1	Longitudinal analysis of a diversity support program in biology: a national call for
2	further assessment
3	
4	Cissy J. Ballen ^{1,2} , Nicholas A. Mason ¹
5	¹ Department of Ecology & Evolutionary Biology, Cornell University, Corson Hall, Ithaca,
6	NY 14853, USA.
7	² Department of Biology Teaching and Learning, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN
8	55455, USA.
9	Corresponding author e-mail: balle027@umn.edu
10	
11	
12	
13	
14	
15	
16	
17	
18	
19	
20	
21	
22	
23	Manuscript for consideration as Article in Bioscience
24	Word count: 3,909

25	Abstract
26	National calls to improve the performance and persistence of students from historically
27	underrepresented backgrounds in science have led to a surge of research on inclusive,
28	evidence-based teaching methods. Less work has examined the effects of diversity support
29	initiatives that improve campus climate and community cohesion. Here, we examine whether
30	participation in the Biology Scholars Program (BSP) at Cornell University— a diversity
31	support program at a prominent university—affects underrepresented racial minority (URM)
32	student performance. We found BSP participants are less academically prepared when they
33	enter college, but typically have similar GPAs to their non-BSP counterparts upon
34	graduation, thereby closing achievement gaps. Although the BSP appears to help URM
35	students, we cannot assert that the BSP alone is responsible for these effects; future work
36	should isolate effective strategies that contribute to student success. In response to these
37	results, we lay out strategies that support programs could implement to maximize positive
38	impacts.
39	
40	
41 42 43	Keywords: STEM equity, science diversity program, Biology Scholars Program, minority students

Introduction

44

45

46

47

48

49

50

51

52

53

54

55

56

57

58

59

60

61

62

63

64

65

66

67

68

69

70

71

72

73

74

75

Minority demographics are underrepresented in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) disciplines (Landivar 2013), highlighting the need for effective approaches that promote and retain student diversity (Brewer and Smith 2011). Underrepresented racial minority (URM) students in the United States include African American, Hispanic, Pacific Islander, and Native American undergraduates, and each demographic faces significant inequity before and upon entering university. Social challenges that disproportionately affect URM students include transitioning to college (Cooper et al. 2005), feelings of exclusion (Hurtado and Ruiz 2012), stereotype threat (Cohen and Garcia 2008, Steele 1997), and discrimination (Milkman et al. 2015). Within the classroom, URM students are more likely to struggle in large introductory science classes (Alexander et al. 2009) due to inadequate high school preparation and limited opportunities to interact with instructors (Hurtado et al. 2011). A negative learning environment can undermine selfefficacy, which reduces the number of URM students who enter STEM majors and complete a STEM degree (Olson and Riordan 2012). The gap in racial and ethnic demographic representation also widens as students progress through the STEM pathway and enter the workforce. For example, although 10.8 percent of the total workforce in the United States was black or African American in 2011, they held only 6.4 percent of STEM jobs. Similarly, 14.9 percent of the total workforce identified as Hispanic or Latino, but they held only 6.5 percent of STEM jobs (Landivar 2013). Initiatives supporting URM students in higher education thus require creative practices rather than the replication of past practices that have yet to achieve the desired goal of improving racial and ethnic diversity in STEM. One way that many campuses have tried to promote and retain URM students in STEM is through diversity support programs that focus on aspects of student life outside the classroom. Although few URM support programs have identified specific strategies that improve student performance or other quantitative metrics of success, a handful of programs have been successful in their efforts to support URM students in STEM (Gándara and Maxwell-Jolly 1999; Cota-Robles and Gordan 1999; Matsui, Liu, and Kane 2003; Summers and Hrabowski 2006; Buchwitz et al. 2012; Barlow and Villarejo 2004). The overall lack of quantitative studies on diversity support programs in STEM could be due to low numbers of participating students, unfavorable results, or the inability to disseminate their data with the wider scientific community. Regardless, in order to clarify positive strategies,

institutional programs should rigorously and regularly self-assess student performance in a manner consistent with the way STEM researchers address their own scientific questions.

