

# A FAILURE TO COMMIT:

INCLUSION, ACCOUNTABILITY,  
AND YALE'S PRIORITIES

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## INTRODUCTION

**"I want to underscore the commitment of the University to the continued pursuit of racial justice."<sup>1</sup>**

- President Richard Levin, Remarks on MLK Jr. Day, January 22, 2002

**"I am writing today to affirm Yale's commitment to equity and inclusion on our campus."<sup>2</sup>**

- President Peter Salovey, Email to Yale Community, May 10, 2018

Any history of Yale University is incomplete without the flashpoints of student and community organizing around equity and inclusion on campus. Over the last half century there have been repeated mobilizations beginning with organizing by black undergraduates, which led to the founding of the Black Student Alliance at Yale (BSAY) in 1964 and the African American Studies major in 1969.<sup>3</sup> Women students and faculty organized for a decade after co-education began at Yale for a Women's Studies major, which was established in 1979.<sup>4</sup> In recent years, the Next Yale coalition organized several actions, including a 1,000 person "march of resilience," to protest insufficient support for ethnic studies, cultural centers and faculty diversity.<sup>5</sup> In 2017, 23 women graduate students were arrested in civil disobediences to protest Yale's lack of response to sexual harassment.<sup>6</sup> Most recently, in the spring of 2019, thirteen senior faculty resigned from the Ethnicity, Race and Migration program to protest Yale's insufficient support for the program.<sup>7</sup>

The crisis behind this organizing is multidimensional, but one problem is constant: Faculty and graduate students from marginalized backgrounds are severely underrepresented. For example, in 2016-17, only 4% of Faculty of Arts and Sci-

**Despite repeated efforts to bring in more scholars from underrepresented backgrounds, the university has been unwilling to make the structural changes necessary for these scholars to succeed and thrive.**

ences (FAS) ladder (tenured and tenure-track) faculty and 2.9% of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences (GSAS) self-reported as "Black or African-American." That same year, while 47% of the GSAS were women, only 30% of FAS ladder faculty were.

Yale has repeatedly said it values a diverse, inclusive campus. However, the underrepresentation of scholars of color and women has persisted for years, with major consequences for the quality of a Yale education. When scholars from marginalized communities are absent, Yale is missing important academic topics and perspectives, as well as potential mentors for students from underrepresented communities.

Yale periodically takes action, sometimes well-funded, to try to correct this problem. Although these actions have resulted in a more diverse undergraduate population, they have failed to create a similarly diverse faculty or graduate school. Despite repeated efforts to bring in more scholars from underrepresented backgrounds, the university has been unwilling to make the structural changes necessary for these scholars to succeed and thrive. These would include an institutional commitment to the study of race and ethnicity; valuing the mentorship and teaching that marginalized scholars disproportionately undertake; and ending budget austerity, which has disproportionately affected scholars and programs that are already marginalized.

Although Yale's failure to diversify the GSAS is an important issue for our union, we are focusing primarily on faculty diversity and the institutional commitment to the study of race, gender and ethnicity in this report.\* As graduate students, we are both students and scholars, and the limited numbers of faculty of color and women faculty affects us in both roles. When faculty mentors are unavailable, we take on more mentorship responsibility for undergraduates. At the same time, we ourselves lack mentors and teaching and research opportunities pertaining to race, ethnicity and gender. In these ways, a more representative faculty is essential to building a more representative GSAS.

Yale's ongoing race crisis feels cyclical — students and community members organize and demonstrate, Yale makes a commitment to do something different, the commitment has some short-term impact but does not address the longer-term problem, the demographic makeup of the faculty and the graduate school does not change, and the process repeats some time later. We believe this cycle occurs because Yale's commitments are vague, lack clear goals, and have no mechanism by for accountability.

A recognized graduate student union can be one part of the solution by helping provide that accountability. We've seen it in the academic labor movement — a movement that is growing, including in the Ivy League, where at the time of writing Harvard, Columbia and Brown are negotiating contracts with their grad unions. Academic unions have fought and won on race, gender and representation across the country. Furthermore, we have seen our campus allies Locals 34 and 35 fight for pay equity across race and gender and win contract commitments for increased diversity in non-academic hires from the New Haven community.

This report is built on the efforts of generations of students, faculty, staff, and community members of color who have fought for a better Yale. Our demands are not novel — most of them have been made many times by our predecessors and contemporaries. Our own union has made repeated demands for increased faculty diversity, filed grievances with the administration, and produced research on the racial impact of Yale's practices and investments.

Our report is written with the faith that confronted by persistent, principled advocacy from campus stakeholders, Yale's administrators will ultimately recognize that they can only solve Yale's race crisis by listening to the voices of those doing the work on the ground. We hope that this report can amplify those voices.

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\* Yale's professional schools have had their own struggles around race, but the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences comprises the departments where we do the vast majority of our teaching, research and coursework, and accordingly the GSAS and FAS will be our focus.

# THE STILL UNCHANGING FACE OF YALE

In 2005, Local 33, then called the Graduate Employees and Students Organization (GESO), released a report, “The (Un)Changing Face of the Ivy League,” which concluded regarding ladder faculty, “Over the course of this ten year period (1993 to 2003), the presence of underrepresented minorities has increased only slightly. The percent of women faculty increased, but not in proportion to the percent of women who were on the tenure-track at the time.”<sup>8</sup>

Yale’s Office of Institutional Research (OIR) makes data on the racial and gender makeup of the FAS and GSAS available from 2005 to 2017. An analysis of these data demonstrates that the situation has not improved in the period since our last report. Figures 1 and 2 show the racial composition of FAS ladder faculty and the GSAS respectively over the past decade.

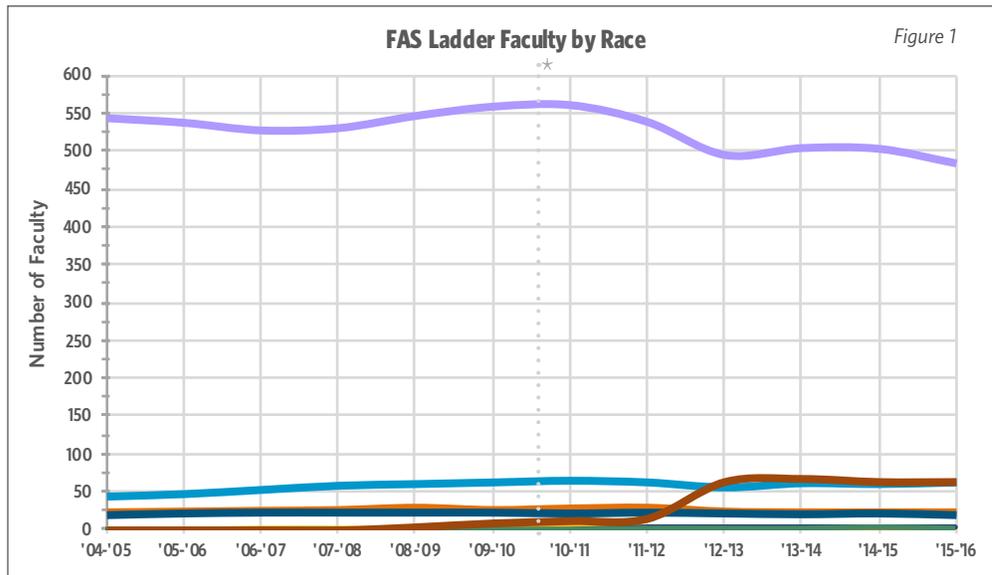


Figure 1

Data from Yale University Office of Institutional Research. Non-international students only. OIR does not break down international data by race.

