



# STEM Pipeline: Mathematics Beliefs, Attitudes, and Opportunities of Racial/Ethnic Minority Girls

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## Abstract

Racial/ethnic minority girls have a history of being underrepresented in STEM. Yet, there is a dearth of research that identifies the mathematics experiences that predict being on a STEM pipeline. Analyzing data from the Educational Longitudinal Study (ELS: 2002), we examined the relationship between mathematics attitudes, beliefs, and enrichment activities and being on a STEM pipeline among racial/ethnic minority girls. The findings indicated that for Black and Latinx girls, higher levels of mathematics self-efficacy beliefs were associated with being on a STEM pipeline. For American Indian/Alaska Native girls, endorsing a growth mindset was associated with being on a STEM pipeline. For Asian, Hawaii/Pacific Islander girls, mathematics enjoyment was associated with being on a STEM pipeline. Yet, endorsing higher levels of participation in mathematics enrichment activities and mathematics self-efficacy beliefs was associated with lower endorsements of being on a STEM pipeline for Black and American Indian/Alaska Native girls, respectively. Results build on previous work by highlighting important mathematics experiences that impact being on a STEM pipeline for racial/ethnic minority girls.

**Keywords** Racial/ethnic minority girls · Mathematics · STEM pipeline

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The mathematics success and achievement of US adolescents has been widely studied (e.g., Keys et al., 2012; Mullis et al., 2012; Schenke et al., 2015; Watts et al., 2015). Further, a plethora of research has examined the link between adolescents' beliefs and attitudes about mathematics and STEM outcomes. To date, findings indicate that mathematics beliefs (e.g., self-efficacy) promote STEM interest in high school (Blotnicky et al., 2018; Kwon et al., 2019; Liu & Koirala, 2009). For instance, Blotnicky et al. (2018) found that mathematics self-efficacy beliefs were associated with being more likely to pursue a STEM career. There has also been increased interest in the relationship between endorsing a growth mindset (e.g., *most people can learn to be good at math*) and mathematics achievement. For instance, endorsing a growth orientation towards mathematics is associated with higher levels of student achievement and engagement (Bostwick et al. 2019, 2020). Some scholars have also examined affect towards mathematics finding that enjoyment of mathematics is associated with increases in achievement (Putwain et al., 2018). Despite these findings on the link between adolescents' attitudes and beliefs about mathematics, racial/ethnic minority girls are invisible in this literature. We use the umbrella term *racial/ethnic minority girls* in the present study to describe girls whose racial and ethnic groups are numerical minorities in the USA. This includes Black, Latinx, American Indian/Alaska Native, and Asian, Hawaiian/Pacific Islander girls. More importantly, most of the research on the use of specific mathematics attitudes and beliefs (e.g., self-efficacy, enjoyment, and growth mindset) do not consider the intersection of race, ethnicity, class, and gender. Thus, this study aims to better understand the unique experiences of specific racial/ethnic subgroups of minoritized adolescent girls and the impact on their math course-taking in high school.

Racial/ethnic minority girls have a history of being discouraged from mathematics-related tasks and careers (Brickhouse & Potter, 2001; Ireland et al., 2018; Johnson, 2011), particularly within the school context. As such, their mathematics beliefs, attitudes, and experiences within the classroom are likely important contributors to their positive performance and persistence (Eccles, 2009; Koch et al., 2019). However, research on the intersectional experiences of youth in K to 12 mathematics classrooms underscores how experiences related to race, ethnicity, and gender creates unique environments for some students (e.g., Gholson & Martin, 2014, 2019; Gholson & Wilkes, 2017; Ireland et al., 2018; Lim, 2008). Furthermore, a key tenet of intersectionality theory indicates that individuals' experiences are shaped as a result of intersectional identities based on existing social hierarchies (Cole, 2009; Crenshaw, 1991). These experiences might also influence whether racial/ethnic minority girls are on a STEM pipeline. Various definitions of STEM pipeline are in the literature. Collectively, STEM pipeline is defined as having an interest in STEM careers throughout high school, participation in STEM programming in high school, and mathematics and science course-taking (Franco & Patel 2017, 2012; Ellis et al., 2016; Subotnik et al. 2009). In our study, we use mathematics course-taking as a proxy for being on a STEM pipeline.

Intersectionality is a useful framework for understanding racial/ethnic minority girls' being on a STEM pipeline because it considers how inequalities stem from systems of oppression (e.g., racism, sexism, classism) and those systems of oppression can create different experiences and subsequent outcomes (Crenshaw

et al., 1995). The multiple forms of oppression that racial/ethnic minority girls encounter can inform their social identities and academic belief systems, limit their educational and STEM-specific opportunities, and undermine their being on a STEM pipeline. Within racial/ethnic minority girls, there is diversity in the types of educational opportunities they are likely to encounter based on their racial/ethnic group's histories and socio-cultural contexts. Exploring mathematics attitudes, beliefs, and enrichment experiences through an intersectionality lens allows us to consider how multiple intersecting categorical statuses contribute to differences in being on a STEM pipeline among racial/ethnic minority girls.

## Racial and Ethnic Minority Girls and Mathematics Performance

**Black Girls** To date, the findings suggest that Black girls are one of the lowest performing groups on mathematics standardized tests (National Assessment Education Program, 2019) and are underrepresented in STEM fields (Riegle-Crumb et al., 2010). These patterns of underperformance have expanded over the past two decades (NAEP, 1990–2013), despite subtle increases in mathematics performance over time. Most recently, research has noted the unique racialized and gendered experiences of Black girls in school settings (e.g., Gholson & Martin, 2014, 2019; Joseph et al., 2018; Neal-Jackson, 2018; Young et al., 2017). The reports *Let Her Learn* and *Unlocking Opportunity for African American Girls* highlights the low academic performance of Black girls (Let Her Learn, 2017; National Women's Law Center, 2014) and the underrepresentation in honor and AP courses, nationally. Additionally, studies that have examined Black girls' mathematics achievement find that they often encounter negative treatment related to their race, gender, and social class that contribute to their academic underperformance (e.g., Gholson & Martin, 2014; Joseph et al., 2018; Neal-Jackson, 2018; Young et al., 2017).