Here, we analyze a longitudinal data set of students enrolled in Biological Sciences at Cornell University between fall 2008 and fall 2015. We compare performance metrics among non-URM and URM students that either participated in an institutional support initiative or did not. The Biology Scholars Program is an undergraduate program based out of Cornell University's Office of Undergraduate Biology in collaboration with the College of Agriculture and Life Sciences and the College of Arts and Sciences. The program's mission is to increase the satisfaction, retention, and graduation of historically underrepresented students in the Biological Sciences, and to promote the value of educating a diverse population of students in the sciences.

To assess the impact of the BSP at Cornell University, we evaluated the preparedness and performance of students that varied in their URM status and whether they participated in the BSP program with three metrics: 1) SAT scores; 2) cumulative GPA; 3) graduation rates. Thus, we use a quantitative approach that is modified from Matsui et al. (2003) to examine variation in both preparedness and performance among biology students at Cornell.

Research Participants

We gathered a longitudinal data set that spans 15 semesters from fall 2008 through fall 2015. We compared the academic performance of 3159 students distributed among four groups: 1) non-URM non-BSP (n = 2221; 'the majority'); 2) non-URM BSP (n = 51; including low-socioeconomic status or first-generation college students); 3) URM non-BSP (n = 706); 4) URM BSP (n = 181). We considered participants of the BSP students who are either currently active members or those who remained in the program for at least four semesters; we removed fifty students because they did not fit these criteria. Through follow up surveys with students who left the BSP, we found two emerging reasons students leave the program: because they decided to pursue a non-science career path, or the BSP was too large of a time commitment. All students who were included in the analysis were intended biology majors, or those who stated in their admissions application that they intend to study the fundamentals of biology and declare a concentration in one of the following: animal physiology; biochemistry; computational biology; ecology and evolutionary biology; genetics, genomics, and development; insect biology; marine biology; microbiology; molecular and cell

biology; neurobiology and behavior; human nutrition; plant biology; systematics and biotic diversity. Of our entire student population who graduated, 41% of all students who entered biological sciences graduated with a bachelor of science (N = 615), and 59% graduated with a Bachelor of Arts (N = 877).

All experimental procedures on participants were approved by Cornell's Institutional Research Board for human participants (protocol 1410005010). Anonymized data is accessible through the DRYAD digital repository.

Program description

Between 2008 and 2015, 925 of 3,199 students enrolled in Biological Sciences described themselves as URM (29% of students). Of those URM students, 24% participated in the BSP, representing 7% of all biology majors. From data available between 2009-2015, 244 students were accepted to participate in the BSP out of a pool of 599 applicants (41%) entering Biological sciences. Prior to the program's conception, the university did not provide any unique support to historically underserved students. In response to a national call to action led by the Howard Hughes Medical Institute in 2005, teams of administrators from a number of universities across the country met to discuss the state of the nation's historically underserved student populations, and to generate new ideas on how to better support them. Following that meeting, the group that attended from Cornell met regularly in order to develop what became the BSP, including an on-site visit to Meyerhoff Scholars Program at University of Maryland, Baltimore County. Therefore, the BSP was conceived in an effort to promote and retain URM students within the sciences, with the ultimate goal of diversifying the STEM workforce. The program is institutionally funded out of provost office at Cornell.

