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Title: How Do Middle School Students Become STEM-Minded Persons? Middle School Students' Participation in Science Activities and Identification with STEM Careers

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Abstract

This study explores ways to support girls of color in forming their senses of selves in STEM during the middle school years. Guided by social practice theory, we analyzed a large dataset of survey responses ($N=1,821$) collected at five middle schools in low-income communities across four states in the United States. Analyses focus on the extent to which key constructs that inform girls' development of senses of self and relations among those indicators of STEM identities varied by their race/ethnicity. Though the means of indicators sometimes varied across racial/ethnic groups, multi-group Structural Equation Modeling analyses indicate no significant racial/ethnic differences in the relations of STEM identities in within girls analysis, suggesting that similar supports would be equally effective for all girls during the middle school years.

Girls' self-perception in relation to science was the strongest predictor of their identification with STEM-related careers, and this self-perception was positively and distinctively associated with their experiences with science at home, outside of school, and in school science classes. This study argues for strategically expanding girls' experiences with science across *multiple* settings during middle school in a way that increases their positive self-perception in and with STEM.

Key words: identities, equity, STEM career aspirations, social practice theory, quantitative

Introduction

Despite decreasing achievement gaps, the underrepresentation of women, African Americans, Latinx, and Native Americans in physical sciences, engineering, and computer science persists (National Science Board, 2016). There is growing evidence that the underrepresentation of females and individuals from ethnic and racial minority groups in the sciences is closely associated with students' personal goals, self-conceptions, and the compatibility of identities, rather than a result of differential achievement (Archer, Osborne, DeWitt, Dillon, & Wong, 2013; Downey et al., 2005; Riegle-Crumb, King, Grodsky, & Muller, 2012). Underrepresentation of women and people from non-dominant communities in STEM persists, and is especially pronounced among women from African American and Latina backgrounds (National Science Board, 2014).

In our inquiry into this persistent underrepresentation, we attend to Ladson-Billings' (2006) argument that the achievement gap between students of color and white students, while real, is misplaced attention. She argues that the field ought to be concerned with addressing the education debt—the outcome of accumulated historical, sociopolitical, economic, and moral policies and decisions that is owed to communities of color who have long been marginalized and inadequately served in education. Without considering the ways in which institutional and social structures have inhibited pathways to success, the science education community cannot fully work toward more equitable opportunities to learn, succeed, and develop in STEM. For example, many students of color in the U.S. who succeed in school science classes still choose not to pursue a future in STEM. Students may not see themselves as a part of that community,

they may not feel fully welcomed, or they may not be recognized for the assets that they bring to STEM.

Aligning ourselves with critical equity scholars, grounded in social practice theory, we argue that the ongoing underrepresentation in STEM might be better understood through the lens of *identity*. In particular, we suggest that an identity gap is one manifestation of the education debt, which has created the conditions for many youth, but in particular women of color, to not feel welcomed for who they are and what they bring to STEM in spite of their high test scores. Even when students are successful in STEM-based learning, many still do not identify with STEM fields, nor are they recognized for their contributions (Archer et al., 2013; Hill, Corbett, & St. Rose, 2010; Osborne, Simon, & Collins, 2003). Likewise, when students do not identify with science, their engagement and academic achievement can be affected (Krapp & Prenzel, 2011; Osborne et al., 2003; Singh, Granville, & Dika, 2002). This gap in opportunities to construct powerful identities is an urgent problem that needs to be better understood and addressed to achieve equity in STEM.

Despite the increasing attention to the role of identities in academic engagement, studying identities from a social practice perspective is difficult, in particular at scale with a large number of participants across multiple research sites. The ever-changing nature of one's identity through social encounters, across time and setting, raises the question of how to best study one's developing identity in STEM. In our previous work, we suggested that attending to "identity work" instead of identities in STEM allows one to more closely examine both the nature of social encounters and girls' responses at critical events as a part of identity development (Calabrese-Barton, Kang, Tan, O'Neill, Bautista-Guerra, & Brecklin, 2013; Calabrese Barton &

Tan, 2010). By tracing the identity work that 36 girls do as they engage in science-related activities at home, in afterschool science clubs, and in their science classrooms over time, we illustrated how science-related activities in home, school, and afterschool settings facilitated or failed to facilitate middle school girls of color and youth from economically disadvantaged communities to see their current and possible future selves in STEM (see Calabrese Barton et al., 2013).

Building upon our prior qualitative research, this study explores the process of becoming a STEM-minded person during middle school, using a large-scale survey dataset (N=1,821). The overarching question that guides this study is, “*How do girls of color become STEM-minded persons during their middle school years?*” By a *STEM-minded person*, we mean a young person who sees both her current *and* possible future selves in STEM. We view this STEM-mindedness as manifested through youth’s positive relationship with, positioning and expressed interest toward STEM and STEM-related careers. Using our theoretical STEM-identities model, we analyzed whether and how the constructs and relations varied by girls’ race/ethnicity. The ultimate goal is to provide theoretically well-grounded, and empirically supported insights for supporting girls of color to form their sense of selves in STEM during the middle school years.

Middle school years and the development of STEM identities

Researchers point to the middle school years as a critical time in determining later career aspirations (Blackhurst & Auger, 2008; Gibbons & Borders, 2010; Jackson, Perolini, Fietzer, Altschuler, Woerner, & Hashimoto, 2011). Adolescents form their career aspirations long before the point at which they make critical (and potentially life-changing) choices about subjects in which to specialize (Osborne et al., 2003; Tai, Qi Liu, Maltese, & Fan, 2006; The Royal Society, 2006). Middle school is also the period in which science and engineering interest and

participation drops steeply even if grades remain high (Christidou, 2011; Lindahl, 2007).

Understanding how or why girls of color, between the ages of 10 and 14, come to identify as STEM-minded person is critical to better support those girls during middle school.

