

# Started from the Bottom Now We're Here: 20 Years Later, Administrators Still Hoard While We Struggle Coalition to Organize Graduate Students (COGS)

On March 24, University of Iowa President Bruce Harreld announced a change in how the University would distribute funding. College Deans and Unit Heads will have the power to determine how General Education Funds are allocated, a move that is likely to result in increased inequality in funding allocations for salary and departmental budgets.

Bruce Harreld is championing a strategy of “disruptive innovation” identified by Professor Lloyd Armstrong<sup>1</sup> as a way to bring about innovation and change to the current business model of higher education. The argument claims that tenured faculty occupy the dual role of employee and manager of the organization, and thus, through their role in shared governance, stand in the way of changes needed to make universities more effective. The implications of this line of thinking are increasing cuts to tenure track professors, increased dependence on contingent (adjunct) faculty, and cuts to graduate student funding. Regardless of whether or not these are stated objectives by the current administration, it is clear from the data presented in this paper that the University of Iowa is strongly trending toward these outcomes. Despite these moves toward “austerity,” we have seen a substantial increase in funding allocation for administrative personnel. We present the following data as evidence of the trend toward corporatization and profit maximization of the university at the expense of Bruce Harreld’s stated goals of “advancing student outcomes, improving national rankings, and protecting core values.”<sup>2</sup>

We believe graduate education is negatively impacted by these trends. Our dual roles of student and educator create many and varying challenges to our having a flourishing working, learning, and teaching environment. Two of the most pressing concerns for graduate education and graduate employee labor are:

- *Cuts to the number of admitted, funded graduate employees:* there are fewer graduate student-employees each year.
- *Wages that are inconsistent with the cost of living in our community:* a scarcity of affordable housing, burdensome mandatory fees, and prohibitive costs of healthcare for graduate students and their families, including childcare, create needs our current salaries cannot meet.

Inhibiting graduate student learning and professionalization directly affects student outcomes, national rankings, and deters from UI’s core values. To show how, we will first contextualize the

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<sup>1</sup> Lloyd Armstrong, “Barriers to Innovation and Change in Higher Education” Research Report for TIAA-CREF, November 2014 <<https://www.tiaainstitute.org/public/pdf/barriers-to-innovation-and-change-in-higher-education.pdf>>

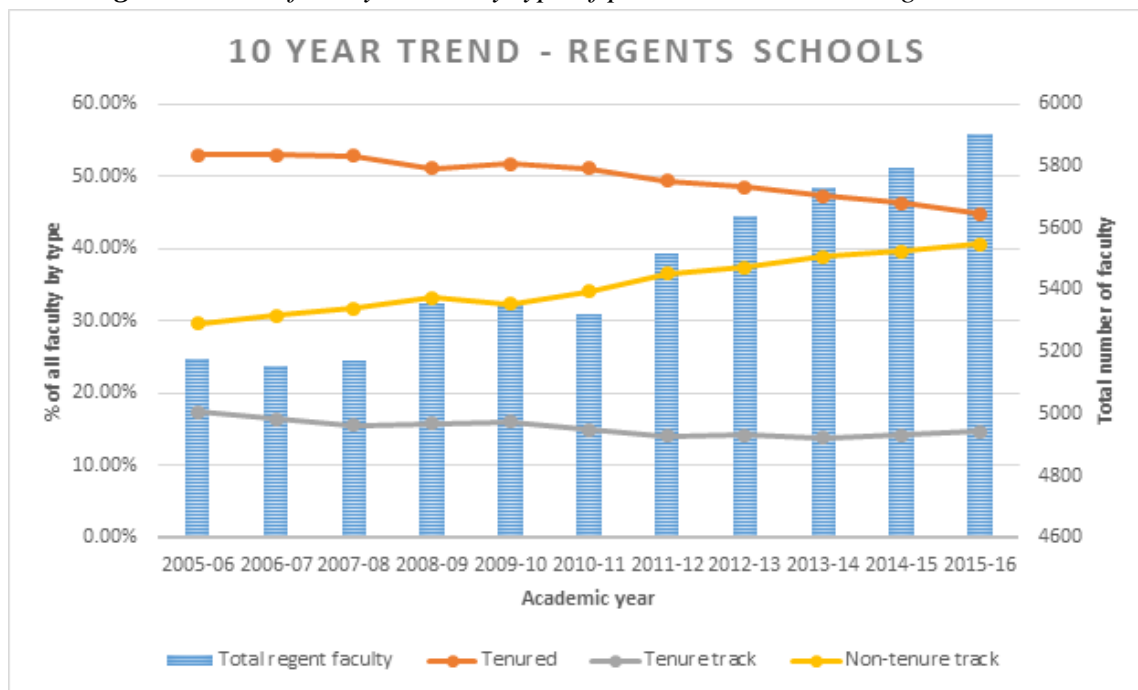
<sup>2</sup> Vanessa Miller, “University of Iowa president changing budgeting process”, *The Gazette*, March 24, 2016

system into which graduate student employees are being trained to enter: adjunctification. Then, we'll look at the numbers in depth for graduate student employee wages. Finally, we'll address administrative "bloat" and offer some recommendations to continue to fight for what we're due.

### Increasing Adjunctification of Faculty at Iowa

The most recent report from the State Board of Regents shows non-tenure track faculty across the three regent schools increased for the fifteenth year in a row.<sup>3</sup> Non-tenure track positions (excluding unpaid clinical and adjunct faculty) now make up 40.58% of total faculty, and is the highest number it has been during the past twenty-four years<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 1).

*Figure 1. Total faculty and % by type of position at all Iowa Regent schools<sup>5</sup>*



At the University of Iowa, the trends are even more severe: non-tenure track faculty making up over half of all faculty appointments. The University of Iowa has 3,153 faculty: **over half** are neither tenured nor tenure-track - that is, 1,589 faculty members, or 50.4% of the faculty at Iowa, lack tenure protections and benefits. Iowa has steadily lost tenured and tenure-track faculty since 2012. The only growing category of faculty is non-tenured, non-tenure track faculty (Fig. 2).