According to personal communication with program directors (November 12, 2016), incoming URM students who intend to major in biological sciences are eligible for the BSP, which serves students primarily from economic, gender, ethnic, or historically underrepresented cultural groups and first-generation college students. In the summer prior to matriculation, all incoming freshmen biological sciences majors are notified about the BSP and must apply by the end of August. The program strongly encourages applicants from Cornell's pre-freshman Summer Program. The online application consists of questions and essays that help the BSP selection committee choose students who will be a good fit with

BSP. Students begin the program after university matriculation in mid-September. The BSP selection committee is comprised of staff from the Office of Undergraduate Biology and from each of the two Cornell colleges that support biological sciences majors. The committee looks not only for applicants who may need academic support, but those who are able to demonstrate a commitment to diversity in science are also eligible for the program (personal communication). Approximately 35 freshmen are accepted into the BSP each year and they remain members as long as they meet the program's expectations and continue on a science-related career path.

140

141

142

143

144

145

146

147

148

149

150

151

152

153

154

155

156

157

158

159

160

161

162

163

164

165

166

167

168

169

170

171

Activities that characterize the BSP take place in the first four semesters, and participation is voluntary. These include: 1) academic monitoring and support through participation in study groups. Biology Scholars are required to attend a weekly, two-hour study group for biology, chemistry, physics, or math courses through their sophomore year. Final grades in science and math courses are monitored by program coordinators and support is provided to any struggling students. Program coordinators are notified if struggling students perform poorly on an exam. Following the notification, they contact students to check on them, make sure they know what resources are available to them (e.g. the Learning Strategies Center, tutoring through the College of Arts and Life Sciences), and develop a plan to improve study habits. The BSP study group leaders are also notified so they can focus their efforts on struggling students; 2) leadership development. Leaders of the study groups described above are BSP members who received high grades in the courses they tutor. They are required to attend weekly training sessions where they discuss that week's study group experience and mentor more junior study group leaders, or are provided guidance by more senior study group leaders. BSP members may also serve on the BSP Executive Board. Approximately half of the students continue to serve in some leadership capacity within the BSP after the first two years of support, but this varies dramatically depending upon the cohort; 3) interaction with faculty. Biology Scholars are required to participate in two one-credit seminar courses in their first and second years, in which they meet and work with faculty to learn how to interpret and articulate scientific literature. During this time, students may tour labs and are encouraged to pursue undergraduate research. Because we do not know the number of students who engaged in an authentic research experience as part of the BSP we do not know the impact of this experience on GPA or probability of graduating; 4) career and professional development. The seminars

also provide information about medical and graduate school and advice for pursuing medical degrees. For example, the BSP offers trips to visit graduate and medical schools as well as financial support to attend off-campus science-related conferences; 5) **sense of community**. Students are required to participate in community service and social events each semester, and have access to a study space housed within the Office of Undergraduate Biology. Required activities for BSP participants only go through the first 4 semesters, and continuation in the BSP is voluntary.

179

180

181

182

183

184

185

186

187

188

189

190

191

192

193

194

195

196

197

198

172

173

174

175

176

177

178

Statistical analyses

Effect of URM Status and BSP Participation on Academic Performance

We used generalized linear models to quantify differences among the four previously described student groups with respect to three metrics: combined math and verbal SAT score, cumulative GPA upon graduation or at the time of data collection, graduation rates. We constructed a generalized linear model with a Gaussian distribution to quantify main and interactive effects of URM status and participation in the BSP program on combined SAT scores and cumulative GPA. We calculated a marginal R² value for our generalized linear models as an indicator of model fit and variance explained (Nakagawa and Schielzeth 2012) using functions in the MuMIn package (Bartoń 2009). We urge readers to exercise caution in comparing R² values for generalized linear models across studies, however, because substantial variation in methods for generating these summary statistics and their underlying assumptions preclude widespread generalizations (Nakagawa and Schielzeth 2012; Johnson 2014). We also computed the least-square means among all four groups to determine the statistical significance of each pairwise comparison. To examine variation in graduation rates among groups, we determined whether each student graduated from the university, and modeled this binary response variable with a logistic regression using the same predictor variables: URM status, BSP participation, the interaction effect between these two factors, and combined SAT scores. We also calculated a marginal R² value for this logistic regression of graduation rates (Nakagawa and Shielzeth 2012).

