppressive postsecondary environments.

Both of these frameworks are aligned with the early critical work of Rendon, Jalomo, and Nora (2000), who critiqued white normative student departure theories, arguing that minoritized groups should not have to assimilate into mainstream culture in order to succeed in their educational endeavors. Rendon et al. (2000) emphasized the importance of theoretical foundations and methodological approaches that more adequately account for the background and dispositions of Students of Color. Through the lenses of LatCrit and CCW, we suggest that higher education is an oppressive environment where Latinx students' successes are not predicated on white normative socialization processes, as suggested by the Weidman's race-neutral models. By this we mean that the models fail to acknowledge that racialized students must navigate larger systems of oppression and may not succeed by socializing in ways that are valued by white people, rules, policies, and practices (i.e. white normative processes). It is important to note that both theories are rooted within the larger framework of CRT, which in education is defined as "a theoretical and analytical framework that challenges the ways race and racism impact educational structures, practices, and discourses" (Yosso, 2005, p. 74). As such, this is a racial analysis, centered on race, racism, and racialized ways of knowing. While at times we mention gender and patriarchy and recognize the intersection of minoritized identities, as suggested by CRT, we felt this space was too limited to allow for an adequate analysis beyond race.

Latino Critical Theory

LatCrit stems from critical legal studies and CRT (Hernandez-Truyol, 1997; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Valdes, 1996; Yosso, 2005) but is centered on Latinx panethnicity. According to Hernandez-Truyol (1997),

> LatCrit uses Latina/o panethnicity, representative of race, gender, nationality, color, language, ethnicity, and cultural diversity, to stimulate and inspire the construction of a LatCrit matrix that places multidimensionality at the center of paradigm formation by plaiting a multicultural, multilingual, multiethnic fabric into its philosophy, construction, and logic (p. 885).

LatCrit allows researchers to understand the multidimensionality of Latinxs in order to address the manner in which racism, sexism, and other forms of oppression

intersect. LatCrit is considered an antiessentialist project that seeks to connect theory with practice, scholarship with teaching, and the academy with the community (LatCrit Primer, 2001; Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). Solórzano and Delgado Bernal (2001) posit that LatCrit challenges the dominant discourse by investigating the ways that educational theory and practice are used to marginalize Latinx students. Together, CRT and LatCrit make use of at least five tenets that serve as their foundation (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). Firstly, race and racism are considered endemic and are understood at the intersection with other forms of oppression. Secondly, CRT and LatCrit challenge notions of meritocracy, race neutrality, and equal opportunity in the education system. The third tenet is a commitment to social justice, with a particular emphasis on race, class and gender oppression. Fourthly is the centrality and legitimization of the experiential knowledge of Students of Color. Lastly, CRT and LatCrit highlight the importance of an interdisciplinary perspective that challenges a one-dimensional focus of education research while placing race and racism in both a historical and more contemporary context.

Community Cultural Wealth

CCW is a framework that diverges from a deficit perspective and instead accounts for "an array of knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed and utilized by Communities of Color to survive and resist macro and micro-forms of oppression" (Yosso, 2005, p. 77). Yosso (2005) identified six types of capital within CCW that enhance and facilitate the educational processes of Students of Color, including aspirational, linguistic, familial, social, navigational, and resistant capital. Jointly, these forms of capital build on one another, rather than working in isolation. *Aspirational* capital is the ability to hold on to hope despite structural oppression. Aspirations are "developed within social and familial contexts, often through linguistic storytelling and advice (*consejos*) that offer specific navigational goals to challenge (resist) oppressive conditions" (Yosso, 2005, p. 77), demonstrating the functioning of CCW as a dynamic process where different types of capital intertwine.