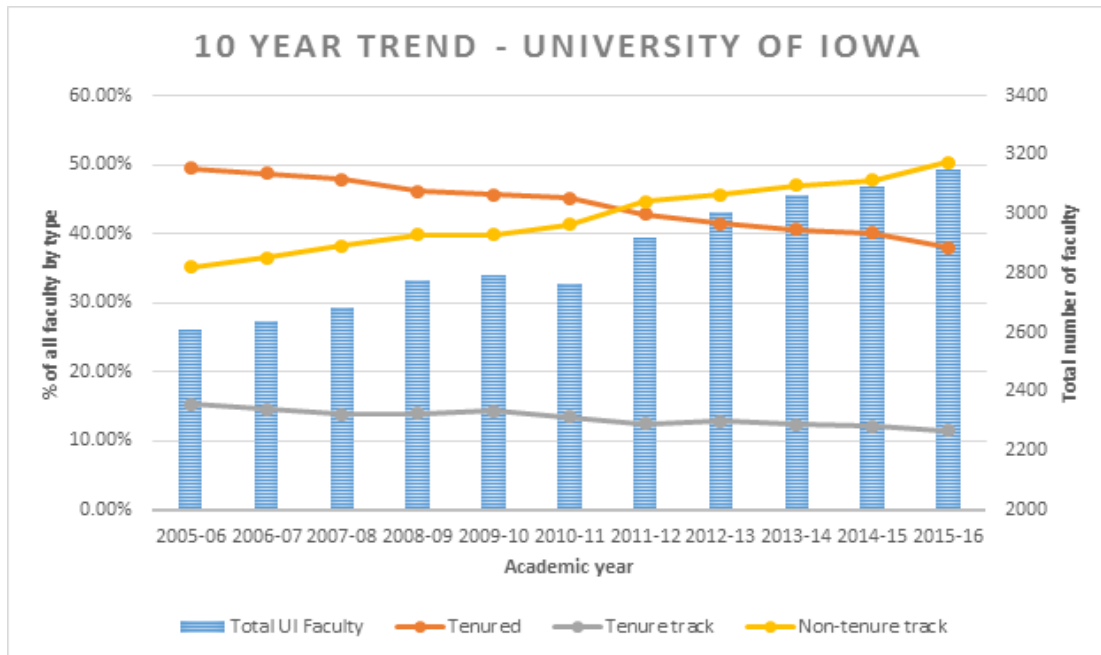
*Figure 2. Total faculty and % by type of position at The University of Iowa<sup>6</sup>*

<sup>3</sup> Compiled from BOR Annual Governance Reports on Faculty Tenure, 1999-2015 <<http://www.regents.iowa.gov/Reports/reports>>

<sup>4</sup> BOR Annual Governance Report on Faculty Tenure, April 2016 <[http://www.regents.iowa.gov/Meetings/DocketMemos/16Memos/April2016/0416\\_ASAC03.pdf](http://www.regents.iowa.gov/Meetings/DocketMemos/16Memos/April2016/0416_ASAC03.pdf)>

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, Footnote 3.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, Footnote 3.



Why is a research university like Iowa choosing to give tenure-track and tenure appointments to an ever-dwindling share of its faculty? The answer is familiar to those that have studied the corporatization of public universities: money. Iowa hires adjuncts and denies them the rights and protections of tenure to cut costs. Outside Iowa’s hospitals and clinics, tenured professors earn a mean salary of \$183,291.57. Assistant professors and associate professors also earn six-figures, on average. In contrast, in the 2015 fiscal year the 877 adjunct professors earned an average salary of \$16,766.03, which is less than the minimum salary for a graduate student without summer funding.<sup>7</sup> As the number of professors tenured or on the tenure-track shrinks, the number of adjuncts grows. The reason is obvious: adjuncts are cheaper than professors and cheaper than graduate students, but undervaluing adjuncts comes with severe costs to the teacher and to the student.

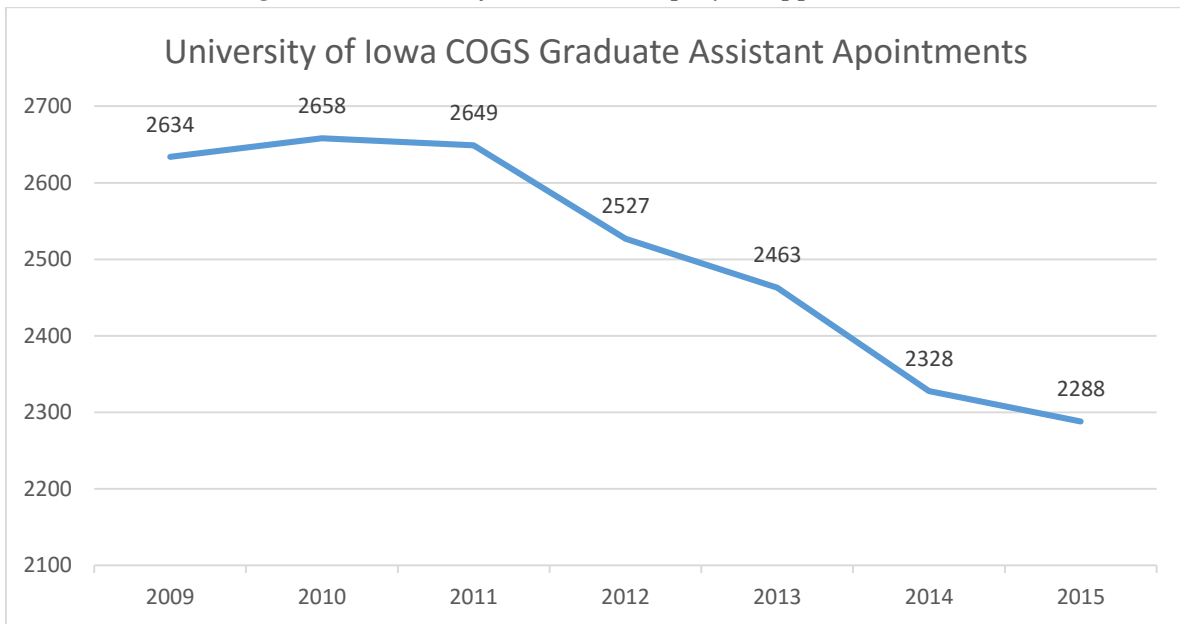
This also explains why the graduate employee population is shrinking. Overall, the number of graduate teaching and research assistant appointments has declined drastically from 2,634 COGS bargaining unit employees in 2009 to 2,288 in 2015, which is a loss of 346 positions, or 13% of our bargaining unit (Fig. 3).<sup>8</sup> Graduate employees have gone from teaching 119,094 credit hours to teaching 84,540 credit hours: the amount of teaching we do at Iowa has declined by 29%.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.legis.iowa.gov/publications/fiscal/salaryBook?fy=2015&aid=2000&name=> This number is derived by summing the salaries and dividing by the summed number of employees from each of the following categories: Adjunct Assistant in Instruction, Adjunct Lecturer, Adjunct Instructor, Adjunct Associate, Adjunct Professor, Adjunct Assistant Professor, Adjunct Associate Professor (all non-clinical).