199200

201

Results

202 Effect of URM Status and BSP Participation on Academic Preparedness and Performance

203 Comparing incoming SAT scores of URM BSP and URM non-BSP students by 204 computing the least-squares means revealed a significant difference between each student 205 group (Figure 1A; Table 1). Non-URM non-BSP students had the highest combined SAT 206 score (mean = 2167; SE = 3.32), followed by non-URM BSP students (mean = 2033; SE = 207 22.04), URM non-BSP students (mean = 1967; SE = 5.94), and URM BSP students (mean = 208 1885; SE = 11.25). Computing the least-squares means for each of the four groups revealed 209 statistically significant differences in mean cumulative GPA (Figure 1B; Table 1). We found 210 that the cumulative GPA of non-URM non-BSP students (mean = 3.49; SE = 0.01) and 211 non-URM BSP students (mean = 3.44; SE = 0.07) were significantly higher than both URM 212 non-BSP students (mean = 3.04, SE = 0.02) and URM BSP students (mean = 3.10, SE = 213 0.03). There was no statistically significant difference in least-squares means between non-214 URM non-BSP students and non-URM BSP students nor between URM non-BSP students 215 and URM BSP students. 216 Within our generalized linear models, we found a significant effect of URM status $(\beta_{\text{URM}} = -0.45, t = -21.99; P = 8.57 \times 10^{-100})$ on cumulative GPA. BSP participation ($\beta_{\text{BSP}} = -$ 217 218 0.05, t = -0.75; P = 0.45) and the interaction effect between BSP participation and URM 219 status were not significant ($\beta_{URM \times BSP} = 0.11$; t = 1.42; P = 0.16). The marginal R^2 value for 220 this model was 0.15. We found a significant effect of URM status ($\beta_{\text{URM}} = -0.87$; $\gamma = -3.67$; P = 2 x 10⁴) on the probability of graduation with a degree. BSP participation (β_{BSP} = 13.65; γ = 221 222 0.025; P = 0.980) and the interaction effect between these two predictor variables ($\beta_{\text{URM x BSP}}$ 223 = -13.65; χ = -0.024; P = 0.981) were not significant. The marginal R² value for this model 224 was 0.49. These results suggest that there is a decrease in the probability of graduation for 225 URM students, but that there is no statistically significant difference among URM students 226 that participate in the BSP program and those that do not. 227 228 Effect of Incoming Preparedness on Academic Performance 229 When we included SAT scores as an index of incoming preparedness in our 230 generalized linear models, we found a significant effect of SAT score ($\beta_{SAT} = 1.02 \times 10^{-3}$; t =17.658; P = 3.37 x 10⁻⁶⁶) and URM status ($\mathcal{G}_{URM} = -0.24 \times 10^{-3}$; t = -10.20; P = 5.53 x 10⁻²⁴) on 231 232 cumulative GPA (Figure 2). BSP participation ($\beta_{BSP} = -0.24 \times 10^{-3}$; t = 1.42; P = 0.156) and 233 the interaction effect between URM status and BSP participation ($\beta_{BSP \times URM} = -0.03$; t =

0.426, P = 0.670) were not significant predictors of cumulative GPA when SAT scores were included in the model. The marginal R^2 value for this model was 0.23.

When we included SAT scores in our logistic regression of graduation probability, we found that SAT score was the sole statistically significant predictor of graduation probability ($\beta_{SAT} = 2.30 \times 10^{-3}$; $\chi = 3.11$; P = 0.002). The remaining predictor variables, including URM status ($\beta_{URM} = -0.484$; $\chi = -1.64$; P = 0.10), BSP participation ($\beta_{BSP} = 0.14$; $\chi = 13.93$; P = 0.981), and the interaction effect between these two predictors ($\beta_{BSP \times URM} = -13.02$; $\chi = -0.02$; P = 0.982) were not statistically significant. The marginal R^2 value for this model was 0.50.