■ White   
 ■ Race or Ethnicity Not Reported   
 ■ Hispanic of Any Race   
 ■ Two or More Races  
■ Black   
 ■ Asian   
 ■ Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander   
 ■ American Indian or Alaska Native

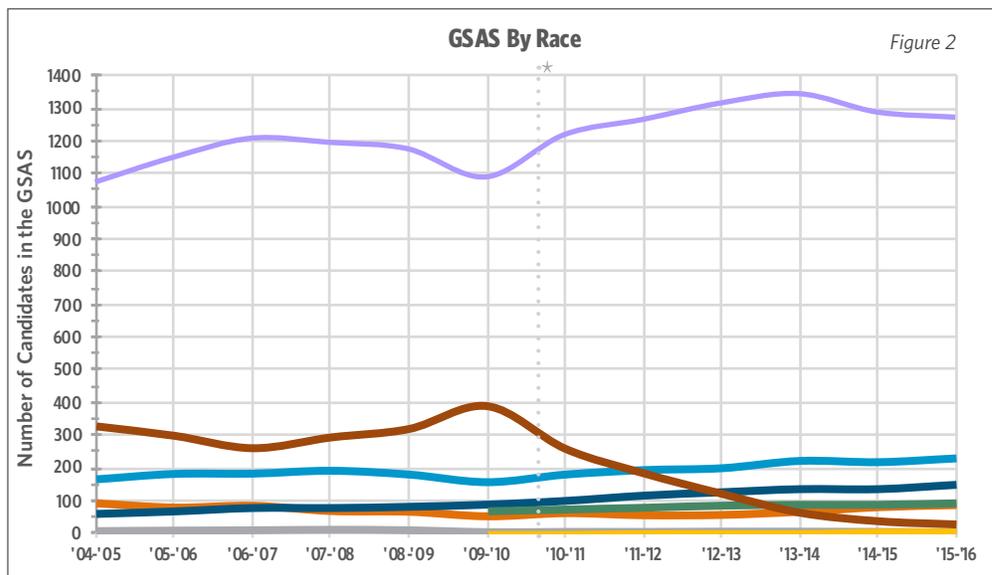
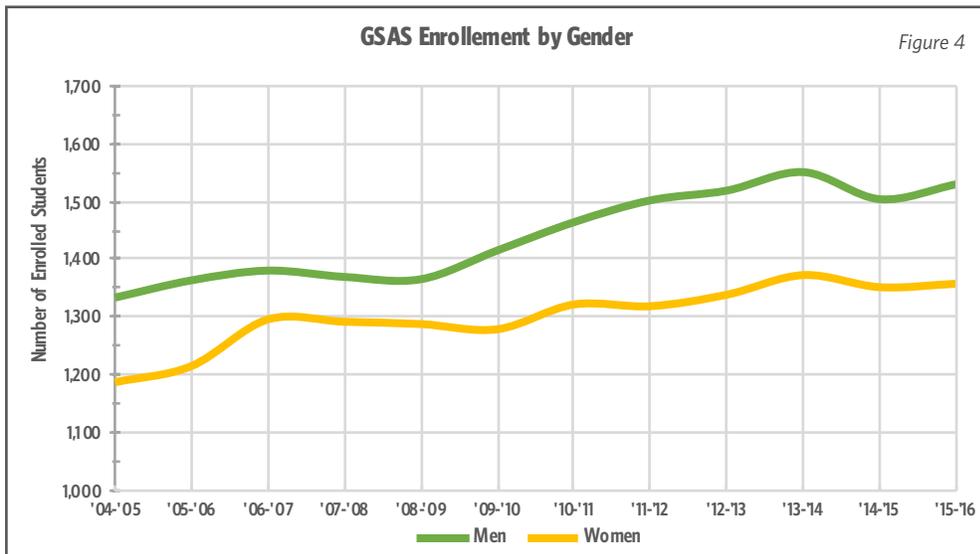
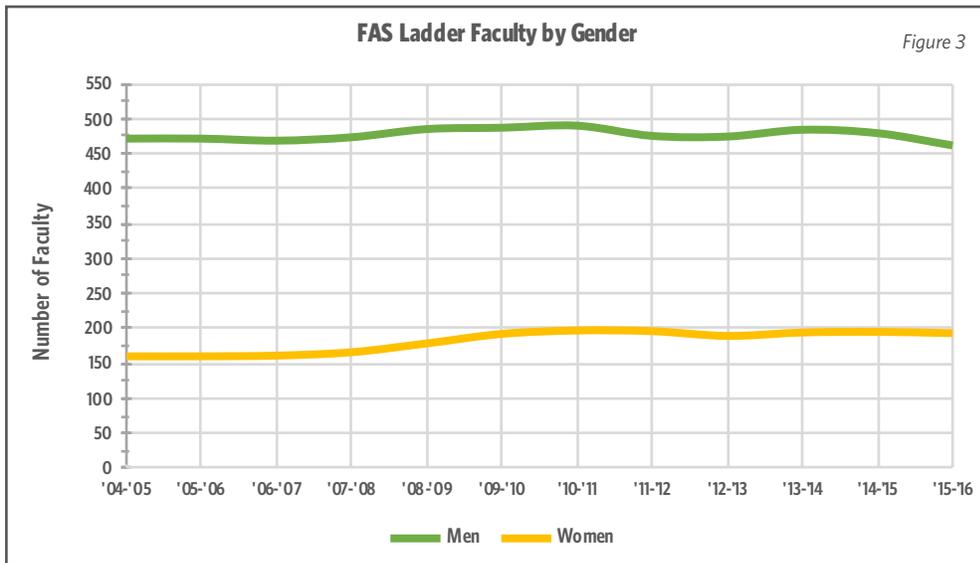


Figure 2

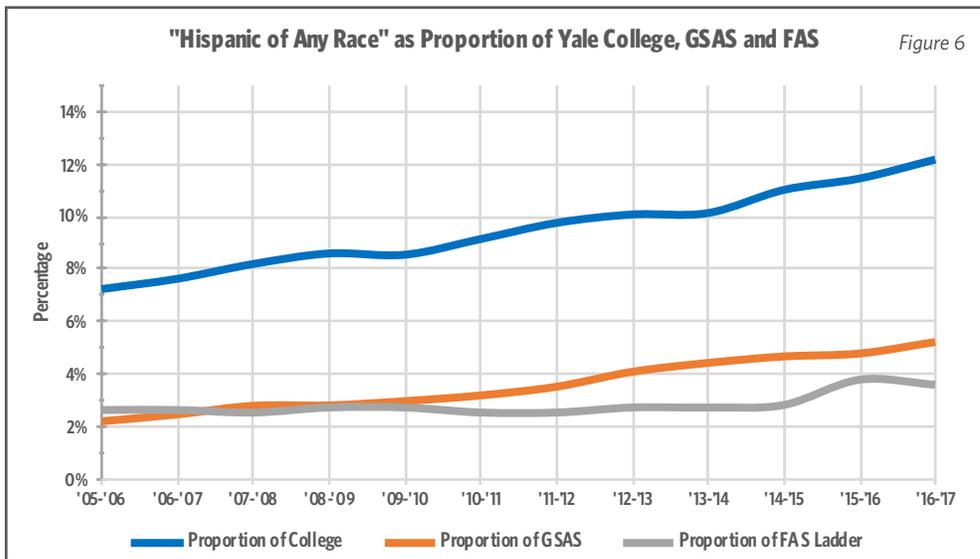
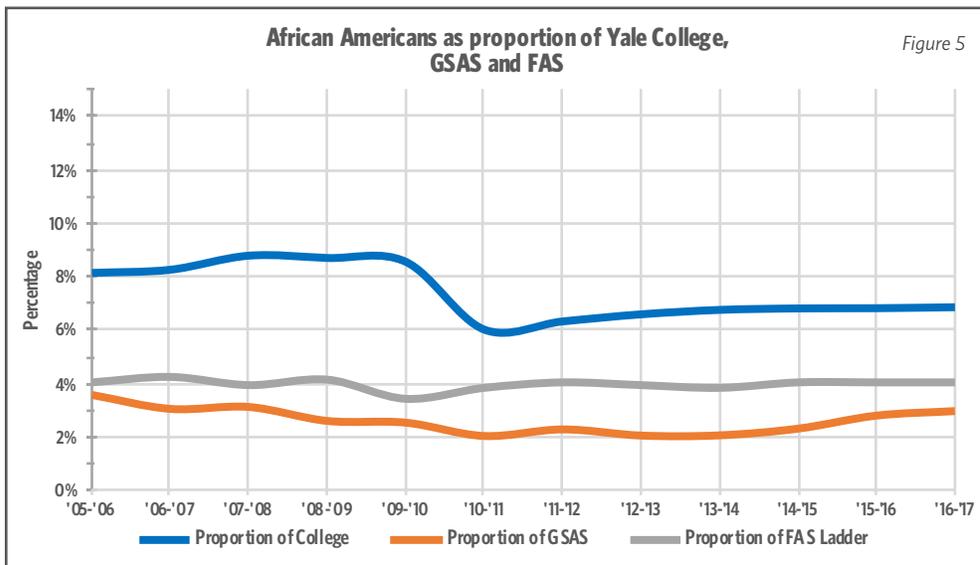
\*In 2010 the Department of Education revised how data is recorded and collected, allowing reporting of two or more races.