Linguistic capital refers to the intellectual and social skills learned through communication experiences with more than one language and which are brought to educational contexts. *Familial* capital is, "cultural knowledges nurtured among *familia* (kin) that carry a sense of community history, memory and cultural intuition" (Yosso, 2005, p. 79), often including extended family and friends. Similar to familial capital, *social* capital is defined as networks of people and community resources that provide the necessary support to navigate through various systems, including higher education. *Navigational* capital refers to the ability and skills to move through social institutions that were not created for People of Color, such as colleges and universities. Lastly, *resistant* capital is defined as "those knowledges and skills fostered through oppositional behavior that challenges inequality" (Yosso, 2005, p. 80). This form of capital is rooted in the fact that People of Color are consistently resisting racism and other structural forms of oppression. While these six

forms of capital are often unacknowledged and devalued in white normative college impact models, they are powerful tools of resistance and persistence for Latinxs.

Here we draw on both LatCrit and CCW as a way to rethink the Weidman socialization models for Latinx undergraduate and graduate students. While Weidman (1989) tried to make sense of the ways the college environment influences student socialization outcomes, he did not account for the assets and values that minoritized students bring with them to the institution and that in various ways influence those very same non-cognitive outcomes. Moreover, he did not consider racist institutional structures or oppressive environments that Latinx students encounter on a regular basis, which are products of the racist history of postsecondary education. According to Patton (2016), "The establishment of U.S. higher education is deeply rooted in racism/White supremacy, the vestiges of which remain palatable" (p. 317). Such establishment has manifested itself in multiple realms of the institution including faculty, administrator, and student demographics, which are mostly white; the curriculum, which operates under a white cannon; in the silencing of racially minoritized student voices; and in negative campus racial climates (Patton, 2016). As spaces that were never intended to serve Latinx students or other Students of Color, Weidman's socialization models need to acknowledge the historical legacy of exclusion and oppression in order to better understand the socialization processes of minoritized students. LatCrit helped us to make sense of oppressive academic and social normative contexts and the socialization processes that prevent the full socialization of Latinxs, while CCW helped us to understand how student background characteristics, parental socialization, and both college peers and non-college reference groups come to serve as assets to Latinxs as they struggle with socialization processes.

Socialization of Undergraduate Latinx Students

In order to rethink Weidman's socialization model through LatCrit and CCW lenses, we first turned to literature on the experiences of undergraduate Latinxs, focusing on their experiences with race and racism. While there is little written about the socialization experiences of Latinx college students, we reviewed research on integration, sense of belonging, and transition, which in many ways aligns with Weidman's ideas on socialization. Scholarship consistently demonstrates that Latinxs face numerous challenges throughout their collegiate journeys as a result of their socially minoritized position and racist institutional structures they continually navigate. We focus here on the institutional and sociological environments, since, as discussed by Weidman (1989), they often determine socialization, or lack thereof, and the types of experiences that students have. For Latinxs, navigating white normative spaces can have negative repercussions on socialization and overall success. While the literature suggests that Latinxs experience a number of challenges that may prevent them from becoming fully socialized, they often draw on various forms of capital to survive.

Racist Socializing Contexts

For undergraduate Latinxs, the college experience can be a complicated feat due to a range of factors, including toxic campus racial climates and recurring racist incidents (e.g., Hurtado, Carter, & Spuler, 1996; Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Solórzano, Villalpando, Oseguera, 2005; Yosso, Smith, Ceja, & Solórzano, 2009). While Weidman (2006) discusses normative contexts and socialization processes that shape the experiences of college students, he fails to address the racist socializing contexts that Latinx students experience in institutions of higher education. In reality, racist incidents on college campuses are prevalent across different types of institutions, including Minority Serving Institutions (Garcia & Johnston-Guerrero, 2015), making the socialization process a difficult one for minoritized students. Through a content analysis of newsmaking racially biased incidents that occurred between 2005–2010, Garcia and Johnston-Guerrero (2015) found that a considerable number of them were blatantly racist. Although they argued that some incidents were micoaggressive in nature, many were racially aggressive. These types of incidents are known to have psychological effects on the targets, subsequently leading them to feel invisible, othered, and criminalized by the same institutions that are supposed to protect them (Garcia & Johnston-Guerrero, 2015). Understanding this reality is essential to grasping the challenges that Latinx undergraduate students face, which ultimately affects their socialization.