**Latinx Girls** According to the National Education Assessment Program (NAEP), Latinx girls are underperforming on mathematic standardized tests (NAEP, 2019). Similar to other ethnic and racial minority girls, Latinx girls encounter negative and stereotyped treatment in school contexts, particularly within math and science domains that may negatively impact their attitudes, beliefs, and performance (Alva & De Los Reyes, 1999; Kurtz-Costes et al., 2016; Reyna, 2000). Brown and Leaper (2010) investigated Latinx and White adolescent girls' experiences with academic sexism (i.e., hearing discouraging comments about girls' abilities in math, science, or computers) and their math and science competence and values (liking and importance). They found that perceptions of academic sexism were more strongly linked with lower perceived math and science competence among Latinx girls (existing for Latina girls regardless of age) than White girls (existing only for the oldest girls). It is likely that having multiple identities (gender and ethnicity) that are academically devalued makes Latinx girls more vulnerable or sensitive to negative group-based treatment.

**American Indian and Alaska Native Girls** In comparison to Black and Latinx girls, the research on the mathematics experiences of American Indian/Alaska Native (AI/AN) girls is sparse. Moreover, the dropout rate among AI/AN students in high schools (by 10th grade) and public universities is the highest compared to any other student group (Patterson-Silver Wolf & Butler-Barnes, 2017; Yamauchi & Tharp, 1995) and AI/AN students make up only 3.3% of earned 4-year degrees in STEM fields (Committee on Underrepresented Groups and the Expansion of the Science and Engineering Workforce Pipeline, 2010). There has been a long history of mistreatment and colonization within the schooling contexts of Indigenous groups in the USA that has had persistent negative trickle-down effects in AI/AN students' achievement (Faircloth, 2009). For instance, Cheek (1984) highlighted low mathematics expectations as one major concern. This is particularly distressing as AI/AN 12th grade girls are the lowest performing among all racially and ethnically diverse boys and girls (NAEP, 2019).

**Asian, Hawaii/Pacific Islander Girls** Similar to the dearth of research on American Indian/Alaska Native, there is also a dearth of research examining Asian, Hawaii/Pacific Islanders mathematics attitudes and beliefs. Mau (1990) suggested the important role of disaggregating the data to understand Asian/Pacific Islander female students' race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, perceived stereotypes, and discriminatory experiences within the classroom as impacting their mathematics learning experiences. For instance, Pang et al. (2011) examined the mathematics achievement scores of Asian Pacific Islanders by disaggregating the data (i.e., Asian Americans). The findings indicated significant achievement gaps in areas of mathematics achievement for Asian Pacific Islanders in comparison to White adolescents — dispelling the model minority myth. This exclusion from statistics because of their representation in the US obscures the rates and patterns of equitable participation in STEM amongst this group (Goel, 2003; Lee, 1997). When data is not disaggregated, this perpetuates this group as an invisible minority — promoting a color-blind ideology and “Whiteness” (Battey, 2013).

## **Mathematics Attitudes, Beliefs, and Enrichment Activities**

**Math Self-Efficacy** Mathematics beliefs that promote continued or increased motivation to undertake mathematical challenges is associated with positive mathematics achievement outcomes (e.g., Fast et al., 2010; Levpušček et al., 2013). For instance, mathematics self-efficacy beliefs reflect adolescents' confidence in their math pursuits. This confidence in math ability is related to students' mathematics achievement development (e.g., Bong & Skaalvik, 2003) and helps explain the strong relation between childhood and later adolescent mathematics achievement (Watts et al., 2015). In particular, students who perceive themselves as good at mathematics typically perform better on subsequent assessments.

**Growth Mindset** In addition to adolescents' self-efficacy beliefs, differences in theories of intelligence (growth mindset) also relate to later achievement (Blackwell et al., 2007; Dweck, 1999). Adolescents who endorse incremental theories of intelligence believe that intelligence is malleable, and anyone can gain skills through effort and learning. On the contrary, those endorsing entity theories of intelligence believe that intelligence is fixed and innate and those who perform well in mathematics have a “natural” ability. When faced with difficulties in mathematics, adolescents endorsing entity theories of intelligence are more likely to give up on the task compared to those who believe anyone can have success in math with persistence and effort (Dweck & Leggett, 1988). Research with racial/ethnic minority students show that when incremental theories of intelligence are emphasized, their achievement is increased (Aronson & Steele, 2005).

**Math Enjoyment** Mathematics self-efficacy and incremental theories of intelligence relating to mathematical ability may inspire adolescents' greater motivation to exercise this ability. Furthermore, positive affective beliefs, such as enjoyment of mathematics and adolescents' behavioral patterns, for example, their level of participation in mathematics courses and tasks (i.e., engagement), also relate to adolescents' later mathematics achievement (e.g., Fredricks et al., 2004). It has been theorized that positive mathematics beliefs about ability promotes subsequent achievement in mathematics by altering student motivation and mathematics-related affect, thereby increasing the likelihood of engaging in mathematics and spending time studying (e.g., Bong & Skaalvik, 2003). Thus, a cyclical relationship may be functioning such that positive self-efficacy and incremental theories reinforce enjoyment of math and engagement in math tasks and similarly, positive affective beliefs and engagement reinforces self-efficacy and incremental theories of mathematics intelligence.

