DRAFT
Report by the Yale FAS Senate Committee on Governance
Size and Growth of Administration and Bureaucracy at Yale
January 14, 2022

Summary

The FAS Senate charged its Governance Committee to assess and evaluate bureaucratic size and growth at Yale and also the extent to which any such growth may have affected Yale's fundamental mission to preserve, produce, and disseminate knowledge. Answering this important question requires accurate information about employment, salaries, and administrative functions at Yale. Senate requests to the administration for accurate information of this kind during the past several years have not drawn informative responses. However, the Committee gleaned considerable evidence from public sources that warrants a detailed further assessment of this subject.

A 2018 analysis of 931 four-year private institutions in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* found Yale ranks 2nd in terms of numbers of full-time managers per 1,000 students when compared to large research universities. Compared to all schools, large and small, Yale ranked 5th (Columbia 24th, Harvard 35th, and Stanford 55th). Yale employed more than twice the number of full-time managers per 1,000 students as Stanford in this analysis.

Based on the Yale organizational chart, Yale currently employs approximately 33,000 people of whom over 19,000 are outside the Medical School; this latter number includes roughly 7,700 students, summer interns, graduate students, and post-docs who also appear on the Yale organizational chart, leaving roughly 11,300 other employees (including faculty).

Based on archived university directories, there is evidence that certain administrative units and functions at Yale (e.g., President's Office, Secretary/Student Life, General Counsel, Human Resources, Development, Finance and Administration, Public Affairs and Communications, and "Vice Presidents") have grown in size by at least 150% over the past twenty years. The FAS faculty has increased by 10.6% during the same time period.

There is also evidence that salaries of senior administrators at the university have grown at a noticeably faster pace than have senior ladder faculty salaries. Coupled with the apparent increase in numbers of administrative personnel, this means that the cost of the administration relative to that of the faculty has increased substantially. This has occurred at a time when data show Yale faculty salaries have not remained competitive with salaries at comparable institutions with whom Yale most frequently competes to hire and retain faculty.

It is not clear from the published data that we have relied on how much recent increases in various administrative offices at the university are due to new hires of managers and senior administrators, new hires of non-management staff, or reorganization and consolidation of certain offices.

Nevertheless, the Committee found that several parts of the university bureaucracy appear to have experienced exceptionally high rates of growth in personnel.

In a meeting the Senate held with FAS department chairs in February 2020, chairs reported experiencing an "onerous bureaucracy" that slows down efficient decision making such as in the appointment process. And there is also a lack of available funds for many key academic department functions.

We emphasize that, insofar as some of the estimates and assessments in this report are imprecise or based on partial information, this could be redressed if the administration were to provide exact and more detailed information about a variety of aspects of the topic of administrative growth at Yale. One of our primary aspirations is to have the requisite and complete date made available so as to form the most accurate assessments of this topic.

Based on the information at its disposal, to increase both transparency and accountability with respect to the size, growth, and functioning of the bureaucracy and administration at Yale, the Governance Committee therefore recommends:

1)   Yale should appoint a formal ad hoc committee of faculty with access to all requisite current and historical data in order to study the size and cost of the administration and bureaucracy and thus to recommend ways to rationalize and optimize University resources;

2)   Yale should institute a standing faculty-led budget committee to evaluate administrative growth on an ongoing basis;

3)   Yale should constitute a faculty-led committee to consider an independent budget for FAS to better align budgetary decisions in FAS with Yale's educational and research mission by bringing more key decision-making activities closer to those who are most affected by such decisions.

Yale's fundamental mission is research and teaching. The apparent disproportionate rise in administrative positions and costs relative to faculty positions and costs may well be to some degree in the service of that mission, but it requires explanation and oversight.

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Size and Growth of Administration and Bureaucracy at Yale

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Charge of the Committee on the Size and Growth of Administration and Bureaucracy at Yale

FAS faculty have communicated to the Senate a sense that upper and mid-level administrative personnel at Yale have increased in number disproportionately to faculty during the past two decades, and that this growth has had detrimental effects on Yale's educational and research mission. The FAS Senate charged its Governance Committee with assessing the extent of any such growth in the administration and bureaucracy and asked the Committee to evaluate what effects any such growth may have had on Yale's fundamental mission to preserve, produce, and disseminate knowledge.[1]

The Committee emphasizes that this report is not primarily concerned with the many members of the Yale community who fill staff and support positions. Our primary focus is on the general administrative structure of the university, and on its overall size and functioning. In addition, our concern is with whether administrative growth has attenuated rather than enhanced the effectiveness of necessary administrative functions.

Hence, our primary objective is to call for senior administrators to cooperate with the Senate to create a process of examination and faculty consultation that increases information flow and transparency to enable a more informed and useful assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of Yale's administrative structure, as well as its organization, size, distribution of personnel, and functioning. Furthermore, this report is offered in the spirit of respect for our great University and with the intent of helping Yale to realize its full potential.

Method of Assessment

Despite repeated efforts on the part of the Senate Budget Committee over the past few years to obtain meaningful information about the budget and its deployment, the administration has not made current and past administrative costs transparent. **We are hopeful this will change, and that the information required for the most accurate assessment of the points made in this report will be shared by the administration in response to the provisional assessment that this report represents.**

In preparing this report, the Governance Committee made use of publicly available data, including the official organizational chart of Yale's 36,450 employees (which corresponds to 33,104 unique individuals, in our computation), Yale's Form 990 tax filings, directories of university employees from prior years, other public documents referenced below, and interviews with selected faculty and department chairs.

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[1] Yale University officially represents that this is its mission in its annual Form 990 filings with the IRS; see below.