<sup>8</sup> [https://provost.uiowa.edu/files/provost.uiowa.edu/files/wysiwyg\\_uploads/Digest.pdf](https://provost.uiowa.edu/files/provost.uiowa.edu/files/wysiwyg_uploads/Digest.pdf), p. 36

<sup>9</sup> [https://provost.uiowa.edu/files/provost.uiowa.edu/files/wysiwyg\\_uploads/Digest.pdf](https://provost.uiowa.edu/files/provost.uiowa.edu/files/wysiwyg_uploads/Digest.pdf), p. 42. This number does not reflect teaching assistant work, including grading and laboratory work.

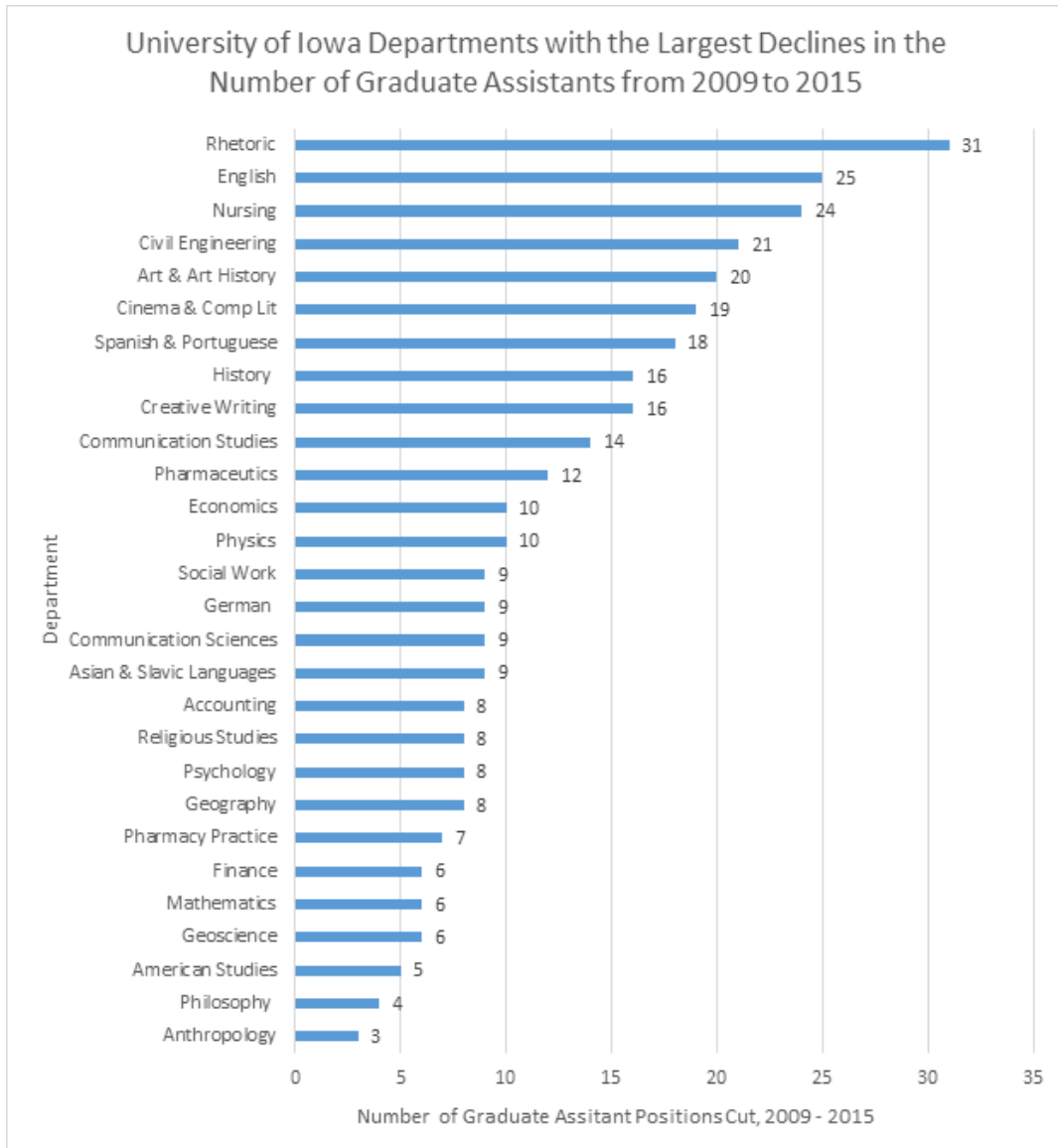
**Figure 3. Decline of Graduate Employee Appointments<sup>10</sup>**



In the Fall of 2009, the Graduate College of the University of Iowa initiated a “Task Force on Graduate Education: Selective Excellence” to evaluate graduate programs in the areas of degree completion, time to degree, and job placement and identify departments that were not meeting these market outcomes. The Graduate College has targeted programs for reductions based on these metrics, regardless of academic reputation. Fewer graduate students are now admitted to some of the University’s most prestigious programs, and the effects of these policies on graduate educational opportunities in the humanities have been profound. The Iowa Writer’s Workshop is among the hardest hit departments with fewer related teaching appointment opportunities in Rhetoric and English (Fig. 4). Further cuts to the arts and humanities graduate programs for which Iowa is internationally recognized would irreparably damage the reputation of the University. Nursing, Civil Engineering, Pharmacy, Economics, Accounting, and Finance have also made significant cuts to the number of graduate assistant appointments available.

<sup>10</sup> Internal data, COGS. 2016.

**Figure 4. Decline of Graduate Employee Appointments by Department**



The university is replacing undervalued graduate assistants with adjuncts, who are themselves even more severely undervalued. Adjuncts cost the university less and are asked to teach more than graduate assistants. Adjuncts then bring in more revenue by teaching more classes. If the goal is to maintain the status quo -- ever-overworked faculty teaching ever-fewer graduate students without enough financial or institutional support to pursue groundbreaking research -- then this strategy is perfectly sensible. COGS has fought the status quo for twenty years with marked success. We now have health insurance, tuition coverage, partial fees coverage, and better salaries than we did before COGS. But the university is answering these gains by cutting our bargaining unit. They can do this because contingent faculty labor is readily available.