In studying the factors that affect Latinx students and their adjustment to college, Hurtado et al. (1996) found that racism was one of several challenges they consistently faced. Students felt like they were prejudged by their peers due to their race/ethnicity, often times being viewed as inferior. Consequently, students felt less attached to their institution and struggled with academic and social socialization processes (Hurtado et al., 1996). Struggling to adjust to college and lacking a sense of belonging as a result of racist incidents can ultimately affect satisfaction, socialization, and persistence (Yao, 2015).

Yosso et al. (2009) investigated the racial oppression encountered by Latinx college students and the ways that they responded to racist incidents at three selective institutions. Through focus groups, they found that as a result of the racism experienced, Latinxs doubted their academic capabilities, felt their ethnic identity was demeaned, and perceived their cultural knowledge to be dismissed (Yosso et al., 2009). Students felt like their white peers excluded them from study groups, avoided contact with them in the classroom, called them racial slurs, and microaggressed them based on their phenotype. Undocumented Latinx students also struggle with integration and socialization as a result of their racial/ethnic and national status. In a study using LatCrit and racist nativism to investigate the educational experiences of undocumented Chicana college students, Perez Huber (2010) found that participants experienced varying levels of racist nativism intersecting with their class and gender identities. Paulina, for example, discussed how her classmates believed that Latinxs were criminals and only came to the U.S. for benefits and social services. Consequently, as a result of recurring racial incidents,

the Chicana students in the study stated that they felt uncomfortable, discouraged, and isolated on campus.

Drawing on Family & Peer Networks for Cultural Wealth

Weidman (1989) contends that parents and non-college peers are essential to successful socialization of undergraduates and claims that within college peer groups enhance the normative contexts for socialization. While we believe this is one of the strengths in the model as it relates to the socialization of Latinx students, it fails to recognize the unique cultural wealth that minoritized students draw on as a result of these relationships. Research has consistently demonstrated that family, extended kin (not just parents, as suggested by Weidman), and non-college peers are significant sources of support for Latinx students throughout the educational pipeline (e.g. Ceballo, 2004; Easley, Bianco, & Leech, 2012; Hurtado et al., 1996), particularly when it comes to dealing with experiences of racism and discrimination.

In a qualitative study on resilient Latino male collegians, Patrón and Garcia (2016) found that one student (Bruno) was stigmatized for simply wearing apparel that revealed his Mexican identity, and ultimately was the target of racist incidents. As a result, Bruno struggled to become socialized within the academic context. To counter these adverse experiences, he drew on his church and family for support. While the church provided a space for him to develop a support network, his family provided encouragement. Similarly, Morales and Trotman (2010) found that family and church were significant sources of support for Latinx undergraduate students confronted with both blatant and subtle racism. For another participant in their study, Patrón and Garcia (2016) found that non-college peers (accessed through a skateboarding crew) were also important for students as they developed academic aspirations and avoided activities (such as gangs) that may hinder academic socialization.

Literature suggests that informal social contexts within the college environment are particularly important for Latinx college students' socialization process and for dealing with racialized contexts. In a study examining the academic and social experiences of Latinx students involved in Latinx Greek-letter organizations (LGLOs), Moreno and Banuelos (2013) found that fraternities and sororities provided welcoming spaces for students who felt like they were treated differently because of their race/ethnicity or those who felt isolated on campus as a result of their minoritized positions. Some students in the study felt like they were treated differently than their white peers on campus due to their race, while other students talked about the campus not being welcoming to the Latinx community overall. Joining fraternities and sororities, however, provided them with a sense of belonging, and enhanced their feelings of having a second home. LGLOs can be important informal contexts that enhance the socialization of Latinx students as the spaces provided a sense of shared cultural values, practices, and traditions (Guardia & Evans, 2008; Moreno & Banuelos, 2013).