Figures 3 and 4 show ladder FAS faculty and the GSAS by gender over the same decade. Yale's lack of progress in hiring faculty from marginalized communities has created a mentorship gap. Research shows a positive correlation between persistence rates for students of color and the number of faculty of color on a campus. An article presented at the Association of American Colleges and Universities argues,

*Academic motivation and persistence among URM (under-represented minority) students is often undermined by feelings of self-doubt, lack of belongingness, and stereotype threat in classrooms where they are significantly outnumbered by majority students. The presence of faculty of color mitigates against these effects by signaling to students that they need not represent their race in the classroom and that the professor is an embodied counterexample to negative stereotypes about their racial group.<sup>9</sup>*

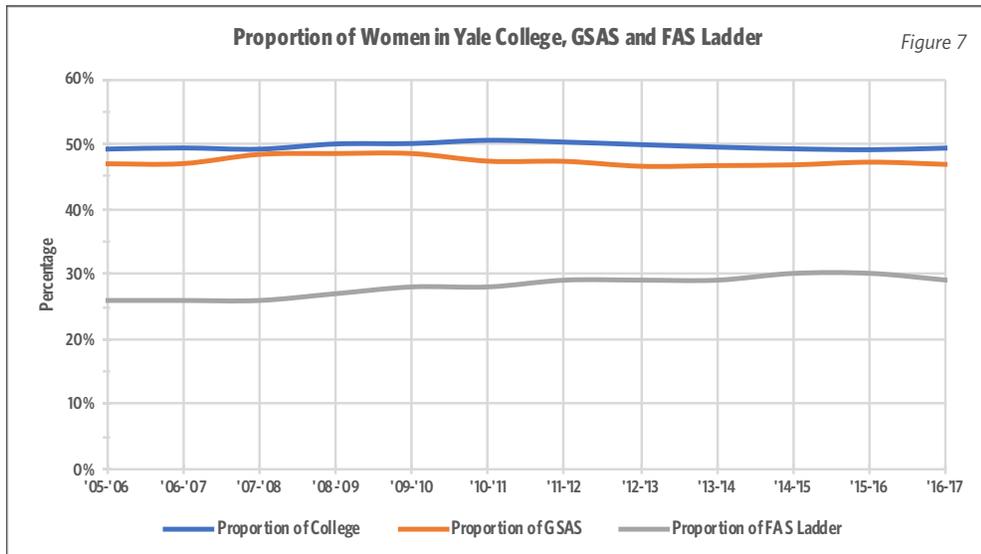


We focus in particular on two groups of underrepresented minorities in Figures 5 and 6.<sup>†</sup> Since 2005, the proportion of undergraduates self-reporting as “Black or African-American” has been between 5.9 and 8.7 percent.<sup>10</sup> (The apparent large decline in the black undergraduate proportion in 2010 is likely an artifact of a change in Yale’s data reporting.) However, the proportion of graduate students has been between 2.0 and 3.6 percent, and the proportion of ladder faculty has been between 3.4 and 4.2 percent.<sup>11</sup> The gap between undergraduate enrollment and graduate student and faculty enrollment for individuals self-reporting as “Hispanic of any race,” already large, is growing as the Hispanic proportion of the undergraduate population increases.



<sup>†</sup> It is important to note that the way that the federal government collects race and ethnicity data at universities changed in 2010. Data collection was changed to a two-question format: 1) Are you Hispanic or Latino; 2) Regardless of what you answered in #1, which of the following groups do you consider yourself to be a member: (a) Black, (b) American Indian/Alaskan Native, (c) Asian, (d) Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, and (e) White. This makes comparisons pre and post-2010 complicated. In particular, the number of individuals selecting “Hispanic” is higher post-2010 due to the priority of the first question, and the new “two or more races” category makes the counts of other races lower post-2010.

The representation gap is somewhat different for women, in that the proportion of women in the GSAS is similar to the proportion in the college. Nevertheless, a large gap persists between those two groups and the FAS, as is evident in Figure 7.



The proportion of the FAS faculty who are women is increasing, although very slowly. But the racial representation gap is particularly dire. Over the last decade, Yale has made no progress whatsoever on increasing the proportion of black ladder faculty in the FAS.

## A HISTORY OF HIRING AND RACIAL EQUITY AT YALE

Yale’s undergraduate population underwent radical demographic change in the 1960s. In that decade, Yale decreased legacy admissions, instituted need-blind admissions, ended the informal quota on Jews, and, in 1969, began admitting women.<sup>12</sup> Beginning in 1964, when a then-record 14 black students matriculated, black students and community members campaigned to increase the black undergraduate enrollment at Yale.<sup>13</sup> These actions culminated in meetings between the Black Student Alliance at Yale (BSAY) and the administration, which agreed to increase black admissions and fund BSAY recruiting trips to urban centers. As a result, black enrollment in the freshman class increased from 2 percent in 1965 to 8 percent in 1969.<sup>14</sup>

As Yale’s undergraduate population became more diverse, students began demanding a more diverse curriculum and faculty. In this climate of activism, Yale took several important steps. Yale created the African-American Studies program and major in 1969 and hired its first faculty in the field. In 1972, President Brewster appointed an associate provost to oversee the recruitment of women and people of color into the faculty. And in 1979, Yale established the Women’s Studies program and hired faculty in the field.<sup>15</sup>

Between 1970 and 1994 Yale conducted at least nine major reports on faculty diversity.<sup>16</sup> Over this time period Yale’s approach to undergraduate admissions had so transformed that *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* could argue, “Among the nation’s great institutions Yale has been a distinct leader in pursuing a racially and culturally diverse student body.”<sup>17</sup>

However, as notable as the progress in undergraduate admissions was the lack of progress in hiring faculty of color. In 1973, 34 ladder faculty throughout the university were black. In 1995, 34 ladder faculty throughout the university were black.<sup>‡</sup> Yale had not hired a black professor in three years. There was not a single black professor in the natural sciences.<sup>18</sup> The same *JBHE* article that praised Yale's record in undergraduate admissions calculated that if Harvard continued hiring black professors at the same rate, it would achieve a percentage of black faculty equal to the American population as a whole in 2150. "In Yale's case," the journal reported, "*the answer to the same question is never.*"<sup>19</sup>

In the 1990s, one response to the ongoing crisis from the university was to blame both the pipeline of potential applicants and a lack of resources. This approach was stated most starkly by Provost Alison Richard in 1994, who argued, "The entire pool of qualified black applicants in all fields consists of fewer than 120 individuals and the university is not about to enter a bidding war for their services." At the time there were 19,000 black professors teaching in the United States.<sup>20</sup>

## FUNDING FOR HIRING COMMITMENTS

Yale shifted its approach in the late 1990s, after Richard Levin became president and "repeatedly focused on faculty diversity as a central administrative priority."<sup>21</sup> In 1999, Levin urged committees to search for diverse applicants "as far as possible" and, in a major shift, pledged that financial resources would not be an obstacle to recruiting a diverse faculty.<sup>22</sup>

Yale's new commitment became more concrete in 2005 when Levin announced that Yale would increase the number of faculty of color and women faculty by 30 each (increases of 34 percent and 20 percent respectively) over 7 years. Furthermore, each department was instructed to appoint a diversity representative to seek graduate student candidates from underrepresented backgrounds, although the university declined to set numerical goals. "I think the 1999 promise of unlimited resources was appreciated, but it wasn't always clear to search committees in departments how to take full advantage of those resources," said then-Dean of Yale College Peter Salovey.

