# Who Works on Campus? A 12-Year Longitudinal Study of On-Campus College Student Employees

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*On-campus employment is a high-impact practice for student retention, postgraduate success, and employability. This study engaged with twelve years (2007-2019) of student employment data from a large R-1 university to determine who has access to this high-impact practice and explore which types of students become on-campus employees. Aggregate totals suggest juniors and seniors, White students, and women access on-campus employment at far greater levels than men or students of Color. However, intersectional analyses by race and gender suggest students from certain racial and gender groups are consistently over or underrepresented in on-campus student employment. Implications for gender and racial equity in on-campus hiring practices and postgraduate support for students of Color are addressed.*

*Keywords: college students, student affairs, student employment, high impact practices, students of Color, colleges, universities*

For the first time in history, the United States (U.S.) has seen a consistent rise in the number of students of Color and students from low-income backgrounds graduate from college (Carnevale et al., 2019; Cataldi et al., 2018). This is indeed praiseworthy; however, according to the Georgetown Center for Education and the Workforce, employment opportunity and wealth creation jobs (upward mobility jobs) have been predominantly awarded to White applicants (Carnevale et al., 2019). Higher education has traditionally been the gatekeeper to upward mobility for students of Color and low-income populations (Carnevale, 2016; Chetty et al., 2017). However, with the rise of interest in graduate employability, researchers are discovering the effect college experiences can have on perpetuating inequality, specifically as it relates to harming students' college retention and limiting students of Color's postgraduate employability in a systemically racist labor market (Hora, 2019; Kalfa & Taksa, 2015).

However, it remains unclear which college experiences—during the process of attaining a postsecondary credential—can positively impact one's retention and propensity for postgraduate employment. The majority of the extant literature equates employability with human capital when, in fact, it is something more (Burnett, 2021; Hora, 2019; Kalfa & Taksa, 2015). For industry and the economy, employability is about the training and education of the workforce. However, for students of Color and those from low-income backgrounds, employability tends to be about developing the social capital required to access postgraduate professional employment after college (Carnevale, 2016; Chetty et al., 2017; Eagan et al., 2016). A postsecondary credential is only part of the package required for upward mobility, as these credentials provide an indicator of knowledge acquisition but not necessarily of how to deploy that knowledge or connect that knowledge to social or cultural capital for gainful employment (Dacre Pool & Sewell, 2007; Knight & Yorke, 2004; Peeters et al., 2019). As a result, the employability conversation must be focused on college experiences that both help retain students of Color and help them transition into a labor market that has historically been unkind to people of Color (Burnett & Taylor, 2022; Carnevale et al., 2019).

One avenue to develop employability—joining academic rigor with real-life working experiences and the gaining of social and cultural capital—is on-campus employment. Decades of research have proven that on-campus employment is a high-impact practice that dramatically increases the odds that a student is retained by their institution and successfully gains employment (Astin, 1993; Burnett & Taylor, 2020, 2023; Kuh, 2016; McClellan et al., 2018; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005). However, to date, no research has explored which types of students access on-campus employment and if this access is inequitable, as this employment is a high-impact practice that can bolster student retention and prepare students for a transition to the labor market. As a result, this study analyzes a twelve-year (2007-2019) dataset of student employees

at a large, urban R-1 research university to investigate which types of students have access to valuable work experience and social and cultural capital in the form of on-campus employment. Thus, this study answers the following research questions:

R1: What types of students (race, gender, major, age, class, etc.) access on-campus employment at the highest rates over time?
R2: Are there equity gaps in accessing on-campus employment for marginalized students, including students of Color, over time?

Answering these questions will provide both the student affairs research and practice community with ample evidence to identify on-campus employment gaps within student groups and stem those gaps with intentional recruitment and hiring practices. In addition, this study will provide a framework for analyzing on-campus employment data, providing another perspective that student affairs administrators must adopt to achieve racial and socioeconomic equity within on-campus employment.

## Theoretical Framework

Engaging with Critical Race Theory, Yosso (2005) explained in their model of community cultural wealth "… the contradictory nature of education, wherein schools most often oppress and marginalize while they maintain the potential to emancipate and empower" (p. 74). From this perspective, the concept of employability presents a similar contradiction in that employability can be leveraged to replicate and sustain inequality while at the same time being a mechanism for the emancipation of minoritized populations. This study begs the question, "Who accesses on-campus student employment, and thus the institutional capital, to bolster one's community cultural wealth and amplify their employability?" Because the prevailing understanding of employability and what it consists of has been derived from the prevailing hegemonic ideals of what constitutes someone as employable (Brown et al., 2003; Kalfa & Taksa, 2015), employability can serve as a form of cultural gatekeeping (Hora, 2019) in regulating who can access employment that facilitates upward social mobility.

Moreover, employability is frequently explained in human capital in terms of individual characteristics and traits that support one's propensity for employment. As a result, we will analyze data with Yosso's (2005) framework in mind, as students bring a wealth of community capital to the institution, yet the institution must acknowledge gaps in services faced by students of Color and facilitate opportunities for students of Color to access valuable institutional capital, such as on-campus employment.

## Methodology

The following sections will provide an overview of the institution of study, how data was collected and analyzed, and how the researchers addressed limitations.

### INSTITUTION OF STUDY

Located in a predominantly Republican-aligned state, the institution under study enrolls 50,000 students or more annually and employs 3,376 total (1,865 tenure-track, 1,511 non-tenured) faculty. The institution confers, on average, 14,200 degrees a year from 17 colleges ranging from 9,800 bachelors to 120 Ph.Ds. The student body is 54.4% women and 45.6% men, composed of students identifying by the following races/ethnicities: 5.3% Black, 23.4% Hispanic, 20.2% Asian, 38.9% White, and 0.1% American Indian and Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander. These percentages have largely remained unchanged for the past decade.

### DATA COLLECTION

Data was collected to identify who has held a two-semester position as a student employee since 2007 up until 2019 to ascertain a more comprehensive understanding of which types of students access on-campus employment opportunities. We accessed data through the Vice President of Student Affairs's Director of Analytics and Information at the institution under study. The institution's Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved of this data use, including blinded and anonymous descriptive reporting of the data by race, gender, class, and college (the university houses 12 unique colleges). Data included only students who held on-campus employment for an institutional unit for a minimum of two long semesters (fall or spring).

**DATA ANALYSIS**To answer this study's first research question, we performed an aggregate statistical analysis by class (freshman, sophomore, junior, senior), race, and gender across the twelve-year dataset (see Table 1). Findings from this analysis identified patterns in the tendencies of those who access on-campus employment. We decided to parse the analyses by year, as we hypothesized that students might need time to acclimate to their campus environment before seeking employment, a notion echoed by prior research (McClellan et al., 2018). Moreover, we decided to parse the analyses by gender and race, as we also hypothesized that gender and racial inequities in the U.S. workforce (Brown et al., 2003; Carnevale et al., 2016) might be replicated at the postsecondary level. These results are in Appendix A, separated by class, and within the class, separated by race and gender.

Then, to answer this study's second research question regarding equity gaps, we engaged with publicly available enrollment data from the institution to compare the numbers and percentages of on-campus student employees by race and gender against the enrollment trends of the institution. This analysis produced twelve separate

analyses by year, including a calculation of the percentage of student employees by race and gender and a calculation of the percentage of student enrollment by race and gender. These results are in Appendix B. Then, we calculated the difference between the percentages of student employment and enrollment by race and gender, producing an equity gap statistic. We then compiled all equity gap statistics over time and presented these statistics in Table 2.

Finally, to test the statistical significance of these equity gaps, we first conducted a Chi-Square test statistic to test differences in the counts of student classes, race(s), and genders over time. Analysis of classes resulted in a Chi-Square test statistic of 2603.3 and a *p*-value of 0.000, calculated at an alpha of 0.05 and a confidence level of 95%. This indicated that there were large, statistically significant differences in the counts of on-campus student employees by class over time. Analysis of race resulted in a Chi-Square test statistic of 1885.1 and a *p*-value of 0.000, calculated at an alpha of 0.05 and a confidence level of 95%. This indicated that there were large, statistically significant differences in the counts of on-campus student employees by race over time. Analysis of gender resulted in a Chi-Square test statistic of 68.9 and a *p*-value of 0.000, calculated at an alpha of 0.05 and a confidence level of 95%. This indicated that there were large, statistically significant differences in the counts of on-campus student employees by race over time. Overall, these tests indicated considerable variability of the data, informing our next series of significance tests.

Then, in order to explore whether equity gaps by class, race, and gender were statistically significant, we needed to understand whether the repeated observations in the data were correlated over time. As a result, we conducted repeated measures of correlations of classes, races, and genders of on-campus student employees over time (Bakdash & Marusich, 2017). These analyses can be found in Appendix C. These analyses found that there were statistically significant correlations of several classes, races, and genders, suggesting that each demographic's total number of student employees in one year would influence the number of that demographic's student employees the next year. As a result of our Chi-Square analyses indicating high levels of variation in the data and the repeated measures correlations indicating correlation within the data, we conducted Z-tests across each year of data and each racial and gender category to test the significance of the equity gaps between student employment and overall institutional enrollment over time (e.g., all Hispanic/Latinx students, Hispanic/Latinx men, and Hispanic/Latinx women separately). We conducted Z-tests across each year of data and found that the equity gaps presented in Table 2 were not statistically significant across all years of the data. However, the changes in equity gaps were notable, so we plotted the changes in demographics access to student employment over time (Figure 1) to illustrate the changes in access to student employment over time by race and gender.

## Results

Our analysis of data successfully answered both questions of this study:

R1: What types of students (race, gender, major, age, class, etc.) access on-campus employment at the highest rates over time?
R2: Are there equity gaps in accessing on-campus employment for marginalized students, including students of Color, over time?

Table 1 below displays aggregate totals of full-time undergraduate students in on-campus student employment at the institution under study from 2007-2019 by class, race, and gender (n=85,276):

**Table 1**

*Aggregate totals of on-campus student employees at institution under study, 2007-2019, by class, race, and gender (n=85,276)*

| Demographics | n | % of all on-campus student employees |
|---|---|---|
| Class | | |
| Freshman/1st-Year Students | 12,422 | 14.6% |
| Sophomores/2nd-Year Students | 17,432 | 20.4% |
| Juniors/3rd-Year Students | 20,949 | 24.6% |
| Seniors/4th-Year Students | 34,473 | 40.4% |
| Race | | |
| Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander | 15,337 | 18.0% |
| Black/African American | 8,981 | 10.5% |
| Hispanic/Latinx | 23,647 | 27.7% |
| Native American/Indigenous/ Aboriginal | 536 | 0.6% |
| White | 31,504 | 36.9% |
| International Students | 4,805 | 5.6% |
| Unknown | 296 | 0.3% |
| Gender | | |
| Man | 37,737 | 44.3% |
| Woman | 47,539 | 55.7% |
| Total | 85,276 | 100.0% |

By class, data in Table 1 suggest that most on-campus employees are seniors (34,473 total on-campus student employees or 40.4% of all on-campus student employees), followed by third-year juniors (20,949 or 24.6%), second-year sophomores (17,432 or 20.4%), and first-year freshmen (12,422 or 14.6%). This finding is significant, as student enrollment by academic class at the institution under study is both understandable and holds implications for discrepancies in access to professional development for students of Color. As students get older, it may be assumed they have more lived experience, which could equate with greater emotional intelligence and maturity, as well as exposure and experience with the campus. Here, it was unsurprising that more experienced students comprised larger percentages of on-campus student employees.