Villalpando (2002) also found that when Latinx students socialize with others who share their racial/ethnic background, their social consciousness is enhanced, they are more likely to pursue careers that will allow them to serve their communities, and they experience increased opportunities for educational success. Latinx student groups, in particular, possess cultural resources that nurture and empower them, allowing them to work closely with one another in educational settings. Although academic environments are not always conducive to a successful socialization process, Latinx students find support within their college peer groups. Instead of segregating themselves, as it may be perceived by some campus administrators, Latinx students tend to stick together, particularly in the face of racism and discrimination on campus (Villalpando, 2002). In responding to racialized college contexts, Latinx students build social and academic communities from the cultural wealth of their homes and culture, which enhances their socialization experiences (Yosso et al., 2009). Here we note not just the importance of drawing on family and peer networks for successful socialization, but recognize the cultural wealth and investment in education that Latinx families and peers provide. While the Weidman model privileges white normative ways of becoming socialized, Latinxs value and rely on collective relationships that are grounded in racial and cultural ways of knowing.

Socialization of Latinx Graduate Students

Next, we turned to literature on the experiences of graduate Latinxs, centering race and racism in our analysis. Again, there is minimal research on the socialization processes of Latinx graduate students, so we reviewed research on their overall experiences that aligned with Weidman's ideas on graduate socialization. Moreover, we focused on the institutional and sociological environments and the ways in which they hinder Latinxs from becoming fully socialized within white normative spaces. Like undergraduates, Latinx graduate students draw on various forms of capital in order to thrive in the academy.

Racialized Institutional Culture

Weidman et al. (2001) argue that the institutional culture, inclusive of academic programs and the peer climate, are core socializing forces for graduate students. Yet they fail to note the numerous ways in which racially minoritized graduate students experience isolation within this culture. To start, the lack of racial diversity in graduate programs and in the university at large is detrimental to the graduate experience of Latinxs (Daniel, 2007; Ramirez, 2014). The absence of other Latinxs and other Students of Color lead to feelings of isolation for Latinx graduate students (Daniel, 2007), making their adjustment to graduate school, and consequently the

socialization process challenging. Institutional factors that contribute to Latinxs' feelings of isolation in graduate school include the presence of predominantly white faculty, as well as white curricula and academic culture (González, 2006; Ramirez, 2014). Predominantly white peers, white faculty, and white curricula and culture interact to create white normative socialization expectations, which can be detrimental to the educational experiences of Latinx graduate students.

White Faculty Faculty essentially shape the academic program for graduate students by setting the norms for research, teaching, and service (Weidman et al., 2001). Faculty mentoring in these core areas, therefore, is a critical part of graduate school. Latinx graduate students find that the most effective and meaningful mentorship relationships are with Faculty of Color (Aguirre-Covarrubias, Arellano, & Espinoza's, 2015; Daniel, 2007). This is the case because Latinxs feel they can relate to and be more vulnerable about their graduate school experiences with Faculty of Color whom they perceive to share common cultural experiences (Daniel, 2007; González, 2006). Beyond the influence of race, Latinxs value specific qualities within the mentor-mentee relationships including openness, availability, trustworthiness, and shared common values (Rudolph et al., 2015). Yet Latinx graduate students struggle to find faculty mentors from shared backgrounds and who offer these qualities because there are so few Faculty of Color in the academy.

White-Dominant Curriculum The curriculum is also essential to the successful socialization of graduate students (Weidman et al., 2001). Yet Latinxs report feeling tension, conflict, and disconnection in their graduate school experience as a result of the white-dominant curriculum (Daniel, 2007; González, 2006). The reason for the disconnection and conflict is due to a lack of Latinx perspectives in the curriculum. The lack of perspectives based on Latinx ways of knowing within the curriculum leads Latinx graduate students to feel tension between their racial identity and their scholar/professional identity (Daniel, 2007; González, 2006), which ultimately affects their scholarly/professional socialization. Moreover, the lack of Latinx perspectives in the curriculum reinforces discrimination and minoritization for Latinx graduate students within white normative higher educational spaces. Latinxs report that the potential for faculty mentoring relationships begin when they approach faculty about the curriculum taught in their graduate programs (Rudolph et al., 2015). Considering the connection between curricula and mentorship, along with the lack of Faculty of Color in the academy, the socialization process for Latinx graduate students is highly constrained by the institutional culture.