Now the administration claims that graduate employees are too costly, and that the university cannot hire as many graduate employees without severe setbacks in other areas. This ignores the fact that graduate employees cost less than they earn for the university. The Provost's numbers state that we cost the university \$28,554 each year.<sup>11</sup> But in teaching a class of twenty students, say, graduate students raise around \$33,480 for the university each year in tuition alone.<sup>12</sup> If we teach thirty students, we raise \$50,220, or over \$20,000 in profit each year for the university for each graduate student. Even discounting graduate students' work in laboratories and discussion sections, which is substantial, graduate students raise over \$70.76 million each year for Iowa in tuition alone while costing Iowa just \$67.27 million.<sup>13</sup> We have two questions: *where is the \$3.5 million in profit we raise going, and can we have it back, please?*

Paying graduate employees a decent wage, covering their tuition, and covering part of their fees is not an undue burden. The university can afford to pay us, but we are facing cuts because the university has realized that it can make a bigger profit by paying lecturers to teach three classes each semester without providing them health insurance or tuition coverage as they legally must do for graduate students. The exploitation of contingent faculty subsidizes a growing, overpaid bureaucracy. As a matter of fact, in 2015 the university paid 117 administrators a whopping \$25 million dollars, or \$214,626 for each person.<sup>14</sup> Faculty deserve their cut - and tenure-tracks, too.

The University of Iowa should ensure a good balance of tenured faculty and graduate employees to undergraduates instead of increasing its reliance on overworked, underpaid contingent faculty who do not enjoy the full rights and privileges that belong to academics at a research university.

We might also ask, why do women consistently make up half of the number of non-tenure, non-clinical teaching appointments? Women as non-tenure track faculty make up, currently, 47% of the unit, whereas women who are tenured or on the tenure track make up 29.9% or 41.2%, respectively.<sup>15</sup> The following chart from [Equity at Iowa](#), which is a tremendously informative collaborative project of Professor Judith Pascoe (English) and Wendy Robertson (University of Iowa Digital Scholarship Librarian), Nikki White (Digital Humanities Research and Instruction Librarian) and Ethan DeGross (Researcher/Developer), helpfully illustrates the gender gap:

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<sup>11</sup> "Graduate Student Data: 10-Year Actual Comparisons", Provost's Office, presented at President's Town Hall on February 23, 2016.

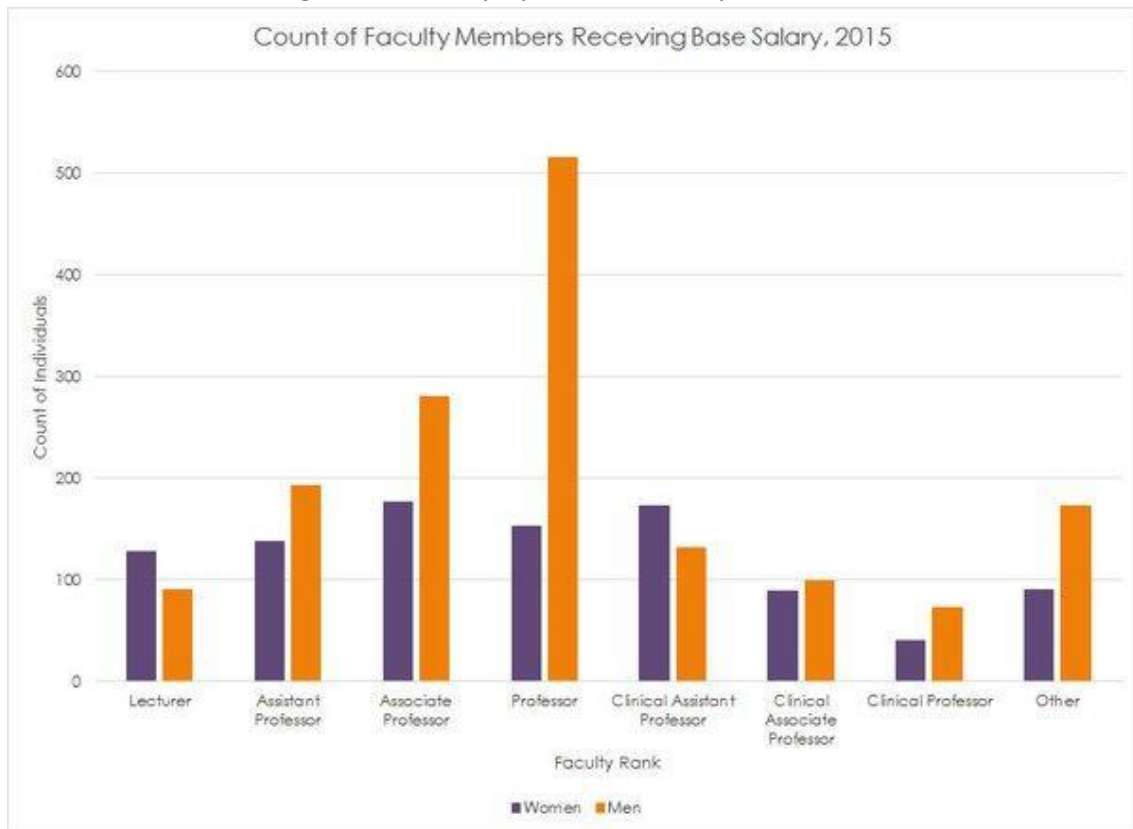
<sup>12</sup> <https://www.maui.uiowa.edu/maui/pub/tuition/rates.page>, Spring 2016 rates for CLAS: For residents, it is \$837 for three credit hours (we ignore mandatory fees). Multiply that by the number of students. As we have neglected the substantial difference in tuition for non-residential students and also fees, our estimate is very conservative.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., Footnotes 9 and 12. Multiply the number of credit hours taught by the number of graduate students. This figure ignores the \$21.7 million spent on graduate students from restricted funds 500 and 510, which are externally sponsored (<http://www.bo.uiowa.edu/~glaccman/index.cfm?action=glaccman.funddetail#10>).

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.legis.iowa.gov/publications/fiscal/salaryBook?fy=2015&aid=2000&name>. This sums the salaries for and divides by the total number of persons employed in the following positions: Assistant Provost, Associate Provost, Provost, Associate VP, Assistant VP, VP, Associate Dean, Assistant Dean, Dean, President.