By race, data in Table 1 also suggests racial inequity across several student groups. First, Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander students were roughly represented as 18% of all on-campus employees, while enrollment of this population is roughly 20% historically. The same was true among White students, who comprised roughly 37% of all on-campus student employees and 39% of historical enrollment. However, several groups were over-represented, including Black/African American students and Hispanic/Latinx students. Across all years, 10.5% and 27.7% of all on-campus student employees were Black/African American students and Hispanic/Latinx students, while historical enrollment trends are 5.3% and 20.2% for these groups. Although these figures suggest racial overrepresentation, the institution's state contains over 12% Black/African American people and 40% Hispanic/Latinx people, suggesting that the institution has under-enrolled students from these populations and on-campus employment better matches state-level population data. However, later analyses in this study will delve deeper into these gaps.

By gender, data in Table 1 suggest gender inequity but institutional representation, as roughly 56% of all on-campus employees are women and 44% are men as of 2023. This gender inequity closely mirrors the institution's historical gender enrollment, as the institution typically enrolls 54% women and 46% men. Here, these aggregate totals suggest on-campus employment at this single institution may be slightly inequitable for men but largely mirrors the student population at the institution.

Table 2 below displays racial and gender equity gaps experienced by full-time undergraduate students in on-campus student employment, 2007-2019 (n=85,276):

**Table 2**

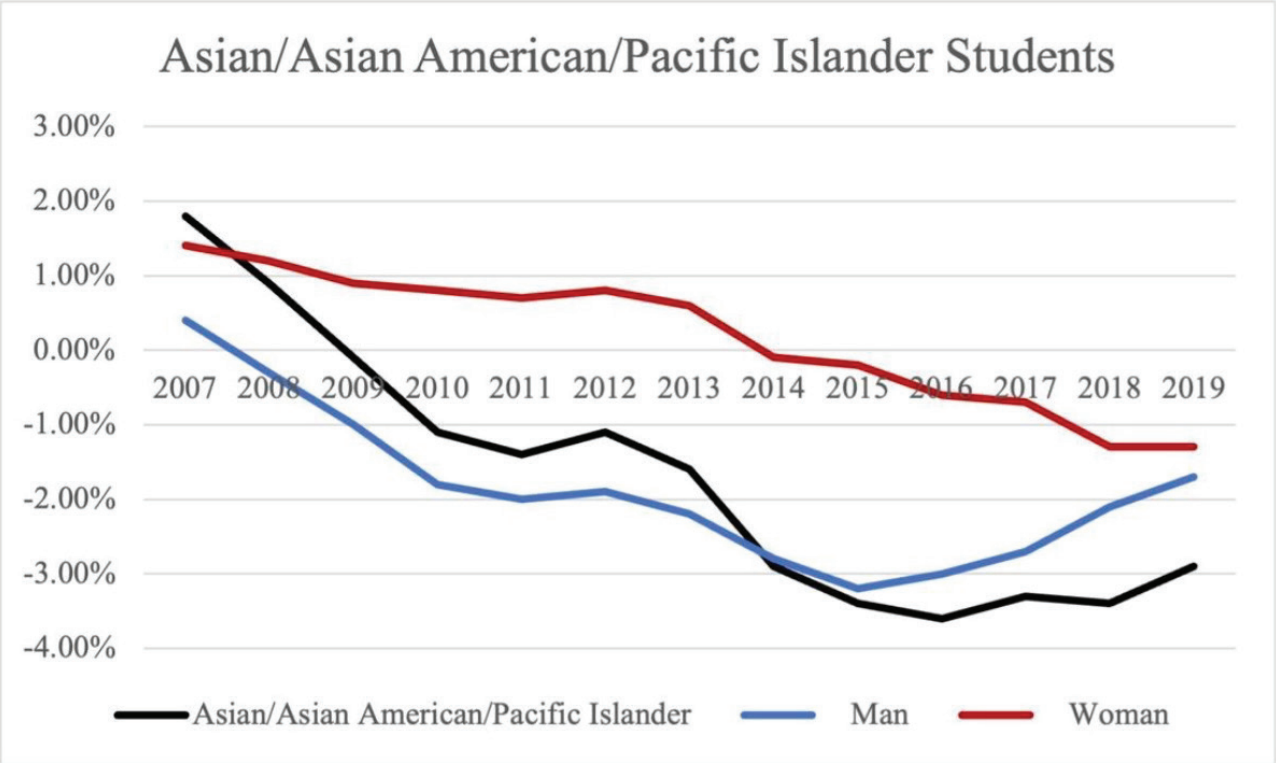
*Racial and gender equity gaps experienced by full-time undergraduate students in on-campus student employment, 2007-2019 (n=85,276)*

| | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Demographics | Equity Gap | Equity Gap | Equity Gap | Equity Gap | Equity Gap | Equity Gap | Equity Gap | Equity Gap | Equity Gap | Equity Gap | Equity Gap | Equity Gap | Equity Gap |
| Asian/Asian American/ Pacific Islander | 1.8% | 0.9% | -0.1% | -1.1% | -1.4% | -1.1% | -1.6% | -2.9% | -3.4% | -3.6% | -3.3% | -3.4% | -2.9% |
| Man | 0.4% | -0.3% | -1.0% | -1.8% | -2.0% | -1.9% | -2.2% | -2.8% | -3.2% | -3.0% | -2.7% | -2.1% | -1.7% |
| Woman | 1.4% | 1.2% | 0.9% | 0.8% | 0.7% | 0.8% | 0.6% | -0.1% | -0.2% | -0.6% | -0.7% | -1.3% | -1.3% |
| Black/African American | 7.1% | 7.4% | 7.7% | 8.2% | 7.6% | 6.8% | 6.4% | 5.7% | 4.9% | 4.7% | 4.4% | 4.5% | 5.1% |
| Man | 2.5% | 2.4% | 2.6% | 2.5% | 2.5% | 2.3% | 2.1% | 1.8% | 1.4% | 1.4% | 1.0% | 1.0% | 1.2% |
| Woman | 4.7% | 5.0% | 5.1% | 5.7% | 5.1% | 4.5% | 4.3% | 3.9% | 3.5% | 3.3% | 3.4% | 3.5% | 3.9% |
| Hispanic/ Latinx | 3.0% | 2.7% | 4.2% | 4.5% | 5.7% | 5.9% | 6.4% | 6.7% | 6.4% | 6.1% | 6.1% | 5.7% | 5.8% |
| Man | 0.9% | 1.1% | 1.7% | 1.7% | 1.8% | 2.2% | 2.5% | 2.9% | 3.0% | 2.8% | 2.9% | 2.7% | 2.5% |
| Woman | 2.0% | 1.6% | 2.5% | 2.9% | 3.9% | 3.8% | 3.9% | 3.8% | 3.5% | 3.4% | 3.3% | 3.0% | 3.3% |
| Native American/ Indigenous/ Aboriginal | -0.2% | -0.1% | -0.1% | 0.1% | 0.4% | 0.7% | 0.8% | 0.7% | 0.6% | 0.5% | 0.4% | 0.4% | 0.4% |
| Man | -0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.1% | 0.2% | 0.3% | 0.3% | 0.4% | 0.3% | 0.3% | 0.3% | 0.3% | 0.3% |
| Woman | -0.1% | -0.1% | -0.1% | 0.1% | 0.2% | 0.4% | 0.4% | 0.4% | 0.3% | 0.2% | 0.1% | 0.0% | 0.1% |
| White | -11.7% | -10.8% | -11.0% | -10.4% | -10.5% | -10.6% | -10.6% | -10.0% | -8.8% | -8.8% | -9.9% | -10.1% | -11.6% |
| Man | -4.4% | -4.1% | -4.4% | -4.0% | -4.6% | -5.3% | -5.0% | -5.5% | -5.1% | -4.9% | -5.3% | -5.2% | -6.1% |
| Woman | -7.2% | -6.8% | -6.6% | -6.4% | -6.0% | -5.2% | -5.6% | -4.5% | -3.7% | -3.9% | -4.6% | -4.9% | -5.5% |
| International Students | -0.1% | -0.2% | -0.8% | -1.4% | -1.7% | -1.7% | -1.3% | -0.1% | 0.6% | 1.6% | 2.8% | 3.4% | 3.5% |
| Man | -0.3% | -0.3% | -0.6% | -0.9% | -1.2% | -1.2% | -1.1% | -0.5% | -0.2% | -0.0% | 0.4% | 0.7% | 0.7% |
| Woman | 0.2% | 0.1% | -0.2% | -0.5% | -0.6% | -0.4% | -0.3% | 0.5% | 0.8% | 1.6% | 2.4% | 2.6% | 2.8% |
| Unknown | 0.0% | 0.2% | 0.1% | 0.0% | -0.1% | 0.0% | 0.0% | -0.2% | -0.4% | -0.5% | -0.5% | -0.4% | -0.3% |
| Man | 0.0% | 0.1% | 0.1% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | -0.2% | -0.3% | -0.3% | -0.3% | -0.3% | -0.2% |
| Woman | 0.0% | 0.1% | 0.0% | -0.1% | -0.2% | 0.0% | 0.0% | -0.1% | -0.1% | -0.2% | -0.2% | -0.1% | -0.1% |

Across nearly all races and genders at the institution under study, racial and gender equity gaps fluctuated between 2007 and 2019. For instance, in 2007, Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander students were overrepresented in on-campus student employment by 1.8%, but by 2019, Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander students were overrepresented by -2.9% of on-campus student employees. Moreover, within these gaps, men (0.4%) began as less overrepresented than women (1.4%) in 2007, but eventually, men (-1.7%) were more underrepresented than women (-1.3%) in 2019. Representation of Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander students in on-campus student employment reached a gender inequity peak in 2015, as Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander men were underrepresented by -3.2%, whereas Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander women were only underrepresented by -0.2%, comprising a 3% gender equity gap. These trends are displayed in Figure 1 below:

**Figure 1**

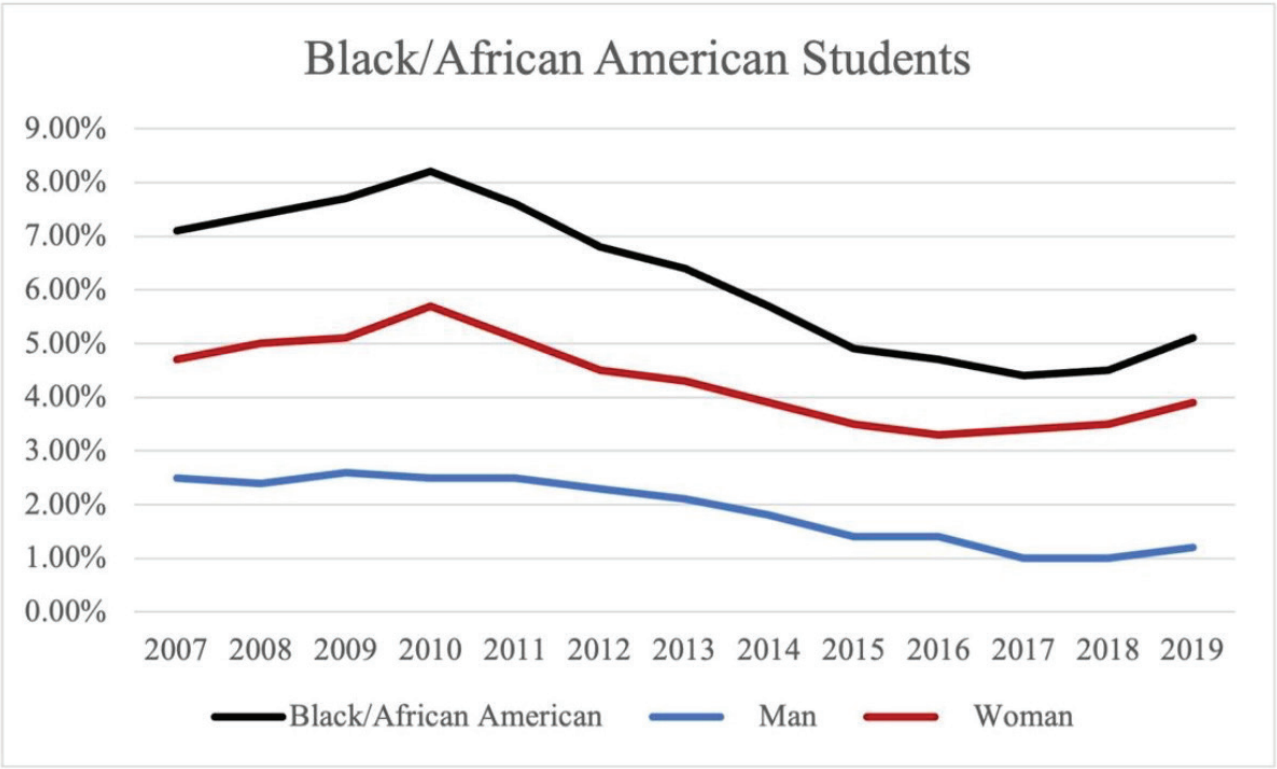
*Visualization of changes in equity gaps in Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander on-campus student employment over time (2007-2019)*