Drawing on Peers & Personal Identity for Cultural Wealth

The literature suggests that as a result of the racialized contexts of graduate schools, peers are a critical source of support for Latinx graduate students (Daniel, 2007; González, 2006; Leyva, 2011; Veal, Bull, & Miller, 2012). Weidman et al. (2001)

and Weidman (2006) do in fact discuss the normative influences that peers have on students in graduate school. Although Weidman (2006) reviews some of the differences that racialized students experience as they adapt to normative culture in higher education, he does not investigate the racialized culture of departments and fields or the significance of same-race peer relationships. Latinxs rely heavily on graduate school peers to assist with the socialization process; however, these peer networks are often composed of other Latinxs and Peers of Color (Daniel, 2007; González, 2006; Veal et al., 2012). Latinxs report that their relationships with other graduate Peers of Color offer them validation and support through the graduate experience, particularly when it comes to navigating racialized spaces (Daniel, 2007; González, 2006). These connections are essential, particularly as Latinx graduate students experience tension with white peers.

Some of the tensions that Latinxs experience include, but are not limited to, white peers making racist comments inside and outside of the classroom, white peers not understanding the cultural perspectives of graduate Students of Color, graduate Students of Color having to initiate interactions with white peers "or risk being ignored," and white peers questioning the qualifications of graduate Students of Color (Daniels, 2007; Leyva, 2011; González, 2006). Latinxs report that the conflicts they experience with white peers make their relationships with Peers of Color "essential for their survival" in graduate school (Daniel, 2007, p. 37). Beyond necessary for survival in graduate school, forming a Latinx peer network is a form of resistance against the white dominant context of higher education for Latinxs (Ramirez, 2014). Forming a Latinx peer support network is key as Latinxs challenge white curricula and white scholarly/professional spaces (Ramirez, 2014), a necessary step towards the complementary development of their professional/scholarly and personal identities, and ultimate socialization.

In addition to essential peer connections, Latinx graduate students also draw heavily on their social identities as forms of capital in graduate school. Research indicates that Latinxs enter graduate school with a sense of purposes that is related to their racial/ethnic identities (González, 2006, 2007; Ramirez, 2014). Yet white normative socialization processes often ignore cultural ways of knowing and the influence of racial/ethnic identities on professional/scholarly purpose. Embracing and developing an academic sense of purpose that is related to racial/ethnic identity can be challenging for Latinxs because of white normative graduate socialization processes (González, 2006; Veal et al., 2012); however, by embracing and developing their ethnicity centered sense of purpose, Latinxs enact a form of resistance capital (Yosso, 2005). To resist white normative graduate socialization processes while developing their ethnicity centered sense of self, Latinxs draw from Latinx peers and faculty members who validate their sense of purpose (González, 2006, 2007; Ramirez, 2014). As Latinxs form validating and supportive Latinx networks, they enact navigational capital, forging the spaces and supportive networks they need to thrive, despite white normative socialization processes.

Theoretical Argument

Socialization essentially calls on undergraduate and graduate students to accept the normative functions of the postsecondary environment. Yet this concept fails to recognize the extent to which the postsecondary environment is and has historically been oppressive, racist, and exclusionary. Moreover, socially normative functions and processes are centered on whiteness, meaning they value race-neutrality, racial ignorance, and whiteness as property (Cabrera et al., 2017). In theorizing that students must integrate into postsecondary environments in order to be successfully socialized, Weidman (1989) failed to acknowledge that minoritized students would struggle to adapt to spaces that have never been for them. It's egregious to ask minoritized students to "act white" in order to be successful in college, which is essentially what socialization is suggesting. Instead, there is a need for new approaches and models that recognize the historical legacy of exclusion rampant within postsecondary education and that allow and encourage Latinx students to draw on and utilize their racial and cultural ways of knowing and being in order to succeed. In doing so, revised models should emphasize institutional accountability, calling on faculty, staff, and administrators to disrupt the legacy of discrimination, exclusion, and white supremacy.