<sup>15</sup> [https://provost.uiowa.edu/files/provost.uiowa.edu/files/wysiwyg\\_uploads/Digest.pdf](https://provost.uiowa.edu/files/provost.uiowa.edu/files/wysiwyg_uploads/Digest.pdf), p. 33

**Figure 5. Faculty by Gender and by Position.<sup>16</sup>**



The numbers broken down by race are just as disconcerting: of all the non-tenure track faculty in 2014, 121 identified as Asian or Pacific Islander, 41 identified as black or African-American, and 50 identified as Hispanic, while 2,002 identified as White.<sup>17</sup> The expansion of non-tenure track, non-clinical faculty raises issues of gender and racial representation that relate to faculty support for Iowa’s minority students. The belt-tightening education budget of the legislature combined with the tight-fisted fiscal policies favored by the Board of Regents exacerbate structural issues of race and gender inimical to higher education. In contrast with Iowa, Penn State’s philosophy program recently recruited a record number of black-identifying female PhDs.<sup>18</sup> We urge the question: what bonds of solidarity can Iowa make with the above mentioned contingent faculty members to challenge structural injustices facing non-whites and women in higher education?

<sup>16</sup> <https://twitter.com/equityatiowa/status/719971102340939776>

<sup>17</sup> [https://provost.uiowa.edu/files/provost.uiowa.edu/files/wysiwyg\\_uploads/Digest.pdf](https://provost.uiowa.edu/files/provost.uiowa.edu/files/wysiwyg_uploads/Digest.pdf), p. 34

<sup>18</sup> See [Diversifying a Discipline](#)

## **‘Budget Crisis’: A Mask for Administrative Bloat**

Now some may claim the university is struggling with insufficient state appropriations and as such must cut costs, so that giving faculty tenure and giving graduate students a living wage is cost-prohibitive. To this we raise two points. First, if there really were a budget crisis, then the university should be making cuts instead of expanding its administration, giving gross raises to top administrators, and wasting money on efficiency reviews. Second, there is no budget crisis.

The Department of Education reports that the number of administrators “at colleges and universities grew by 60% between 1993 and 2009...10 times the rate of growth of tenured faculty positions.”<sup>19</sup> Iowa is no exception to this trend. Between 1987 and 2011, the number of full-time administrators has grown by 62.9%, from 132 to 215; in that same period, the number of full-time professional staff grew by 5%, while enrollment grew by 12.5%.<sup>20</sup> This trend persists while the percentage of tenured and tenure-track faculty shrinks.<sup>21</sup> As Donna Desrochers, a researcher with the Delta Cost Project, says, “They’ve increased their hiring of part-time faculty to try and cut costs...Yet other factors that are going on, including the hiring of these other types of non-academic employees, have undercut these savings.”<sup>22</sup>

There are, moreover, notable and excessive expenditures on university administrators. Our new university president, J. Bruce Harreld, was offered a \$65,000 salary increase over Sally Mason’s salary: Harreld’s yearly salary is \$590,000, or \$19 for each Iowa student, even excluding his \$1 million in deferred compensation.<sup>23</sup> And unlike all graduate students, Harreld’s housing, vehicle, and moving expenses are covered by the university; unlike almost half the faculty, Harreld has a tenure offer.<sup>24</sup> Yet Harreld insisted at his town hall in February that tuition increases ought to be on the table for discussion.<sup>25</sup> And he has said that they are “on the table” as of April 14, when we learned that the legislature will not fund higher education at the level supposedly needed to avoid tuition increases.<sup>26</sup> It is a shame that, despite spending \$308 thousand dollars, the regents could not find a university president such as Kentucky State University’s Raymond Burse, who donated \$90,000 of his own \$350,000 salary to employees so that his employees could earn

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<sup>19</sup> Paul F. Campos, “The Real Reason College Tuition Costs So Much”, *The New York Times*, April 4, 2015

<sup>20</sup> American Institutes for Research and the New England Center for Investigative Reporting, [http://college-table.wgbh.org/college\\_local](http://college-table.wgbh.org/college_local)

<sup>21</sup> Jon Marcus, “New Analysis Shows Problematic Boom in Higher Ed Administrators”, *New England Center for Investigative Reporting*, February 6, 2014

<sup>22</sup> Jon Marcus, “New Analysis Shows Problematic Boom in Higher Ed Administrators”, *New England Center for Investigative Reporting*, February 6, 2014

<sup>23</sup> Jeff Charis-Carlson, “Businessman Harreld: I’ll answer doubts”, *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, September 3, 2015

<sup>24</sup> Jeff Charis-Carlson, “Harreld tenure offer raises academics’ eyebrows”, *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, September 5, 2015

<sup>25</sup> Vanessa Miller, “Outbursts, interruptions dominate first Bruce Harreld forum”, *The Gazette*, February 23, 2016 <http://www.thegazette.com/subject/news/education/higher-education/outbursts-interruptions-dominate-first-bruce-harreld-forum-20160223>

<sup>26</sup> Vanessa Miller, “Lawmakers recommend \$6.3 million for Iowa regent universities, meaning likely tuition hikes”, *The Gazette*, April 14, 2016



\$10.25 each hour.<sup>27</sup> Meanwhile, under our new university president, Student Disability Services announced that they will no longer offer note-taking or testing accommodation services.<sup>28</sup>

Meanwhile, while services for students with disabilities were cut, the Board of Regents changed the title of their executive director, Bob Donley, to chief executive officer to circumvent an Iowa statute that caps Donley's salary at \$154,000: the regents did this because they wanted to pay Donley \$240,000 and hire a chief operating officer to boot.<sup>29</sup> And yet the regents voted to increase resident tuition and housing rates while expressing their concern about added cost of the minimum wage increase in Johnson County.<sup>30</sup> Maybe the board of regents' good friend, Donley, could work at the wage undergraduates receive before the Regents ask Iowa's students and families support a pay raise for the regents' staff. As for the justification for this increase, the regents only said, "[Donley] hasn't had a raise in years."<sup>31</sup> The Regents' president, Rastetter, said it best himself, "It's easy to raise costs...It's easy to vote for increases - except if you are the parent or the student paying for it."<sup>32</sup> We agree. So the regents should try freezing their staff's salaries before making that "easy" vote to line administrators' pockets at the expense of Iowa's working families and struggling students.