In its analysis of the effects of growth in Yale's administration and bureaucracy upon FAS faculty, the Committee was careful to eliminate from consideration the medical and other professional schools. Moreover, the data we used are for the pre-COVID period. And faculty headcount computations rely on ladder faculty numbers across time. The Committee also reiterates that its focus is not presently on the number or allocation of the staff that keeps Yale's daily activities running on the ground. Many of the personnel at Yale do not play a role in the increasingly burdensome policies and procedures of the administration which can interfere with the ordinary duties of faculty (e.g., see Appendix). And, of course, many staff have a direct and important relationship to the research and teaching mission of the university. Furthermore, this report is obviously in no way a critique of any Yale staff as persons.

In what follows, given limitations in available data, we could not drill as deeply into the actual scope and cost of administrative growth as we would have liked. We can only infer (on the basis of the observed growth in the number of administrators and their salaries) that such costs are substantial. We note that the lack of transparency about this topic by the administration is itself a problem. And we note that, insofar as some of the below estimates and assessments are imprecise, we welcome the administration providing exact and more detailed information about all aspects of the topic of concern here (and not just selected aspects).

Growth in Selected Administrative Entities at Yale during the Past Twenty Years

Review of records on Yale employees held in the university library yields the data in Table 1.

TABLE 1: Growth in Size of Illustrative Administrative Functions at Yale, 2003 to 2021

Function	2003-04	2012-13	2016-17	2021
President's Office	8	9	9	20
Secretary/Student Life	15	7	12	47
General Counsel	13	26	31	50
Human Resources	11	49	49	192
Development	71	96	130	333
Finance & Administration	11	24	29	236
Public Affairs & Communications	17	35	27	55
"Vice Presidents"	5	14	9	31
FAS Ladder Faculty	610	660	650	675

Because the information is not presently available to us, we do not know how much of the growth documented in Table 1 is due to new positions, reorganization or re-naming of existing positions, variation in record-keeping practices across time, or senior versus non-supervisory staff allocations. Many of the changes in departments and functions are indeed difficult to assess because of changes in structure and nomenclature over the past decade. For example, the Provost's Office (which we do not include in Table 1) went from 16 in 2003, to 27 in 2012, to 578 at present; but this is surely because of revisions in reporting relationships (e.g., it appears that various entities were brought under the provost's office during the interval). Very

likely something analogous has happened with the "Finance and Administration" Department noted in Table 1, as well. Of course, these structural changes, re-organizations, and enlargements are part of the issue before us. We would welcome the administration providing more clarity regarding the apparent growth of many administrative functions at Yale.

Still, comparing 2003 to the present, and sticking to units or functions that were stable and that could function as more fixed yardsticks (as shown in Table 1), **we note increases in administrative positions in various units within the university of at least 150% (no doubt from a mix of causes). This compares with an increase in just 10.6% for FAS ladder faculty positions over the same time period.**

How many of the added administrative positions represent growth in senior and mid-level administrators and the more general swelling of bureaucratic functions? How much of any growth at lower levels is necessary and productive? Due to the university's lack of transparency in reporting such information on an ongoing basis, we do not know.

However, the Committee notes that the inaugural Dean of the Faculty has put in place a standing committee (the Faculty Resource Committee) to track and oversee allocation of resources to the hiring of faculty, and yet there has been no parallel effort to monitor the growth of decanal and administrative hiring. And much of the growth in administrators is to monitor and control activities of the faculty – further constraining its functions.

To be sure, the Committee recognizes that rationalizing the way Yale administers itself is a good idea. But not all change enhances the work of the faculty. Some, in fact, impedes it. And not all growth is in keeping with Yale's fundamental mission nor with the optimal allocation of Yale's considerable resources. **Again, a key issue, the Committee finds, is the lack of transparency about the allocation of personnel and resources at Yale, and their change over time.**

Current Size of Departments and Units at Yale

The organizational chart for Yale indicates that an estimated 33,104 unique individuals work at the university. In our initial evaluation of these data, meant simply to count employees in various parts of the university and to assign them to one and only one unit, the Committee implemented a sequence of counts in order to identify the number of employees in each school or division or unit at Yale, as noted below. This was done by identifying the leader of any given entity (the Dean of the Medical School or of the Law School, the Office of the Secretary, or the head of hospitality and dining, or of buildings and grounds) and then correspondingly assigning all employees who report up the organizational chain to her or him and thus are in that unit. We also identified all student employees, post-doctoral fellows, and so on. Since we did this in a sequential manner, our counts of employees in functions lower down in Table 2 are not affected by employment in divisions or units higher up on the table. Employees with duties in more than one category in Table 2 are thus counted in the first category in which they appear as one moves down the table; for example, any students working in the Yale "museum" are not included in the total count in that row (209) since "students" appeared higher up in the table.

TABLE 2: Size of Various Schools, Units, and Functions at Yale University in 2021

Department	Head	Number of Employees
Medicine (and Public Health)	Brown, Nancy	13,611
Nursing	Kurth, Ann	220
Law	Gerken, Heather	717
Management	Charles, Kerwin	560
Architecture	Berke, Deborah	244
Art	Pinder, Kymberly	162
Divinity	Sterling, Greg	240
Drama	Bundy, James	442
Environment	Burke, Indy	405
Music	Blocker, Robert	169
students/interns (who are employed)		5,001
graduate students		2,200
postdocs		412
summer employees		116
Hospitality	Taherian, Rafi	843
Facilities	Bollier, John	1,049
Library	Rockenbach, Barbara	501
Police	Higgins, Ronnell	284
Museum	Wiles, Stephanie	209
Yale Health	Genecin, Paul	547
Athletics	Chun, Victoria	290
Communications	Nickerson, Nate	55
General Counsel	Dreier, Alexander	50
Development	O'Neill, Joan	333
Yale College Dean's Office & Admissions	Chun, Marvin	321
Information Technology	Barden, John	429
Human Resources	Whelan, John	192
Collections and Scholarly Communication	Gibbons, Susan	117
President's Office	Salovey, Peter	20
Provost's Office	Strobel, Scott	578
Office of Secretary and University Life	Goff-Crews, Kim	47
Finance	Murphy, Stephen	236
Investments	Banker, Alexander	34
Graduate School	Cooley, Lynn	23
Peabody Museum	Skelly, David	112
Center for British Art	Martin, Courtney	99
New Haven Affairs and Properties	Zucker, Lauren	13
Operations	Callahan, Jack	20
Jackson institute	Levinsohn, Jim	77
Macmillan Center	Wilkinson, Steven	101
Institute for Sacred Music	Jean, Martin	52
Faculty of Arts and Sciences & SEAS	Gendler, Tamar	1,938
Leadership and Deans	Salovey, Peter	35