There is a considerable body of literature that explores middle school students' engagement and identification with STEM and STEM-related careers. Overall, five themes emerged from prior large-scale studies that examine middle school students' engagement, interest, and identification with STEM and STEM-related careers. First, the majority of large-scale studies analyzed middle school students' interest, engagement, and identification with STEM using aggregated datasets. There are few studies that examined group differences with careful attention to girls of color, which is critical for addressing current inequities in STEM (see the exception of Achbacher, Ing, & Tsai, 2014). Second, many studies found that middle school students tended to have a different attitude toward specific STEM disciplines, such as biological sciences versus the physical sciences (e.g., Baram-Tsabari & Yarden, 2005; Buccheri, Gurber, & Bruhwiler, 2011; Dawson, 2000; Jones, Howe, & Rua, 2000). Third, researchers found a strong relationship between students' self-perception and career interest, suggesting the importance of developing and preserving youth's feelings of self-efficacy in STEM during the middle school years (e.g., Aschbacher et al., 2014; Barmby, Kind, & Jones, 2008; Haussler & Hoffmann, 2002; Nugent, Barker, Welch, Grandgenett, & Nelson, 2015). Fourth, multiple factors influenced middle school students' science attitudes and early career interests. These factors spanned from gender and culture, family background, self-esteem, previous achievements, hobbies or life experiences to negative perceptions about STEM or STEM-related careers (Archer, DeWitt, Osborne, Dillon, Willis, & Wong, 2012; Aschbacher et al., 2014; Ing, Aschbacher & Tsai, 2014;

Christidou, 2011; Hoffman, 2002; Koul, Lerdpornkulrat, & Chantara, 2011). There are few studies, however, that examined how these multiple factors related to one another with respect to middle school students' positioning and interest toward STEM-related careers, beyond studying the individual impact of any one of these factors. In general, researchers tended to report the overwhelmingly positive impact of their innovative curricular activities in one context (e.g., afterschool robotics club) on improving youths' interest in and aspiration toward STEM.

This study builds upon and extends these prior large-scale studies by addressing some key limitations. We explored the relationship among multiple factors that influence the development of girls' sense of current and future selves during the middle school years, considering the intersection of gender and racial/ethnic differences. Informed by prior studies, we categorized STEM-related careers into four sub-domains: a) basic biological sciences, b) applied biological sciences (e.g., medicine), c) basic physical sciences, and d) applied physical sciences (including engineering and computer sciences). We attended to science-related experiences across *multiple* contexts (i.e., home, out-of-school settings, and school science classrooms) in the process of girls of color becoming STEM-minded persons.

Theoretical Perspectives

Social Practice Theory, Identities, and STEM-Career Aspirations

In this study, we draw upon social practice theory to examine middle school students' experiences in and with science and how their experiences relate to their identifications with STEM-related careers (see Calabrese Barton et al, 2013; Tan, Calabrese Barton, Kang & O'Neil, 2013). A girl's interest in and aspirations toward STEM careers is, in part, a reflection of her identities—who she is and who she wants to be. Distinct from the stance that identity is a

RUNNING HEAD: DEVELOPING STEM IDENTITIES

reflection of one's internal characteristics, social practice theory situates *identities* in the web of relationships and interactions among people in structured activities (e.g., science clubs; Holland, Lachicotte Jr., Skinner, & Cain, 1998). As an adolescent experiences science across time and different spaces, she continuously comes to recognize, be recognized, identify, be identified, position, and be positioned as someone in relation to science (Calabrese Barton, Tan & Rivet, 2008; Carlone, 2004; Polman & Miller, 2010). We view such identity work as ongoing, cumulative, and contentious because it always takes place under the power dynamics sanctioned by cultural and historical narratives of 'what it means to be a science person' and 'who can do science' (Calabrese Barton et al., 2013; Nasir, Shah, Guitierrez, Seashore, Louie, & Baldinger, 2011). Identity work involves girls' continuing responses to others and taking action for and against the receptions, recognitions, and positioning "under conditions of political-economic and cultural-historical conjuncture" (Holland & Lave, 2009, p. 3). Within this framework, we view who one is—their *current self*—and who one thinks they can be in the future—their *possible future self*—as informed by and shaped through the encounters one has across time and setting.

How might one study "identities" from a social practice perspective using a survey? From an analytical perspective, the event of "responding to Science Identity survey" is *one moment* of identity work. A girl's particular personal and family backgrounds and her specific experiences with science all interact to produce an identity artifact (i.e., her survey responses). During this event, she positions herself with respect to science and science-related careers as she responds to each survey item, such as "I am NOT at all good at science." It is important to note that survey-based identity research in and of itself is inherently limited in understanding the complex social interactions that shape the identities of girls of color over time. However,

capturing moments of identity work is important. Such moments provide insight into an individual's personal and family backgrounds, positioning, and access to science-related experiences and identification with STEM careers *in the moment*. This provides insight into how an individual asserts their current and future identities, and the relationship between the two.

A theoretical STEM identities model: Current and future selves

Recent theoretical progress in identity studies provides a strong conceptual foundation for large-scale empirical investigations into the mechanism of being and becoming a STEM-minded person. Our in-depth qualitative studies led us to build a theory that explains the process of becoming a STEM minded person. From a social practice perspective, we view the *current self* and *possible future self* as informed by and shaped through the encounters one has across time and setting. Therefore, in our framework, various features that influence identity work are categorized into two groups: a set of constructs that explain *current selves in and with science* and the other set explaining *future selves in relation to science*. A set of constructs for current selves are re-categorized as personal and familial background, opportunities and experiences with/in sciences in different settings, and perceptions about self, science, and scientists' work (see Table 1 and Figure 1). We view this set of constructs as *identity negotiators* that dynamically shape one's identity work, instead of static factors that determine one's identity.

--Insert Table 1 and Figure 1 about here--

The first construct for current selves emerging from our qualitative studies is the role of *youth's personal and family backgrounds* in shaping social encounters and responses to events (e.g., gender, ethnicity, parents' interest in and support to science and science career, and parents' occupations). Family-related variables, including parental involvement, are widely

RUNNING HEAD: DEVELOPING STEM IDENTITIES

recognized as critical factors that influences students' choices, engagement, and identification with science (see Archer et al., 2012; Aschbacher et al., 2014; Jodl, Michael, Malanchuk, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2001; Nugent et al., 2015; Oyserman, Brickman, & Rhodes, 2007; Simpkins, Fredricks, & Eccles, 2015; Simpkins, Price, & Garcia, 2015; Zarrett & Eccles, 2009). From a social practice theory perspective, the repertoires of practice and ways of being that are learned over time at home are important because they position a youth in particular ways when he or she engages in identity work (Calabrese Barton et al., 2008; Tan & Calabrese Barton, 2010; Polman & Miller, 2010). These repertoires also affect the resources (and associated capital) one can access and activate toward STEM-related identity work.