However, other racial groups were consistently overrepresented in on-campus student employment throughout the entire 2007-2019 period. By percentage, Black/African American students were the most overrepresented racial group in 2007 at 7.1% and reached peak overrepresentation in 2010 at 8.2%. Black/African American students remained overrepresented in 2019 at 5.1%. Moreover, from 2007 to 2019, Black/African American women were more overrepresented than Black/African American men every year, with the largest intersectional gender equity gap in the most recent year of 2019, with Black/African American men overrepresented by 1.2%, whereas Black/African American women were overrepresented by 3.9%, comprising an equity gap of 2.7% between Black/African American men and women, suggesting that Black/African American women accessed on-campus student employment at over twice the rate of Black/African American men in 2019. Over time, Black/African American student representation in on-campus student employment has trended toward institutional enrollment representation. These trends are displayed in Figure 2 below:

**Figure 2**

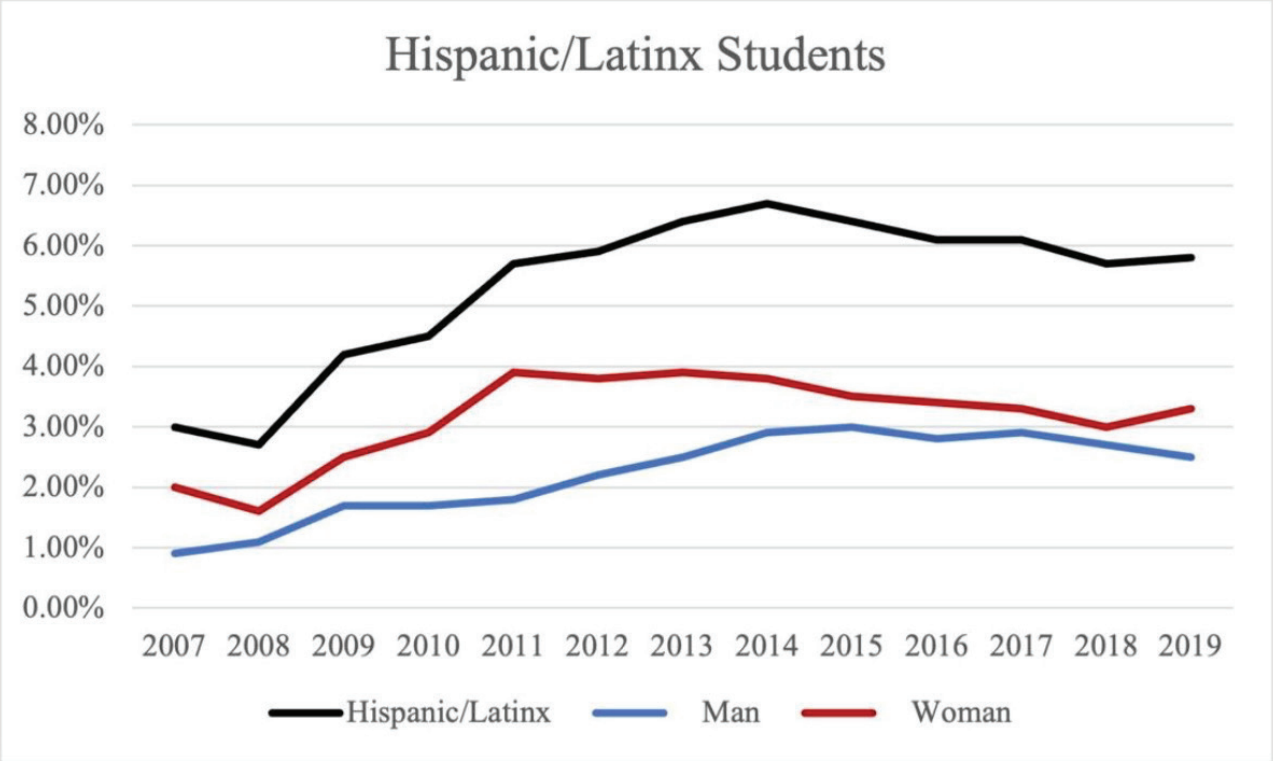
*Visualization of changes in equity gaps in Black/African American on-campus student employment over time (2007-2019)*



Similar to Black/African American students, Hispanic/Latinx students were overrepresented in 2007 at 3.0% and reached peak overrepresentation in 2014 at 6.7%. By 2019, Hispanic/Latinx students were the most overrepresented racial group in on-campus student employment by 5.8%. Also similar to gender trends among Black/African American students, Hispanic/Latinx women were consistently more overrepresented than Hispanic/Latinx men every year from 2007 to 2019. The gender inequity gap peaked in 2011, as Hispanic/Latinx women and men were overrepresented by 3.9% and 1.8%, comprising a 2.1% gender equity gap. Since 2011, the gender equity gap has closed slightly, with Hispanic/Latinx women overrepresented by 3.3% and Hispanic/Latinx men overrepresented by 2.5%. These trends are displayed in Figure 3 below:

**Figure 3**

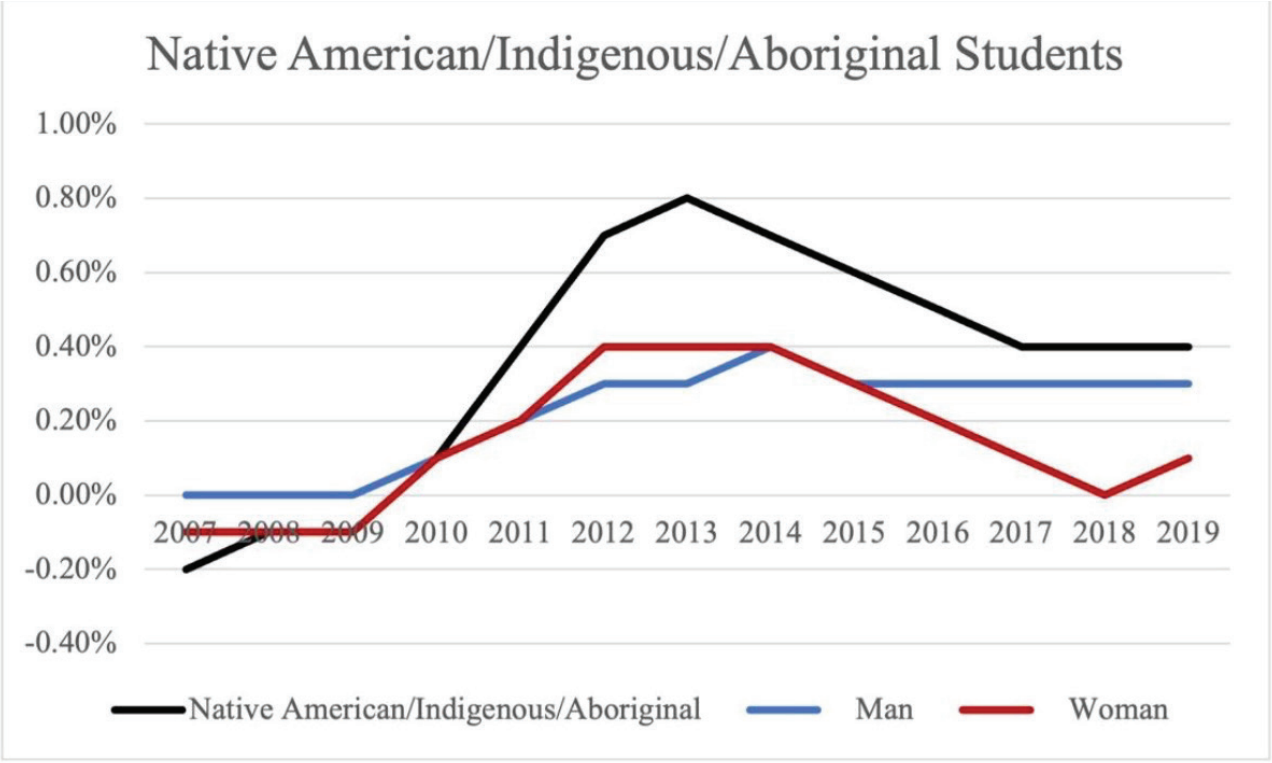
*Visualization of changes in equity gaps in Hispanic/Latinx on-campus student employment over time (2007-2019)*



Inverse to the trends experienced by Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander students in on-campus student employment, Native American/Indigenous/Aboriginal students began 2007 slightly underrepresented by -0.2% with negligible gender differences. By 2019, Native American/Indigenous/Aboriginal students were slightly overrepresented by 0.4%. However, it was notable that across nearly every year between 2007 and 2019, gender equity gaps were zero or nearly zero, suggesting that Native American/Indigenous/Aboriginal students experienced the greatest degree of gender equity in on-campus student employment as compared to institutional enrollment trends over time. These trends are displayed in Figure 4:

**Figure 4**

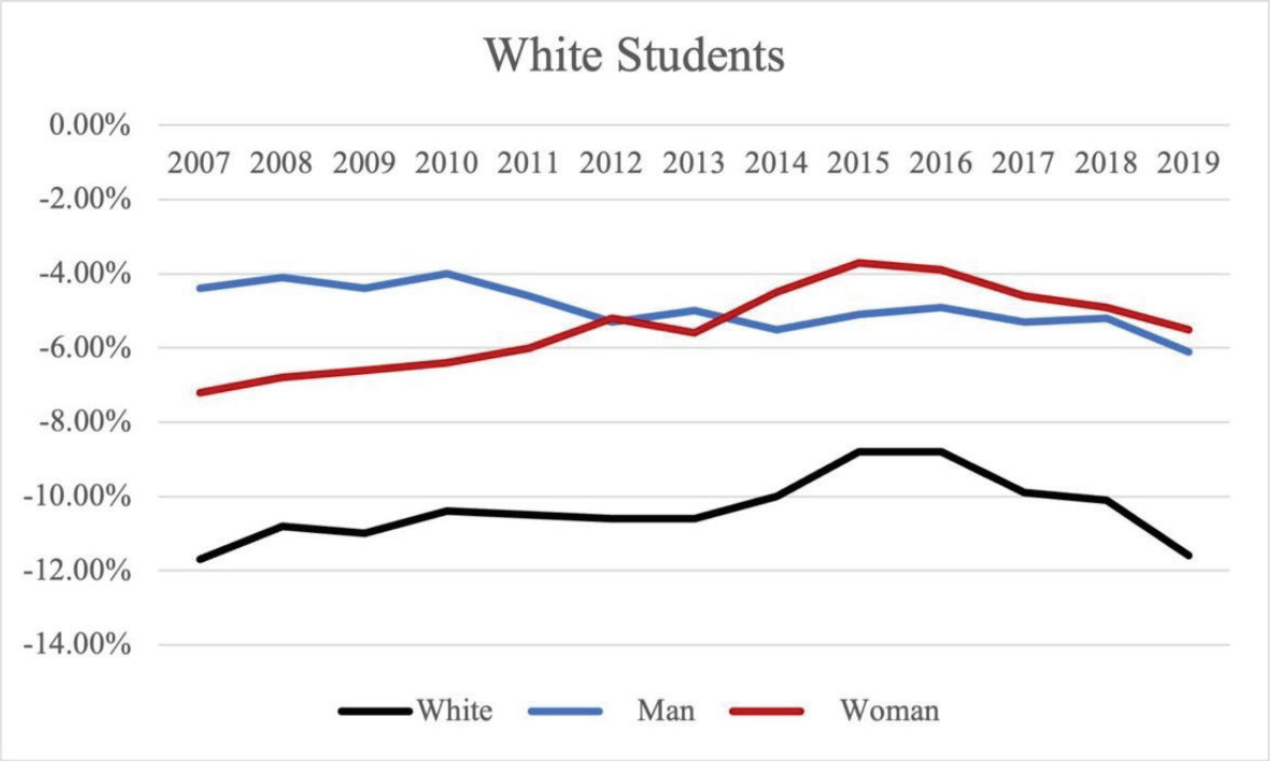
*Visualization of changes in equity gaps in Native American/Indigenous/Aboriginal on-campus student employment over time (2007-2019)*