As shown in Table 2, there are 13,611 employees at the Medical School. There are also 7,729 people on the Yale organization chart who are student employees, graduate students, post-doctoral fellows, or summer employees. There are 1,938 listed employees at FAS (who report up to Dean Gendler, including those in the School of Engineering and Applied Sciences, SEAS), and this includes the faculty.[2] A total of 843 people work in hospitality and 1,049 in facilities. We note these latter numbers only for the purpose of comparison, as, again, they are not the focus of our inquiry into the growth of Yale's bureaucracy and administration. The general counsel's office, for example, currently has 50 employees and communications has 55. The development office has 333, and the Yale College Dean's Office has 321 (or about 1 employee for every 20 undergraduates).

In addition to counting employees per school or department, we also used some automated processes to inspect the job titles of employees. First, this reveals the counts of people in FAS with the title "professor" shown in Table 3. **The Yale organizational chart includes 707 current professors at FAS. To be clear, however, the true number is smaller than that, given recent retirements and deaths — a fact we confirmed by manually inspecting the list of 707 names. Hence, 707 is an upper limit, and we estimate that the true number of ladder faculty is closer to 675 (the number we therefore used for Table 1).** In future work, we can also count instructional faculty, but at present these data are less accessible in a reliable automated fashion.[3]

Table 3: Counts of Professors by Rank at Yale FAS in 2021

Adjunct	21
Assistant	156
Associate	114
Full	437
Emeritus	185

Second, it was possible to inspect other job titles and administrative functions in a similarly automated fashion. For instance, there are currently 31 people with the title of "Vice President" (or "Associate Vice President") at Yale and also 7 with the title of "Vice Provost"; this may be compared to only 5 Vice Presidents in 2003-4 and 14 in 2012-13. Table 4 provides some other counts of people with titles with the words "student affairs," "student engagement," "student life," "diversity," "strategic initiatives," or "sustainability" in their job titles, along with

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[2] A factsheet released by the Yale New Haven Hospital (at https://www.ynhh.org/about/hospital-overview/facts-figures) says that "YNHH has approximately 12,991 employees, including 4,136 medical staff" which comports with the number, 13,611, generated from the Yale organization chart. Another factsheet released by Yale – that does not make clear whether the graduate schools are included, but that appears to exclude the Medical School (at https://www.yale.edu/about-yale/yale-facts) – says that, as of Fall 2020, Yale had 5,042 managerial and professional staff, 4,165 clerical and technical staff, 1,235 service and maintenance staff, and a total of 4,962 faculty (across all its schools). After accounting for the presence of graduate students and post-docs in the Yale organization chart used for Table 2, these numbers also roughly correspond to the overall headcount in Table 2 (assuming the health system is excluded).

[3] At https://www.yale.edu/about-yale/yale-facts, as of Fall 2020, Yale reports that, at FAS, there were 359 instructional faculty (and also 149 "research faculty"). This factsheet also indicates that there are 681 ladder faculty at FAS, in keeping with the number (675) we use in Table 1.

all the people who report up the chain to these individuals (to be clear, this is not a complete count of people working in any particular function at Yale, but rather an automated approximation based on job titles and the organizational chart structure). Other functions could be similarly analyzed with the organizational chart, or, we hope, **the Provost's office could perform and share a detailed analysis of employee functions with the faculty at the functional and unit level, and across time**.

Table 4: Provisional Counts of People by Job Title or Function at Yale University

Title or Function	Number of employees
Strategic Initiatives	168
Student Affairs	153
Student Engagement	15
Student Life	19
Diversity	42
Sustainability	5
Vice President	31
Vice Provost	7

Growth in Compensation of Top Administrators Relative to Faculty Compensation

Yale is required to file a publicly available Form 990 with the IRS every year. The Form 990 re-affirms Yale's core function, on which its tax-exempt status rests, by explicitly stating on line 1 of Part 1 that its mission is "To improve the world through research, scholarship, education, preservation, and practice." These filings also list the 20 highest-paid employees (subject to certain provisions) in each year. These employees are usually in three categories: (1) 3-4 employees of the investment and endowment arm of the university; (2) 3-4 clinical professors at the Medical School (e.g., neurosurgeons or the head of the cancer center); and (3) senior administrators at the university. The most recent list (for the fiscal year ending June 2020)[4] is in Table 5.

Such data can be used to make further assessments of the size and cost of various administrative functions at Yale.

For example, starting with the salary for the VP for communications ($443,888) and making some simple assumptions (e.g., using data at online websites[5]), **the 55 employees in the communications office probably cost Yale roughly $4,000,000 just in personnel costs each year**. It would require more effort to get a precise number, of course, unless the administration provides the actual figure for this function (or any other discussed in this report).