Yale made a second major hiring commitment in November 2015, when the Provost's office announced a \$50 million Faculty Excellence and Diversity Initiative, in the midst of a semester defined by major activism about race on campus. The core of the initiative is the Provost's Faculty Development Fund—" \$25 million in central resources over a five-year period for faculty recruitment, faculty appointments, and pipeline development." This funding provides matching funds of up to half of the salary of new hires for three years and of up to ten visiting professors each year.<sup>23</sup> When the Provost's \$25 million is matched by the appointing school, the total value of the initiative is \$50 million.

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‡ These figures come from an article in the *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, not from the OIR, and include all faculty at Yale, not only the FAS.

## THE HIRING INITIATIVES' LIMITED SUCCESS

Yale declared victory on its 2005 commitment after hiring 56 faculty of color and 30 women by 2011, meeting its initial goal.<sup>24</sup> More recently, in a September 2016 message to the university, Provost Polak reported that the 2015 initiative committed resources to support 26 ladder faculty and 13 visiting faculty in its initial year. "This initiative has allowed departments to think broadly and creatively about faculty excellence and has allowed us to hire a number of spectacular scholars and teachers who might otherwise have been beyond our reach to attract," reported FAS Dean Tamar Gendler.<sup>25</sup> In October 2018, the university announced another 15 ladder appointments, bringing the 3-year total to 65 campus-wide.<sup>26</sup>

Despite Yale's declarations of victory, the data show its hiring success is limited at best. Figure 8 demonstrates the hiring record for black ladder FAS faculty since the 2005 initiative. Over this period, there were periodic spikes in hiring. However, just 4.5% of new FAS hires have been black. That number remains well below the percentage of self-identified Black or African-American students among the undergraduate student body, and at merely 0.5% above the existing percentage of black faculty.

More importantly, the administration's public focus on hiring obscures a fundamental problem with faculty diversity at Yale: The university has consistently failed to retain faculty from underrepresented backgrounds. According to Yale's FAS Senate, of the 56 faculty of color hired as part of the 2005 initiative, only 22 remained by 2012. Of the 30 women hired, 18 remained by 2012.<sup>27</sup>

Yale does not make data about attrition available. We do not have data to determine whether faculty of color or women are leaving at a disproportionate rate, or under what circumstances. One thing we do have is a record of repeated high-profile departures of scholars of color.

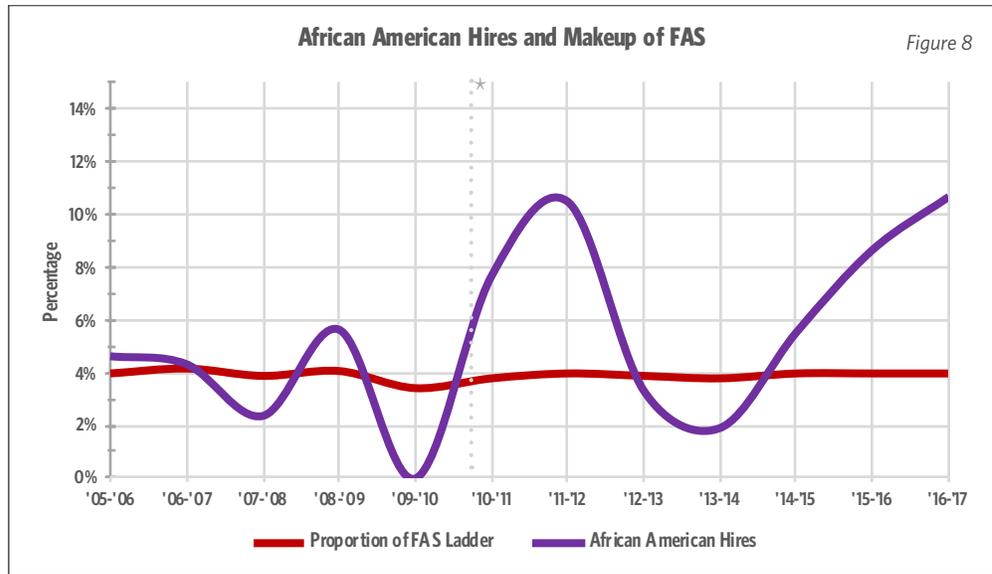
In 2000, the *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* reported, "Yale's faculty retention record has been disappointing. In the course of these years (1975-2000) Yale lost to other institutions a number of distinguished black faculty members, including Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Toni Morrison, Cornel West, and K. Anthony Appiah."<sup>28</sup> In 2015, the same year of Yale's \$50 million initiative, four prominent scholars of color – Elizabeth Alexander, Karen Nakamura, Vanessa Agard-Jones, and Jafari Allen – announced their intention to leave.

The most credible way to judge Yale's record on both hiring and retention, without full data, is to compare hiring trends with overall demographic makeup. As Figure 8 illustrates, the proportion of yearly hires who are black has varied significantly, from 0 percent to over 10 percent, averaging 4.5 percent from 2005 to 2017. However, the proportion of black ladder faculty has barely budged year-to-year: it was four percent in 2005 and four percent in 2017.

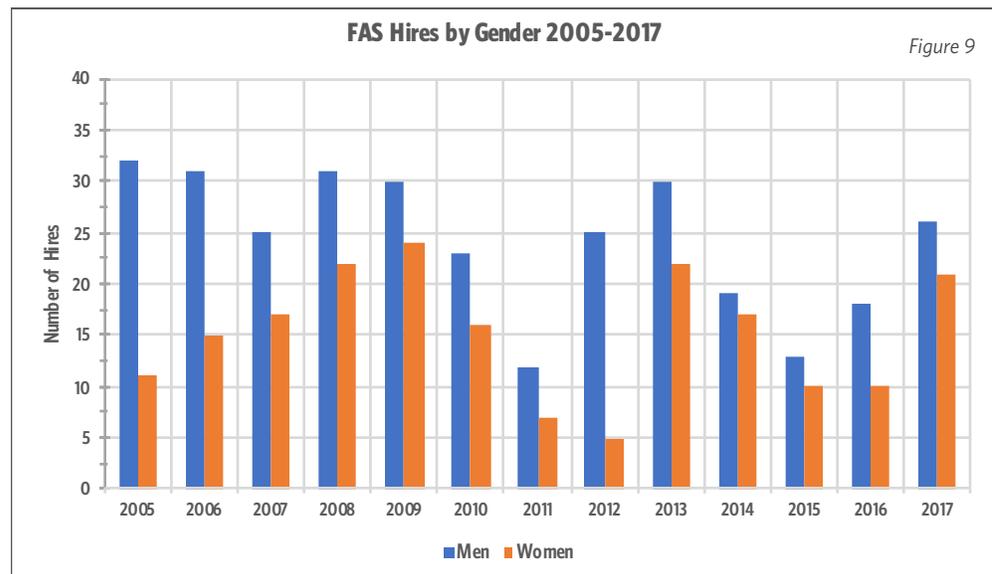
Put another way, in 2005 there were 25 black ladder faculty in the FAS. In 2017 there were 26. Despite laudable institutional emphasis and the investment of millions of dollars, thus far Yale has been unable to do more than "break even."