Discussion

Recent calls to action urge educators and institutions to increase the retention and performance of all students in STEM fields (eg. Brewer and Smith 2011). Our longitudinal study adds to a growing body of literature that highlights the need for national efforts to quantitatively assess diversity support programs and institute effective practices. After URM students participated in the BSP program at Cornell, we found that the statistically significant gaps in academic preparedness among URM students closed in terms of actual academic achievement. However, BSP participation does not improve the GPA of URM students beyond non-participants. Future research should identify which strategies among diversity support programs contribute most to URM student success.

We acknowledge one limitation to this study could be the self-selection of high-performing students to the BSP, since more motivated students may be more likely to apply to such a program. However, participation in the BSP program did not affect graduation rates. Furthermore, when we included SAT scores as a measure of incoming preparedness in our model, we found SAT scores and URM status strongly predict GPA upon graduation. SAT score was also the sole positive predictor of student graduation rates.

Changing strategies

The persistent performance gap between URM and non-URM students highlights the importance of implementing specific strategies that promote URM demographics. Measuring a range of programs in thoughtful and deliberate ways will allow us to identify the most effective approaches. Institutional support programs that have quantitatively assessed

student performance offer points of comparison, but also differ widely in their approaches to supporting students. To further support URM students, Cornell University's BSP plans to experimentally implement a number of new evidence-based strategies. In addition to an annual quantitative assessment using the data presented here as a baseline comparison, the BSP will implement multiple approaches that are describe below. These actions were chosen based on their success in other programs that improved the academic performance or other relevant metrics for URM participants.

One experimental strategy will be to increase student engagement with research opportunities for undergraduates. While the BSP currently encourages students to conduct research, students may be more willing to pursue these opportunities if they are financially supported to do so or are given directed research credits. Research experiences place students in the middle of ongoing research in active laboratories on campus (Hernandez et al. 2013, Maton et al. 2012, Matsui et al. 2003, Olson and Riordan 2012, Villarejo et al. 2008). Through research opportunities, students are exposed to the process of discovery through an authentic project, and engage with professors and graduate students. This strategy may lead to publications, presentation opportunities, and other activities that serve as important steps in building a CV and academic confidence for students. This also places students in close proximity to faculty, who serve as important role models and collaborators. Hernandez (2013) showed in a longitudinal analysis of interventions across 38 institutions that the single most effective strategy that significantly contributes to positive academic motivation of minority students was engagement in undergraduate research.

Another common strategy employed by successful programs, and one that Cornell's BSP will implement starting fall 2016, is student guidance through mentorship by graduate students and faculty. Mentors can be people with whom students develop supportive relationships and from whom they receive professional advice throughout their undergraduate career. Positive role-models and regular contact with faculty are considered key experiences in higher education associated with student retention and development (Epstein et al. 2015, Wilson et al. 2012), including degree aspirations (Kim and Sax 2009), potential for degree completion (Newman 2011), and academic performance (Kim and Sax 2009).

Finally, the BSP will incorporate established learning theory into practice. For example, the BSP plans to extend programming to include juniors and seniors, with a focus

on continued use of collaborative learning with peer groups (Toven-Lindsey et al. 2015). In this scenario, we expect increased motivation and persistence through elements of social constructivism, in which learning happens through social interactions with others (Au 1998). Beyond quantifying persistence and performance, an appropriate assessment tool for the BSP to quantify the effects of extended programming on motivation is the Motivated Strategies for Learning Questionnaire (Pintrich et al. 1993). Other established learning theories that the BSP will employ is the growth mindset and lay theory approaches to learning (Yeager David Scott and Dweck 2012, Yeager David S et al. 2016). In practice, teaching students about growth mindset is to stress that intelligence and performance are malleable; lay theory stresses the high prevalence of emotional challenges experienced by other students as they entered college. These types of interventions reduce the susceptibility of stereotype threat and narrow institutional achievement gaps (Levy et al. 1998, Yeager David S et al. 2016).