The second construct for current selves is *opportunities and experiences with/in science in different settings* (e.g., at home, in school, and out-of-school). Different settings are governed by specific discourses (e.g., ways of knowing, doing, talking, being) that serve to delineate membership. Prior work points to five aspects that shape these settings: the *discourse* of the figured world (e.g., legitimized ways of knowing, doing, and talking); the *activities* that transpire (e.g., lab, small group work); the science *artifacts* that are produced (e.g., lab reports, public representations, responses to the science identity survey); the *roles* individuals play (e.g., facilitator, follower) and how those roles are shaped by *rules and expectations*, (e.g., testing mandate or a classroom policy on group work); and the learning *outcome* (e.g., achievement, interest, aspirations). Because each setting is operationalized with different norms, rules, and expectations, each setting offers different affordances and constraints for youth's identity work (Nasir & Cooks, 2009). Whether or not youth have access to experiences with the sciences beyond school, the nature of those experiences, and if/how actively they participate in these

science-related activities (and with whom and for what purpose) across settings are all important because they reflect the kinds of social encounters that can affect identity work.

Finally, previous studies on identities suggest that *youth' perceptions about self, science, and scientists' work* need to be attended to in order to understand the mechanisms of becoming a STEM-minded person (Aschbacher, Li, & Roth, 2009; Downey et al., 2005). Drawing from social practice theory, positioning has been referred to as “one particular aspect of identity work” having to do with “the manner participants perceive their sense of social place and entitlement in an activity. It translates into a focus on how youth position themselves in relation to the activity—the world of science and education that constitutes the activity studied” (Rahm, 2008, p. 101). We are interested specifically in how girls' *expressed* interest in and perception of science serve as observable and measurable proxies for positioning. For example, when a student marks “strongly disagree” in response to the survey item, “I am good at science,” this student positions herself in light of her perceived notion of “being good at science” in the moment. This perceived notion projects the *rules and expectations* about “being good at science” experienced by the student through her social encounters over time. Likewise, when a student indicates that I am “Not at all” interested in having a job like engineering, this student positions herself with respect to a career option based on: (a) what she knows about this career and (b) whether/how she relates herself to a STEM career. From a social practice theory perspective, things that the student knows about the career and whether or how she relates herself to science are cumulatively shaped by social encounters and interactions as well as accessible information. Furthermore, girls' perceptions of science also shape how and why they participate in STEM. For example, Eisenhart and Finkle (1998) pointed out two decades ago that science in general, as a cultural

practice, has been shaped by the ideas, experiences, and biases of white middle-class males, and that many (but certainly not all) women tend toward those domains of science that reflect the values to which they have been enculturated, such as caring about the living environment, bodies, and health. It is no surprise that the number of women in the biological and health sciences more than quadruples the number of women in engineering (National Science Board, 2014). Thus, why a girl pursues particular forms of science or expresses interest in science is related to how one positions oneself in relation to a culturally imbued science (Blickenstaff, 2005; Brickhouse, Lowery, & Schultz, 2000).

In terms of future selves, we denote the construct of youth's identification with careers in four STEM subdomains (i.e., basic and applied biological and physical sciences). From the perspective of social practice theory, we are interested in understanding whether STEM-related careers are '(un)thinkable' (Archer, DeWitt, Osborne, Dillon, Willis, & Wong, 2010) to girls of color, assuming that this reflects historical struggles and the encounters that the girls have in various contexts. We consider youth's expressed interest toward STEM-related careers as a window into whether and to what degree youth see their possible future selves¹ in STEM (see Calabrese Barton et al., 2013).

Thus, the ways in which a girl thinks of herself and science at any moment, such as responding to our Science Identity survey, is a reflection of current self/selves that is/are dialectically shaped through cumulative identity work. In theory, being a STEM-minded person—seeing a possible future self in STEM—is shaped by the current self. As illustrated in Figure 1, we theorize that how youth see their possible future selves in STEM can be explained

by the relationships among the key identity negotiators involved in their identity work (see the constructs and variables in Table 1 and Figure 1).

Research questions

With the goal of better understanding how middle school girls of color become STEM-minded persons, we first test a theoretical STEM identities model employing Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) using the whole dataset. In this analysis, we examine relations among the identity negotiators as depicted in Figure 1. Next, we examine whether difference in the constructs and relations is based on race/ethnicity across the four subdomains of STEM *within* girls. The following questions guide our analyses:

1. How do middle school students' current selves relate to possible future selves (i.e., identification with STEM-related careers) in the four sub-domains of STEM?
 - a. As depicted in the theoretical STEM identities model (Figure 1), does students' participation in science-related activities in different settings predict their perceptions about self and science; and do their perceptions predict their identification with STEM-related careers?
 - b. Does students' participation in science-related activities indirectly predict their identification with STEM-related careers through their perceptions?
2. Is there any difference in the STEM identities model by race/ethnicity within girls?
 - a. Do the constructs vary by race/ethnicity within girls (i.e., mean-level group differences)?
 - b. Do the relations in the STEM identities model differ by race/ethnicity within girls (i.e., moderation)?

Research Design and Activities

Study Context and Participants

This study is part of a large project that examines middle school girls' engagement in afterschool science programs and their identity development. The research sites are five middle schools located in five different cities in four states of the United States (MI=797, NC=275, NY=273, and HI=476; see additional details in Table S1). These schools were deliberately selected based on historical relationships, due to our goal of understanding underrepresented youth's science identity development as situated in historical, social, and cultural context. The research team had established long-term relationships with teachers and family members, allowing for depth of knowledge regarding schooling and science institutional and cultural narratives. All participating schools were public, located in urban communities, served a diverse population of students (with a majority of students from non-dominant communities in all but one school), and provided youth with consistent informal science learning opportunities outside of the school day. The informal science learning opportunities, such as afterschool science clubs, are year-long programs that are free, readily accessible, and run by either a teacher or the researchers throughout the school year. Free and reduced lunch rates were 70% to 97% at four schools across MI, NC, and NY, and 55% at the school at HI. We conducted longitudinal ethnographic qualitative case studies with 36 girls who participated in afterschool science clubs at these schools over three years, from sixth to eighth grade. During this research period, we administered a survey to all students each year, once a year between April and June. In this study, we report the findings from the survey data collected from a total of 1,821 middle school

students (6th to 8th grades) in one academic year (see the demographic information of participants in Table S4).