Yale has said less about gender equity around the 2015 initiative or given goals for hiring by gender. However, it is a fact that, for the years for which Yale makes data available, there has never been hiring parity between men and women in the FAS. This is displayed in Figure 9.

**According to Yale's FAS Senate, of the 56 faculty of color hired as part of the 2005 initiative, only 22 remained by 2012. Of the 30 women hired, 18 remained by 2012.<sup>85</sup>**



\*In 2010 the Department of Education revised how data is recorded and collected, allowing reporting of two or more races.



## FACTORS IN ATTRITION: THE UNSEEN LABOR OF MENTORSHIP

Yale acknowledged its retention problem when it reformed its tenure process in 2007. According to Dean of the Graduate School Jon Butler, one purpose of the revisions was to “create a system that would nourish junior faculty and help retain promising scholars and teachers.” The most significant change in this regard was to guarantee that departments would have resources to grant tenure to all junior ladder faculty who met the requirements, bringing Yale in line with nearly all other colleges and universities. Yale also shortened its tenure clock from ten years to nine.<sup>29</sup>

However, even after the 2007 revisions, “there was a broad sense on the part of the faculty that the differences between Yale and our peer institutions in our tenure system — including the length of our tenure clock and our unusual system of reviews — was leaving us at a disadvantage in recruiting and retaining top early-career faculty,” said FAS Dean Tamar Gendler in 2016.<sup>30</sup>

Yale revised the tenure guidelines again in 2017 to shorten the tenure clock to eight years<sup>31</sup>.<sup>§</sup> The university also eliminated the rank of associate professor without tenure, and introduced a substantive assistant professor reappointment review in the fourth year.<sup>32</sup> It is too early to determine the impact this change will have on faculty retention. However, evidence suggests that the length of the clock has not been the only problem for faculty from marginalized communities in Yale's tenure system.

**Criteria for appointment or promotion to Associate Professor with Tenure or Professor (FASTAP 2016)<sup>95</sup>**

“Tenure at Yale is awarded to scholars who stand among the foremost leaders in the world in a broad field of knowledge. It is reserved for candidates whose published work significantly extends the horizons of their discipline(s). A tenure appointment is a permanent, forward-looking commitment, and therefore requires evidence of an ongoing and ambitious research agenda.

“An assessment of candidates’ leadership is based on the impact, at the very highest levels, of their research and peer-reviewed scholarship. Excellent teaching and engaged University and professional citizenship within and beyond a department or program are also expected. Tenure at Yale may be awarded at the associate or full professor rank.

Yale’s stated criteria for tenure are reproduced in full above. They emphasize published research first and foremost, while stating that excellence in teaching and University service “are also expected.” However, the relative values of research, teaching and service are not explained. One *Yale Daily News* article quotes multiple faculty expressing concern that the shorter clock combined with unclear standards for promotion may have an adverse effect on retention. “The real question is whether the shorter clock will also result in some set of adjusted expectations for junior faculty,” history professor and former chair of the FAS Senate Beverly Gage said, “The concern is that we will expect them to do the same amount of work. Then we will have created a system with more pressure.”<sup>33</sup>

These adverse consequences may be especially damaging to junior faculty from marginalized communities. While quality mentoring is possible across race and gender lines, research supports the value of students from marginalized groups having mentors from those same groups. Many faculty take on mentorship as central to their academic work. However, as professor Manya Whitaker at Colorado College writes in her essay “The Unseen Labor of Mentoring,” “Even after six years on the faculty here, I find that helping students of color, queer students, work-study students, athletes, and others manage the day-to-day difficulties of life at a wealthy predominantly white institution continues to be a professional and emotional balancing act.”<sup>34</sup>

Mentorship of marginalized students, in other words, is likely to fall on faculty from marginalized backgrounds. This is especially challenging at an institution like Yale, where faculty of color and women faculty are so underrepresented compared to undergraduates from the same groups. When this labor goes unrecognized in tenure decisions, faculty from marginalized groups are placed at a competitive disadvantage.

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§ The rest of the Ivy League had eight or seven-year tenure clocks. Many universities and colleges have six year tenure clocks.

## THE ROLE OF CURRICULUM AND INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH IN FACULTY DIVERSITY

A university's curriculum plays an important role in attracting and retaining underrepresented scholars. Indeed, expanding interdisciplinary studies pertaining to race and gender has been an integral part of most of Yale's efforts to increase faculty diversity. For example, one feature of Yale's 2015 initiative is to allow faculty to propose interdisciplinary cluster hiring.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, institutional decisions about which interdisciplinary programs to fund and to expand have implications for faculty diversity.

Activists have struggled over many years to get Yale to commit real resources to interdisciplinary studies pertaining to race. We examine four examples since 1990 of programs for interdisciplinary study — two for which Yale's administration made major commitments, and two for which they did not.

### *Western Civilization*

In the late 1980s, a high-profile debate took place on campuses across the United States about the place of the Western canon in a liberal arts education. Most prominently, activism by students of color and the subsequent debate about the core freshman reading list at Stanford University was frequently national news.<sup>36</sup> This was the context in which Dean of Yale College Donald Kagan proclaimed in his 1990 welcome address to freshmen, "It is both right and necessary to place Western civilization and the culture to which it has given rise at the center of our studies."<sup>37</sup>

Reportedly impressed by Kagan's address, Yale President Benno Schmidt approached Lee Bass about "supporting a program based on the dean's vision of resisting what many saw as a disturbing national trend away from the academic basics."<sup>38</sup> Bass was the youngest member of one of the most prolific donor families in Yale's history. In April, 1991, Schmidt announced Bass' \$20 million gift, one of the largest in Yale history, to fund the study of Western civilization.<sup>39</sup>

Kagan's address and Bass' gift sparked a firestorm of controversy on campus that attracted national media attention. Most controversial was the plan to hire four new assistant professors focusing on Western civilization, at a time of "restructuring" of the FAS which was in practice a hiring freeze. The *New York Times* summarized: certain faculty believed that "the money could be better spent on courses with a multicultural perspective, especially since Yale has more than 100 undergraduate courses that deal with Western thought."<sup>40</sup>

The controversy around the Bass gift raged for four years, during which time implementation was repeatedly delayed and President Schmidt left and was replaced by Richard Levin. Finally, in 1995, Bass and Yale made the apparently mutual decision to return the donation and abandon the Western Civilization plan.<sup>41</sup>

### *African American Studies*

Yale created the nation's first academic major in African American Studies in 1969 in response to sustained student and faculty organizing, and remained a leader in the field for many years. However, by December 1989, the *New York Times* reported that Yale's African American Studies program was "in disarray." Edmund Gordon, the program's

Chair, resigned, citing frustration with delays in hiring. Prominent senior faculty Aldoph Reed and John Blassingame had resigned from the program earlier in the year. Undergraduate interest in the program was robust, but the number of faculty had been stagnant or shrinking for years.<sup>42</sup>

A decade later, in 1999, students and faculty were cautiously hopeful that Yale's new promise of unlimited resources for faculty diversity would put the program on more solid footing. Indeed, Yale made four hires affiliated with African American Studies that year. However, according to a retrospective of the program published that year, the same problems lingered. "It's encouraging to see someone who looks like you in a leadership position," said one undergraduate. "It's nice to know that there are black doctors, lawyers, and stockbrokers, but we're also desperate to see more black people in academia."<sup>43</sup> Chair Hazel Carby proposed one solution: she had been lobbying the Provost's office to make African American Studies a department, rather than a program, with hiring and promotion autonomy.<sup>44</sup>