Challenges and opportunities for STEM

The critical importance of effective diversity programs for minority students has strong implications for the achievement of equity in STEM disciplines. In order to reveal positive outcomes and efficient use of resources, more quantitative research is required. One difficulty for many universities is selecting how to distribute funds for URM-support programs. While most large universities have URM support programs, few studies have explored the optimal allocation of limited resources to best serve students: does a university invest a finite amount of resources across a large pool of students or into few individuals? If they choose the latter option, is it better to invest in low-achieving students who most need the intervention, or top-achieving students who are most likely to succeed? There may be a critical financial threshold below which the amount of funding will not benefit students, or above which programs should consider widening their pool of recipients.

Another area that would benefit from further study is the exploration of nuanced quantitative metrics beyond GPA and retention rate that capture the positive effects of URM-support programs. Such metrics may include measures of intellectual breadth, extracurricular depth, self-efficacy and motivation, academic or extracurricular accomplishments, and life-long impacts. The lack of studies on these other metrics means that we cannot test how Cornell's BSP affects different facets of student success; yet the BSP

330 may affect URM students in ways we have not quantified. Rigorous research on alternative 331 metrics of performance is required if our field aims to evaluate the generality of different 332 program impacts. 333 This assessment presents the BSP with the unique opportunity to apply and monitor 334 evidence-based methodologies to close the majority-minority gap. In spite of inherent 335 challenges, the promotion of diversity in STEM fields will be made possible through 336 continued collaborative assessment and systemic change. 337 338 Acknowledgements. We are deeply grateful to the coordinators of Cornell's Biology Scholars 339 Program for help with student data and providing specific program details. We also thank F. 340 Vermeylen for statistical advice, and C. Gilbert, I. Lovette, and K. Zamudio for valuable 341 advice on the manuscript. This work was funded by the College of Arts and Sciences, 342 Cornell University. 343 344 Author contributions. Conceived and designed the experiments: CJB and NAM. Analyzed 345 the data: NAM. Wrote the paper: CJB and NAM. Edited and improved the manuscript: CJB 346 and NAM. 347

	URM		Non-URM	
	BSP	Non-BSP	BSP	Non-BSP
SAT Score (SE)	1885.33 (11.25)	1967.01 (5.94)	2032.95 (22.04)	2166.85 (3.32)
GPA (SE)	3.10 (0.03)	3.04 (0.01)	3.44 (0.07)	3.49 (0.01)
n	181	706	51	2221

Table 1: Results from generating least-squares means to compare incoming SAT scores and cumulative GPA of students who differ based on their racial minority status (URM or non-URM) and participation in Cornell's Biology Scholars Program (BSP or non-BSP). Standard errors are shown in parentheses.