**Math Enrichment** Math enrichment activities provide in-depth learning experiences for youth. Mathematics enrichment activities can include using computers or doing math on computers, solving math puzzles, conducting experiments with chemistry sets, and going to science museums (Simpkins et al., 2006). The opportunity to engage in specific enrichment activities predict youth's later enrollment in high school and mathematics courses (Kant et al., 2018; Rito & Moller, 1989; Simpkins et al., 2006; Shukla, 2019). In the research literature, enrichment activities encompass various activities that provide an opportunity for youth to build on existing knowledge of mathematics. Enrichment activities also promote higher-order thinking, more interest in computer programming, and enhanced problem-solving strategies (Shukla, 2019). For minority populations, the benefits of enrichment activities are documented. A study conducted by Rito and Moller (1989) found that among Black and Latinx students who participated in a building skills program (e.g., task-oriented problem solving and explaining how one arrives at their answer) had higher post-test gains. Similar findings were found among Indigenous communities who engaged in culturally responsive enrichment activities in mathematics (Kant et al., 2018).

## Guiding Theoretical Frameworks

Coll's et al. (1996) Integrative Model for the Study of Developmental Competencies in Minority Children guides our understanding of diverse girls' mathematics experiences. The model highlights how gender, race, and social class create unique ecologies that influence important developmental outcomes, like academic self-concepts and academic success. For instance, the way in which racial/ethnic minority girls think about their math ability might be influenced through exposure to racism or gendered stereotypes around math or a combination of the two (Cogburn et al., 2011; Cole, 2009). Additionally, opportunities provided inside and outside of the classroom might increase the likelihood of being on a STEM pipeline (Cimpian et al., 2020; Maltese & Cooper, 2017; Maltese et al., 2014; Talley & Martinez Ortiz, 2017).

We also use Eccles & Wigfield, (2002) expectancy-value theoretical model to explain the gender gap in mathematics performance and the underrepresentation of women in STEM careers (e.g., Jacobs et al., 2005). According to the model, individuals' expectations for success and the importance or value the individual attributes to available options are primary factors contributing to whether an individual pursues an academic challenge, such as taking an advanced mathematics course in high school (Eccles & Wigfield, 2002). Students' expectations for their success and their value attributed to the domain are largely shaped by their relevant past experiences, socializers' attitudes and expectations, race, ethnicity, gender and cultural stereotypes about the subject matter (e.g., girls are not good in math), and their self-concept of ability. Unfortunately, racial/ethnic minority girls may be more vulnerable than their peers in encountering marginalized treatment relating to their multiple intersecting identities of race, gender, and social class (Cartledge et al., 2001; Meece & Scantlebury, 2006) that can negatively impact their academic beliefs and attitudes and ultimately their performance.

## The Current Study

The current study contributes to the dearth of research by examining the mathematics attitudes, beliefs, and enrichment activities and being on a STEM pipeline among a nationally representative sample of racial/ethnic minority girls. Specifically, we examine whether Black, Latinx, American Indian/Alaska Native and Asian, Hawaii/Pacific Islander girls' beliefs and attitudes (e.g., mathematics self-efficacy beliefs & enjoyment of mathematics) and enrichment activities (e.g., participation in science/math fair and in-class opportunities) are associated with being on a STEM pipeline. Previous research has linked more positive beliefs and experiences in mathematics (e.g., Bouchey & Harter, 2005; Valentine et al., 2004) and viewing mathematics ability as malleable (e.g., Dweck, 1999) to higher achievement outcomes; however, racial/ethnic minority girls have been an understudied population on this topic.

Thus, based on previous literatures, we hypothesized that mathematics attitudes, beliefs, and participation in enrichment activities will be associated with racial/ethnic minority girls being on a STEM pipeline. For instance, previous research with adolescents indicates that those who feel efficacious in an academic domain (e.g., Bandura, 1997; Bong & Skaalvik, 2003; Fast et al., 2010; Schunk & Pajares, 2002), students who enjoy and value the subject area (e.g., Eccles & Wigfield, 2002), students who are engaged in classes (e.g., Dotterer & Lowe, 2011), and those who view academic ability as malleable (e.g., Blackwell et al., 2007; Dweck, 1999) have more positive achievement outcomes. Additionally, consistent with this previous work (Maltese et al., 2014; Maltese & Cooper, 2017; Talley and Martinez Ortiz 2017; Weeden et al., 2020), we also hypothesize that enrichment activities would be associated with being on a STEM pipeline.

## Method

### Participants

The current study used data from the restricted *Educational Longitudinal Study of 2002 (ELS: 2002)*. The ELS: 2002 is a longitudinal study that is designed to assess educational policy and research issues related to academic achievement. The ELS: 2002 data set includes school attributes associated with academic achievement and the transition of different racial/ethnic minority adolescents from high school to post-secondary education. Three rounds of the data are used in this study: the base year survey of 10th graders in 2002, a follow-up of 12th graders in 2004, and another follow-up in 2005 after graduation. The full sample consists of 7,720 female participants, but this analysis divides the sample into four groups of girls— Black, Latinx, American Indian/Alaska Native, and Asian, Hawaii/Pacific Islander, which reduced the sample size to 2,790 participants ( $n=970$  Black;  $n=1070$  Latinx;  $n=60$  American Indian/Alaska Native; and  $n=690$  Asian, Hawaii/Pacific Islander) with complete responses for the variables used in this study. The data is weighted using weights developed by the data distributors to compensate for uneven probabilities of being selected for the sample and to adjust for the schools/individuals that did not participate in the survey. Considering the weights, this study's sample of 2,790 participants increased to 572,530 participants ( $n=230,100$  Black;  $n=263,780$ , Latinx;  $n=13,490$ , American Indian/Alaska Native; and  $n=65,160$  Asian/Hawaii/Pacific Islander).

### Measures

#### Mathematics Attitudes and Beliefs

**Growth Mindset** Adolescents' perceptions of the acquisition of mathematics ability were used to measure the mindset of the student. The item "Most people can learn

to be good at math” is used as a measure of the growth mindset of the student. After reverse-scoring, the responses ranged from 1, strongly disagree, to 4, strongly agree. Higher scores were indicative of endorsing higher beliefs that most people can learn to be good at math. Previous studies have used this one item in the ELS: 2002 data as an indicator of a growth mindset (Nix et al., 2015; Perez-Felkner et al., 2017).