In terms of underrepresentation, White students began as the most underrepresented in on-campus employment in 2007 (11.7%) and remained the most underrepresented every year, with nearly no change in 2019 (11.6%). White students were the only racial group to be underrepresented in on-campus student employment every year between 2007 and 2019. Regarding gender equity, White women began as the most underrepresented student group in on-campus student employment by -7.2%, followed by White men underrepresented by -4.4% in 2007. Gender equity gaps were closest between White men and women in 2012 (-5.3% underrepresentation of men and -5.2% underrepresentation of women). However, by 2019, the 2007 figures had flipped, and White men were the most underrepresented student group at -6.1%, followed by White women at -5.5%. These trends are displayed in Figure 5:

**Figure 5**

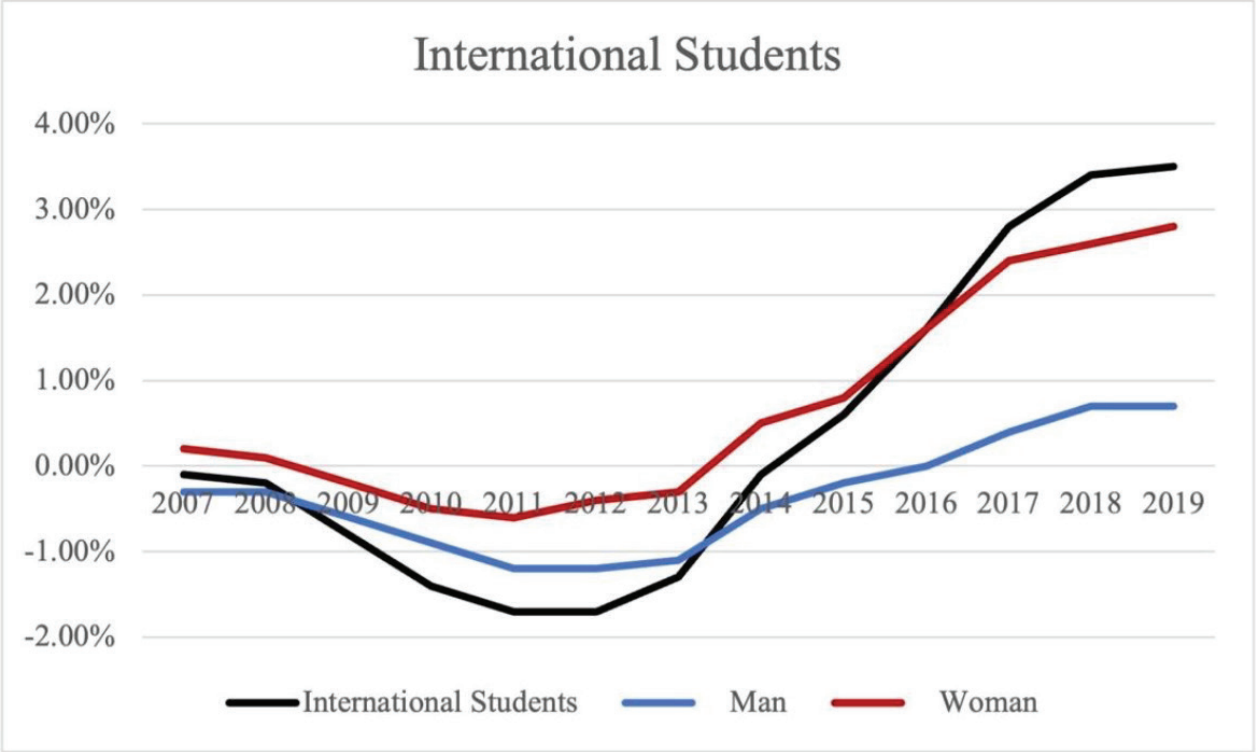
*Visualization of changes in equity gaps in White on-campus student employment over time (2007-2019)*



Like White students, international students were also underrepresented in 2007 but by a much smaller percentage (-0.1%). Underrepresentation of international students in on-campus employment continued through 2014, peaking in 2011 and 2012 at -1.7%. However, by 2016, international students became overrepresented in on-campus student employment by 1.6%, and by 2019, they were overrepresented by 3.5%. Also consistent with gender trends across different racial groups, women international students were more represented than men international students. In 2019, the gender inequity gap was widest, with men international students overrepresented by 0.7% and women international students overrepresented by 2.8%, representing a 2.1% gender inequity. These trends are displayed in Figure 6:

**Figure 6**

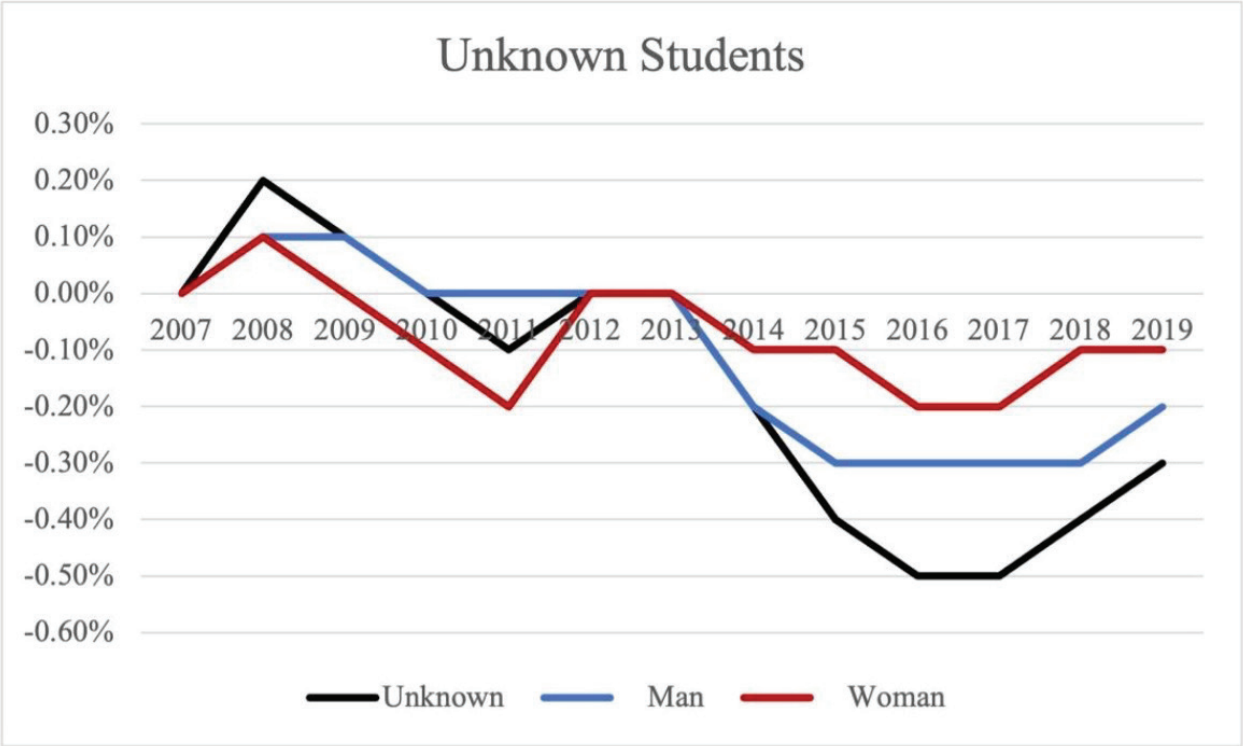
*Visualization of changes in equity gaps in International on-campus student employment over time (2007-2019)*



Finally, students from unknown racial backgrounds were nearly represented in on-campus student employment as compared to institutional enrollment during the entire time period between 2007 and 2019. There were several years with mirrored representation between on-campus student employment and institutional enrollment (2007, 2012, 2013), with students from unknown racial backgrounds slightly underrepresented in on-campus student employment by 2019.

**Figure 7**

*Visualization of changes in equity gaps among students from Unknown racial backgrounds in on-campus student employment over time (2007-2019)*




Overall, data in Table 2 and in Figures 1-7 indicate that racial and gender representation in on-campus student employment fluctuated between 2007 and 2019, with general trends indicating that several racial groups were consistently overrepresented (Black/African American students and Hispanic/Latinx students) or underrepresented (White students) over time. Additionally, women students across all racial backgrounds were better represented in on-campus student employment than men, suggesting that long-term, persistent racial and gender equity gaps existed in on-campus student employment at the institution under study.

## LIMITATIONS

As with any study, this work has several delimitations and limitations. To begin, a primary limitation of this study is the single institutional context, as there are countless institutions of higher education that employ full-time undergraduate students in on-campus employment settings. Moreover, the institution under study is a large, R-1 university with many different functional units (student affairs, financial aid, housing, recreation sports, etc.) that other institutions, especially community colleges, may not have. As a result, this study's results may not be indicative of the overall landscape of higher education and on-campus student employment in the United States or the world.

Second, this study was only able to capture data from 2007-2019. Although this dataset is the largest reported dataset of on-campus employment to the researchers' knowledge, it is a critical limitation of the study, as college enrollment trends have changed over the years, especially with the rise of online and distance learning opportunities at the postsecondary level. Moreover, the institution of study changed its database management system in 2004, beginning with a new data collection system in 2007 for all on-campus student employees. For this reason, data related to student employment prior to 2007 was not accessible. Had it been, the research team would have gathered data as far back as possible to provide the clearest, most longitudinal perspective of on-campus student employment.

Finally, according to the institution's IRB and the guidance of the Vice President of Student Affairs at the institution, the research team was not allowed to gather more granular student-level data, such as income level or geographic location of one's high school (indicated on their undergraduate admissions application). Per the IRB, this information was not deemed necessary to conduct the study and could have jeopardized the confidentiality of the students and their information. Additionally, the institution could not disaggregate race/ethnicity and gender data, resulting in overly homogenous representations of certain students (ex: men and women, excluding non-binary and/or queer students, Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander students), as this was how these students were homogeneously classified by the institution. From here, the IRB approved access to age (by class), gender, and race when accessing on-campus employment data, and thus, this study is limited by that data access.