Many of Yale's peers had by then established standalone departments. Harvard's department was led by Henry Louis Gates, Jr., a professor who had been denied tenure at Yale in 1985.<sup>45</sup> President Levin introduced Gates at a dinner in 2000, and said, "We have watched with interest and admiration, and a little jealousy" as Gates built Harvard's program. According to the *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, "Bloodletting on the Yale campus was quick to begin," the culmination of which was Hazel Carby's resignation as chair of the program. Carby's letter of resignation read, in part,

*"To be jealous of Harvard's department is to invite a comparison that can only be interpreted to mean that we do not reach a standard of which you can be proud. If you are jealous of the Afro-American studies department at Harvard, why do you not support us with resources that are commensurate with our collective achievements and equal to theirs?"<sup>46</sup>*

Reaction to Carby's resignation was swift. A week later, Yale reconsidered its longstanding opposition to departmental status for African American studies. (Yale insisted the timing was a coincidence, even though it had not acted in the two years that the change was "under consideration.")<sup>47</sup> And, citing "a unanimous show of support from the faculty and graduate students," Carby rescinded her resignation.<sup>48</sup>

### ***Ethnicity, Race and Migration***

After years of demands by students and faculty, Yale established the program in Ethnicity, Race and Migration (ER&M) in 1997. An academic major was necessary that recognized, as one alum said, "that one can't understand America without its immigrants; that slavery's after-effects remain central to American life; that questions of identity, whether we like it or not, sit at the core of our politics and our culture."<sup>49</sup>

Throughout the history of ER&M, students, faculty and alumni have struggled for more secure institutional standing for the program. Initially ER&M was a "second major," meaning students could only major in conjunction with another field. Furthermore, the major existed on a trial basis, which required regular review until 2008.<sup>50</sup> ER&M faculty advocated for standalone major status, which the university formally rejected in 2002 and 2007, before finally granting it in 2012.<sup>51</sup> ER&M's physical home, the Center for the Study of Race, Indigeneity, and Transnational Migration (RITM), was established in 2016 after campus protests demanded increased funding for ethnic studies and curriculum centered on racial justice. RITM's budget was a modest \$600,000.<sup>52</sup>

Despite these difficulties, ER&M has been one of the fastest growing programs at the university, with 87 majors in 2018-2019. Accordingly, ER&M-affiliated faculty expected that the 2012 decision would lead to more institutional stability including additional funding

and, crucially, influence over hiring and tenure decisions.

However, these expectations have gone unfulfilled. In response, in March, 2019, thirteen senior faculty, including all ER&M officers and all faculty who had served as ER&M chair since 1997, submitted letters resigning from the program. In a joint press release, ER&M Chair Alicia Schmidt Camacho said, "In spite of repeated efforts to remind the administration of their promises, and despite repeated assurances from the University over the last seven years that the situation would change, our program still lacks basic rights in hiring and appointment. The administration has maintained a system that fails to recognize our work and prevents us from participating in the tenure and promotion process."<sup>53</sup> The faculty will fulfill their commitment to current junior and senior majors but, without major changes in structure, the future of ER&M at Yale is in doubt.

### ***The Jackson School***

In 2002 Director of the Yale Center for International and Area Studies Gustav Ranis claimed ER&M was part of the "international mission" of Yale. However, Yale continued to commit resources to international relations programs other than ER&M.<sup>54</sup> Most prominent among these has been the Jackson Institute for Global Affairs.

In 2009 former pharmaceutical executive John Jackson gave Yale \$50 million to establish a new interdisciplinary center. "The Jackson Institute will become a signature program, marking Yale's global aspirations," said President Levin. "Its teaching programs will permeate the University, expanding the curriculum in international affairs so that students in all its schools are better prepared for global leadership and service."<sup>55</sup>

In 2017, The Jackson Institute added The Kerry Initiative, an additional interdisciplinary program led by new Distinguished Fellow John Kerry. The budget for the Jackson Institute expanded by \$2 million that year to \$11.4 million, though Yale's administration declined to say how much the Kerry Initiative cost.<sup>56</sup> This budget was 19 times the size of the budget for RITM established the year before.

In February 2019, the *Yale Daily News* reported that, in addition to Jackson's \$50 million gift, the university had also committed in 2009 at least an additional \$34 million from university funds to the Jackson Institute, and an additional \$2.4 million each year thereafter, a commitment that was previously unreported.<sup>57</sup> The commitment to open the Jackson Institute came only months before Yale announced budget austerity to close a \$150 million deficit in the university's operating budget.<sup>58</sup>

In 2018 an advisory committee recommended converting the Jackson Institute into a standalone school, and Yale officially announced a \$200 million commitment to establish the Jackson School of Global Affairs in 2019.<sup>59</sup> By creating the Jackson School, Yale joins many of its peers in having a standalone International Relations (IR) school. This model has recently come under criticism. In his 2018 essay "America's IR Schools are Broken," Stephen Walt (himself a professor of international relations at Harvard) argues that IR Schools tend to reproduce a commitment to American hegemony. "The deans and faculty at many of these institutions are a who's who of leading figures in the foreign-policy community, and most of them remain strongly committed to exercising U.S. power far and wide," Walt writes. "Not surprisingly, the faculty at these institutions are mostly made up of policy-oriented academics and former government officials, people who are unlikely to question the central premises that have underpinned U.S. foreign policy for many years."<sup>60</sup>

Walt's description applies to Jackson Institute's dedicated faculty, the Senior Fellows. These fellows are disproportionately white, male, and come from the American political, military and business spheres. Senior Fellows in 2019 include Stanley McChrystal, the commander of Joint Special Operations in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan; Stephen Roach, the former Chairman of Morgan Stanley Asia; and Richard Levin, the former President of Yale.<sup>61</sup>

The Jackson Institute also hosts the Johnson Center for the Study of American Diplomacy, which holds Henry Kissinger's papers and brings Kissinger Senior Fellows and Kissinger Visiting Scholars to campus.<sup>61</sup> The Johnson Center faced criticism on campus and in the media in 2018, when its annual Kissinger Conference initially featured 15 speakers, all of whom were men. In response, the organizers added two women to the agenda two days before the conference.<sup>62</sup>

## INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES, BUDGET AUSTERITY AND YALE'S ACADEMIC PRIORITIES

The histories of Yale's interdisciplinary programs overlap, and a pattern emerges. In the 1990s, Yale's administration prioritized establishing a program for the study of Western civilization, while allowing African-American studies to fall into "disarray." A similar dichotomy is currently underway — Yale's administration is prioritizing setting up an international relations school, staffed largely by American political and business leaders who are disproportionately white and male, while failing to commit adequate resources to ER&M.

Both the Western civilization program and the Jackson Center were proposed and funded during times of budget austerity. The Jackson Center was established in the midst of the financial crisis of the late 2000s, during which Yale's endowment shrank from \$22.9 billion in 2008 to \$16.8 billion in 2009. In 2010, Yale's operating budget faced a \$150 million shortfall. In response, President Levin announced across-the-board budget cuts, including staff layoffs, research funding cuts, and a reduction in new graduate students. Although university spokesman Tom Conroy said these cuts would not affect faculty positions, the FAS Senate report finds a decrease in hiring of 23% from 2010 to 2015 as compared to 2005 to 2009.<sup>63</sup>

Although the endowment's market value increased every year after 2009, reached pre-crash levels by 2014, and \$29.4 billion by 2018,<sup>64</sup> the climate of austerity has remained. As the FAS Senate Report argues, "When faculty hiring did pick up again, it did so in an environment of continued cuts and scarcity, with search authorizations and slot allocations uncertain, confusing, highly competitive, and hard-won."<sup>65</sup> In fact, according to a separate FAS Senate report from 2019, the size of Yale's ladder faculty has actually decreased by 5 percent since 2010. This is unique among Yale's peer institutions, and occurred as Yale opened two new colleges in 2017, which will increase the undergraduate population by 15 percent.<sup>66</sup>

The negative consequences of Yale's continuing budget austerity have not been evenly distributed. As the FAS Senate points out:

*It is worth stating again: in the austerity and uncertainty that have gripped the FAS since 2008, a shrinking portion of the limited resources that have been expended have gone to maintaining—let alone increasing—the diversity of the faculty, at least in the untenured ranks. [Emphasis original.] This is a University-specific variant of a story very familiar to social scientists and humanists who study inequality: in times of fiscal austerity, it is often women, minorities, and those in less-well established groups (such as untenured scholars), who bear the brunt of slashed budgets.*

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<sup>61</sup> The Johnson Center was established after a gift from Charles B. Johnson, Yale's largest ever alumni donor and the largest shareholder in Franklin Resources, the world's second largest holder of Puerto Rican debt as of 2018.