**Mathematics Enjoyment** A composite scale developed by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) for the ELS: 2002 data set was used to assess mathematics enjoyment to understand students’ beliefs and perceptions around mathematics. The scale was comprised of three items (“get totally absorbed in math,” “thinks math is fun,” and “math is important”). The responses, after reverse-scoring, ranged from 1, strongly disagree, to 4, strongly agree. The alphas for Black, Latinx, American Indian/Alaska Native, and Asian/Hawaii/Pacific Islander girls were 0.67, 0.74, 0.70, and 0.76, respectively. Higher scores were indicative of higher mathematics enjoyment beliefs.

**Mathematics Self-Efficacy Beliefs** Adolescents’ mathematics self-efficacy beliefs were assessed to understand students’ persistence in the subject area. The scale was comprised of five items (e.g., “can do excellent job on math tests” and “can master math class skills”). The responses ranged from 1, almost never, to 4, almost always. The alphas for Black, Latinx, American Indian/Alaska Native, and Asian/Hawaii/Pacific Islander girls were 0.91, 0.90, 0.91, and 0.92, respectively. Higher scores were indicative of higher mathematics self-efficacy beliefs. This was a composite scale developed by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) for the ELS: 2002.

## Enrichment Mathematics Activities

**Participation in Enrichment Activities** To measure in-class and out-of-class learning opportunities, we used four items (i.e., how often do/did you problem-solve in math class?”, “how often do/did you explain work to math class orally?”, “have you received recognition or participated in a science, math, or technology fair?”, and “have you received or participated in a vocational/technical skills competition?”). The final composite scale included these four items and responses were coded as 1, participation in any of the four enrichment activities, and 0, no participation in any of the four enrichment activities. Scores were summed across all four variables, such that higher scores were indicative of more participation in enrichment activities. These items were based on responses from baseline year, in which adolescents were in their 10th grade year. These enrichment activities and being on a STEM pipeline is supported by existing research that suggests students who participate in STEM competitions are more likely to express interest in a STEM-related career at the end of high school than are students who do not participate, even when students’ prior career interest in STEM is controlled for (Miller et al., 2017). The amount of time students use during classroom time to apply and communicate are important



skills that STEM employers seek out, according to the US Bureau of Labor Statistics' publication *Occupational Outlook Quarterly* (Vilorio, 2014).

## Outcome

**STEM Pipeline** A composite scale by the NCES for the ELS: 2002 data was used to assess the math pipeline. The math pipeline composite variable is comprised of from 1, no math; 2, basic arithmetic; 3, pre-algebra; 4, algebra I/geometry; 5, algebra II/trigonometry; 6, pre-calculus/probability & statistics; 7, calculus; and 8, AP calculus. Higher scores are indicative of higher math-course taking. This information was retrieved from the NCES High School Transcript. This composite scale is created as a proxy for STEM participation and has been used in a previous study in students pursuing a STEM degree (Palardy, 2013).

## Demographics

Socioeconomic status (SES) is a composite variable from the NCES created for the ELS: 2002 data that was derived from parent's educational attainment, household income, and parental occupation. Tenth grade mathematics standardized test scores were also used as a covariate.

## Results

To examine the association between mathematics attitudes and beliefs (e.g., mathematics self-efficacy and mathematics enjoyment), growth mindset, and enrichment activities and the association with being on STEM pipeline among racial/ethnic minority girls, we conducted four separate ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. The data is analyzed using statistical software R (version 3.4.2, 2017). The dependent variable is based on STEM pipeline (i.e., FIRMAPIP; mathematics pipeline). The independent variables are SES, 10th grade standardized mathematics test score, mathematics self-efficacy, mathematics enjoyment, growth mindset, and enrichment activities. Separate models were conducted for Black, Latinx, American Indian/Alaska Native, and Asian, Hawaii/Pacific Islander.

Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 1. Table 2 provides a breakdown of the total number of racial/ethnic minority girls math course-taking (i.e., STEM pipeline). Correlations for the study variables are in Tables 3 and 4.

**Black Girls** In Table 5, SES ( $b=0.262$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), 10th grade test score ( $b=0.605$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), and mathematics self-efficacy ( $b=0.144$ ,  $p<0.010$ ) was associated with being on a STEM pipeline. However, being involved in enrichment activities was predictive of lower levels of mathematics course-taking (i.e., STEM pipeline) ( $b=-0.121$ ,  $p<0.05$ ). This model accounted for 24% of the variance (see Table 5).

**Table 1** Descriptive statistics of mathematics attitudes, beliefs, and enrichment activities

	min	max	Black		Latinx		American Indian/Alaska Native		Asian, Hawaii/Pacific Islander	
			n	n = (unweighted)	n	n = (unweighted)	n	n = (unweighted)	n	n = (unweighted)
Mathematics Self Efficacy (Composite)	1	4	970	229,270	1060	262,740	60	13,490	690	65,000
			alpha=0.91		alpha=0.89		alpha=0.93		alpha=0.92	
Mathematics Enjoyment (Composite)	1	4	2.44 (0.83)	2.42 (0.82)	2.39 (0.78)	2.37 (0.78)	2.43 (0.91)	2.57 (0.99)	2.52 (0.82)	2.54 (0.85)
			alpha=0.65		alpha=0.74		alpha=0.54		alpha=0.75	
Growth Mindset In/Out School Enrichment	1	4	2.48 (0.69)	2.49 (0.70)	2.49 (0.68)	2.48 (0.68)	2.33 (0.61)	2.34 (0.62)	2.58 (0.66)	2.55 (0.68)
			3.04 (0.74)	3.05 (0.74)	3.06 (0.73)	3.06 (0.74)	2.98 (0.62)	3.01 (0.63)	3.09 (0.67)	3.04 (0.67)
	0	4	2.94 (0.84)	2.96 (0.83)	2.93 (0.77)	2.96 (0.77)	2.65 (0.84)	2.65 (0.87)	2.96 (0.81)	2.94 (0.81)
Socioeconomic Status (Standardized)	-2.11	1.8	-0.24 (0.67)	-0.28 (0.64)	-0.40 (0.75)	-0.49 (0.69)	-0.23 (0.75)	-0.14 (0.73)	-0.01 (0.86)	0.03 (0.84)
10th Grade Math Standardized Test Score	20.53	84	43.83 (8.41)	43.31 (8.32)	45.20 (9.40)	44.34 (9.26)	46.47 (7.14)	46.89 (7.35)	53.56 (10.47)	53.94 (10.49)

Variable means with standard deviation in parentheses. Growth mindset= Most people can learn to be good at math

Source: US Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Education Longitudinal Study (ELS:2002), "Baseline year (2002), First Follow-up (2004), High School Transcripts (2005), Student Survey."