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[4] The salary and total compensation information for senior administrators is located in "Schedule J" of the Form 990; the most recent one, for the fiscal year ending June 2020, is here: https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/60646973/202141379349304104/IRS990ScheduleJ. For many administrators, total compensation (shown in Tables 5 and 6) is meaningfully higher than annual salary.
[5] https://www.glassdoor.com/Salaries/communications-officer-salary-SRCH_KO0,22.htm

Similarly, if we use an approximate figure of $450,000 per year (estimated based on the 990 forms) for VP's (the compensation of 8 of the 31 VPs is precisely known, as per above), **this means Yale may currently be spending around $14,000,000 per year on its VP's. For comparison, the total annual expenditure on the roughly 675 FAS faculty salaries is not more than $150,000,000. So, all in all, the 31 Yale University VP's alone would cost nearly 10% of the faculty cost (and this does not include the Vice Provosts)**.

Table 5: Compensation of the Top 20 Employees of Yale University

Employee	2019 Compensation
Chief Investment Officer	$8,053,325
Sr Director, Investments (through 10/9/19)	$3,449,355
Director, Investments	$2,094,554
Trustee & President	$2,078,203
Director, Investments	$1,891,710
Director, Minimally Invasive Spine Surgery	$1,679,251
Chair, Neurosurgery	$1,674,051
Professor of Surgery	$1,445,973
Dean, School of Medicine (through 1/31/20)	$1,019,831
Sr VP for Institutional Affairs (General Counsel)	$839,527
Sr VP for Operations	$825,872
Provost (through 12/31/19)	$747,330
Provost (effective 1/1/20)	$651,978
VP for Alumni Affairs & Development	$629,684
VP for Finance & CFO	$564,279
VP for Global Strategy	$540,979
VP for Facilities & Campus Development	$520,978
VP for HR & Administration	$496,143
Secretary & VP for University Life	$496,142
VP for Communications	$443,888

The Form 990 data allow us to show the growth in salaries for administrators relative to faculty over the most recent ten years, as shown in Table 6. Data for faculty salaries in the last row of this table are taken from a Yale Office of Institutional Research report which removes Medical School professors from the assessment;[6] and we have converted the nine-month salaries to twelve-month equivalents (by multiplying the figure by 1.33) so as to make comparisons with

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[6] The faculty salary data come from https://oir.yale.edu/sites/default/files/w107_fac_salaries.pdf. For the data in the table, we align academic year salaries and fiscal year salaries (as in the 990 reports) by putting, say, the 2018/19 salary in this OIR report (multiplied by 1.33 to account for the 9-month versus 12-month comparison) in the bottom row of Table 6 in the 2019 column. While we use the OIR *salary* figures for Table 6 (and administrator *total compensation* figures for Tables 5 and 6), and while we multiply faculty salaries by 1.33, we cannot know if the OIR report also includes those few faculty who may have meaningful compensation beyond their salaries. We therefore believe the most relevant insight extracted from these data is shown in Figure 3, below, which shows the *widening gap* between senior administrator and senior faculty pay. We would welcome more precise information from the administration about all aspects of this analysis.

the others listed in the table more reliable. To be clear, this is a conservative assumption, since a substantial fraction of the faculty do not earn additional money in the summer.

Table 6: Senior Administrative Roles at Yale University, and Total Compensation, by Year

role	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
President*	1,627,649	1,616,066	1,652,543	1,840,284	801,020	1,186,794	1,366,401	1,479,108	1,683,083	1,873,551	2,078,203
Provost*	561,066	561,922	572,162	643,317	572,303	597,856	627,138	642,022	683,763	714,417	747,330
Secretary and VP Student Life*				259,556	412,193	420,120	433,866	441,113	462,811	478,867	496,142
VP Finance and Business Operations	557,583	557,564	555,002	587,969	604,096	610,541	545,706				
VP Finance and CFO*							416,642	476,794	510,319	539,889	564,279
VP Operations									746,722	788,560	825,872
VP Development*	316,546	324,888		439,829	520,156	527,278	551,009	559,582	591,806	613,203	629,684
VP HR and Admin	533,727	530,289	549,099	583,445	598,626	620,963	639,608	662,550	481,989	475,045	496,143
General Counsel*	533,133	533,322	615,286	1,666,175	584,409	605,120	568,149	651,486	714,563	790,789	839,527
VP Facilities*	386,810	389,780	378,606	406,179	421,640	437,625	454,276	447,586	469,822	545,241	520,978
VP Communications								406,367	448,868	464,870	443,888
VP for New Haven and State Affairs	530,456	530,802	533,279	554,350	573,703	588,781	610,539	617,594	650,788	377,279	
VP Global Strategy										520,741	540,979
average full professor 12-month salary		232,137	236,106	240,574	248,340	256,326	264,284	271,284	279,302	285,706	306,932

If one examines only positions which have been occupied by the same people in the same role, say, from 2015 to 2019 (indicated by asterisks in Table 6), which are also stable positions that have existed throughout the time period, one gets an average raise in that interval for these seven upper administrators of 33%, which is roughly 8.25% per year (or 7.5% per year if one takes into account compounding). Meanwhile faculty have seen nowhere near such per-person, year-over-year raises. The figures for full professor salaries the Office for Institutional Research has reported (in the bottom row of Table 6) indicate annual raises of 4% in this time window. However, none of the faculty the Committee spoke with who had recently served as department chairs could recollect raises of such magnitude in the past ten years (most reported raises in the 1.5-2.0% range); therefore, this is another figure that would require clarification from the administration.[7]