## Discussion

As a high-impact practice, it is critical to understand which types of college students have access to this valuable form of employability capital (Burnett & Taylor, 2020; Hora, 2019; Kalfa & Taksa, 2015; Kuh, 2009, 2016). Understanding how students from different backgrounds seek, gain, and develop through on-campus employment could ultimately inform how these students can be retained by an institution and earn their degrees at higher rates than students who do not work as on-campus employees, echoed by prior research (McClellan et al., 2018; Kuh, 2016; Perozzi, 2009). Overall, data in this study answered both of this study's research questions relevant to the types of students that access on-campus student employment and whether equity gaps exist between students of different classes, races, and genders.

First, evidenced by data in Table 1, aggregate totals suggest juniors and seniors are much more likely to become on-campus student employees than freshmen or sophomores, possibly speaking to the phenomenon of more experienced students better understanding their campus and, thus, on-campus student employment opportunities. Moreover, more experienced students may be assumed to have greater levels of emotional intelligence or maturity, rendering them more employable in the eyes of their campus supervisors. However, empirical research has not specifically explored why more experienced or older college students may access on-campus student employment at higher rates than peers.

Prior research has suggested that holding an on-campus student employment position greatly improves retention rates (McClellan et al., 2018; Kuh, 2006, 2016; Perozzi, 2009). However, enrollment management research has suggested that nearly 20% of college students drop out in their first year (Cataldi et al., 2018; Masterson, 2022), and ironically, most college students state that one of the main reasons they leave college is to find a job (Masterson, 2022). Although on-campus jobs likely pay less than what young adults may be able to demand in the labor market, it is critical to learn more and conduct future research as to why college students leave and whether inaccessibility to on-campus employment is a catalyst of their exit. Here, data in this study suggests that on-campus supervisors may want to explore hiring younger students in the freshman and sophomore classes for on-campus employment, possibly improving these students' sense of belonging and financial standing and, in turn, possibly improving institutional retention rates.

Aggregate totals also suggest that students from certain racial and gender backgrounds may access on-campus student employment at greater rates than peers (see Table 1). Yet, when compared to institutional enrollment trends over time and parsed by individual racial and gender backgrounds, data in Table 2 tells a different story. At the institution under study, there has been a historic under-enrollment of students of Color, particularly Black/African American students. Moreover, in recent years, the institution has been striving for Hispanic-Serving Institution (HSI) designation, and the institution has enrolled increasing numbers of Hispanic/Latinx students from 2007 through 2019 (see Appendix B). Data in Table 1 would suggest that White students may have been overrepresented in on-campus student employment, but when compared to institutional enrollment trends by race and gender, raw totals would suggest White students were actually the most underrepresented racial group within on-campus student employment, even though equity gaps between racial groups were not statistically significant.

Similar discrepancies between aggregated (Table 1) and disaggregated data (Appendix B) also exist within different racial groups. Data in Table 1 would suggest that Black/African American students or Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander students may be underrepresented on campus, given their lower aggregate percentages of on-campus student employment from 2007 through 2019. However, disaggregated data integrating institutional enrollment data indicates that, when compared to institutional enrollment, Black/African American students, Hispanic/Latinx students, and international students were overrepresented in on-campus student employment across all years of data. Yet, it is important to note that, similar to White student totals, the raw totals suggest equity gaps, but these equity gaps were not statistically significant. However, for some groups to be overrepresented, other groups needed to be underrepresented, evidenced by equity gap shifts for Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander students and persistent underrepresentation among White students. As a result, this study also makes a broader contribution to the literature, specific to the importance of disaggregated, longitudinal analyses of student experience data that is tied to institutional enrollment.

Understanding the results in Table 2 and throughout Appendix B, data makes it clear that trends in who accesses on-campus student employment change over time, and because this data derives from one institution during one twelve-year period, it is unclear specifically why these changes occurred. However, understanding the institutional context and history, the overrepresentation of Black/African American students, Hispanic/Latinx students, and international students in on-campus student employment may be a response to broader inequities facing these student populations. For example, the state in which the institution resides is home

to a roughly 14% Black/African American population and 40% Hispanic/Latinx population, consistent from 2007 through 2019. Here, aggregate data in Table 1 and longitudinal data in Appendix B would suggest that Black/African American and Hispanic/Latinx students have been underrepresented in student enrollment at the institution for years. As a result, perhaps the institution was intentional in its decision to hire disproportionate numbers of Black/African American students and Hispanic/Latinx students to help remedy institutional access gaps. Understanding that students of Color face systemic racism when they participate in the post-graduate labor market (Hora, 2019; Kalfa & Taksa, 2015). Understanding this, one could hypothesize that the institution recognized this systemic racism and was working to provide Black/African American students and Hispanic/Latinx students more on-campus employment opportunities than Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander or White students, who have not faced the same levels of racial discrimination in the labor market in recent decades (Bowdler & Harris, 2022; Vo et al., 2023).

Moreover, according to aggregate totals (Table 1) and longitudinal equity gaps, gender representation within on-campus student employment was inequitable, with men of all racial backgrounds typically underrepresented in on-campus student employment (Table 2). Extending the same discussion of race into gender, the state in which the institution resides is home to a roughly 50/50 man/woman population, yet the institution has historically enrolled a 56/44 woman/man population. However, even though men have been underrepresented in institutional enrollment compared to the state population, men are even more underrepresented in on-campus student employment compared to women of nearly all racial backgrounds, although these equity gaps were not statistically significant. Despite statistical insignificance, these findings may comment on a troubling trend in higher education related to the enrollment of men and their subsequent dropout rates (Donadel, 2023). For around the past two decades, men have enrolled in higher education at lower rates than women, with men also graduating at lower rates than women across all racial backgrounds (Donadel, 2023). However, research has also demonstrated the systemic gender discrimination that women face in the labor market (Women's Bureau, 2023). Here, the institution under study may not be hiring as many men as women for a variety of factors, including an attempt to remedy post-graduate labor market opportunities for women. Again, results in this study may not be generalizable to other institutions, as evidenced by the lack of statistical significance, but the discussion of why institutions hire certain types of students should continue into future research.

Yet, in no uncertain terms, prior research has found that on-campus employment may lead to a higher degree of employability (Burnett & Taylor, 2023; Kuh, 2009, 2016;

McClellan et al., 2018). Therefore, much can be gleaned regarding who traditionally has access to undergraduate on-campus employment, informing how institutions can be intentional regarding their recruitment and hiring of women and students of Color to on-campus employment opportunities, increasing their postgraduate employability and potentially counterbalancing post-graduate labor market inequities and discrimination. From here, Brown et al. (2003) explained the way status groups monopolize entry requirements into a profession to restrict access and the way that powerful social groups will structure the competition for employment in favor of those with the appropriate cultural capital. Therefore, Hora (2019) posited that cultural matching—employers who view prospective employees as having similar cultural capital—may exacerbate or embody discriminatory practices. As a result, Hora (2019) explained that further research across industries and occupational groups is needed and that postsecondary professionals should explicitly address these issues while considering on-campus student employment and employability.

Additionally, Yosso's (2005) canonical work "Whose Culture Has Capital?" articulated community cultural wealth and highlighted the unique capital that students of Color bring to the postsecondary context. Yosso (2005) explained the navigational, linguistic, aspirational, and social capital possessed by communities of Color that interestingly parallel some of the commonly accepted characteristics of employability (Knight & Yorke, 2004) and career readiness NACE (2020). Students of Color who attend predominantly White postsecondary institutions experience hostile, stressful events yet "sustain high levels of achievement" (Yosso, 2005, p. 80) through "a set of inner resources, social competencies and cultural strategies that permit individuals to not only survive, recover, or even thrive after stressful events…" (Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 200, p. 229). Commonly referred to as perseverance, grit, or determination, these social competencies and cultural strategies require high levels of emotional intelligence, self-awareness, or interpersonal and intrapersonal skills (Pellegrino & Hilton, 2012) valued and desired by employers in the labor market (Carnevale, 2017; NACE, 2020). However, despite these unique cultural and employable characteristics possessed by students of Color, they remain unseen and unappreciated by the White racial frame and context of higher education. Perhaps the institution under study was seeing and appreciating women and students of Color through on-campus student employment in recognition of the labor market discrimination that these students have faced and may continue to face (Bowdler & Harris, 2022; Burnett, 2021; Hora, 2019; Kalfa & Taksa, 2015; Vo et al., 2023; Women's Bureau, 2023).

Educational researchers should explore how socialization and on-campus work environments facilitate the development of employability capital for students (Burnett & Taylor, 2022; Peeters et al., 2019), especially for students from low-income and minoritized backgrounds. These investigations would provide institutions with guidance about how certain students may be socialized into certain professional fields through the development of various forms of marketable skills (NACE, 2020) and capital (Brown et al., 2003; Hora, 2019) and possibly further marginalizing students with skills or capital incongruent from the White racial frame (Smith et al., 2011). Moreover, researchers should have ample opportunity to probe students' experiences as on-campus employees, investigating how students develop their pre-professional identities (Jackson, 2017), forms of capital (Hora, 2019; Yosso, 2005), and skills (NACE, 2015; Pellegrino & Hilton, 2012) while still on campus. Here, future research into how postsecondary institutions facilitate pre-graduation employment opportunities should yield many important findings, many of which would directly address how marginalized students do or do not have access to various forms of capital and pre-professional identity development experiences.

## Implications for Institutional Hiring Practices

Given the results of this study, on-campus hiring units should intentionally stem the access gaps to on-campus employment, specifically for students of Color and men. Firstly, the quantitative data (Table 1) demonstrate that fourth-year seniors are much more likely to be employed in student affairs than their first-year freshman counterparts. Prior to this study, no other research has articulated the fact that fourth-year seniors may be better supported in their undergraduate career through on-campus employment than newer students. This finding is not only unique but problematic, as extant literature has suggested that first-year students, especially first-year students of Color and first-generation college students, are most likely to leave their institution after the first year and drop out or stop out (Cataldi et al., 2018; Masterson, 2022). However, research has also indicated that on-campus employment is an effective mechanism and high-impact practice to engage first-generation students to support and retain them through their undergraduate careers (Astin, 1993; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005; Savoca, 2016). From here, institutions ought to reconsider *who* is afforded the opportunity to work as an undergraduate in student affairs and if the first-year and first-generation students should be better supported through this high-impact practice, specifically focused on low-income students, first-generation college students, and students of Color.

In this case, administrators could invest existing resources and personnel in developing initiatives aimed at recruiting first-year students. During new student orientation, for example, intentional efforts could be made by professional staff to engage incoming freshmen and first-generation students by presenting employment opportunities available to these students in the coming academic year. Creating opportunities for formal and informal employment information sessions during new student orientation or the first week of class could serve well in securing first-year student interest in undergraduate employment. Further, third and fourth-year students could be recruited to assist in the recruitment process by advocating for employment with hiring units and sharing the benefits of on-campus student employment with new first-year students.

Next, the longitudinal data (Appendix B and Table 2) revealed that woman students of Color are twice as likely to be employed on-campus than men students of Color. Akin to the data focused on fourth-year seniors compared to first-year students, no other research has articulated the fact that women of Color may be better supported in their undergraduate careers through on-campus employment than men of Color. This finding is not only unique but problematic, as extant literature has suggested that first-year students, especially men of Color and first-generation college students, are most likely to leave their institution after the first year and drop out or stop out (Cataldi et al. 2018). Akin to results related to students by class, institutions should reconsider *who* and *how* they recruit students to on-campus student employment positions. During this consideration, institutions should examine their own data and learn which types of students are not persisting and graduating at the same rates as their peers. Then, institutions may be able to be more intentional with their recruitment of on-campus student employees, possibly improving these students' persistence and retention rates through on-campus student employment.