**Table 2** First follow-up (12th grade) distribution of STEM pipeline

	Black		Latinx		American Indian/ Alaska Native		Asian, Hawaii/ Pacific Islander	
	n	Percent	n	Percent	n	Percent	n	Percent
1. No Math	20	2%	10	1%	0	0%	0	0%
2. Basic Arithmetic	20	2%	20	2%	0	0%	0	0%
3. Pre-Algebra	40	5%	50	5%	0	0%	20	3%
4. Algebra I/Geometry	210	24%	310	32%	20	50%	90	14%
5. Algebra II/Trigonometry	250	29%	270	28%	20	50%	120	18%
6. Pre-Calculus/Probability & Statistics	180	21%	100	10%	0	0%	70	11%
7. Calculus	100	11%	140	14%	0	0%	150	23%
8. AP Calculus	50	6%	70	7%	0	0%	200	31%

Source: US Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Education Longitudinal Study (ELS:2002), “Baseline year (2002), First Follow-up (2004), High School Transcripts (2005), Student Survey.”

**Latinx Girls** For Latinx female students, SES ( $b=0.173$ ,  $p<0.010$ ), 10th grade test scores ( $b=0.801$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), and mathematics self-efficacy ( $b=0.119$ ,  $p<0.05$ ) were associated with being on a STEM pipeline. This model accounted for 34% of the variance (see Table 5).

**American Indian and Alaska Native Girls** For American Indian and Alaska Native girls, 10th grade test scores ( $b=1.11$ ,  $p<0.001$ ) and endorsing a growth mindset ( $b=0.428$ ,  $p<0.05$ ) were associated with being on a STEM pipeline. Additionally, mathematics self-efficacy beliefs ( $b=-0.422$ ,  $p<0.05$ ) was associated with lower levels of being on a STEM pipeline. The model accounted for 41% of the variance (see Table 6).

**Asian, Hawaii/Pacific Islander Girls** In Table 6, 10th grade test score ( $b=1.02$ ,  $p<0.001$ ) and mathematics enjoyment ( $b=0.123$ ,  $p<0.05$ ) were associated with being on a STEM pipeline. The model accounted for 46% of the variance.

## Discussion

Overall, the present study examined the mathematics attitudes, beliefs, and enrichment activities and being on a STEM pipeline among a nationally representative sample of racial/ethnic minority girls. In this study, we lay the groundwork to explore the dimensions that was found in previous literatures that underscore the importance of personal and affective components of mathematics (e.g., mathematics self-efficacy and mathematics enjoyment) and enrichment activities (Schnell & Prediger, 2017). First, we examined mathematics enjoyment beliefs, mathematics self-efficacy beliefs,

**Table 3** Pearson correlations between STEM pipeline and predictor variables for Black girls (upper) and Latinx girls (lower)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	STEM Pipeline	Math Self-Efficacy	Math Enjoyment	Growth Mindset	SES	Math Test Score	Enrichment Activities
1. STEM Pipeline	—	0.20***	0.11*	0.04	0.24***	0.47***	-0.03***
2. Math Self-Efficacy	0.20***	—	0.50***	0.33***	0.02	0.20***	0.10***
3. Math Enjoyment	0.08*	0.48***	—	0.29***	0.00	0.11**	0.09**
4. Growth Mindset	0.00	0.31***	0.40***	—	-0.09***	0.00*	0.12*
5. SES	0.29***	0.08*	-0.02	-0.03	—	0.29***	0.09***
6. Math Test Score	0.58***	0.22***	0.07*	-0.05	0.38***	—	0.06
6. Enrichment Activities	0.07*	0.05	0.14***	0.08**	0.09**	0.10**	—

\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Education Longitudinal Study (ELS:2002), “Baseline year (2002), First Follow-up (2004), High School Transcripts (2005), Student Survey.”

**Table 4** Pearson Correlations between STEM pipeline and predictor variables for American Indian/Alaska Native girls (upper) and Asian, Hawaii/Pacific Island girls (lower)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	STEM Pipeline	Math Self-Efficacy	Math Enjoyment	Growth Mindset	SES	Math Test Score	Enrichment Activities
1. STEM Pipeline	—	-0.01	0.18	-0.11	0.21	0.64***	0.06
2. Math Self-Efficacy	0.30***	—	0.28*	0.42**	0.28*	0.21	0.13
3. Math Enjoyment	0.16***	0.49***	—	-0.11	0.20	0.26	0.19
4. Growth Mindset	-0.05	0.23***	0.33***	—	-0.06	-0.35**	-0.12
5. SES	0.28***	0.15***	-0.08**	-0.09*	—	0.33*	0.18
6. Math Test Score	0.68***	0.36***	0.14***	-0.06	0.38***	—	0.18
7. Enrichment	-0.05	0.07	0.02	0.02	0.08*	-0.02	—

\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

Source: US Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Education Longitudinal Study (ELS:2002), “Baseline year (2002), First Follow-up (2004), High School Transcripts (2005), Student Survey.”