Measures

Instrument: *Is Science and Me? (ISME) Survey*. Data were collected using a modified version of the survey, *Is Science Me? (ISME)*. *ISME* is an empirically validated survey developed to measure secondary school students' identities grounded in social practice theory (Aschbacher et al., 2009; Aschbacher et al, 2014; Gilmartin, Li, Aschbacher & McPhee, 2006). We selected this survey because of its theoretical orientation, empirical validity, and potential for measuring important constructs of science identities. The *ISME* survey was developed from a social practice theory perspective of identity development and drew from existing scales and questions on related surveys (e.g. Phinney, 1992), as well as from the science education and STEM pipeline literature (e.g., Hanson, 1996; Seymour & Hewitt, 1997). *ISME* was designed to be completed in a single class period. In the original survey, identity was operationalized along four lines: perceptions of self, perceptions of science, interest and participation in science-related activities, and majors/career aspirations.

We modified the *ISME* survey iteratively over two years as we conducted qualitative longitudinal case studies in partner schools and developed our theories on identities, identity work, and identity trajectories (see Calabrese Barton et al., 2013; Tan et al., 2013). Overall, the four constructs on science identities—personal/family backgrounds, perception, participation, and possible future selves (PFS)—that emerged from the qualitative studies guided the revision of survey items. Complete details of the changes to the scales are provided in Table S2 with the final version of the items in Table S3. In short, two scales (HP, OSP) were unchanged, and two

RUNNING HEAD: DEVELOPING STEM IDENTITIES

constructs (ISP, PFS) were slightly modified. One scale, perception of self (PS), which is a key construct in our theoretical model, was expanded from two to five items. Lastly, perception of science and scientists' work (PSS), items for which were largely stated negatively in the original survey, was revised and expanded to include positive statements. We have several pieces of evidence concerning the validity of the scores on all of our measures. The qualitative data provide substantive evidence of validity (Messick, 1995). With the quantitative data included in this study, we conducted confirmatory factor analysis and tested measurement invariance on all indicators. These analyses are described in the Results section and provide evidence of structural and generalizability aspects of validity (Hubley & Zumbo, 2013).

STEM identities model constructs. In what follows, we describe our constructs with respect to each of the four identity constructs in Figure 1. The first construct, *personal and family backgrounds* included five variables: (a) gender, (b) race/ethnicity, (c) parents' college attendance, (d) parents' science-related occupation, (e) parents' interest in science and support of science-related careers (i.e., family science orientation; FSO), and (f) grade level. In the final version of the modified *ISME* survey, the race/ethnicity item included six categories (e.g., African American/Black African; White/Caucasian/European/European American) as well as an "others" category. The survey prompted students to "check all that apply." A total of seven racial/ethnic groups emerged from students' responses, yielding two groups with small sample sizes: White ($n=357$), African American ($n=306$), Latinx ($n=378$), Asian American ($n=322$), Multi-racial ($n=366$), Hawaiian ($n=34$), American Indian ($n=9$), and Other ($n=56$). We dropped adolescents who only identified as Hawaiian, American Indian, and Other due to the small sample size for the structural equation models (SEM). The final five race/ethnicity groupings

allowed us to conduct robust statistical analyses, in particular focusing on the group differences by gender and by race/ethnicity.

To measure *students' experiences of participating in science-related activities*, three continuous variables were included: (a) home participation (HP, 14 items: $\alpha=.84$), measured by the degree of having science-related experiences at home; (b) participation in science-related activities outside of the classroom (OSP, 6 items: $\alpha=.71$), measured by the degree of participation; (c) participation in school sciences (ISP, 6 items: $\alpha=.77$), measured by the frequency of engaging in class activities.

Two variables represented the measures of *students' perceptions*: (a) perception about self in and with science (PS, 5 items: $\alpha=.82$), and (b) perception about science and scientists' work (PSS, 8 items: $\alpha=.81$).

Finally, *identification with STEM-related careers* were measured by youth's expressed interest with STEM careers (e.g., "How interested are YOU in having a job like these some day?"). The four domains included (a) basic biological sciences (2 items, $\alpha=.80$); (b) applied biological sciences (3 items, $\alpha=.75$); (c) basic physical sciences (1 item), and (d) applied physical sciences (4 items, $\alpha=.82$).

Analytical Approach

All analyses, except for tests of mean-level differences, were estimated with structural equation models (SEM) in MPlus v7.11. We used several indicators of model fit, including the chi-square, CFI (comparative fit index), RMSEA (root mean squared error of approximation), and SRMR (standardized root mean square residual). Specific guidelines have been put forward for CFI, RMSEA, and SRMR (e.g., Hu & Bentler, 1999) to help identify models that fit the data

well ($CFI \geq .95$, $RMSEA \leq .05$, and $SRMR \leq .05$), and models that provide adequate fit ($CFI > .90$, $RMSEA < .08$, and $SRMR < .08$). All models were estimated with full information maximum likelihood to incorporate cases with missing data (Enders, 2010).

Measurement Models and Invariance

In order to test RQ1 and RQ2, a critical first step is to test for measurement invariance in the indicators. Given that RQ2 focuses on variations across race/ethnicity within each gender, we examined measurement invariance across race/ethnicity within girls. Following the two-step modeling approach (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988; Kline, 2010), we estimated a measurement model including the nine constructs in Figures 2, as they are focal constructs in the STEM identities model, as well as FSO, as it has multiple indicators and can be specified as a latent variable. Thus, the 10 constructs included in the measurement model were family science orientation (FSO), participation in science-related activities at home (HP), in school (ISP), outside of school (OSP), perception of self (PS) and of science and scientists (PSS), and identification with STEM-related careers in four domains (basic biology, applied biology, basic physical, and applied physical). All constructs were specified as latent variables except STEM career identification in the domain of basic physical science, which was a single item. The scale of each latent variable was identified by fixing one loading of the item with the highest loading and theoretical centrality of the construct to 1.0. There was one exception to this rule—the 2-item scale for basic biology. STEM identification in the domain of basic biology was calculated by constraining the two loadings to be equal and fixing the latent variance to 1.0. Five of the constructs, (i.e., HP, OSP, ISP, PS, and PSS) each had five or more indicators. For each of these five constructs, we created three parcels with the balancing approach and used those as indicators

in the measurement model (Little, Rhemtulla, Gibson, & Schoemann, 2013). Parcels have several statistical and modeling advantages when the number of items per latent variable is large (Little et al., 2013). The covariances between all 10 constructs were estimated.