To take another case of the regents' excess: Jean E. Robillard has been Iowa's Vice-President for Medical Affairs since 2008. His starting salary was \$474,588.61; Robillard's 2015 salary was \$842,573, a 177% increase over eight years.<sup>33</sup> Apparently, Iowa is so cash-strapped that it can only pay Robillard *twice* as much as the sitting president of the United States.<sup>34</sup> Three more cases of the regents' wasteful spending are the \$5.4-million TIER efficiency review, the \$321,900 for Peter Matthes' polling spread over contracts that are just under the mandatory disclosure amount, and \$308,000 on a presidential search and a search firm that could not catch a lie on a resume.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Vanessa Miller, "University of Iowa presidential search costs reach \$308,000, ISU search cost \$133,000 in 2011", *The Gazette*, October 30, 2015; Lillian Cunningham, "Kentucky State president to share his salary with school's lowest-paid workers", *The Washington Post*, August 5, 2014.

<sup>28</sup> Ahmed Souaiaia, "Resource allocaiton and social justice at the UI", *The Daily Iowan*, March 21, 2016

<sup>29</sup> Ryan Smith, "Internal shakeup being proposed at Iowa Board of Regents", *KCCI Des Moines*, July 31, 2015

<sup>30</sup> Jeff Charis-Carlson, "Regents express concern over room, board increase", *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, February 25, 2016

<sup>31</sup> Ryan Smith, "Internal shakeup being proposed at Iowa Board of Regents", *KCCI Des Moines*, July 31, 2015

<sup>32</sup> Jeff Charis-Charlson, "Regents express concern over room, board increase", *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, February 25, 2016

<sup>33</sup> <https://www.legis.iowa.gov/publications/fiscal/salaryBook?fy=-1&aid=-1&name=robillard>

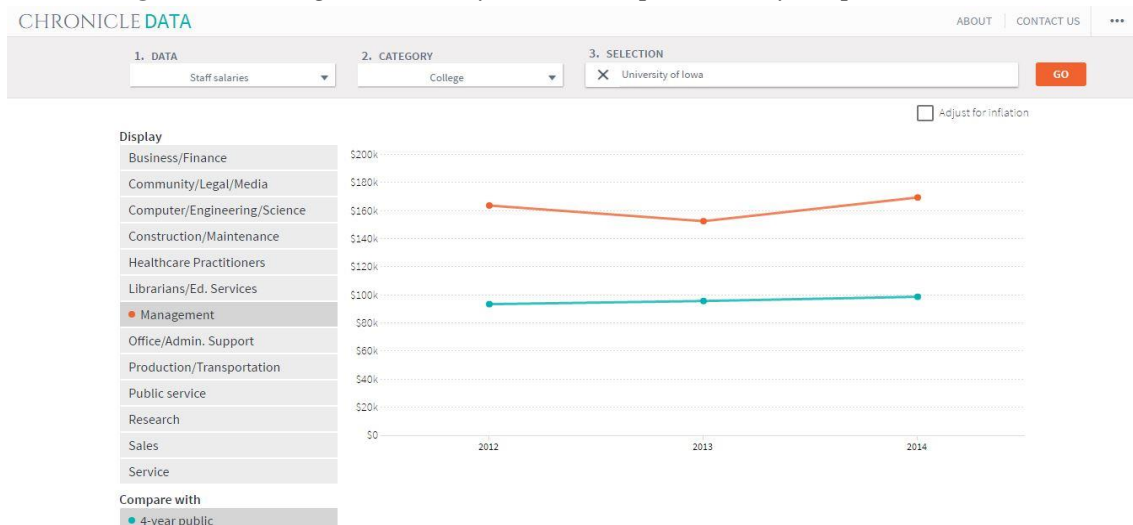
<sup>34</sup> <https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/3/102>

<sup>35</sup> Matthew P. Brown, "Pennies, pounds and University of Iowa leadership", *The Gazette*, December 23, 2015

In addition, Iowa paid 117 administrators \$25,111,263.90 in 2015, or \$214,626.19 each.<sup>36</sup> 877 non-clinical adjuncts were paid \$14,703,807.25 in 2015, or \$16,766.03 each.<sup>37</sup> At his town hall, “[Harreld] challenged the public to think creatively” about how the university is spending its money.<sup>38</sup> Here is a creative suggestion: freeze increases in fees, tuition, housing, and dining increases and cut six-figure administrator pay. More pointedly: quit handing hard-working Iowans’ tax money and struggling students’ tuition and textbook money to regent-friendly bureaucrats in quarter-million lumps.

These trends are part of a culture of overpaid administrators. On average, Iowa’s administrators receive \$70,000 more than their peers at other four-year public institutions (Fig. 6).<sup>39</sup> That’s a big gap between similar institutions for a university that claims to be in a budget crisis. It indicates clearly who gets all the ‘peanut butter’ around these part<sup>40</sup>.

**Figure 6. Management salary at Iowa (top) vs. at 4-year public (bottom)**



The administrator pay gaps also reinforce gender inequity at Iowa. When you break the numbers down by gender, we also find that men outnumber women. The following graph breaks down the number of administrators overall by gender, as well as their pay.

<sup>36</sup> <https://www.legis.iowa.gov/publications/fiscal/salaryBook?fy=2015&aid=2000&name>. This sums the data for the following positions: Assistant Provost, Associate Provost, Provost, Associate VP, Assistant VP, VP, Associate Dean, Assistant Dean, Dean, President.