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[7] There are a number of ways to make this comparison of senior administrator to senior professor compensation, but, here, for simplicity, we do the following. If we add the seven salaries of the people indicated by asterisks in Table 6 each of the two years (2015 and 2019), we get $4,417,481 for 2015 and $5,876,143 for 2019. This is a 33% overall raise in this bundle of salaries; and if we divide that by 4 (the number of years over which we look at data), we get an approximate annual raise of 8.25%. To account for compounding of interest, the figure we want is the solution r to $(1+r)^4 = 1.33$, where 1.33 is the 33% overall increase, and which yields 7.5% as the annual increase. For the faculty salaries, if we do the same calculation, we get a 16% increase across the four years (2015 to 2019), which if (again, simply) is divided by 4, yields an annual (uncompounded) raise of 4%. The calculations regarding faculty salaries are crude in many respects, including that law school and other professional school professors are included in these figures; that some faculty are paid over 12 months; that few faculty actually get summer support; and so on. Also, here, we use only full professors as a benchmark (in part because it seems more fair to compare senior administrators to senior professors). Furthermore, these calculations entail only seven senior administrators who have occupied the position continuously (also, importantly, these are positions that have existed throughout this time window). Is the 7.5% per annum raise higher or lower than what would be computed looking at all the VPs? We cannot know, because we do not have the requisite transparency to make such an assessment. Also, since the point here is to make a comparison with faculty salary growth over time, removing the factor of administrator turnover may not be warranted since the faculty turns over; on the other hand, new faculty hired into Yale tend to be paid *more* than ongoing faculty. This latter detail may also possibly

It may be argued that the rise in administrative salaries relative to faculty salaries is market driven, but Yale's disproportionate ratio of administrators coupled with their higher cost relative to our peers (see below Table 7) means that Yale seems to be setting rather than responding to any such market. Furthermore, as documented by prior FAS Senate reports on the decline in Yale's faculty salaries competitiveness, it is unclear why administrator salaries are rising much faster than faculty salaries, if this is market-driven, since faculty salaries should also respond to the market.

The above calculation of the increase in resources spent on administration at Yale neglects the growth in head-count of the administration. For instance, in some cases, a job formerly done by one person until 2015 (who was paid $547,706 that year) appears to bifurcate and is taken over by two people who are paid $510,319 and $746,722 by 2017, two years later. This kind of growth is harder to track (both at these very senior levels of the administration and throughout the university), and this is yet another reason that more transparency about such matters is indicated.

Figure 1 shows the salaries across time, since 2013, of 13 senior administrators at Yale, compared to the average full professor; and Figure 2 repeats this but removes the President. The lines that slope downward in these figures represent years in which a particular individual in a role stepped down or only served for a part of the year or turned over.

Figure 1: Salary of Top Administrators at Yale, 2013 to 2019

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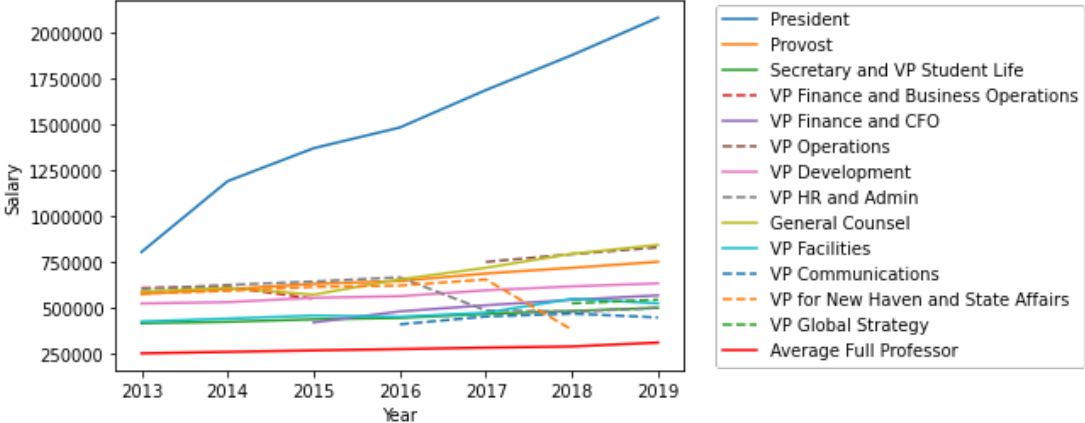
help explain the higher raises indicated by this calculation than former FAS department chairs can recollect. That is, the 4% annual raise for full professors at Yale (outside the medical school) indicated in this OIR report strikes many recent chairs of FAS departments as inordinately high (they recollect 1.5-2.0% raises in this period of time at FAS). The Committee cannot be sure of the explanation for this high annual raise in the OIR report, but, in addition to the possibility that the number is inflated by the higher salaries of new hires, another possibility is that this period of time overlaps with the numerical growth of the SOM faculty, whose salaries are known to be very high and who may (perhaps) be included. If anything, correcting for such factors would make the comparisons between raises for senior administrators and senior faculty over time even more dramatic. Distinctly, correcting for such factors would also widen the gap between senior administrator and senior FAS professor pay to be even higher than the 2.4:1.0 and 2.9:1.0 multiples noted here for 2015 and 2019.