In meeting undergraduate student postgraduate employment needs, a hiring unit on campus can become the context and conduit for cultivating a campus culture that is more inclusive and accommodating. Campus employment has been highlighted as a point of opportunity in providing a structure for student development (Astin, 1993; Athas et al., 2013; Hansen & Hoag, 2018; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005; Savoca, 2016). It has been suggested that working on campus could become a developmentally powerful experience, especially for historically underrepresented students (Savoca, 2016), if student affairs professionals intentionally foster conditions considered high-impact engagement within their employment contexts (Kuh, 2016). Professionals could offer guided reflection and assessment of performance that develop employment capital (Peeters et al., 2019) for students who otherwise would not have access to it.

Moreover, professionals also have an opportunity to engage men of Color employed on campus through recruitment and retention initiatives. Existing men undergraduate students of Color could engage with other men of Color by sponsoring peer mentoring and professional development programs. Mentoring relationships between students and administrators of Color, according to Reddick et al. (2011), who reported that the benefits from mentoring are reciprocal and hold value and offer development for both mentor and mentee. Also, students who engage with peer mentors and mentoring tend to persist in college longer (Hansen & Hoag, 2018; Kuh, 2009; Reddick et al., 2011). Mentorship among students of Color and higher education professionals of Color is important in enhancing the retention, persistence and graduation goals of underrepresented students and the institutions they attend (Martin & McGee, 2014; Reddick et al., 2011). Therefore, men of Color should be afforded opportunities to engage with student affairs administrators of Color in an intentional effort to build relationships with the institution while supporting their retention, persistence, graduation, and postgraduate success.

## Conclusion

Successfully answering its two research questions, data in this study described which types of students access on-campus student employment—a high-impact practice—and whether racial or gender equity gaps existed in this employment. In all, the institution under study has consistently over-hired women, Black/African American students, and Hispanic/Latinx students while under-hiring men, White students, and Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander students. However, these equity gaps came at a cost, as men, White students, and Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander students have not been provided the same on-campus employment opportunities as their peers. Although these equity gaps were proven not statistically significant, it is notable that for one institution, it may prove valuable to provide on-campus employment opportunities for students from minoritized backgrounds to help these students prepare for an inequitable and discriminatory post-graduate labor market.

As a result, future researchers should continue to explore who accesses on-campus employment, why students pursue this form of employment, and how these employment opportunities support the most minoritized students in higher education. Yosso (2005) would argue that students of Color arrive in higher education with a wealth of cultural resources and talent, but discrimination has persisted, and the labor market may not fairly value the Community Cultural Wealth held by students of Color. As a result, campus supervisors should recognize this reality and seek every opportunity to support their campus' minoritized student population.

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# Appendix A

**Descriptive Statistics of Demographics of On-Campus Student Employees by Year**

***First-Year Freshman Students***

| Demographics | n | % of all freshmen | % of population |
|---|---|---|---|
| Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander | 2,088 | 16.8% | 2.4% |
| Man | 906 | 7.3% | 1.1% |
| Woman | 1,182 | 9.5% | 1.4% |
| Black/African American | 1,663 | 13.4% | 2.0% |
| Man | 535 | 4.3% | <1% |
| Woman | 1,128 | 9.1% | 1.3% |
| Hispanic/Latinx | 3,771 | 30.4% | 4.4% |
| Man | 1,679 | 13.5% | 1.9% |
| Woman | 2,092 | 16.8% | 2.5% |
| Native American/Indigenous/ Aboriginal | 77 | 0.6% | <1% |
| Man | 43 | 0.3% | <1% |
| Woman | 34 | 0.3% | <1% |
| White | 4,097 | 33.0% | 4.8% |
| Man | 1,799 | 14.5% | 2.1% |
| Woman | 2,298 | 18.5% | 2.7% |
| International Students | 693 | 5.6% | <1% |
| Man | 273 | 2.2% | <1% |
| Woman | 420 | 3.4% | <1% |
| Unknown | 33 | 0.3% | <1% |
| Man | 12 | 0.1% | <1% |
| Woman | 21 | 0.2% | <1% |
| All Freshman/1st-Year Students | 12,422 | 100.0% | 14.6% |

***Second-Year Sophomore Students***

| Demographics | n | % of all sophomores | % of population |
|---|---|---|---|
| Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander | 2,933 | 16.8% | 3.4% |
| Man | 1,324 | 7.6% | 1.6% |
| Woman | 1,609 | 9.2% | 1.9% |
| Black/African American | 1,951 | 11.2% | 2.3% |
| Man | 651 | 3.7% | <1% |
| Woman | 1,300 | 7.5% | 1.5% |
| Hispanic/Latinx | 5,021 | 28.8% | 5.9% |
| Man | 2,207 | 12.7% | 2.6% |
| Woman | 2,814 | 16.1% | 3.3% |
| Native American/Indigenous/ Aboriginal | 111 | 0.6% | <1% |
| Man | 62 | 0.4% | <1% |
| Woman | 49 | 0.3% | <1% |
| White | 6,456 | 37.0% | 7.6% |
| Man | 2,969 | 17.0% | 3.5% |
| Woman | 3,487 | 20.0% | 4.1% |
| International Students | 898 | 5.2% | 1.1% |
| Man | 376 | 2.2% | <1% |
| Woman | 522 | 3.0% | <1% |
| Unknown | 62 | 0.4% | <1% |
| Man | 31 | 0.2% | <1% |
| Woman | 31 | 0.2% | <1% |
| All Sophomores/2nd-Year Students | 17,432 | 100.0% | 20.4% |

***Third-Year Junior Students***

| Demographics | n | % of all juniors | % of population |
|---|---|---|---|
| Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander | 3,719 | 17.8% | 4.4% |
| Man | 1,688 | 8.1% | 2.0% |
| Woman | 2,031 | 9.7% | 2.4% |
| Black/African American | 2,153 | 10.3% | 2.5% |
| Man | 706 | 3.4% | <1% |
| Woman | 1,447 | 6.9% | 1.7% |
| Hispanic/Latinx | 5,816 | 27.8% | 6.8% |
| Man | 2,540 | 12.1% | 3.0% |
| Woman | 3,276 | 15.6% | 3.8% |
| Native American/Indigenous/ Aboriginal | 135 | 0.6% | <1% |
| Man | 74 | 0.4% | <1% |
| Woman | 61 | 0.3% | <1% |
| White | 7,857 | 37.5% | 9.2% |
| Man | 3,676 | 17.5% | 4.3% |
| Woman | 4,181 | 20.0% | 4.9% |
| International Students | 1,193 | 5.7% | 1.4% |
| Man | 513 | 2.4% | <1% |
| Woman | 680 | 3.2% | <1% |
| Unknown | 76 | 0.4% | <1% |
| Man | 31 | 0.1% | <1% |
| Woman | 45 | 0.2% | <1% |
| All Juniors/3rd-Year Students | 20,949 | 100.0% | 24.6% |

***Fourth-Year Senior Students***

| Demographics | n | % of all seniors | % of population |
|---|---|---|---|
| Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander | 6,767 | 19.6% | 7.9% |
| Man | 3,050 | 8.8% | 3.6% |
| Woman | 3,717 | 10.8% | 4.4% |
| Black/African American | 3,214 | 9.3% | 3.8% |
| Man | 1,122 | 3.3% | 1.3% |
| Woman | 2,092 | 6.1% | 2.5% |
| Hispanic/Latinx | 9,039 | 26.2% | 10.6% |
| Man | 3,995 | 11.6% | 4.7% |
| Woman | 5,044 | 14.6% | 5.9% |
| Native American/Indigenous/ Aboriginal | 213 | 0.6% | <1% |
| Man | 123 | 0.4% | <1% |
| Woman | 90 | 0.3% | <1% |
| White | 13,094 | 38.0% | 15.3% |
| Man | 6,358 | 18.4% | 7.5% |
| Woman | 6,736 | 19.5% | 7.9% |
| International Students | 2,021 | 5.9% | 2.4% |
| Man | 927 | 2.7% | 1.1% |
| Woman | 1,094 | 3.2% | 1.3% |
| Unknown | 125 | 0.4% | <1% |
| Man | 67 | 0.2% | <1% |
| Woman | 58 | 0.2% | <1% |
| Seniors/4th-Year Students | 34,473 | 100.0% | 40.4% |

## Appendix B

*Descriptive statistics of on-campus student employment by demographic compared to institutional enrollment by demographic, 2007-2019 (n=85,276)*

| | 2007 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Demographics | n of student employees | % of student employees | Institutional Enrollment | % of Institutional Enrollment | Equity Gap |
| Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander | 468 | 19.4% | 6,107 | 17.6% | 1.8% |
| Man | 221 | 9.2% | 3,052 | 8.8% | 0.4% |
| Woman | 247 | 10.2% | 3,055 | 8.8% | 1.4% |
| Black/African American | 285 | 11.8% | 1,622 | 4.7% | 7.1% |
| Man | 102 | 4.2% | 615 | 1.8% | 2.5% |
| Woman | 183 | 7.6% | 1,007 | 2.9% | 4.7% |
| Hispanic/Latinx | 503 | 20.9% | 6,187 | 17.9% | 3.0% |
| Man | 224 | 9.3% | 2,889 | 8.3% | 0.9% |
| Woman | 279 | 11.6% | 3,298 | 9.5% | 2.0% |
| Native American/ Indigenous/ Aboriginal | 6 | 0.2% | 149 | 0.4% | -0.2% |
| Man | 4 | 0.2% | 70 | 0.2% | -0.0% |
| Woman | 2 | 0.1% | 79 | 0.2% | -0.1% |
| White | 1,047 | 43.4% | 19,081 | 55.1% | -11.7% |
| Man | 523 | 21.7% | 9,047 | 26.1% | -4.4% |
| Woman | 524 | 21.7% | 10,034 | 29.0% | -7.2% |
| International Students | 97 | 4.0% | 1,417 | 4.1% | -0.1% |
| Man | 49 | 2.0% | 806 | 2.3% | -0.3% |
| Woman | 48 | 2.0% | 611 | 1.8% | 0.2% |
| Unknown | 4 | 0.2% | 48 | 0.1% | 0.0% |
| Man | 1 | 0.0% | 22 | 0.1% | 0.0% |
| Woman | 3 | 0.1% | 26 | 0.1% | 0.0% |
| Total | 2,410 | 100.0% | 34,611 | | |

| | 2008 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Demographics | n of student employees | % of student employees | Institutional Enrollment | % of Institutional Enrollment | Equity Gap |
| Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander | 1,057 | 18.7% | 6,175 | 17.8% | 0.9% |
| Man | 482 | 8.5% | 3,061 | 8.8% | -0.3% |
| Woman | 575 | 10.2% | 3,114 | 9.0% | 1.2% |
| Black/African American | 694 | 12.3% | 1,705 | 4.9% | 7.4% |
| Man | 238 | 4.2% | 639 | 1.8% | 2.4% |
| Woman | 456 | 8.1% | 1,066 | 3.1% | 5.0% |
| Hispanic/Latinx | 1,179 | 20.9% | 6,289 | 18.2% | 2.7% |
| Man | 543 | 9.6% | 2,952 | 8.5% | 1.1% |
| Woman | 636 | 11.3% | 3,337 | 9.6% | 1.6% |
| Native American/ Indigenous/ Aboriginal | 17 | 0.3% | 154 | 0.4% | -0.1% |
| Man | 11 | 0.2% | 69 | 0.2% | 0.0% |
| Woman | 6 | 0.1% | 85 | 0.2% | -0.1% |
| White | 2,448 | 43.4% | 18,769 | 54.2% | -10.8% |
| Man | 1,227 | 21.8% | 8,931 | 25.8% | -4.1% |
| Woman | 1,221 | 21.6% | 9,838 | 28.4% | -6.8% |
| International Students | 229 | 4.1% | 1,473 | 4.3% | -0.2% |
| Man | 120 | 2.1% | 851 | 2.5% | -0.3% |
| Woman | 109 | 1.9% | 622 | 1.8% | 0.1% |
| Unknown | 16 | 0.3% | 39 | 0.1% | 0.2% |
| Man | 8 | 0.1% | 17 | 0.0% | 0.1% |
| Woman | 8 | 0.1% | 22 | 0.1% | 0.1% |
| Total | 5,640 | 100.0% | 34,604 | | |