Weidman (2006) argues that "socialization outcomes are the resultant changes (values, beliefs, and knowledge) that occur in students" (p. 256). The changes in student values and beliefs occur through their engagement in the collegiate environment and through their interpersonal interactions with people on campus. As highlighted in our literature review, however, the institutional climates, norms, and traditions that are conducive to successful socialization processes also produce environments conducive to racism and microaggressions against Latinx students (Garcia & Johnston-Guerrero, 2015), leading to their sense of isolation, homesickness, lack of belonging, and disengagement (e.g., Hurtado et al., 1996; Hurtado & Carter, 1997; Solórzano et al., 2005; Yosso et al., 2009). Socializing to institutional white cultures can in fact be detrimental to Latinx students' psychosocial well-being, academic advancement, institutional commitment, and persistence (e.g., Perez Huber 2010; Hurtado et al., 1996; Yao, 2015; Yosso et al., 2009). While Weidman (1989, 2006) argues that college influences and socialization processes are necessary for students' development, persistence, and success, he ignores that for Latinx students, socialization can actually have the opposite effect—decreased institutional commitment and attrition (Yao, 2015). Moreover, the intrapersonal and interpersonal conflict and dissonance that Latinx undergraduate and graduate students experience occur within these racialized contexts. The conflict and dissonance that hinders Latinx students' socialization processes in oppressive postsecondary environments should be considered in a more racially critical version of the model.

Furthermore, Weidman (2006) relies on the perspective that, through socialization processes, the institution can change students, such that "colleges can serve as climates for the technical (acquisition of knowledge and skills) and moral (acquisition of values, beliefs, and commitments) socialization of students" (p. 258).

Arguably, Weidman (2006) suggests that college impact positively influences the development of students' values, beliefs, and institutional commitments. The problem is that this perspective ignores students' agency and abilities to impact college culture and climate. A revised model should consider how Latinxs' presence, the cultural capital they bring to college, and their on-campus activism in various forms can change and enhance the institutional culture while simultaneously enhancing their own identity development and critical consciousness (Torres & Hernandez, 2007; Yosso, 2005). Beyond considering how Latinxs can be a force of change via their community cultural wealth and racial/ethnic ways of knowing, a revised Weidman model should consider how institutional agents can revise institutional structures and policies to enhance the development of Latinxs' personal, academic, and professional goals and sense of purpose (Garcia & Ramirez, 2018).

While Weidman's (2006) discussion on the influences of personal and professional communities on students' socialization processes is important for Latinxs, his approach lacks a necessary focus on race and systems of oppression, and fails to account for the nuanced ways that family and peer contexts help Latinx develop resistance capital in order to succeed. Research on the experiences of Latinx undergraduate and graduate students supports that personal and professional communities are critical factors in Latinx students' trajectories into and through postsecondary education (e.g., González, 2006; Ponjuan, 2011; Rudolph et al., 2015; Villalpando, 2002). Latinx students are also more likely to develop meaningful mentoring relationships with faculty who share their racial/ethnic background and who support their racial/ethnic identity development, just as much as their academic development (Aguirre-Covarrubias, Arellano, & Espinoza, 2015; Daniel, 2007; Villalpando, 2002). Yet socialization models seem to silo personal communities from professional communities, and academic and professional identities from racial/ethnic identities. A revised model should not place value on binaries, as binary thinking is the opposite of how Latinxs understand themselves and their sense of purpose (González, 2006; Lara, 2002; Yosso, 2005). Rather, developing a model that represents holistic support and socialization practices that acknowledge and embrace the interconnection between Latinxs' scholarly, professional, and social identities may be more representative of how socialization actually happens for Latinxs. Moreover, a revised model should acknowledge that family and non-college peers influence and inform the particular values and assets that Latinx students draw on as they navigate oppressive postsecondary spaces. As is, Weidman's models fail to acknowledge the unique racial/cultural contributions of Latinx cultural wealth and familial relationships.