Figure 2: Salary of Top Administrators at Yale, Excluding President, 2013 to 2019
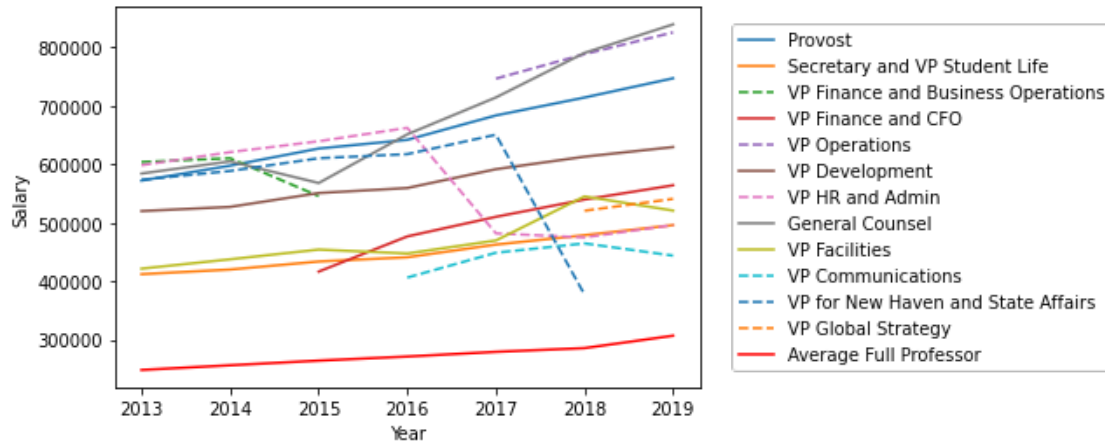

Figure 3 plots the ratio of the average salary of the top seven highest-paid administrators at Yale (who are people who have been incumbent in their roles throughout the period) to the average Full Professor. These seven are administrators who are not in the investment office and, with the exception of the president and provost, are not faculty members (they are indicated by the asterisks in Table 6). Of course, senior administrators are well paid, and that is not per se an issue (that is, the ratios shown in the figure are not what has captured our Committee's attention). Rather, what has come to the Committee's attention is that **the pay gap between senior faculty and senior administrators has increased materially in the period analyzed. Between 2013 and 2019, the ratio of salaries of top administrators to those of full professors increased from a factor of 2.4 to 1.0 to a factor of 2.9 to 1.0.**

Figure 3: Ratio of Salaries of Top Seven Administrators at Yale to Average Full Professor
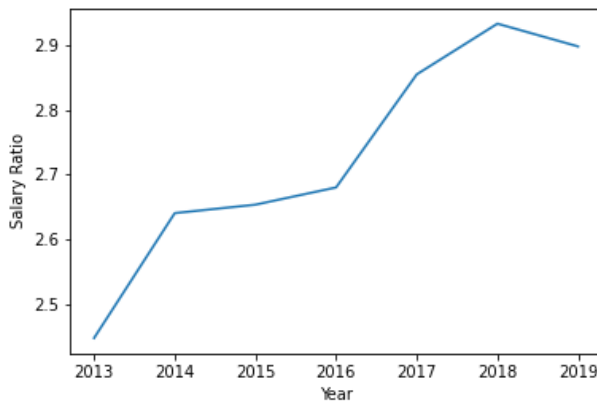
The Committee presently makes no final determination of whether the growth in the number and compensation of administrative personnel is illegitimate or wasteful. Indeed, some growth may be necessary. **But the growth in administrator number and salaries during a period of stagnation of faculty size and salaries is striking and requires explanation, in our view.**

Administrative Size at Yale Compared to Other Private Universities

The apparently large relative size of Yale's bureaucracy and administrators compared to other universities (including both our peer institutions and a number of other smaller colleges) has caught the attention of others. A 2018 analysis by the *Chronicle of Higher Education* of 931 four-year private institutions revealed that **Yale was among the highest in the nation in terms of full-time managers per 1,000 students (Yale ranked fifth in the nation in this analysis).**[8] We are not in a position to assess the methodology of this analysis (which has some limitations), nor do we have the data to re-do it, but we include the findings regarding these quantities as released by that report in Table 7.

Table 7: Administrative Expenditures Per Student in 931 Private Universities in 2018

Rank	University	Full-Time Managers per 1,000 Students	Spending on managers' salaries per student
1	California Institute of Technology	130.1	$19,426
2	Bryn Mawr College	91.6	$8,029
3	Indiana Wesleyan University	90.0	$5,115
4	Berea College	82.1	$5,755
5	**Yale University**	**81.8**	**$8,591**
6	MIT	78.1	$11,291
7	Princeton University	74.2	$11,031
8	Sarah Lawrence College	65.9	$5,744
9	University of Chicago	64.8	$7,411
10	Bowdoin College	64.0	$7,775
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24	Columbia University	48.8	$5,559
31	Brown University	45.9	$5,201
35	Harvard University	45.2	$6,695
55	Stanford University	38.8	$6,778

This analysis is helpful in shedding light on another matter related to administrative expansion. We realize that some part of the bureaucratic growth at Yale may be due to compliance with changing laws. **But all private universities operate under such mandates and there is no reason, in our view, why Yale should be number 5 while Columbia is 24, Brown 31, Harvard 35, and Stanford 55.** Furthermore, in many cases, the size of the bureaucracy at Yale has not been reduced even when laws have been relaxed. Nor are we aware of efforts by Yale to lobby the government to lower the administrative burden such laws impose, rather than merely accept them.

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[8] https://www.chronicle.com/article/which-colleges-have-the-highest-number-of-managers-per-1-000-students/

Effects of Administrative and Bureaucratic Growth on Yale's Educational and Research Mission

The Committee recognizes that some of the growth in Yale's administration reflects increased monitoring, reporting, and compliance requirements, while other aspects of the growth reflect increases in the range of student support services and other activities the university elects to provide. Some of this may be necessary. **However, we are concerned that the growth in bureaucracy and administration unavoidably draws resources away from the University's core missions of education and research, and that it directly and negatively affects the work of the FAS faculty**.

Reducing funding available for the core mission seems to form the default move of the administration, which tends to claim that cuts are required in times of austerity and savings required in times of plenty. For instance, we note that the 5% cut to departmental budgets made in spring 2020, in anticipation of the potential impact of COVID, was never restored when it became apparent the following summer that Yale finances were in the clear, nor was it restored at the close of the fiscal year when the Yale endowment was up by 40.2%.