We tested measurement invariance of this model to assess whether the 10 constructs included in this model functioned similarly across racial/ethnic groups within girls (i.e., configural and weak; Little, 2013; Millsap, 2011). We examined model differences through the overall model fit and the change in CFI between two nested models (Little, 2013). A change in CFI that is less than .01 suggests the models are similar or invariant across groups (Cheung & Rensvold, 2002). These analyses tested whether all measures included in the model have robust psychometric properties and function similarly across groups. In the model testing the STEM identities model, however, we decided to use observed variables instead of latent variables because a path model was more conservative given our sample size for the multi-group comparisons.

RQ1: How do middle school students' current selves relate to possible future selves?

Testing the STEM identities model.

Path models. We used path models to test our theoretical STEM identities model for the four STEM domains (RQ1). The model included all of the paths and covariances shown in Figure 2 as well as paths estimating the predictive relations between personal and family background constructs (i.e., student grade level, FSO, parent job, and parent education) and the constructs shown in Figure 2. Initially, we included all background constructs and then dropped any predictive paths from a background construct if the path was not statistically significant at p

< .05 for any one of the five racial/ethnic groups to achieve a more parsimonious model. We refer to this model as the STEM identities model throughout the paper.

Indirect effects. We tested the direct and indirect effects of participation in science at home (HP), outside of school (OSP), and in-school (ISP) on students' four possible future selves (PFSs) through their perceptions of self (i.e., PS & PSS) with indirect effects in MPlus.

RQ2: Do the constructs vary by race/ethnicity (i.e., mean-level group differences), and do the relations in the STEM identities model differ by gender and by race/ethnicity (i.e., moderation)?

First, we examined differences in students' experiences, perceptions, and possible future selves by race/ethnicity within each gender using ANOVA. We also tested mean-level differences across other personal and family background characteristics which are available in the supplementary materials (see Tables S4 and S5 for descriptive statistics).

Second, we tested whether the relations in the STEM identities model (i.e., the path model described under RQ1) varied by race/ethnicity within girls. We tested gender and race/ethnicity moderation through multi-group SEMs (Little, 2013). Specifically, we examined the change in chi-square (ΔX^2) across two nested models—a model that freely estimate the predictive paths and covariances for each group separately and a model that constrained all or some of the predictive paths and covariances to be equal across groups. A statistically significant change in chi-square at $p < .001$ across two models indicates the presence of moderation—namely, that the relations are significantly different across groups. A non-significant change in chi-square indicates that the two models fit the data equally, which in this case means that the relations are similar across groups.

Results

Before we tested the research questions, we first tested for measurement invariance. The results suggest that all of the constructs included in the measurement model, which includes FSO and all of the nine focal constructs in Figure 2 (i.e., HP, ISP, OSP, PS, PSS, and identification in four sub-domains), functioned similarly across racial/ethnic groups within each gender. This result provides confidence that group differences are less likely to be a function of differential bias in the measures. Specifically, according to model fit indices and the change in CFI ($\Delta\text{CFI} < .01$), the measurement model evidenced full configural and weak invariance across race/ethnicity within each gender. Within girls, the configural model fit the data well, $X^2(1659) = 2322.596$, $p < .001$, CFI = .934, RMSEA = .048, SRMR = .057, and the model evidenced full weak invariance $\Delta\text{CFI} = .000$. Within boys, the configural model fit the data well, $X^2(1659) = 2368.998$, $p < .001$, CFI = .937, RMSEA = .050, SRMR = .056, and the model evidenced full weak invariance $\Delta\text{CFI} = .003$. The results of the standardized factor loadings were all above 0.4 (with most above .60) and significant at $p < .001$, suggesting good convergent validity (Acock, 2013; Costello & Osborne, 2005). Given the purpose of this paper, we present the results from the girls' data in the following sections. The results from the boys' data are provided in the supplementary materials (Table S8 and Figure S1).

RQ1: How do middle school students' current selves relate to their identification with STEM-related careers? -- Testing the theoretical STEM identities model

The STEM identities path model fit the data well for girls (see model G3 in Table 2). Figure 2 includes the statistically significant coefficients from the multi-group models testing differences across racial/ethnic groups. We discuss the multi-group models at length under RQ2

in the next section of Results. It is important to note here that we used unstandardized coefficients in Figure 2 because all of the relations in the figures were constrained to be equal across racial/ethnic groups. By using the unstandardized coefficients, we only need to show one coefficient per path for girls as the coefficients are exactly the same for all racial/ethnic groups for girls. We include all of the standardized coefficients in Tables S6 and S7 for those interested.

--Insert Table 2 and Figure 2 about here--

Figure 2 includes the statistically significant unstandardized coefficients among the focal variables of the STEM identities model for girls. The gray lines in the figures were included in the model but were not statistically significant. They are presented in gray without their coefficients for ease of presentation. A complete list of all standardized coefficients included in the STEM identities model for each of the five racial/ethnic groups is presented in Tables S6 and S7. Our discussion concentrates on the relations depicted in Figure 2 as they are the focus of RQ1.

Overall, the findings confirmed the hypothesized relations for the STEM identities model. There were three consistent common predictors of students' identification with four STEM-related careers: PS, HP, and OSP. Students' perception of self (PS) predicted higher identification with STEM careers in all domains (Figure 2). In addition, girls' participation in science related activities at home (HP) predicted higher identification with all four STEM careers with one exception. Home participation did not predict identification in applied biology (Figure 2). Participation outside of school (OSP) predicted higher identification with STEM careers in three domains. OSP did not predict basic biology.

Students' perception of science and scientists' work (PSS) and in-school experiences (ISP) did not predict their identification with STEM-related careers. The one exception to this pattern was that ISP predicted higher identification in the domain of applied biology (e.g., medicine). Notably, students' participation in science-related activities in all three contexts (HP, OSP, & ISP) predicted higher perceptions of self (PS), but only participation in school (ISP) predicted higher perceptions of science and scientists' work (PSS).