Lastly, in his most recent socialization model, Weidman (2006) does acknowledge that Black students' socialization experiences may diverge from those of white students, and that institutional types (predominantly white institutions vs. Historically Black Colleges and Universities) may differently influence socialization; however, the model and review of related socialization research upon which it is based do not mention the socialization processes of Latinx students specifically, or the unique ways in which they may become socialized at Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs, postsecondary institutions that enroll at least 25% Latinx stu-
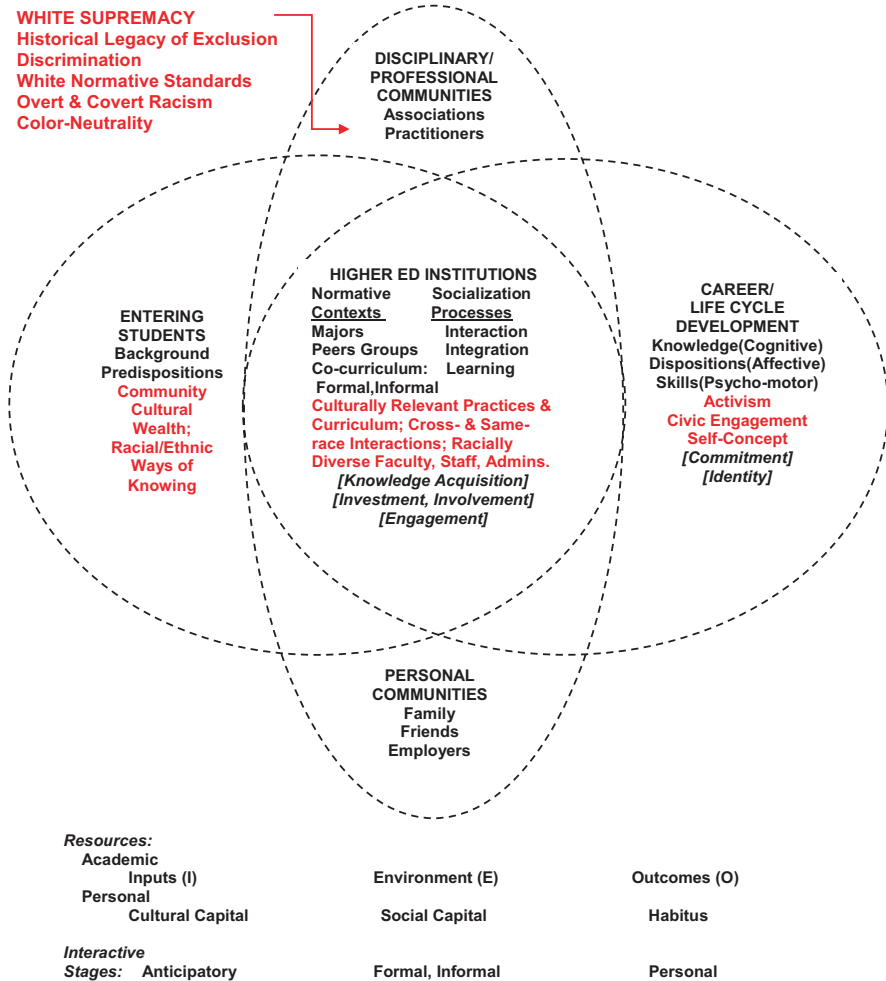
dents). This is an oversight, as there was already a growing body of literature, at the time of publication, highlighting the unique culture at HSIs and the ways in which it helps Latinx students feel an increased sense of belonging and connectedness (e.g., Dayton, González-Vasquez, Martinez, & Plum, 2004; Laden, 2001, 2004). A revised socialization model, specifically for Latinxs, must take into consideration the unique culture and curricular experiences at HSIs (Garcia, 2016, 2017) and the ways in which they affect socializing outcomes. Moreover, research suggests that HSIs play an important role in enhancing non-cognitive outcomes for Latinx such as academic self-concept (Cuellar, 2014) and civic engagement (Garcia & Cuellar, 2018). A revised socialization model should consider these outcomes.