**Table 5** Summary of OLS regression for variables predicting STEM pipeline

Variable	Black					Latinx				
	Estimate	SE	95% CI	LL	UL	Estimate	SE	95% CI	LL	UL
Intercept	5.541 ***	0.159		5.230	5.853	5.069 ***	0.158		4.759	5.379
SES	0.262 ***	0.067		0.131	0.393	0.173 **	0.056		0.063	0.283
10th grade test score	0.605 ***	0.046		0.515	0.695	0.801 ***	0.043		0.717	0.885
Self-efficacy	0.144 **	0.051		0.044	0.244	0.119 *	0.046		0.029	0.209
Enjoyment	0.013	0.050		-0.085	0.111	0.002	0.047		-0.090	0.094
Growth	0.026	0.047		-0.066	0.118	0.011	0.043		-0.073	0.095
Enrichment activities	-0.121 *	0.051		-0.221	-0.021	0.017	0.051		-0.083	0.117
Residual standard error (degrees of freedom)	1.253 (860)					1.209 (964)				
F-statistic	48.02 (6,860) ***					87.23 on (6,964) ***				
R-Squared (adjusted)	0.2457					0.3478				
n	870					970				

\*p < 0.05, \*\*p < 0.01, \*\*\*p < 0.001

Source: US Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Education Longitudinal Study (ELS:2002), "Baseline year (2002), First Follow-up (2004), High School Transcripts (2005), Student Survey."

**Table 6** Summary of OLS regression for variables predicting STEM pipeline

Variable	American Indian/Alaska Native				Asian, Hawaii/Pacific Islander			
	Estimate	SE	95% CI		Estimate	SE	95% CI	
			LL	UL			LL	UL
Intercept	4.875***	0.558	3.781	5.969	6.525***	0.180	6.172	6.878
SES	0.06	0.258	-0.446	0.566	0.041	0.061	-0.079	0.161
10th grade test score	1.117***	0.192	0.741	1.493	1.028***	0.054	0.922	1.134
Self-efficacy	-0.422*	0.209	-0.832	-0.012	0.070	0.058	-0.044	0.184
Enjoyment	0.143	0.181	-0.212	0.498	0.123*	0.056	0.013	0.233
Growth	0.428*	0.203	0.030	0.826	-0.081	0.051	-0.181	0.019
Enrichment activities	-0.004	0.197	-0.390	0.382	-0.092	0.059	-0.208	0.024
Residual standard error (degrees of freedom)	1.138 (43)				1.181 (631)			
F-statistic	6.642 on (6,43)***				93.4 on (6,631)***			
R-Squared (adjusted)	0.4086				0.4653			
n	50				640			

\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.001$

Source: US Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Education Longitudinal Study (ELS:2002), "Baseline year (2002), First Follow-up (2004), High School Transcripts (2005), Student Survey."

enrichment activities, and whether or not having a growth mindset contributed to racial/ethnic minority girls being on a STEM pipeline. Second, we were also interested in whether mathematics enrichment activities were associated with being on STEM pipeline. Our findings revealed unique findings for each racial/ethnic minority group. More specifically, we found that for Black girls, mathematics self-efficacy beliefs were predictive of being on a STEM pipeline. However, contrary to our hypotheses, engagement in mathematics enrichment activities was associated with lower participation on the STEM pipeline for Black girls. Among Latinx girls, mathematics self-efficacy beliefs were associated with being on a STEM pipeline. For American Indian and Alaska Native girls, higher levels of mathematics self-efficacy beliefs were associated with lower endorsements of being on a STEM pipeline. Also, endorsing a growth mindset was associated with being on a STEM pipeline for American Indian and Alaska Native girls. Lastly, Asian, Hawaii/Pacific Islander girls, mathematics enjoyment was associated with being on a STEM pipeline.

## The Importance of Mathematics Achievement Attitudes and Beliefs

**Math Self-Efficacy** In this study, we found that mathematics self-efficacy was important for Black and Latinx female students being on the STEM pipeline. However, mathematics self-efficacy was not a predictor for American Indian and Alaska Native — in fact it was associated with being less likely to be on a STEM pipeline. We speculate that there might be additional underlying processes such as self-concept and self-confidence that might be important for American Indian and Alaska Native female students being on a STEM pipeline. For instance, in a study conducted by Parker et al. (2013), it was found that mathematics self-efficacy was associated with educational aspirations to attend college and not post school studies in STEM. Other studies have examined both the role of GRIT and self-efficacy and found that self-efficacy should be targeted instead of GRIT (Usher et al. 2019). However, Usher and colleagues did not include an American Indian and Alaska Native sample. Future work should continue to examine other personal and affective components of American Indian and Alaska Native girls that might contribute to endorsements of being on a STEM pipeline. Exploring additional outcomes (e.g., achievement motivational tasks and beliefs or STEM interest) should also be considered. For instance, in other studies, mathematics self-efficacy beliefs were associated with a higher-grade point average (GPA) (Bryan, 2004; Downs, 2005) and persistence in post-secondary outcomes for American Indian and Alaska Native (Hill, 2003) children and youth. Furthermore, *interest in pursuing a STEM career* was associated with science-mathematics self-efficacy for Asian adolescents (O’Brien et al., 1999). This might explain the non-significant finding of mathematic self-efficacy beliefs for Asian, Hawaii/Pacific Islander girls in the current study. In other words, it might not be that mathematics self-efficacy beliefs are unimportant for Asian, Hawaii/Pacific Islander girls — but additional factor such as interest in pursuing a STEM career is the outcome goal of being on a STEM pipeline. These findings suggest the need for additional research to understand the educational experiences of racial/ethnic minority girls and the role of mathematics self-efficacious beliefs. Thus, we do not suggest that mathematics self-efficacy beliefs are not important, but perhaps additional support systems are relevant within the school and familial setting that predicts being on a STEM pipeline.