| | 2009 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Demographics | n of student employees | % of student employees | Institutional Enrollment | % of Institutional Enrollment | Equity Gap |
| Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander | 1,101 | 18.3% | 6,526 | 18.5% | -0.1% |
| Man | 493 | 8.2% | 3,267 | 9.2% | -1.0% |
| Woman | 608 | 10.1% | 3,259 | 9.2% | 0.9% |
| Black/African American | 763 | 12.7% | 1,754 | 5.0% | 7.7% |
| Man | 270 | 4.5% | 667 | 1.9% | 2.6% |
| Woman | 493 | 8.2% | 1,087 | 3.1% | 5.1% |
| Hispanic/Latinx | 1,369 | 22.8% | 6,575 | 18.6% | 4.2% |
| Man | 616 | 10.3% | 3,036 | 8.6% | 1.7% |
| Woman | 753 | 12.5% | 3,539 | 10.0% | 2.5% |
| Native American/ Indigenous/ Aboriginal | 20 | 0.3% | 154 | 0.4% | -0.1% |
| Man | 11 | 0.2% | 70 | 0.2% | 0.0% |
| Woman | 9 | 0.1% | 84 | 0.2% | -0.1% |
| White | 2,526 | 42.0% | 18,756 | 53.0% | -11.0% |
| Man | 1,268 | 21.1% | 9,036 | 25.6% | -4.4% |
| Woman | 1,258 | 20.9% | 9,720 | 27.5% | -6.6% |
| International Students | 213 | 3.5% | 1,538 | 4.3% | -0.8% |
| Man | 115 | 1.9% | 879 | 2.5% | -0.6% |
| Woman | 98 | 1.6% | 659 | 1.9% | -0.2% |
| Unknown | 17 | 0.3% | 61 | 0.2% | 0.1% |
| Man | 11 | 0.2% | 30 | 0.1% | 0.1% |
| Woman | 6 | 0.1% | 31 | 0.1% | 0.0% |
| Total | 6,009 | 100.0% | 35,364 | | |

| | 2010 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Demographics | n of student employees | % of student employees | Institutional Enrollment | % of Institutional Enrollment | Equity Gap |
| Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander | 1,067 | 17.3% | 6,469 | 18.4% | -1.1% |
| Man | 468 | 7.6% | 3,314 | 9.4% | -1.8% |
| Woman | 599 | 9.7% | 3,155 | 9.0% | 0.8% |
| Black/African American | 800 | 13.0% | 1,667 | 4.7% | 8.2% |
| Man | 269 | 4.4% | 645 | 1.8% | 2.5% |
| Woman | 531 | 8.6% | 1,022 | 2.9% | 5.7% |
| Hispanic/Latinx | 1,501 | 24.4% | 6,970 | 19.8% | 4.5% |
| Man | 671 | 10.9% | 3,236 | 9.2% | 1.7% |
| Woman | 830 | 13.5% | 3,734 | 10.6% | 2.9% |
| Native American/ Indigenous/ Aboriginal | 32 | 0.5% | 134 | 0.4% | 0.1% |
| Man | 17 | 0.3% | 66 | 0.2% | 0.1% |
| Woman | 15 | 0.2% | 68 | 0.2% | 0.1% |
| White | 2,545 | 41.3% | 18,184 | 51.7% | -10.4% |
| Man | 1,293 | 21.0% | 8,780 | 25.0% | -4.0% |
| Woman | 1,252 | 20.3% | 9,404 | 26.7% | -6.4% |
| International Students | 197 | 3.2% | 1,627 | 4.6% | -1.4% |
| Man | 102 | 1.7% | 902 | 2.6% | -0.9% |
| Woman | 95 | 1.5% | 725 | 2.1% | -0.5% |
| Unknown | 18 | 0.3% | 118 | 0.3% | 0.0% |
| Man | 11 | 0.2% | 54 | 0.2% | 0.0% |
| Woman | 7 | 0.1% | 64 | 0.2% | -0.1% |
| Total | 6,160 | 100.0% | 35,169 | | |

| | 2011 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Demographics | n of student employees | % of student employees | Institutional Enrollment | % of Institutional Enrollment | Access Gap |
| Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander | 1,049 | 17.0% | 6,425 | 18.4% | -1.4% |
| Man | 458 | 7.4% | 3,302 | 9.5% | -2.0% |
| Woman | 591 | 9.6% | 3,123 | 8.9% | 0.7% |
| Black/African American | 757 | 12.3% | 1,629 | 4.7% | 7.6% |
| Man | 270 | 4.4% | 641 | 1.8% | 2.5% |
| Woman | 487 | 7.9% | 988 | 2.8% | 5.1% |
| Hispanic/Latinx | 1,614 | 26.2% | 7,154 | 20.5% | 5.7% |
| Man | 700 | 11.4% | 3,328 | 9.5% | 1.8% |
| Woman | 914 | 14.8% | 3,826 | 11.0% | 3.9% |
| Native American/ Indigenous/ Aboriginal | 45 | 0.7% | 110 | 0.3% | 0.4% |
| Man | 20 | 0.3% | 52 | 0.1% | 0.2% |
| Woman | 25 | 0.4% | 58 | 0.2% | 0.2% |
| White | 2,484 | 40.3% | 17,767 | 50.9% | -10.5% |
| Man | 1,226 | 19.9% | 8,554 | 24.5% | -4.6% |
| Woman | 1,258 | 20.4% | 9,213 | 26.4% | -6.0% |
| International Students | 195 | 3.2% | 1,717 | 4.9% | -1.7% |
| Man | 95 | 1.5% | 955 | 2.7% | -1.2% |
| Woman | 100 | 1.6% | 762 | 2.2% | -0.6% |
| Unknown | 17 | 0.3% | 135 | 0.4% | -0.1% |
| Man | 14 | 0.2% | 64 | 0.2% | 0.0% |
| Woman | 3 | 0.0% | 71 | 0.2% | -0.2% |
| Total | 6,161 | 100.0% | 34,937 | | |

| | 2012 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Demographics | n of student employees | % of student employees | Institutional Enrollment | % of Institutional Enrollment | Equity Gap |
| Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander | 1,104 | 17.2% | 6,619 | 18.3% | -1.1% |
| Man | 474 | 7.4% | 3,363 | 9.3% | -1.9% |
| Woman | 630 | 9.8% | 3,256 | 9.0% | 0.8% |
| Black/African American | 731 | 11.4% | 1,641 | 4.5% | 6.8% |
| Man | 261 | 4.1% | 619 | 1.7% | 2.3% |
| Woman | 470 | 7.3% | 1,022 | 2.8% | 4.5% |
| Hispanic/Latinx | 1,773 | 27.6% | 7,832 | 21.7% | 5.9% |
| Man | 782 | 12.2% | 3,618 | 10.0% | 2.2% |
| Woman | 991 | 15.4% | 4,214 | 11.7% | 3.8% |
| Native American/ Indigenous/ Aboriginal | 60 | 0.9% | 102 | 0.3% | 0.7% |
| Man | 25 | 0.4% | 48 | 0.1% | 0.3% |
| Woman | 35 | 0.5% | 54 | 0.1% | 0.4% |
| White | 2,516 | 39.2% | 17,949 | 49.7% | -10.6% |
| Man | 1,197 | 18.6% | 8,655 | 24.0% | -5.3% |
| Woman | 1,319 | 20.5% | 9,294 | 25.8% | -5.2% |
| International Students | 219 | 3.4% | 1,840 | 5.1% | -1.7% |
| Man | 106 | 1.7% | 1,045 | 2.9% | -1.2% |
| Woman | 113 | 1.8% | 795 | 2.2% | -0.4% |
| Unknown | 18 | 0.3% | 107 | 0.3% | 0.0% |
| Man | 12 | 0.2% | 59 | 0.2% | 0.0% |
| Woman | 6 | 0.1% | 48 | 0.1% | 0.0% |
| Total | 6,421 | 100.0% | 36,090 | | |

| | 2013 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Demographics | n of student employees | % of student employees | Institutional Enrollment | % of Institutional Enrollment | Equity Gap |
| Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander | 1,195 | 17.1% | 6,654 | 18.7% | -1.6% |
| Man | 520 | 7.4% | 3,425 | 9.6% | -2.2% |
| Woman | 675 | 9.6% | 3,229 | 9.1% | 0.6% |
| Black/African American | 759 | 10.8% | 1,578 | 4.4% | 6.4% |
| Man | 267 | 3.8% | 612 | 1.7% | 2.1% |
| Woman | 492 | 7.0% | 966 | 2.7% | 4.3% |
| Hispanic/Latinx | 2,030 | 29.0% | 8,039 | 22.6% | 6.4% |
| Man | 906 | 12.9% | 3,722 | 10.4% | 2.5% |
| Woman | 1,124 | 16.0% | 4,317 | 12.1% | 3.9% |
| Native American/ Indigenous/ Aboriginal | 61 | 0.9% | 40 | 0.1% | 0.8% |
| Man | 28 | 0.4% | 19 | 0.1% | 0.3% |
| Woman | 33 | 0.5% | 21 | 0.1% | 0.4% |
| White | 2,676 | 38.2% | 17,403 | 48.8% | -10.6% |
| Man | 1,275 | 18.2% | 8,272 | 23.2% | -5.0% |
| Woman | 1,401 | 20.0% | 9,131 | 25.6% | -5.6% |
| International Students | 262 | 3.7% | 1,811 | 5.1% | -1.3% |
| Man | 117 | 1.7% | 981 | 2.8% | -1.1% |
| Woman | 145 | 2.1% | 830 | 2.3% | -0.3% |
| Unknown | 21 | 0.3% | 110 | 0.3% | 0.0% |
| Man | 11 | 0.2% | 61 | 0.2% | 0.0% |
| Woman | 10 | 0.1% | 49 | 0.1% | 0.0% |
| Total | 7,004 | 100.0% | 35,635 | | |

| | 2014 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Demographics | n of student employees | % of student employees | Institutional Enrollment | % of Institutional Enrollment | Equity Gap |
| Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander | 1,283 | 17.0% | 6,975 | 19.9% | -2.9% |
| Man | 570 | 7.6% | 3,621 | 10.3% | -2.8% |
| Woman | 713 | 9.5% | 3,354 | 9.6% | -0.1% |
| Black/African American | 754 | 10.0% | 1,519 | 4.3% | 5.7% |
| Man | 265 | 3.5% | 598 | 1.7% | 1.8% |
| Woman | 489 | 6.5% | 921 | 2.6% | 3.9% |
| Hispanic/Latinx | 2,231 | 29.6% | 8,016 | 22.9% | 6.7% |
| Man | 1,008 | 13.4% | 3,657 | 10.5% | 2.9% |
| Woman | 1,223 | 16.3% | 4,359 | 12.5% | 3.8% |
| Native American/ Indigenous/ Aboriginal | 65 | 0.9% | 48 | 0.1% | 0.7% |
| Man | 33 | 0.4% | 23 | 0.1% | 0.4% |
| Woman | 32 | 0.4% | 25 | 0.1% | 0.4% |
| White | 2,795 | 37.1% | 16,482 | 47.1% | -10.0% |
| Man | 1,268 | 16.8% | 7,812 | 22.3% | -5.5% |
| Woman | 1,527 | 20.3% | 8,670 | 24.8% | -4.5% |
| International Students | 377 | 5.0% | 1,772 | 5.1% | -0.1% |
| Man | 161 | 2.1% | 940 | 2.7% | -0.5% |
| Woman | 216 | 2.9% | 832 | 2.4% | 0.5% |
| Unknown | 21 | 0.3% | 180 | 0.5% | -0.2% |
| Man | 7 | 0.1% | 93 | 0.3% | -0.2% |
| Woman | 14 | 0.2% | 87 | 0.2% | -0.1% |
| Total | 7,526 | 100.0% | 34,992 | | |