Indirect effects. Table 3 shows the total effect for each context as well as the one direct effect and two indirect effects that comprise the total effect. These indirect effects are drawn from the multi-group analyses. The tables only include one set of estimates from each multi-group model because the paths that comprise these effects are constrained to be equal across racial/ethnic groups and therefore these tests are equal across racial/ethnic groups. For example, there is one set of coefficients for the relation of HP to girls' identification with basic biology rather than one for each of the five racial/ethnic multi-groups because all of these paths (and therefore these indirect effect tests) are constrained to be equal across groups.

--Insert Table 3 about here--

The indirect effects analyses suggest that there were indirect effects of science participation in all three contexts on students' possible future selves; however, this occurred through perceptions of self (PS), and not through perceptions of science and scientists' work (PSS), which never accounted for any indirect effects.

Participating in science activities at home had both direct and indirect effects for girls' identification with STEM-related careers across domains, with one exception. Participating in science activities at home (HP) indirectly predicted girls' identification with STEM-related

RUNNING HEAD: DEVELOPING STEM IDENTITIES

careers in all domains (i.e., HP → PS → STEM identifications). HP also directly predicted girls' identification with STEM-related careers in three domains: basic biological, basic physical, and applied physical sciences.

The findings for girls' science experiences outside of school (OSP) differed from HP. Whereas OSP had direct effects on identification with STEM careers in all areas except basic biology, OSP did not show indirect effects. OSP was neither a strong predictor of students' perceptions of self (PS) nor their perceptions of science and scientists' work (PSS) for both girls and boys in this study.

Similar to HP, girls' participation in science classrooms (ISP) indirectly predicted their identification with STEM careers in all four areas. Parallel to HP, all indirect effect was channeled through PS (i.e., ISP → PS → STEM identifications) and never indirectly predicted students' identification through their perception of science and scientists' work (PSS). Girls' ISP had one additional direct effect—applied biology. In contrast to HP, ISP rarely directly predicted students' identification with STEM-related careers.

In sum, students' participation in science-related activities in contexts directly and indirectly predicted their identification with STEM-related careers. The indirect effects only emerged through students' perceptions of self (PS) and not their perceptions of science and scientists' work (PSS). The indirect effects emerged in predicting students' identification with STEM careers in all areas. HP had additional direct effects predicting identification with STEM-related careers above and beyond the indirect effects.

RQ2: Do the constructs and relations in the STEM identities model differ by race/ethnicity within girls?

Mean-level differences. There were several significant differences across the racial/ethnic groups within each gender group. All findings are presented in Tables S4 and S5; here we highlight a few notable differences among the race/ethnic groups within girls. For the girls' identification with STEM-related careers, Asian American girls showed the strongest identifications in all four domains and African-American girls showed weak identifications in all domains except applied biological sciences. This pattern is parallel with the one of self-perception (PS). Asian girls showed the strongest self-perception followed by Latina, White, Multi-racial, and African American girls. The difference between Asian and African American girls' self-perception was significant ($p < .05$). There were *no* differences in perception of science and scientists' work (PSS) across the girls. There were some notable differences in girls' participation in science-related activities at home (HP), outside of school (OSP), and in school (ISP). Specifically, Asian American girls reported the most experiences with science at home (HP) and African American girls reported the least experiences. This difference was significant ($p < .05$). With respect to girls' participation in out-of-school (OSP), Asian girls had the most experiences with science outside of school (OSP) followed by Latinx, African American, Multi-racial, and White girls. Asian girls' science-related experiences at out-of-school contexts was higher than all the other girls (p 's $< .01$ to $.001$). White girls reported significantly fewer experiences with science at out-of-school context than Asian girls and Latinx (p 's $< .05$ to 0.001). The pattern was slightly different in the girls' participation in school sciences (ISP). Asian American girls reported the most active participation followed by African American, Multi-racial, White, and Latinx girls. Latinx girls' in-school participation was significantly lower than Asian American girls ($p < .05$), but their self-perception was as high as that of Asian

American girls. In contrast, African American girls reported that they actively participated in school science as much as Asian girls did, but their self-perception in relation to science (PS) was the lowest.

Moderation analyses. Our second question concerning group differences focused on the extent to which the relations in the STEM identities model described under RQ1 varied by race/ethnicity within girls. The multi-group SEM findings suggest that the central relations of the STEM identities model shown in Figure 2 did not vary by race/ethnicity, though some of the relations with the background variables did vary significantly. Table 2 displays the model fit statistics and change in chi-square across the nested multi-group models.

The same series of models were estimated within girls as shown in Table 2. The findings concerning moderation across race/ethnicity suggest that some of the relations differed across racial/ethnic groups because significant change in chi-square (ΔX^2) was significant when comparing model G2 to G1 for girls. We estimated two follow-up models to pinpoint which type of paths and covariances might vary across groups. Model G3 suggest that the relations among the focal constructs in Figure 2 were similar across racial/ethnic groups for girls. In contrast, the relations including the background variables (i.e., FSO, parent job, education, and grade levels) differed across racial/ethnic groups for girls as noted by the significant ΔX^2 of model G4. We allowed the relations including background variables to be freely estimated across racial/ethnic groups, which included 29 paths where a background variable predicted the nine focal constructs in Figure 2 and their covariances. All other paths (i.e., the paths shown in Figure 2) were constrained to be equal across groups.

Discussion: How can we better support girls of color to become STEM-minded persons during the middle school years?

Middle school is a pivotal time in shaping youth's sense of selves in relation to STEM, which can have a life-long impact on their engagement with STEM (Blackhurst & Auger, 2008; Gibbons & Borders, 2010; Tai et al., 2006). This study advances our understanding of middle school students' development of STEM identities by exploring the relations among multiple factors that influence the development of the girls' identity development, while considering the intersection of gender and racial/ethnic differences. Our analyses point to significant and distinctive roles that *multiple* contexts (i.e., home, school, and activities outside of school) play in shaping girls' identification with STEM and STEM-related careers during their middle school years. Notably, this pattern was consistent across girls from different racial/ethnic backgrounds. Based on these results, we argue for strategically expanding girls' experiences with science across *multiple* settings, and not just in one setting, as a means of increasing girls' sense of being people who value and can do science. Below, we unpack this idea by discussing the key patterns in our findings.