**Mathematics Enjoyment** To our knowledge, very little research has examined the academic emotion of mathematics attitudes and beliefs among a nationally representative sample of racial/ethnic minority girls. Several studies have examined the emotion states of adolescents and the association with mathematics (e.g., Afari et al., 2013; Frenzel et al., 2007; Goetz et al., 2008; Pekrun et al., 2002; Tulis & Ainley, 2011). For instance, Frenzel et al. (2007) examined gender differences towards mathematics and found that girls endorsed less enjoyment of mathematics in comparison to boys. Additionally, Goetz et al. (2008) found that mathematics enjoyment was associated with mathematics achievement. Our study contributes to this work by finding that academic emotion such as mathematics enjoyment was important in predicting the likelihood of racial/ethnic minority girls being on a STEM pipeline. More specifically, in our study, enjoyment of mathematics was a predictor of being



on a STEM pipeline for Asian, Hawaii/Pacific Islander girls. Interventions targeted towards academic emotions might be helpful in promoting positive emotions around mathematics in targeting anxiety and lower self-confidence. For instance, Kim and Hodges (2012) developed a mathematics emotion intervention for college students taking an online mathematics course. The findings revealed that students participating in the emotion control treatment group (e.g., promoting positive appraisal, developing student agency in control over negative emotions, and healthy emotional responses) in comparison to control (absence of treatment) were associated with higher performance in the online mathematics course. Overall, our study contributes to the research on the role of positive academic emotions on racial/ethnic minority girls' engagement in the STEM pipeline.

**Growth Mindset** Despite the literature that underscores the important role of endorsing a growth mindset (Dweck, 2007), this finding was only for American Indian and Alaska Native girls in our sample and was associated with being on a STEM pipeline. For the other groups, growth mindset was not a predictive factor. A growth mindset suggest that intelligence is malleable and can be developed over time. For instance, a growth mindset has been associated with higher academic achievement and mathematics performance (Blackwell et al., 2007; Yeager & Dweck, 2012). With regard to fixed mindsets, Dweck (2007) found girls more susceptible to underperforming when endorsing a fixed mindset. Perhaps examining task and motivational outcomes would provide insight on the role of racial/ethnic minority girls' growth mindset. Other studies have found that growth mindset was associated with female students' achievement motivational outcomes (Degol et al., 2018). Perhaps examining additional outcomes such as academic persistence and academic curiosity would further implicate the role of endorsing a growth mindset for racial/ethnic minority girls. It's also important to note that the significant finding with American Indian and Alaska Native girls underscore the intersectional experiences in endorsing specific types of mathematics attitudes and beliefs. There is an additional need to further examine the role of additional outcomes and the unique experiences of racial/ethnic minority girls endorsing a growth mindset.

**Enrichment Activities** Based on previous literatures, we were interested in the extent to which engagement opportunities in the classroom (i.e., "how often do/did you problem-solve in math class?", "how often do/did you explain work to math class orally?") and outside the classroom (i.e., participating in science/math fairs and/or vocational/technical skills competition) was associated with being on a STEM pipeline. Contrary to our hypotheses, these activities were only significant for Black girls, but in a negative direction. This finding was unexpected. However, after further exploration of the variable, we speculate that this finding might be due to the fact that for Black girls, participation in these activities might not be culturally responsive. For instance, Ford et al. (2018) suggest that to increase a STEM academic identity for Black girls — in addition to opportunities for problem solving and peer group collaboration — schools should offer a variety of extracurricular

activities in addition to in-class enrichment opportunities such as summer STEM programs, mentoring, and culturally responsive pedagogy (Ford et al., 2018).

For the other racial/ethnic minority groups, involvement in enrichment activities was not associated with being on a STEM pipeline. We speculate that these non-significant findings might be due to the fact that there is variation in teaching mathematics in the classroom that is not only limited to the items we used in our study. For instance, Ladson-Billings underscores the importance of utilizing culturally responsive pedagogy in classroom instruction (Gutstein & Peterson, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2014). Perhaps adolescents' responses to the absence or presence of culturally relevant mathematics instruction would provide additional information on the inclusion of marginalized voices in a field that is rooted in Whiteness (Battey, 2013). Another factor that needs to be considered is the opportunities provided to participate in science/math fairs and/or vocational/technical skills competition. In a more recent study, Steegh et al. (2019) conducted a systematic review on participation in mathematics and science competitions and found that participation in these events favored boys. Because of the unique social positioning of racial/ethnic minority girls, it is important to examine equity in these opportunities.

## Limitations

A strength of the study is the focus on a nationally representative sample of racial/ethnic minority girls and how mathematics attitudes, beliefs, and enrichment activities is associated with being on a STEM pipeline. However, a limitation of the study is that we did not examine racial/ethnic minority girls' perceptions of culturally relevant mathematics instruction and opportunities to participate in science and math fair and/or vocational/technical skills competition. Additionally, in this study, we did not examine the role of parental support and encouragement supporting racial/ethnic minority girls being on a STEM pipeline. There is a plethora of studies that document the important role of parental involvement. For instance, Eccles (1993) found that boys received more encouragement in math and science in comparison to girls. Other scholars have noted that for Black parents, in particular, mathematics learning and participation can be conceptualized as racialized experiences (Martin, 2006). More recently, McGee and Spencer (2015) noted the important role of Black parents' awareness of educational inequities in mathematics. Parental involvement also plays a significant role in predicting STEM career aspirations of Latino students and persistence in mathematics (Leslie et al., 1998). Yan and Lin (2005) and Mau (1997) used the National Education Longitudinal Study: 1988 (NELS: 88) and found that high parental expectations were associated with mathematics courses for racial and ethnic minority high school students. Mau (1997) specifically examined the experiences of Asian immigrants and Asian Americans and found that higher parental expectations were reported in comparison to White parents. Another limitation is the lack of measurement invariance with some of the scales used in the study as they might lack evidence of racial/ethnic and gender equivalence for racial/ethnic minority girls. For instance, for American Indian/Alaskan Native girls, we found

that in comparison to Black, Latinx, and Asian, Hawaii/Pacific Islander, endorsement of higher self-efficacy beliefs was associated with being less likely to be on a STEM pipeline. Moving forward, it is important to understand if the items are being interpreted the same across samples (Byrne & Watkins, 2003). Thus, future research should continue to examine both the importance of racial/ethnic minority female student perceptions of mathematics instruction in their classroom and the important role of parents in supporting racial/ethnic minority girls.