While the role of the administration of a university is to facilitate its core mission, excessive administrative growth can have just the opposite effect, something that has concerned FAS faculty and the Senate for some time. This effect takes the shape of decisions being made from the top and further and further from the ground (where the information for making such decisions resides and where the relevant decisions affect departments and faculty the most).

In a meeting the Senate held with FAS Department Chairs in February 2020, the chairs reported experiencing an "onerous bureaucracy." The minutes of that meeting further recorded that:

- "Many feel it is harder to be a department chair nowadays. Too many obstacles. A world of difference from 30 years ago. Difficulty in making decisions at the department level – too many steps and extensive paperwork and micromanaging from administration in order for Chairs to do their work (example – the appointment process, where it takes 2-3 weeks for a letter to be reviewed). Reporting requirements are cumbersome. Lots of paperwork required and faculty are now spending time filling out forms."

- "The process of dealing with FAS Dean's Office, Yale College, and Graduate School is most difficult, with an enormous amount of reporting necessary for each process, and the reporting is put on faculty with fewer staff who are assigned to faculty."

The same meeting yielded many observations by the chairs concerning other, related matters, including the fact that the FAS faculty size has remained stubbornly below 700, even while the number of administrative personnel and senior administrators has risen (as documented above); the lack of competitiveness of Yale salaries compared to our peers (the 13% gap, 10% according to CESOF, in 2018, since partially closed); and the absence of discretionary funds at the department level for anything from speakers, to events, to innovative opportunities.

A more recent informal survey of FAS faculty conducted by this Committee yielded many insights regarding ways the bureaucracy has grown at Yale in recent years, in what often appear to be irrational ways. The faculty with whom the Committee spoke provided a wide range of anecdotes, some of which are included, as "examples" in the **Appendix**.

Many of the concerns relate to the ways **searches for new faculty** are conducted – the process of getting to the position to make successful candidates an offer or of putting together the recruitment package. Overall, the Committee notes that the process of junior recruiting has become progressively more burdensome and tedious. It currently involves at least the following steps: (1) a negotiation between the chair and FAS dean over the nature and extent of such recruiting, (2) a request for the dean's office to approve advertising copy, (3) a request for the dean's office to approve the department's diversity strategy statement, (4) a meeting with the FAS diversity dean to review the importance of diversity, (5) submission of data to the dean's office and request for approval of the interview list, (6) submission of additional data to the dean's office and request for approval of list of campus visits, (7) additional data provision and submission of recommendations for offers to candidates, and (8) negotiations with the dean's office over which candidates can receive offers, on which terms. This long list of steps introduces delay into the process, creates needless work, and demoralizes search committees, all without any evidence that it improves search outcomes.

Science faculty reported particular concerns about how recent administrative re-organization has affected their work. Advancing FAS science and engineering requires frequent decisions, regarding, e.g., personnel, space, equipment, policies, and programmatic directions. Unfortunately, **the new decanal structure has led to a more cumbersome decision-making process**. For example, requests by chairs are currently made to the Dean of Science and Engineering, and are then filtered up to various others in the FAS Dean's Office and the Provost's Office. The right person for a given request is often unclear, resulting in delays and multiple iterations. Large and small requests appear to be equally complex, and there exists no clear process and timeline for reaching a decision. As a result, chairs (and others) are spending more of their time pursuing decisions, and Yale is less able to fully support dynamic research programs, respond to new opportunities, and support new initiatives. In contrast, the earlier (pre-2013) decanal structure, with appointment and resource matters handled (separately) by the Dean and Provost, respectively, at least offered a reasonable level of clarity and efficiency, in the view of many science faculty.

Moreover, many faculty provided anecdotes about the ways in which **administrative oversight seems inconsistent or irrational,** and winds up wasting a lot of faculty time. Many people also noted we often seem to have the wrong kind of administrative roles in place. For instance, FAS faculty have observed that support services (such as administrative assistants) have in recent years been directed away from departments and the professoriate towards the administration (and this is itself worthy of a thorough assessment at the departmental and professorial level).

Finally, the growth in **spending on administration can harm students**, and not just because it may shift focus away from teaching and research, the core mission of the university. Recent

analyses have identified the rise in spending on administration as a driver of the growth in student debt.[9] As costs rise, tuition rises, and thus student debt rises, too.

Conclusion

Our assessment has emphasized several concerning features: the layers of bureaucracy that Yale faculty face in the performance of their mission-critical functions; the surrendering by the faculty of control over university governance and performance of their core duties; the rise in number and compensation of senior administrators; the lack of transparency in such matters on the part of the administration; and the possibility that Yale's tremendous resources are being re-directed away from the core mission of the university which is to be defined by the faculty rather than by those (some of whom may even be former faculty) who are not directly involved in the process of education and research.

We note that there may be a correlation between the growth of upper administration relative to faculty and the relative allocation of resources, on the one hand, and the decline of Yale's national standing in *U.S. News and World Report* rankings, on the other hand – from first or second in the nation in past years, to number five in 2022, a slippage corroborated by the January 2019 FAS Senate Research and Scholarly Excellence Report.[10]

It is the moral, if not legal, obligation of the administration, in collaboration with the faculty, to produce transparent, truthful, and meaningful information about the allocation of Yale's considerable resources. It is, furthermore, the obligation of the administration to make clear to alumni who contribute to Yale's endowment how their generous contributions match with the educational and research missions of this great University.

Therefore, the Governance Committee recommends:

- Yale should appoint a formal ad hoc committee of faculty with access to all requisite current and historical data in order to study the size and cost of the administration and bureaucracy and thus to recommend ways to rationalize and optimize resource allocation and report back to the faculty.