- 355 References
- 356 Alexander C, Chen E, Grumbach K. 2009. How leaky is the health career pipeline? Minority
- 357 student achievement in college gateway courses. Academic Medicine 84:797-802.
- 358 Au KH. 1998. Social constructivism and the school literacy learning of students of diverse
- backgrounds. Journal of Literacy Research 30:297-319.
- Barlow AE, Villarejo M. 2004. Making a difference for minorities: Evaluation of an
- 361 educational enrichment program. Journal of Research in Science Teaching 41:861-881.
- Bartoń K. 2009. MuMIn: multi-model inference. R package, version 0.12.2. (15 November
- 363 2016; http://r-forge.r-project.org/projects/mumin/)
- 364 Brewer CA, Smith D. 2011. Vision and change in undergraduate biology education: a call to
- action. American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington, DC.
- Buchwitz BJ, Beyer CH, Peterson JE, Pitre E, Lalic N, Sampson PD, Wakimoto BT. 2012.
- 367 Facilitating long-term changes in student approaches to learning science. CBE-Life Sciences
- 368 Education 11:273-282.
- 369 Cohen GL, Garcia J. 2008. Identity, belonging, and achievement a model, interventions,
- implications. Current Directions in Psychological Science 17:365-369.
- 371 Cooper CR, Chavira G, Mena DD. 2005. From pipelines to partnerships: A synthesis of
- 372 research on how diverse families, schools, and communities support children's pathways
- through school. Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk 10:407-430.
- 374 Cota-Robles E, Gordan E. 1999. Reaching the top: A report of the national task force on
- 375 minority high achievement. New York: The College Board.
- 376 Epstein I, Godsoe K, Kosinski-Collins M. 2015. The Brandeis Science Posse: Using the
- 377 Group Model to Retain Students in the Sciences. Athens Journal of Education 2:9-21.
- 378 Gándara P, Maxwell-Jolly J. 1999. Priming the pump: Strategies for increasing the
- achievement of underrepresented minority undergraduates. New York: The College Board.
- 380 Hernandez PR, Schultz P, Estrada M, Woodcock A, Chance RC. 2013. Sustaining optimal
- motivation: A longitudinal analysis of interventions to broaden participation of
- underrepresented students in STEM. Journal of Educational Psychology 105:89.
- Hurtado S, Eagan MK, Tran MC, Newman CB, Chang MJ, Velasco P. 2011. "We do science
- here": Underrepresented students' interactions with faculty in different college contexts.
- Journal of Social Issues 67:553-579.

- Hurtado S, Ruiz A. 2012. The climate for underrepresented groups and diversity on campus.
- 387 American Academy of Political and Social Science 634:190-206.
- Johnson, PCD. 2014. Extension of Nakagawa & Schielzeth's R2 GLMM to random slopes
- models. Methods in Ecology and Evolution 5(9): 944–946.
- 390 Kim YK, Sax LJ. 2009. Student–faculty interaction in research universities: Differences by
- 391 student gender, race, social class, and first-generation status. Research in higher education
- **392** 50:437-459.
- 393 Landivar LC. 2013. Disparities in STEM employment by sex, race, and Hispanic origin.
- 394 Education Review 29:911-922.
- 395 Levy SR, Stroessner SJ, Dweck CS. 1998. Stereotype formation and endorsement: The role
- of implicit theories. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 74:1421.
- 397 Maton KI, Pollard SA, McDougall Weise TV, Hrabowski FA III. 2012. Meyerhoff Scholars
- 398 Program: A Strengths-Based, Institution-Wide Approach to Increasing Diversity in Science,
- 399 Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics. Mount Sinai Journal of Medicine: A Journal of
- 400 Translational and Personalized Medicine 79:610-623.
- 401 Matsui J, Liu R, Kane CM. 2003. Evaluating a science diversity program at UC Berkeley:
- 402 more questions than answers. Cell Biology Education 2:117-121.
- 403 Milkman KL, Akinola M, Chugh D. 2015. What happens before? A field experiment
- 404 exploring how pay and representation differentially shape bias on the pathway into
- 405 organizations. Journal of Applied Psychology 100:1678-1712.
- Nakagawa S, Schielzeth H. 2012. A general and simple method for obtaining R2 from
- 407 generalized linear mixed-effects models. Methods in Ecology and Evolution 4(2): 133–142.
- Newman C. 2011. Engineering success: The role of faculty relationships with African
- 409 American undergraduates. Journal of Women and Minorities in Science and Engineering 17.
- 410 Olson S, Riordan DG. 2012. Engage to Excel: Producing One Million Additional College
- 411 Graduates with Degrees in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics. Report to
- the President. Executive Office of the President.
- Pintrich PR, Smith DA, García T, McKeachie WJ. 1993. Reliability and predictive validity of
- 414 the Motivated Strategies for Learning Questionnaire (MSLQ). Educational and Psychological
- 415 Measurement 53:801-813.
- 416 Steele CM. 1997. A threat in the air. How stereotypes shape intellectual identity and
- 417 performance. American Psychology 52:613-629.