| | 2015 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Demographics | n of student employees | % of student employees | Institutional Enrollment | % of Institutional Enrollment | Equity Gap |
| Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander | 1,422 | 17.6% | 7,394 | 21.0% | -3.4% |
| Man | 613 | 7.6% | 3,798 | 10.8% | -3.2% |
| Woman | 809 | 10.0% | 3,596 | 10.2% | -0.2% |
| Black/African American | 752 | 9.3% | 1,549 | 4.4% | 4.9% |
| Man | 248 | 3.1% | 589 | 1.7% | 1.4% |
| Woman | 504 | 6.2% | 960 | 2.7% | 3.5% |
| Hispanic/Latinx | 2,397 | 29.6% | 8,165 | 23.2% | 6.4% |
| Man | 1,079 | 13.3% | 3,645 | 10.4% | 3.0% |
| Woman | 1,318 | 16.3% | 4,520 | 12.8% | 3.5% |
| Native American/ Indigenous/ Aboriginal | 62 | 0.8% | 55 | 0.2% | 0.6% |
| Man | 33 | 0.4% | 29 | 0.1% | 0.3% |
| Woman | 29 | 0.4% | 26 | 0.1% | 0.3% |
| White | 2,955 | 36.5% | 15,961 | 45.3% | -8.8% |
| Man | 1,326 | 16.4% | 7,577 | 21.5% | -5.1% |
| Woman | 1,629 | 20.1% | 8,384 | 23.8% | -3.7% |
| International Students | 474 | 5.9% | 1,850 | 5.3% | 0.6% |
| Man | 207 | 2.6% | 977 | 2.8% | -0.2% |
| Woman | 267 | 3.3% | 873 | 2.5% | 0.8% |
| Unknown | 27 | 0.3% | 242 | 0.7% | -0.4% |
| Man | 8 | 0.1% | 127 | 0.4% | -0.3% |
| Woman | 19 | 0.2% | 115 | 0.3% | -0.1% |
| Total | 8,089 | 100.0% | 35,216 | | |

| | 2016 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Demographics | n of student employees | % of student employees | Institutional Enrollment | % of Institutional Enrollment | Equity Gap |
| Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander | 1,571 | 18.2% | 7,825 | 21.8% | -3.6% |
| Man | 701 | 8.1% | 4,002 | 11.2% | -3.0% |
| Woman | 870 | 10.1% | 3,823 | 10.7% | -0.6% |
| Black/African American | 780 | 9.1% | 1,559 | 4.3% | 4.7% |
| Man | 256 | 3.0% | 577 | 1.6% | 1.4% |
| Woman | 524 | 6.1% | 982 | 2.7% | 3.3% |
| Hispanic/Latinx | 2,565 | 29.8% | 8,469 | 23.6% | 6.1% |
| Man | 1,128 | 13.1% | 3,700 | 10.3% | 2.8% |
| Woman | 1,437 | 16.7% | 4,769 | 13.3% | 3.4% |
| Native American/ Indigenous/ Aboriginal | 53 | 0.6% | 52 | 0.1% | 0.5% |
| Man | 34 | 0.4% | 31 | 0.1% | 0.3% |
| Woman | 19 | 0.2% | 21 | 0.1% | 0.2% |
| White | 2,983 | 34.6% | 15,579 | 43.5% | -8.8% |
| Man | 1,330 | 15.4% | 7,299 | 20.4% | -4.9% |
| Woman | 1,653 | 19.2% | 8,280 | 23.1% | -3.9% |
| International Students | 627 | 7.3% | 2,029 | 5.7% | 1.6% |
| Man | 253 | 2.9% | 1,064 | 3.0% | -0.0% |
| Woman | 374 | 4.3% | 965 | 2.7% | 1.6% |
| Unknown | 36 | 0.4% | 329 | 0.9% | -0.5% |
| Man | 13 | 0.2% | 171 | 0.5% | -0.3% |
| Woman | 23 | 0.3% | 158 | 0.4% | -0.2% |
| Total | 8,615 | 100.0% | 35,842 | | |

| | 2017 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Demographics | n of student employees | % of student employees | Institutional Enrollment | % of Institutional Enrollment | Equity Gap |
| Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander | 1,615 | 19.0% | 8,104 | 22.3% | -3.3% |
| Man | 733 | 8.6% | 4,092 | 11.3% | -2.7% |
| Woman | 882 | 10.4% | 4,012 | 11.0% | -0.7% |
| Black/African American | 735 | 8.6% | 1,550 | 4.3% | 4.4% |
| Man | 224 | 2.6% | 592 | 1.6% | 1.0% |
| Woman | 511 | 6.0% | 958 | 2.6% | 3.4% |
| Hispanic/Latinx | 2,571 | 30.2% | 8,739 | 24.1% | 6.1% |
| Man | 1,127 | 13.2% | 3,769 | 10.4% | 2.9% |
| Woman | 1,444 | 17.0% | 4,970 | 13.7% | 3.3% |
| Native American/ Indigenous/ Aboriginal | 48 | 0.6% | 55 | 0.2% | 0.4% |
| Man | 35 | 0.4% | 32 | 0.1% | 0.3% |
| Woman | 13 | 0.2% | 23 | 0.1% | 0.1% |
| White | 2,765 | 32.5% | 15,411 | 42.4% | -9.9% |
| Man | 1,221 | 14.3% | 7,143 | 19.7% | -5.3% |
| Woman | 1,544 | 18.1% | 8,268 | 22.8% | -4.6% |
| International Students | 740 | 8.7% | 2,123 | 5.8% | 2.8% |
| Man | 299 | 3.5% | 1,115 | 3.1% | 0.4% |
| Woman | 441 | 5.2% | 1,008 | 2.8% | 2.4% |
| Unknown | 37 | 0.4% | 336 | 0.9% | -0.5% |
| Man | 17 | 0.2% | 169 | 0.5% | -0.3% |
| Woman | 20 | 0.2% | 167 | 0.5% | -0.2% |
| Total | 8,511 | 100.0% | 36,318 | | |

| | 2018 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Demographics | n of student employees | % of student employees | Institutional Enrollment | % of Institutional Enrollment | Equity Gap |
| Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander | 1,461 | 19.8% | 8,486 | 23.2% | -3.4% |
| Man | 698 | 9.4% | 4,221 | 11.5% | -2.1% |
| Woman | 763 | 10.3% | 4,265 | 11.6% | -1.3% |
| Black/African American | 659 | 8.9% | 1,635 | 4.5% | 4.5% |
| Man | 190 | 2.6% | 593 | 1.6% | 1.0% |
| Woman | 469 | 6.3% | 1,042 | 2.8% | 3.5% |
| Hispanic/Latinx | 2,239 | 30.3% | 9,012 | 24.6% | 5.7% |
| Man | 953 | 12.9% | 3,747 | 10.2% | 2.7% |
| Woman | 1,286 | 17.4% | 5,265 | 14.4% | 3.0% |
| Native American/ Indigenous/ Aboriginal | 38 | 0.5% | 47 | 0.1% | 0.4% |
| Man | 31 | 0.4% | 26 | 0.1% | 0.3% |
| Woman | 7 | 0.1% | 21 | 0.1% | 0.0% |
| White | 2,272 | 30.7% | 14,972 | 40.8% | -10.1% |
| Man | 1,012 | 13.7% | 6,932 | 18.9% | -5.2% |
| Woman | 1,260 | 17.0% | 8,040 | 21.9% | -4.9% |
| International Students | 688 | 9.3% | 2,174 | 5.9% | 3.4% |
| Man | 276 | 3.7% | 1,101 | 3.0% | 0.7% |
| Woman | 412 | 5.6% | 1,073 | 2.9% | 2.6% |
| Unknown | 36 | 0.5% | 329 | 0.9% | -0.4% |
| Man | 15 | 0.2% | 174 | 0.5% | -0.3% |
| Woman | 21 | 0.3% | 155 | 0.4% | -0.1% |
| Total | 7,393 | 100.0% | 36,655 | | |

| | 2019 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Demographics | n of student employees | % of student employees | Institutional Enrollment | % of Institutional Enrollment | Equity Gap |
| Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander | 1,114 | 20.9% | 8,588 | 23.8% | -2.9% |
| Man | 537 | 10.1% | 4,235 | 11.7% | -1.7% |
| Woman | 577 | 10.8% | 4,353 | 12.1% | -1.3% |
| Black/African American | 512 | 9.6% | 1,606 | 4.5% | 5.1% |
| Man | 154 | 2.9% | 598 | 1.7% | 1.2% |
| Woman | 358 | 6.7% | 1,008 | 2.8% | 3.9% |
| Hispanic/Latinx | 1,675 | 31.4% | 9,223 | 25.6% | 5.8% |
| Man | 684 | 12.8% | 3,722 | 10.3% | 2.5% |
| Woman | 991 | 18.6% | 5,501 | 15.3% | 3.3% |
| Native American/ Indigenous/ Aboriginal | 29 | 0.5% | 51 | 0.1% | 0.4% |
| Man | 20 | 0.4% | 26 | 0.1% | 0.3% |
| Woman | 9 | 0.2% | 25 | 0.1% | 0.1% |
| White | 1,492 | 28.0% | 14,250 | 39.5% | -11.6% |
| Man | 636 | 11.9% | 6,495 | 18.0% | -6.1% |
| Woman | 856 | 16.0% | 7,755 | 21.5% | -5.5% |
| International Students | 487 | 9.1% | 2,029 | 5.6% | 3.5% |
| Man | 189 | 3.5% | 1,023 | 2.8% | 0.7% |
| Woman | 298 | 5.6% | 1,006 | 2.8% | 2.8% |
| Unknown | 28 | 0.5% | 306 | 0.8% | -0.3% |
| Man | 13 | 0.2% | 155 | 0.4% | -0.2% |
| Woman | 15 | 0.3% | 151 | 0.4% | -0.1% |
| Total | 5,337 | 100.0% | 36,053 | | |

# Appendix C

## Repeated Measures Correlations

| Demographics | Correlation Coefficient | *p* |
|---|---|---|
| Class | | |
| Freshman/1st-Year Students | -0.18 | 0.559 |
| Sophomores/2nd-Year Students | 0.28 | 0.356 |
| Juniors/3rd-Year Students | 0.74 | 0.004** |
| Seniors/4th-Year Students | 0.86 | 0.000*** |
| Race | | |
| Asian/Asian American/Pacific Islander | 0.75 | 0.000*** |
| Black/African American | 0.15 | 0.614 |
| Hispanic/Latinx | 0.79 | 0.001** |
| Native American/Indigenous/ Aboriginal | 0.51 | 0.077 |
| White | 0.20 | 0.507 |
| International Students | 0.88 | 0.000*** |
| Unknown | 0.89 | 0.000*** |
| Gender | | |
| Man | 0.55 | 0.053 |
| Woman | 0.69 | 0.009** |
| Total | | |

Note: p-values statistically significant at $p < 0.05$ = *, $p < 0.01$ = **, $p < 0.00$***