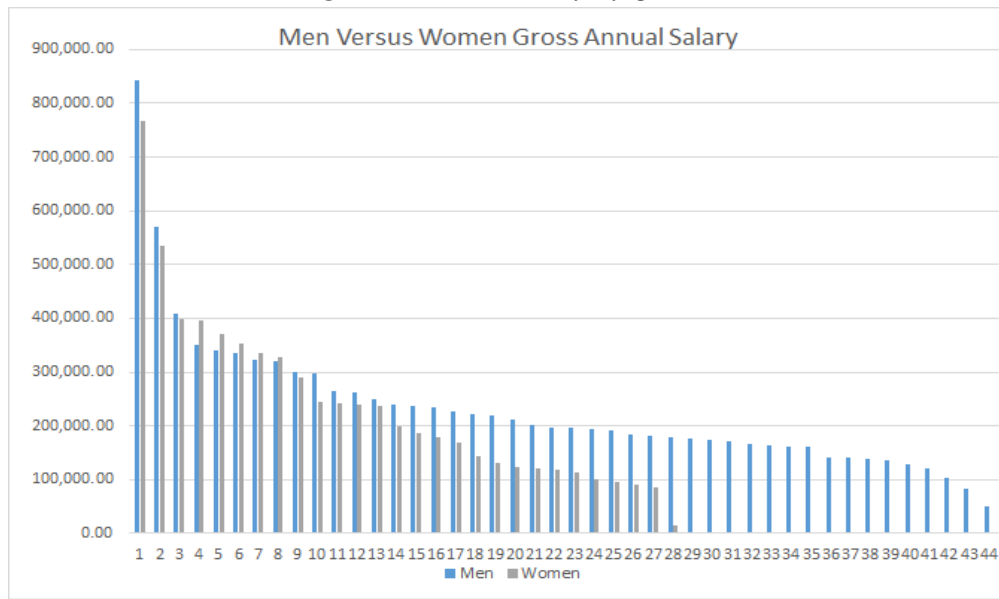
<sup>37</sup> <https://www.legis.iowa.gov/publications/fiscal/salaryBook?fy=2015&aid=2000&name>. This sums the data for the following positions: Adjunct Assistant in Instruction, Adjunct Lecturer, Adjunct Instructor, Adjunct Associate, Adjunct Professor, Adjunct Assistant Professor, Adjunct Associate Professor

<sup>38</sup> Vanessa Miller, “Outbursts, interruptions dominate first Bruce Harreld forum”, *The Gazette*, February 23, 2016 <http://www.thegazette.com/subject/news/education/higher-education/outbursts-interruptions-dominate-first-bruce-harreld-forum-20160223>

<sup>39</sup> <http://data.chronicle.com/153658/University-of-Iowa/staff-salaries/>

<sup>40</sup> <http://data.chronicle.com/153658/University-of-Iowa/staff-salaries/>

**Figure 7. Gross salary by gender**



Consider the highest paid administrators in 2015 by name and department. The data reveals two important points. First, we see that, overwhelmingly, the money being spread is heading over to the UI Hospital system. Not even when Sally Mason was still President of UI was she being compensated nearly as well as Jean Robillard or Debra Ann Schwinn. Second, we see that the only other highest paid female administrator replaced by Robillard when he became the Dean at the Carver College of Medicine in February. Schwinn is now Associate VP for Medical Affairs.<sup>4142</sup> Not only did both Robillard and Harreld replace women, but they also became the highest paid administrators on campus. Two white men, two big spoonfuls of peanut butter.

**Table 1. Executive Pay, selected positions**

Name	Appointment in 2015	Gross Annual Pay 2015
<b>Jean Robillard</b>	VP for Medical Affairs	\$842,573.00
<b>Debra Ann Schwinn</b>	Dean, UI Medical School	\$767,919.00
<b>Ken L. Fisher</b>	Associate VP for Finance, UI Health Care	\$570,221.00
<b>Sally Mason</b>	President	\$534,228.00
<b>Christopher Scott Cooper</b>	Associate Dean for Medical Education	\$523,761.42
<b>Patrick Barry Butler</b>	Executive VP and Provost	\$409,763.96

<sup>41</sup> <http://ditchwalk.com/2016/02/28/ongoing-harreld-hire-updates-3/comment-page-1/#comment-345600>

<sup>42</sup> <http://www.press-citizen.com/story/news/education/university-of-iowa/2016/02/10/ui-shuffles-health-care-leadership-robillard-now-med-school-dean-too/80178102/>

Let us now consider the second point, that there is no budget crisis. Administrators claim the state is giving them less money than ever before. They infer from this that the university has less money than ever before. But this is fallacious. The state is giving less funding as a *percentage of all Iowa's revenue*.<sup>43</sup> Due to hikes in tuition, housing rates, and meal plan rates and increases in state funding over the past two years, *Iowa has more money than ever before*.<sup>44</sup> In fact, Iowa has a \$1.27 billion endowment.<sup>45</sup> And Iowa enjoyed a \$269.4 million surplus in 2015.<sup>46</sup> The university even spent an extra \$11 million on institutional support between 2014 and 2015 (compare this number with the net change in the amount spent on instruction and research - less than \$½ million).<sup>47</sup> Iowa is by no means facing a “fiscal cliff”. Iowa is sitting on piles of money. The ‘problem’ is sharing it with those who work for it.<sup>48</sup>

### **An Unlivable Wage: Unaffordable Housing and Mandatory Fees**

Graduate students used to have two options for on-campus housing: an apartment complex on Hawkeye Drive and one on Hawkeye Court. Hawkeye Court is gone, and the university plans to raze Hawkeye Drive.

Since the 1960s, Hawkeye Court was a haven of affordability for Iowa students and families; the buildings were, admittedly, poorly constructed and in dire need of repairs, but the complex offered an affordable option to many that could afford few of the expensive housing options offered by predatory landlords in Iowa City.<sup>49</sup> A one-bedroom apartment could be secured for \$435 each month as late as 2012.<sup>50</sup> A two-bedroom was available for \$540 each month.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> “The share of state funding that is part of the total cost of operating the Board of Regents’ three public universities has dropped dramatically since the early 1980s, when legislative appropriations accounted for more than 77 percent of the schools’ general education dollars. For the current budget year, state funding made up just 34.3 percent of that pot, while tuition revenue accounted for 61.2 percent. Back in 1981, tuition made up 20.8 percent of the universities’ general education dollars. Harreld presented those figures in February during his first town hall meeting since starting on the job Nov. 2.” *The Gazette*, March 23, 2016.

<http://www.thegazette.com/subject/news/education/higher-education/harreld-university-of-iowa-must-be-attentive-to-resources-as-it-innovates-20160323>

<sup>44</sup> [https://provost.uiowa.edu/files/provost.uiowa.edu/files/wysiwyg\\_uploads/Digest.pdf](https://provost.uiowa.edu/files/provost.uiowa.edu/files/wysiwyg_uploads/Digest.pdf), p. 51; State Higher Education Executive Officers Association, FY 2014 Data,

<https://public.tableau.com/profile/jarmstrong#!/vizhome/SHEFInteractiveStateData/WaveCharts>

<sup>45</sup> [http://afr.fo.uiowa.edu/files/afr.fo.uiowa.edu/files/wysiwyg\\_uploads/Financial\\_Report\\_2015\\_WEB.pdf](http://afr.fo.uiowa.edu/files/afr.fo.uiowa.edu/files/wysiwyg_uploads/Financial_Report_2015_WEB.pdf), p. 3; In 2012, the endowment was \$36,388 for each full-time equivalent enrolled student.