Another limitation of the study is the small number of American Indian/Alaska Native girls. Additionally, the mathematics attitudes and beliefs and enrichment activities used to measure overall motivation and interest might not be predictors of American Indian/Alaska Native girls being on a STEM pipeline. For instance, Lipka and Adams (2004) found that culturally based mathematics education was associated with higher mathematics performance. House (2001) found that academic self-concept (e.g., self-ratings of academic ability, drive to achieve, mathematical ability, and self-confidence) predicted mathematics achievement. In our study, we examine mathematics self-efficacy beliefs, mathematics enjoyment, growth mindset, and classroom experiences. It might be the case that these variables are not predictors of being on the STEM pipeline for American Indian/Alaska Native girls.

It's also important to disaggregate the category for Asian, Hawaii/Pacific Islanders (e.g., Asian category with the Hawaiian/Pacific Islander population). In one study, Pang et al. (2011) examined the mathematics achievement scores of Asian Pacific Islanders by disaggregating the data (i.e., Asian Americans) and found lower scores for Asian Pacific Islanders. Moving forward, to understand the unique racialized and gendered differences among Asian Pacific Islanders, disaggregation of the data is warranted. Overall, our findings also highlight the important need of mixed methodology in understanding the mathematics experiences of racial/ethnic minority girls. For instance, semi-structured interviews will allow for each group to talk about their unique racialized and gendered experiences within the classroom — centering their experiences as it pertains to gendered racism might explain their participation in their mathematics classroom. This is imperative as some of the scales we used in this study (i.e., mathematics self-efficacy) had a lower alpha for African American girls. The use of mixed methods will provide an opportunity for the researcher to engage in an in-depth analysis to understand how mathematics experiences influence self-processes among racial/ethnic minority girls.

## Conclusion

Overall, the study contributes to the dearth of research on examining the mathematics attitudes and beliefs, enrichment activities, of racial/ethnic minority girls and being on the STEM pipeline. According to the National Science Foundation (NSF) (2009), American Indian/Alaska Native, Black, and Latinx women have the lowest participation in STEM fields (i.e., computer sciences, physical sciences, and engineering). Doctoral degrees are also less obtained by Latinx and even smaller for American Indian/Alaska Native and Hawaii/Asian Pacific Islander women (National Science Foundation, 2009). Our research findings

build on the previous work by highlighting important factors that are associated with being on a STEM pipeline for racial/ethnic minority girls. It's also important to note that promoting a healthy and equitable environment (Coll et al., 1996; Eccles and Wigfield 2002) and culturally responsive programming (e.g., Gutstein, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 2000) is imperative. For instance, Kitsantas et al. (2011) found that increasing self-efficacy for all students would shrink the achievement gap, with intentional inclusion of programming targeted to Black, Pan-Asian, American Indian/Alaska Native, and Latinx adolescents. These experiences are paramount for racial/ethnic minority girls STEM career path and also have implications on education. More specifically, because of segregation in the USA and the educational disparities that exist, creating equitable environments and promoting positive attitudes and beliefs about mathematics for racial/ethnic minority girls is imperative. In addition, inequitable access to resources might also explain the types of learning opportunities afforded to racial/ethnic minority girls. To date, Black and Latinx students have limited opportunities to enroll in AP courses (Kolluri, 2018; Patrick et al., 2020). Lack of supportive teachers is also associated with racial/ethnic minority girls being underrepresented in AP courses. For instance, Campbell (2012) found that being more confident in mathematics was associated with teachers being less likely to recommend Black girls for AP courses. In moving this work forward, it is important to consider if racial/ethnic minority girls are less likely to have a variety of math course offerings in high school, what factors contribute to teacher recommendations to enroll in AP courses, and who is more likely to have access to AP calculus in US high schools. Additionally, Black and Latinx youth are concentrated in urban hyper-segregated cities (Orfield & Lee, 2005; Saporita & Sohoni, 2007) and are more likely to attend inequitable schools with less resources (Logan et al., 2012). For instance, Logan and Burdick-Will (2017) found that Black, Latinx, and Native American youth had lower mathematics proficiency scores in comparison to their White peers in urban school settings. To address STEM inequities, scholars suggest that there be STEM focused schools in urban areas to increase ethnic minorities' representation in STEM (see Bullock, 2017; Nasir & Vakil, 2017). Nasir and Vakil, (2017) also suggest that intersectional experiences tied to race and gender in mathematics classrooms further exacerbates the gap in access to equitable learning outcomes in STEM — as racial/ethnic minority girls are less likely to be encouraged to participate in STEM related activities. Using an intersectionality lens (Cole, 2009; Crenshaw, 1991) can allow researchers and educators to better understand the ways youth with diverse social identities are uniquely impacted in mathematics and STEM-related contexts. It is important that actors in youth's lives (educators, parents, and administrators) acknowledge the power and social hierarchies related to race, ethnicity, and gender that explicitly and implicitly undermine youth's positive trajectories in STEM fields. For instance, prevention and intervention efforts focusing only on decreasing the gender gap in mathematics achievement may overlook the unique experiences that racial/ethnic minority girls encounter that may stifle their mathematics achievement. Efforts to engage in dismantling the various systems of oppression (e.g., sexism and racism) that impact individuals with multiple marginalized identities will be necessary to fully

support all youth. Our work contributes to this scholarship by highlighting the importance of specific mathematics beliefs and attitudes, and enrichment activities, and being on a STEM pipeline for racial/ethnic minority girls. In moving forward, additional efforts should be geared towards interventions that strengthen academic assets of racial/ethnic minority girls. Attention should also be given to school districts within the USA to ensure an equitable learning environment (e.g., healthy school climate and equitable resources).

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**Declarations**

**Conflict of Interest** The authors declare no competing interests.

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