Yale has had many faculty of color who have produced world-class scholarship while at the university. However, Yale has too often relied on these scholars to generate programs and funding without adequate institutional resources. The ways in which Yale's commitment to interdisciplinary study of race has been driven by scholars of color themselves is epitomized in the example of the Center for the Study of Race, Inequality and Politics (CSRIP). In 1995, the Institution for Social and Policy Studies (ISPS) and the Rockefeller Foundation funded professor Cathy Cohen to establish the center. CSRIP was led by Cohen and Rogers Smith. Smith later recounted:

*"The Dean of Yale's Graduate School called to ask why recruitment of under-represented minority graduate students had increased so sharply in the social sciences. I said that was the Cathy Cohen/CSRIP curve. Seven scholars associated with the Center have since won the American Political Science Association's annual Ralph Bunche Prize for best book on racial and ethnic politics."<sup>67</sup>*

Cathy Cohen, like many scholars of color before and after her, left Yale in 2002. Despite CSRIP's clear academic excellence, after Cohen departed, the center received no funding and eventually was shut down. Ignoring CSRIP scholars' accolades, the director of ISPS later said it "failed to meet high standards for research and instruction."<sup>68</sup>

Scholars of race and ethnicity have continued to advocate for their work in the face of inadequate institutional support. The history suggests that to meaningfully address its attrition crisis, Yale must expand its institutional commitment to interdisciplinary scholarship focusing on marginalized communities and people.

## ACCOUNTABILITY AND THE UNION DIFFERENCE

Yale's lack of accountability measures around hiring and retention have hindered the university's ability to build a representative faculty. Our union has advocated for such measures for years. Upon the announcement of Yale's 2005 hiring initiative, then-GESO chair Mary Reynolds asked, in the *Yale Daily News*, "Where is the binding mechanism that will ensure the success of these programs? Who actually is accountable for the success of these programs?"<sup>69</sup> Since that time our members have campaigned for more institutional resources for the Office of Diversity and Equal Opportunity (the precursor to the Office for Graduate Student Development and Diversity); protested the administration's inaction on sexual harassment and racial discrimination; and released research on the racial impact of Yale's investment practices.

There is a long history of union activism for racial justice and gender equity at Yale and in New Haven. The campaign in the mid-1980s to establish Local 34, the clerical and technical workers' union, focused on addressing wage disparities between men and women and black and white workers.<sup>70</sup> More recently, Locals 34 and 35 have partnered with New Haven Rising to expand access to permanent, living wage jobs for communities of color in New Haven. In 2015 Yale signed an agreement with the unions pledging to hire 500 residents from census-designated New Haven "neighborhoods of need."

Across the country, academic unions have played a central role in victories for graduate student and faculty diversity. Below are some examples of unions that have taken on the problems we've laid out in this report:



**Independent Mechanisms to Address Harassment and Discrimination: GEU-UAW, University of Connecticut:** When GEU negotiated its first contract in 2015, a top priority was the ability to use the union's grievance procedure for allegations of sexual harassment and discrimination. This was the most contentious provision in negotiations, but the union won. Shortly after, a graduate student who had accused their adviser of sexual harassment approached GEU to use the grievance procedure. UConn's internal process had found no evidence of wrongdoing. The situation was especially difficult because the accuser was an international student, meaning the professor could influence their ability to remain in the country. The union filed a complaint with the Connecticut Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities. The case went to mediation, and the graduate student won concrete redress.<sup>71</sup>

**Greater Protections for Vulnerable Populations: UAW 2865, University of California:** The graduate union for the University of California won several protections for undocumented graduate workers in its 2018 contract. Graduate workers received paid leave to attend immigration-related appointments for themselves or their families. Workers who lose their work authorization due to changing immigration laws are now guaranteed a meeting with their supervisors to find adequate re-employment. The university must immediately notify the graduate worker and the union if immigration officials inquire about any graduate worker. And the contract establishes a joint labor-management program to ensure equal academic and professional development experiences for non-DACA qualified undocumented graduate students as compared to their documented peers.<sup>72</sup>

**Pay Equity and Transparency: UAU AAUP/AFT Local 3209, University of Oregon:** United Academics of the University of Oregon represents teaching and research faculty. The union's 2015 contract campaign included a demand for gender pay equity — the union believed that women faculty were being paid less than men with similar seniority and qualifications. The university countered that they did not have the data to prove that pay inequities had anything to do with gender. Therefore, the union won a provision in the 2015 contract that the university must hire an outside consultant to conduct a pay equity study. If the consultant finds evidence of gender-based pay inequity, the university commits to paying "equity raises" to close the gaps. The pay equity study was underway as of early 2019.<sup>73</sup>

**Tenure Track Hiring Increases: Rutgers AAUP-AFT, Rutgers University:** In 2007, the Faculty Senate at Rutgers released a report about the casualization of academic labor on campus. Between 1996 and 2006, the proportion of tenured and tenure-track faculty had decreased from 67 to 59 percent.<sup>74</sup> The Senate specifically linked faculty casualization with an increase in undergraduate attrition.<sup>75</sup> AAUP-AFT represents faculty, teaching assistants and graduate assistants at Rutgers. The union won a provision in its 2007 contract that Rutgers would hire 100 tenured or tenure track faculty over four years, either from open lines or through converting non-tenure lines.<sup>76</sup>

**Compensation for Diversity Work: GEO 3550, University of Michigan:** In 2016, in the midst of massive protests in support of students and faculty of color, The University of Michigan's administration announced a five-year, \$85 million Diversity, Equity and Inclusion (DEI) strategic plan. DEI was to consist of a series of programs to recruit, retain and support students of color.<sup>86</sup> However, DEI called for individual schools, units and departments to design their own diversity plans. Two graduate students wrote an op-ed predicting DEI would come to rely on unpaid labor by students, faculty and staff of color and thereby would actually exacerbate inequality on campus.<sup>87</sup>

At the same time, GEO was beginning conversations about bargaining priorities for its next contract. The union formed an internal DEI committee, which proposed including a demand for the university to hire 23 DEI graduate student staff assistant positions, with the same union pay and benefits as teaching positions. The administration rejected the union's proposal. In response, over 1,200 students, faculty and staff and 42 campus organizations signed "Pay Students for Diversity Labor" petitions.<sup>88</sup>

As the negotiations deadline approached, the administration threatened to cease bargaining on all other issues if the union did not drop the DEI pay proposal. After much meeting and discussion, and leadership from graduate students of color, GEO voted to authorize a strike unless the administration offered a deal on the entire contract proposal, including DEI pay. The union increased the pressure by staging a 350-person sit-in supporting DEI pay.<sup>89</sup>

Just before the union's strike deadline, the administration offered to fund six DEI graduate staff assistant positions, along with concessions on wages, mental health care, and parental leave. 98.6 percent of voters voted in favor of the contract. GEO viewed the compromise as a first step, and the settlement did not reduce pressure on the administration. "The six positions that we won are only really the beginning of a sort of longer, more-sweeping campaign," said GEO president Rachel Miller.<sup>90</sup> Immediately after ratification, 200 members signed a pledge to continue fighting for additional DEI positions, and as of 2017 the university had increased the allocation to nine positions.