418	Summers MF, Hrabowski FA. 2006. Preparing minority scientists and engineers. Science
419	17:18.
420	Toven-Lindsey B, Levis-Fitzgerald M, Barber PH, Hasson T. 2015. Increasing persistence in
421	undergraduate science majors: a model for institutional support of underrepresented
422	students. CBE-Life Sciences Education 14:ar12.
423	Villarejo M, Barlow AE, Kogan D, Veazey BD, Sweeney JK. 2008. Encouraging minority
424	undergraduates to choose science careers: career paths survey results. CBE-Life Sciences
425	Education 7:394-409.
426	Wilson ZS, Holmes L, Sylvain MR, Batiste L, Johnson M, McGuire SY, Pang SS, Warner
427	IM. 2012. Hierarchical mentoring: A transformative strategy for improving diversity and
428	retention in undergraduate STEM disciplines. Journal of Science Education and Technology
429	21:148-156.
430	Yeager DS, Dweck CS. 2012. Mindsets that promote resilience: When students believe that
431	personal characteristics can be developed. Educational Psychologist 47:302-314.
432	Yeager DS, Walton GM, Brady ST, Akcinar EN, Paunesku D, Keane L, Kamentz D, Ritter
433	G, Duckworth AL, Urstein R. 2016. Teaching a lay theory before college narrows
434	achievement gaps at scale. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences:201524360.
435	
436	
437	

438 Figure Legends

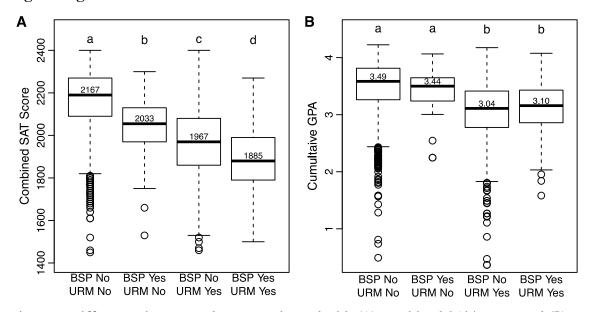


Figure 1: Differences in preparedness as estimated with (A) combined SAT scores and (B) cumulative GPA among students that varied in minority status and participation in the BSP program. The mean values are shown for each group above the median bar in the bar plot. Outliers are shown as circles. Significant differences in pairwise comparisons of least squares means estimates are shown above each boxplot.

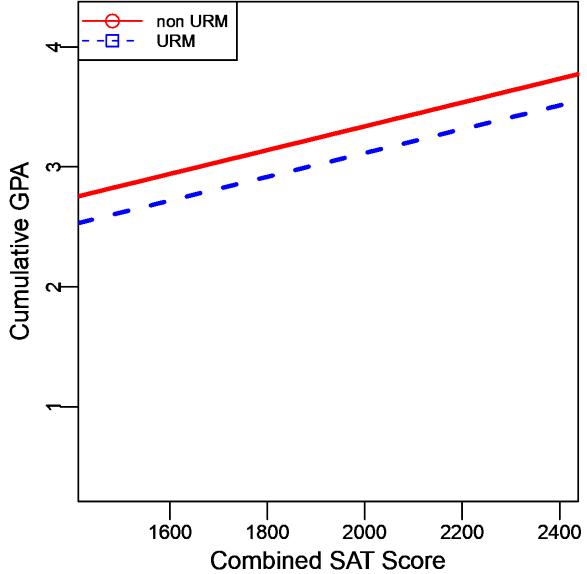


Figure 2: Scatterplot of combined SAT score and cumulative GPA, which shows a positive correlation between these two metrics. The solid line and circles represent non-URM students, while the dotted line and squares represent URM students.