The significant and distinctive role of experiences with science in *multiple* contexts for girls of color forming their senses of self in STEM

Overall, the results show a good model-to-data fit, suggesting that mathematical correlations in survey data can be explained by our social practice theory guided STEM identities model—whether and how youth see their possible future selves in STEM is explained by the key identity negotiators involved in youth's identity work (personal, family backgrounds, experiences in and with sciences across time and spaces, and their perception of self, science,

and scientists' work). The multi-group analysis provides evidence that the relations in the model are similar across race/ethnicity within each gender group. Whereas the majority of prior studies focused on identifying key predictors of middle school students' career aspirations (e.g., self-efficacy, family support), our STEM identities model, which emerged from prior qualitative work and was empirically tested with quantitative data, enables us to shed light on a complex, relational, and dynamic process of girls of color becoming STEM-minded persons.

Consistent with other researchers' findings (e.g., Aschbacher et al., 2014; Nugent et al., 2015), one strong predictor of the girls' identification with STEM-related careers in this study was their perception of self in relation to science (PS). Mirroring dominant discourses in American society, Asian American girls reported the highest self-perception and African American girls reported the lowest self-perception. Notably, girls' self-perceptions were significantly and positively associated with their experiences with science-related activities at home and in their school science classrooms. From the perspective of social practice theory, these patterns can be interpreted thus: a girl's expressed self-perception, which is one observable proxy for her positioning toward science as indicated by social practice theory, is socially mediated and distilled from relational interactions as that girl engages in science-related activities across settings. Alternatively, it is possible that youths' self-perception drives their selection of and increasing participation in science-related activities, as indicated by the bi-directional relations in our theoretical STEM identities model (see Table 1 and Figure 1).

The findings of this study suggest that girls' experiences with sciences in *all three* contexts play significant and distinctive roles in forming their senses of self in STEM. Girls' experiences with science-related activities *at home* was the most consistent predictor in terms of

both direct and indirect effects. In this dataset, girls' experiences at home (HP) were both significantly and positively associated with their identification with STEM-related careers in all domains, except applied biology. The indirect effect was channeled through perception of self (PS). Again, this pattern was consistent across all of the girls regardless of their racial/ethnic backgrounds. Notably, there was statistically significant difference between Asian American and African American girls. Mean-level differences suggest that Asian American girls have more experiences at home that they deem science-related than do African American girls. However, the lack of moderation suggests that science-related experiences at home were equally predictive for all girls regardless of race or ethnicity. These findings suggest that increasing science-related experiences at home likely has benefits for all girls.

In addition, the analyses suggest that girls' increasing experiences with science outside of school settings may increase their identification with STEM-related careers. In this dataset, girls' experiences with science outside of school (OSP) were directly associated with their identification with STEM-related careers in three domains, including basic and applied physical sciences. This finding supports the argument made by numerous researchers that increasing girls' participation in science-related activities outside of school (e.g., after school programs, summer programs, field trip) is a promising approach for increasing girls' interest, aspiration, and identities with STEM (Tan et al., 2013; National Research Council, 2015). Recently, there is an increasing call for attending to the form of the activity rather than just its content to better understand the relationship between girls' science learning experiences outside of school settings and their interest in STEM-related careers (Potvin & Hasni, 2014; Swarat, Orthonoy, & Revelle, 2012). Prior qualitative studies show that activities outside of school can offer qualitatively

RUNNING HEAD: DEVELOPING STEM IDENTITIES

different science learning experiences for girls from non-dominant communities by delineating non-traditional norms and the discourse of what it means to do science and be good at it (Calabrese Barton et al., 2013; Tan et al., 2013).

Patterns regarding science experiences in schools (ISP) were more complex than the others (HP, OSP). Unlike girls' experiences at home and outside of school, their experiences with science in the classroom did not directly predict identification with STEM-related careers, except for the domain of applied biology. Girls' experiences with school sciences, however, did have a significant indirect effect through self-perception (ISP → PS → Identification with STEM-related careers; see Table 3). In other words, the results suggest that enhancing middle school girls' active participation in school science lessons likely increases their self-perception (PS) of identifying with science. This may, in turn, increase their identification with STEM-related careers. One possible explanation about the lack of direct effect of school sciences on girls' identification with STEM-related careers is that girls' experiences with science in this formal school setting are qualitatively different from their experiences in an informal setting. Prior studies suggest that inquiry-based, problem-solving activities about relevant and important issues that matter to girls of color positively affect their identification with STEM (Calabrese Barton, 1998; Brickhouse & Potter, 2001; Mouza, Marzocchi, Pan, & Pollock, 2016). Prior qualitative studies show that girls engage in school science lessons in different ways when they are able to incorporate community and familial funds of knowledge into science learning (Calabrese Barton et al., 2013; Birmingham, Calabrese Barton, McDaniel, Jones, Turner, & Rogers, 2017). It is possible that the girls in this particular dataset had low access to such high-quality science learning experiences at schools that increase positive self-perception in and with

science. Alternatively, the lack of direct effect of school science experiences observed in our dataset may have to do with the nature of our survey instrument itself. The six items used for measuring school science experiences mostly focused on whether and to what extent middle school students actively participated in their science lessons (e.g., “how often do you participate in class discussions, work on assignments with other students”). This makes it difficult to gauge the extent to which these girls had high-quality science learning experiences at school, as suggested by the literature. Regardless, we believe our findings support the idea that how girls identify with STEM in school settings is crucial. This study advances the existing argument that girls of color need more opportunities, and higher quality opportunities, in school by beginning to unveil the mechanisms by which this may work. The findings of this study point to the association among girls’ school science experiences, their perceptions of self in/with science, and their identification with STEM-related careers.

Taken together, the results provide evidence that girls’ experiences with science-related activities in each of three different contexts (home, school, and outside of school) have distinctive effects on their identification with STEM-related careers, either directly or indirectly. Social practice theory underscores the critical role of girls’ social encounters in shaping their identities as they engage in science-related activities across settings and over time (Holland et al., 1998). Researchers have documented the *cumulative* nature of girls’ identity work as they travel across multiple settings (see Calabrese Barton et al., 2013; Polman & Miller, 2010). Girls’ experiences with science in one setting, such as at home, can have a synergic effect on forming their identities when experiences in this one setting are leveraged and capitalized in another

setting. Attending to girls' experiences with science across multiple settings, not just in one, is necessary to support their forming senses of self in STEM.