- Yale should institute a standing faculty budgetary committee which could help to evaluate and control administrative growth on an ongoing basis. Such a committee would have many more faculty as members and would have a composition and duties distinct from the current budget committee. The Committee notes that such a faculty committee exists at Harvard University, where the FAS budget committee is chaired by

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[9] One recent commentary notes that "One result of financial support via on-demand student loans is ever-rising tuitions. Worse, these increased university budgets have gone mostly not to instruction, but to academic bloat: proliferation of executives who do not engage in teaching" (https://prospect.org/blogs/tap/student-debt-relief-and-academic-bloat/). And a recent study concluded that "colleges and universities have prioritized needless spending on ancillary activities instead of access and affordability, and this unnecessary spending relies largely on tuition hikes" (https://www.goacta.org/resource/cost-of-excess/).

[10] https://fassenate.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/Reports/FAS-Senate-Reseach_Excellence%20Report_%20Public.pdf

faculty. University financial staff provide that committee whatever data the committee requests. The establishment of such a committee at Yale, charged with controlling non-essential administrative growth on an ongoing basis, would thus avoid reproduction of the current situation, given the intrinsically expansive nature of all bureaucracies.

- The expansiveness of Yale's administration and bureaucracy may relate in part to the reorganization of the University over the last five years. The Committee recognizes that an assessment was conducted of this reorganization over the course of 2020-2021. Here, we note that this assessment did not consider the financial ramifications of the decanal reorganization, nor how this reordering articulates with the University's core mission of education and research. The inefficiencies and the detrimental effects upon faculty of the lack of an independent FAS budget have long been felt. It is the recommendation of this Committee that, along with greater fiscal transparency, a faculty-led committee be constituted to consider how the FAS budget might best bring resources and decision-making closest to those most responsible for and affected by such decisions.

Respectfully submitted,
The Governance Committee of Senate of the Yale Faculty of Arts and Sciences

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Appendix

Below are some selected, **illustrative examples**, offered by faculty interviewed by the Committee, on ways that the current administrative and bureaucratic procedures adversely affect hiring or research and education. Any one of these examples might be dismissed as a one-off problem, perhaps, but their frequency and thematic similarity suggested to the Committee that the problems are more thoroughgoing. We emphasize that we collected very many such examples, and these are meant to be illustrative of a broader set of problems that we might describe as the **"philosophy of administration"** at Yale, a philosophy that, in our view, often seems to lose sight of the fundamental mission of the university and the centrality of the work that the faculty do.

Example 1: A search committee got to its short list (after having previously submitted a long list for approval and received it), but then had to submit the short list for further review in the dean's office. This meant writing up why the committee chose the people on the short list plus also providing an accompanying report on how they searched for diversity. Some time later, the committee was second-guessed by the dean's office, and it was unclear that the requisite expertise in the field was available in the dean's office to do that. The committee was asked to provide written descriptions of why they had not included certain individuals on their short list, but none of the excluded individuals had been "anywhere near competitive" during the committee's evaluation. Nevertheless, the committee did as asked, but at a substantial expenditure of time. Then, almost immediately after submitting this elaborate response, the relevant dean tersely responded that the "short list is approved." This type of mandated wheel-spinning is very demoralizing, if not infantilizing, the faculty reported.

Example 2: In another search, the faculty resolved on two finalists. The dean's office requested that, in addition to the substantial comparisons of the two candidates (and the ranking of them, per the faculty vote), the faculty provide an independent, non-comparative evaluation of each candidate in terms of how they meet the advertised search stipulations. This surprised the faculty involved in the search. The advertisement defined the search as simply falling within a particular scientific field, so everything that had been said in the previously submitted, comparative discussion applied. Moreover, that comparative analysis had actually been organized as separate discussions of each candidate. The faculty felt this was disrespectful of their effort and time.

Example 3: In a search in an esoteric and expensive scientific field, the dean's office did not want to make an offer of proper proportions to a highly competitive candidate that the faculty in the relevant department wanted to hire. It was "unclear if the relevant people were at the table in the dean's office when the decisions were made," observed a faculty member. Moreover, the funds made available to the candidate were inadequate. The candidate took a more competitive offer from another school, a decision made all the more likely by the delays introduced in the process of recruiting the candidate by the dean's office.

Example 4: A professor who authored a book gave a series of talks about the research behind the book near the time of the book's publication. The professor was asked for clarification

because "advertisement for books" is not an allowable expense. The professor submitted a written response explaining that invited speaking related to a book release is ordinarily seen as legitimate academic work. It took quite a while to resolve this. Given how common it is for members of the faculty to write books and to have book-related expenses, these policies should be crystal clear and easy to follow. Policies of this nature are inconsistently and at times retrospectively applied, even in an area that should be quite standard at a university; this can create many hours of work for everyone involved; and the reasoning is often opaque.

Example 5: A professor who co-organized a global forum on an important topic was questioned about the use of research funds ($5,000) to help pay for this international and collaborative endeavor. The professor was granted a one-time exception for a subset of the money, after having had to provide evidence of the nature of the conference and how this academic endeavor benefitted Yale, with the implication that this was not going to be granted again for remaining amounts that the professor had already publicly committed to the group. It made the professor feel infantilized, suspect, and humiliated in the eyes of international collaborators. Professors should have more discretionary control over the use of their research funds (especially for such small amounts) and not be at the mercy of administrators who don't necessarily understand how international collaborations work.

Example 6: A professor who wished to implement a post-doctoral training program that solicited applications with public announcements faced a frustrating series of challenges in implementing the program, most of which related to administrative staff stating there were barriers to the program working as designed by the funding agency rather than working with the professor to implement solutions to the perceived problems. The professor described the experience as one resembling interacting with an insurance company, with each administrator saying that the approval of some other administrator, both at low and high levels, was required before proceeding to the next step. This involved a huge expenditure of time for what is an important function of a university: the recruitment of post-doctoral fellows.