A Revised Socialization Model for Latinxs

Based on our review of the literature and through the lenses of CRT and CCW, we propose a revised model (Fig. 4.1) of socialization for Latinx students that takes into consideration white supremacy and all its manifestations (i.e., discrimination, white normative standards, overt racial incidents). Moreover, the revised model considers various forms of cultural wealth that Latinx students bring to postsecondary education and suggests ways that the university can embrace and enhance those racial/ethnic ways of knowing and being. Finally, we propose additional outcomes that are important for Latinx students.

With the demographics of postsecondary education now reflecting the reality that Latinx people have become the largest racial/ethnic group in the U.S., we can no longer expect college impact, retention, and socialization models developed based on white normative standards to work for Latinx undergraduate and graduate students. The literature reviewed in this chapter suggests that this has not and will not work for Latinx students. Through the lens of LatCrit, we highlighted the challenges that Latinx undergraduates and graduates experience in contentious white postsecondary spaces. Our hope is that administrators, faculty, and staff will recognize that they have the power to reconfigure the postsecondary environment so that Latinx students can fully engage in relevant academic and social contexts that will lead to successful outcomes. Understanding how Latinx students navigate white normative structures, however, is an essential first step in making change to policy and practice. Through a lens of CCW, we also presented the various ways that Latinx undergraduate and graduate students utilize their own forms of capital in order to survive and thrive in the postsecondary setting. As argued by Solórzano et al. (2005), postsecondary institutions must break away from the notion that minoritized students must detach from their families, community, and culture in order to be successful, as these are significant sources of capital for Latinx students. Here we remind scholars and practitioners of this reality.

With this chapter, we sought to rethink Weidman's socialization models using two theoretical frameworks that center race and racism (LatCrit) and the racialized ways of knowing and being of Latinx people (CCW). We urge higher education

WHITE SUPREMACY
Historical Legacy of Exclusion
Discrimination
White Normative Standards
Overt & Covert Racism
Color-Neutrality

DISCIPLINARY/
PROFESSIONAL
COMMUNITIES
Associations
Practitioners

ENTERING
STUDENTS
Background
Predispositions
Community
Cultural
Wealth;
Racial/Ethnic
Ways of
Knowing

HIGHER ED INSTITUTIONS
Normative   Socialization
Contexts   Processes
Majors   Interaction
Peers Groups   Integration
Co-curriculum: Learning
 Formal,Informal
Culturally Relevant Practices &
Curriculum; Cross- & Same-
race Interactions; Racially
Diverse Faculty, Staff, Admins.
[Knowledge Acquisition]
[Investment, Involvement]
[Engagement]

CAREER/
LIFE CYCLE
DEVELOPMENT
Knowledge(Cognitive)
Dispositions(Affective)
Skills(Psycho-motor)
Activism
Civic Engagement
Self-Concept
[Commitment]
[Identity]

PERSONAL
COMMUNITIES
Family
Friends
Employers

Resources:
  Academic
          Inputs (I)   Environment (E)   Outcomes (O)
  Personal
          Cultural Capital   Social Capital   Habitus

Interactive
Stages: Anticipatory   Formal, Informal   Personal

Fig. 4.1 Conceptualizing Socialization of Latinx Students in Higher Education. (Adapted from Weidman, 2006, 2015; Weidman, et al., 2001; Twale et al., 2016)

scholars and theorists to be bolder about the current condition of racism embedded within colleges and universities and to recognize that Latinx students (along with other racially minoritized students) cannot and will not fit into white normative persistence, retention, and socialization models. Improving socialization models to make them more applicable to the realities, identities, and experiences of Latinxs and more representative of the influences of racism on institutional cultures and socialization processes is necessary, now more than ever before. As the fastest growing population in postsecondary education, the success of Latinx undergraduate and graduate students is imperative to the advancement of the nation as a whole.

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