Our analyses support the argument that current underrepresentation of women of color has to do with 'missing opportunities' for girls of color to form their senses of self in science (Ladson-Building, 2006). Providing these currently absent opportunities for girls of color at home and via programs outside of school may be one promising approach to support those girls in seeing their possible future selves in STEM. However, we posit that the familiar, generic recommendation of more "family" or "afterschool" exposure is not useful. Rather, attention ought to be paid to the *kinds* of family and support that leverage the assets of the girls, their families, and their communities. This may be the most important form of experience outside of school, given that these experiences may be the most likely to support girls' self-perception. Furthermore, we reject the argument that parents of those girls simply need to do more. As reported in other studies (see Calabrese Barton et al., 2013 for example), it may be that African American girls' opportunities to engage in science outside of school are limited because experiences that appear to be culturally sustaining are simply not available. Or it may be that the ones that are available are not designed in ways that support the identity work of girls of color. Researchers note that, currently, participation of youth of color in organized activities outside of school settings have been understudied (Fredricks & Simpkins, 2012). One important question raised from these analyses is: *How can we create structures and activities that mutually enhance girls' experiences with science at home, in school, and outside of school during their middle school years?* If young women do not see their experiences as scientific—even if they are—then this will impact their senses of self in science. Do schools or programs outside of school formally

RUNNING HEAD: DEVELOPING STEM IDENTITIES

recognize home-based experiences that are related to science in ways that help girls see the value of these experiences in science? If so, in what ways? A future study that provides insight into the kinds of family, school, and out-of-school science experiences that might attract the families of girls of color and best support girls' self-perceptions in science, would be fruitful.

Limitations and directions for future research

The findings of this study should be interpreted with consideration of its limitations. First, the results are based on limited observation using a survey with selected middle schools. As discussed above, regarding identities from a social practice theory perspective, survey-based identity studies are limited to capturing an interactive part of identity work. A survey of multiple people who directly interact with the girls who participated, such as parents, teachers, and peers, will allow identity researchers to produce more a robust understanding of how girls become STEM-minded people during their middle school years.

Second, the patterns reported in this study are bounded in the sample, which may not reflect the patterns of the overall population in the U.S. regarding underrepresentation in STEM. Future research with representative samples of students from various geographical, cultural, or socio-economic backgrounds may provide more comprehensive insights into the processes of middle school students' formation of identities in science.

Third, the mechanisms of becoming STEM-minded person suggested by the theoretical model need to be further explored with longitudinal data. As discussed above, the current data were generated from one-time survey administration and prevent us from testing our hypothesis about dialectical relationships among identity negotiators. As asserted in the model, we speculate that youths' self-perception also drives youth's selection and increasing participation in science-

related activities. Moreover, we expect that the strongest direction of influence may differ across development and depends on contextual factors. Youth's increasing autonomy and maturity in adolescence might strengthen the role of their perceptions in selecting science activities across contexts (Simpkins et al., 2015). A robust set of data collected at multiple time points of youth's identity trajectories will enable us to test dialectical relationship, identify the direction of influences at different points, and explore various alternative models through cross-lag and growth curve analyses.

Fourth, the STEM identities model needs to be further examined with the consideration of unmeasured variables. For example, the significant, persistent direct effects of science experiences at home (HP) and outside of school contexts (OSP) on girls' identification with STEM careers suggest there may be additional mediators. One potential variable which emerged from prior qualitative research but was not measured in this study was 'recognition'—whether and to what extent youth's identity work is recognized, legitimized, and validated by others (see Calabrese Barton et al., 2013). Future research including a measure of this construct will further strengthen the explanatory power of the STEM identities model.

Finally, results about racial/ethnic groups should be interpreted carefully, with consideration of the inherent limitations of racial/ethnic grouping. On one hand, the current data and the selected methodology limit us in making any interpretation about certain racial/ethnic groups, including Hawaiian and American Indian groups. On the other hand, the characterization of a particular racial/ethnic group based on statistical patterns leads the researchers to run the risk of reinforcing prevalent problematic racial discourses in the American society, such as the Asian model minority stereotype. Understanding the affordances and limitations of the methodology as

well as the consequences of the research findings to the people from racially minoritized groups will be essential for generating the knowledge that serves people.

Conclusion

We, as a field, have just begun to recognize and understand the complexity of studying youth forming senses of self in STEM during middle school. The STEM identities model tested in this study sheds light on the processes involved by specifying key constructs and how they relate to one another. More importantly, this study provides evidence of current unequal opportunities of experiencing science for girls of color, suggesting that this has a potential effect in their developing senses of self in/with STEM during their middle school years.

There are two implications for policy and research to support girls of color in developing identities in STEM during middle school. As noted by other scholars, we believe that providing expanded opportunities to participate in science-related activities beyond classroom instruction has a potential for supporting youth's developing senses of self in STEM. The present study further extends this argument in two ways. First, experiences with science outside of school settings should be strategically designed as a way of increasing positive self-perception in and with science. Second, it is important to attend to girls' experiences across multiple contexts, not just in one setting. This study shows significant and distinctive contributions of girls' experiences at home, in school, and outside of school settings.

This study reveals both the challenges and possibilities of building upon qualitative work with quantitative data to study complex educational phenomena. We found it challenging to articulate and interpret the meanings of these measures while holding a consistent theoretical perspective of learning and identities. It is even more difficult to communicate the findings with

an audience who is likely familiar with one methodology or the other, but not both. Support for interdisciplinary collaboration will advance the knowledge base on critical topics in education sciences through robust research.

Footnote

¹The constructs of future time perspective and possible selves are increasingly used by researchers in other research traditions who seek to understand students' present actions (e.g., course work) in light of their long-term goals and motivations (e.g., Husman & Lens, 1999; Kirn, Faber, & Benson, 2014; Simons, Vansteenkiste, Lens, & Lacante, 2004). Drawing upon social practice theory, in this study, the construct of "possible future selves" is conceptualized as *one* manifestation of one's STEM identities which are shaped through social encounters situated in the larger historical, sociopolitical, and cultural context.

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