## COUNTERFACTUAL: COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Since 2005, Columbia has publicly committed \$185 million to faculty diversity, by far the most in the nation.<sup>91</sup> Several high-profile faculty of color who left Yale in the 2000s, including Elizabeth Alexander, Vanessa Agard-Jones and Alondra Nelson, moved to Columbia. Most notably, in 2017, Columbia made a \$100 million commitment to faculty diversity, with about \$85 million going to recruitment.<sup>92</sup>

As at Yale, hiring of faculty of color at Columbia increased after these initiatives. However, also like Yale, the overall proportion of faculty of color has remained stagnant. An investigation by the *Columbia Spectator* suggests that the cause of the stagnation is Columbia's "Timely Replacement Policy" (TRP), by which the size of the faculty is maintained at a "constant but stagnant" number.<sup>93</sup> Specifically, several department chairs argue that cluster hiring, one well-known strategy to boost retention, is impossible with the university's one-in, one-out policy.

Columbia President Lee Bollinger rejects increasing the size of the faculty as a solution to his university's retention problem, arguing, "I can't accept that diversity can only be achieved by expanding existing faculty. That is a proposition that really needs critical analysis. If we're a faculty of 50 faculty members, the fact that we're not growing to 55 does not mean that we can't become more diverse in our hiring in the next decade. I don't accept the proposition." However, Professor of History Pablo Piccato points to Columbia's past experience, pre-TRP: "In general, this has been the experience of Columbia 10 years ago. ... Diversity improves the most when you hire more people, when the size of the faculty increases. We know if we had new lines, we could improve in that front." As it is now, Piccato says, "Recently, we haven't been able to do Target of Opportunity hires, because if we hire someone now, we might have to give something later."<sup>94</sup>

The similarities in outcome of the Columbia and Yale initiatives suggests fundamental flaws in this approach. Universities making major, concrete commitments to hiring from marginalized communities can temporarily boost hiring rates. However, given the persistence and depth of racism and sexism in society and higher education, initial hiring commitments are insufficient to make lasting changes in the composition of the faculty. This is especially true under conditions of budget austerity, which place severe limits on the number of full-time faculty and lead to increased reliance on casual academic positions.

## CURRENT GRADUATE STUDENT RECRUITMENT & RETENTION EFFORTS

As we have seen, underrepresented minorities are similarly underrepresented in the graduate school as on the faculty at Yale. The two crises are linked. A robust literature emphasizes the importance of mentorship for success in graduate school. The problem is summarized by a 2017 review essay: "When it comes to mentoring students of color in higher education, the data are clear. Underrepresented minorities in academia do not receive good mentorship in comparison to their white counterparts," largely due to the lack of faculty of color, particularly in STEM and the social sciences.<sup>77</sup> Similarly, women have higher persistence in graduate school when they have access to women faculty mentors, particularly in STEM fields in which women are severely underrepresented.<sup>78</sup>

Yale's Office for Graduate Student Development and Diversity (OGSDD) conducts robust recruitment efforts to "ensure that as many underrepresented students as possible view graduate education as a viable next step."<sup>79</sup> OGSDD cultivates relationships with colleges and universities that serve underrepresented students and attend conferences and fairs that convene students from underrepresented populations; participate in national networks and consortia for connecting underrepresented students to academia; and encourage potential applicants to contact the OGSDD director directly.

OGSDD's recruitment efforts are thorough. However, the demographic composition of the graduate student population has scarcely changed. Indeed, there is much research that suggests that recruitment is not the major impediment to racial equity in graduate schools. According to one review essay of the literature on graduate admissions, "committees often embrace narrow definitions of merit, emphasizing students' undergraduate institutions and GRE scores," despite several studies that conclude that GRE scores are poor predictors of graduate success, particularly for students of color.<sup>80</sup> The evidence suggests that graduate programs must reconsider how they define "excellence" in admissions decisions.

### ***Retention of Graduate Students of Color***

Yale's lack of transparency provides an even greater obstacle to understanding the issues of retention in the graduate school than it does among the faculty. Yale does not provide any data at all about graduate student attrition. We do not know how many graduate students leave Yale, under what circumstances, or the demographics of those who do.

Yale lists retention as one of the charges of OGSDD, including through its "Transitions Program" for first year graduate students.<sup>81</sup> "Transitions" is a new program for the 2018-2019 academic year. Participants attend a Diversity Orientation Day and at least eight workshops focusing on academic and professional development, as well as two peer-to-peer advising sessions with upper year graduate students per semester.<sup>82</sup>

Yale also offers a Dean's Emerging Scholars Initiative, which was announced at the same time as the \$50 million faculty diversity initiative. The Initiative consists of three categories:

- Fifteen fellowships offered to incoming students per year of \$3,000 annually for three years and a one-time \$2,000 research grant;
- Ten competitive one-time research grants to current PhD students
- Six research education program fellowships for recent bachelors' recipients who have interest in pursuing a PhD to take Yale courses to gain "research skills and academic credentials to become competitive applicants to, and successful students in, highly selective doctoral programs."<sup>83</sup>

Applicants for any of these three categories must meet at least one of the following criteria: be from an underrepresented background; plan to pursue research related to issues of diversity and identity; or involved in diversity-related initiatives.<sup>84</sup>

These efforts are good steps in providing support for underrepresented graduate students. However, Yale needs to make more transparent its criteria for graduate admissions and its retention data in order to evaluate the effectiveness of these and other programs. In addition, the lack of faculty of color means that graduate students of color are likely to struggle finding good mentorship, one of the most important determinants of success in graduate school.

## DEMANDS

This report makes the case that Yale has failed to make the fundamental changes necessary to reverse the racial and gender imbalances in its academic workforce. These changes must include committing increased resources, improving avenues of redress for victims of harassment and discrimination, improving transparency and accountability around hiring, and admissions and attrition of scholars from marginalized communities.

These demands follow from our research. They are not an exhaustive list, but we believe they are necessary steps Yale must take to create a campus where scholars from marginalized communities can succeed and thrive.

- ◆ Yale's faculty hiring and graduate admissions initiatives have lacked accountability mechanisms. Yale must publicly commit to specific numerical goals and time frames for faculty hiring and graduate admissions.
- ◆ Yale's stated commitment to cluster hiring is undermined by budget austerity. Yale must commit to increasing the size of the FAS ladder faculty at least commensurate to the 15 percent planned increase in undergraduate enrollment.
- ◆ The OGSDD's graduate student recruitment efforts are robust, but Yale's admissions criteria are unclear. Yale must clarify its criteria for graduate admissions and increase the amount of financial support available for graduate students from underrepresented backgrounds.
- ◆ The undervaluing of mentorship in tenure decisions puts faculty from marginalized communities at a disadvantage. Yale must clarify its criteria for tenure and promotion and place concrete value on teaching and mentorship.
- ◆ Attrition is a major impediment to a more representative faculty, but Yale is not transparent about the scope or causes of the problem. To begin to find solutions, Yale must conduct, preferably through an outside organization, a thorough faculty attrition study and make the results public.
- ◆ The broad strokes of Yale's crisis around representation are clear, but better data is necessary for a more robust discussion about solutions. Yale's Office of Institutional Research must work with members of the campus community to produce and release additional data about race and gender over a greater number of years and breaking out department and divisional data.
- ◆ ER&M produces world-class scholarship and attracts talented scholars from marginalized backgrounds. Yale must solidify the program's institutional standing by granting it departmental status and hiring autonomy.
- ◆ Academic unions have been able to provide accountability on campuses nationwide. Yale must honor the longstanding demand for a graduate employee union and negotiate a contract including an independent and binding grievance procedure to address discrimination and harassment.
- ◆ Yale's commitment to racial justice must extend to diversity in its non-academic jobs. We stand with New Haven Rising and the New Haven community in their demand that Yale fulfill its commitment to hire 1,000 New Haven residents, including 500 from neighborhoods of need (which are largely New Haven's communities of color), into full-time, permanent jobs.

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