<http://www.thesustainableuniversity.com/>

<sup>46</sup> [http://afr.fo.uiowa.edu/files/afr.fo.uiowa.edu/files/wysiwyg\\_uploads/Financial\\_Report\\_2015\\_WEB.pdf](http://afr.fo.uiowa.edu/files/afr.fo.uiowa.edu/files/wysiwyg_uploads/Financial_Report_2015_WEB.pdf), p. 12

<sup>47</sup> [http://afr.fo.uiowa.edu/files/afr.fo.uiowa.edu/files/wysiwyg\\_uploads/Financial\\_Report\\_2015\\_WEB.pdf](http://afr.fo.uiowa.edu/files/afr.fo.uiowa.edu/files/wysiwyg_uploads/Financial_Report_2015_WEB.pdf), p. 20

<sup>48</sup> Legislative Services Agency, Issue Review: “Allocation of State Funding to Regents’ Universities”, October 6, 2015. <https://www.legis.iowa.gov/docs/publications/IR/673844.pdf>

<sup>49</sup> Sara Epstein Moninger, “Closing the Doors on Hawkeye Court”, *Iowa Now*, August 20, 2013.

<sup>50</sup> Daniel Elchert, “Rent Skyrocketing for UI Graduate Students”, *Des Moines Register*, December 18, 2015.

<sup>51</sup> <https://www.ksl.com/index.php?sid=31331032&nid=481>

Hawkeye Court was demolished. It has been replaced by Aspire at West Campus, which was built by Balfour Beatty, a multinational corporation that thrives on extracting profits from college communities by overcharging for housing to cash-strapped students. Next year, Aspire will be raising the rate for a one-bedroom to \$959 each month.<sup>52</sup> Two-bedroom units will cost \$1,199 each month - and that is the discounted rate.<sup>53</sup>

The university refused to save Hawkeye Court. They are on the hook for a forty-one years, and ten more after that if Balfour Beatty unilaterally decides to extend the lease.<sup>54</sup> The university receives just \$1 each year. In return, they provide free bus service to those renting from Balfour Beatty and free advertising for Aspire at West Campus.<sup>55</sup> Iowa has little legal recourse in the face of Balfour Beatty's greed: Balfour-Beatty stands to make \$8-million in profit each year through the duration of the lease.<sup>56</sup>

As for Hawkeye Drive, that is planned for demolition. Hawkeye Drive leases are offered for the 2016-2017 academic year.<sup>57</sup> In 2014, Von Stange, senior director for housing and dining, said that Hawkeye Drive was intended for decommission.<sup>58</sup> University officials have not ruled out another public-private partnership. Whether the regents have realized it, they made an awful deal they made with Aspire.<sup>59</sup>

There are then few on-campus housing options for graduate students. Tom Rocklin, vice president of student life, admitted at the last town hall that the university has no on-campus answer to the housing crisis.

The options for off campus housing are bleak as well. In 2013, the rental rates in Zone 1, the mile surrounding the Pentacrest, were \$705 each month for a one-bedroom and \$935 each month for a two-bedroom.<sup>60</sup> Those figures are exclusive of university-owned property. And the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development states that renters paying more than 30% of their income are "cost-burdened" and may have difficulty affording the necessities for life.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> <http://www.aspireatwestcampus.com/floorplans.aspx>

<sup>53</sup> Vanessa Miller, "University of Iowa paid company \$75,000 to extend rate offer", *The Gazette*, December 21, 2015.

<sup>54</sup> The Register's Editorial, "Profiteering landlords make UI housing less affordable", *Des Moines Register*, January 1, 2016.

<sup>55</sup> The Register's Editorial, "Profiteering landlords make UI housing less affordable", *Des Moines Register*, January 1, 2016.

<sup>56</sup> Thomas Kindred, "UI Housing concerns are about more than rent", *The Gazette*, December 23, 2015.

<sup>57</sup> <http://housing.uiowa.edu/university-apartments/hawkeye-drive-information>

<sup>58</sup> <https://www.ksl.com/index.php?sid=31331032&nid=481>

<sup>59</sup> Thomas Kindred, "UI Housing concerns are about more than rent", *The Gazette*, December 23, 2015.

<sup>60</sup> [http://www.cook-appraisal.com/files/information-2013\\_survey.pdf](http://www.cook-appraisal.com/files/information-2013_survey.pdf)

<sup>61</sup> [http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program\\_offices/comm\\_planning/affordablehousing/](http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/comm_planning/affordablehousing/)

COGS' hard-fought contract guarantees \$18,261 for a 50% academic year appointee in the 2015-2016 academic year.<sup>62</sup> That amounts to an average paycheck of \$1526 each month for academic year appointees. An affordable rental rate during the academic year would be \$458 per month, but academic year appointees receive no paychecks in July and August. The graduate student stipend is not adequate to pay for housing in Zone 1.

The regents might argue that graduate students should be content with living outside Zone 1. The housing in the Pentacrest mile is premium real estate, and graduate students should expect less than this. However, Zone 2 is not affordable either. A one-bedroom in Zone 2 was \$569 each month.<sup>63</sup> Rent even in Zone 2 is over 30% of our monthly salary, and remember, academic year appointees do not get paid in July and August. We pay more than one-third of our income in rent, even allowing for living further from campus.

The regents might ask us to keep moving further from campus. They would be mistaken in thinking cheaper apartments could be secured by commuting. In Zone 3 - Coralville - rent for one-bedrooms is even more expensive than in Zone 2: \$630 each month in 2013. The stipend is simply not enough for off-campus housing. As the university, guided by the board of regents, has failed to provide affordable housing options on-campus, we conclude that graduate student salaries do not allow us to feasibly live in Iowa City or Coralville.

The situation is getting worse. The cheaper on-campus housing is gone after years of neglect, and fewer off-campus options are affordable due to rent increases and also demolitions. Rental rates in 2013 show 4% increases over 2011 rates.<sup>64</sup> In 2014, Iowa City's median monthly rental rates were \$200 above Iowa's median; the mean was \$945 each month.<sup>65</sup> Meanwhile, the demand for housing is high: Iowa City's vacancy rate was just 2% in 2014.<sup>66</sup> Census data for 2015 will arrive in September of this year. We do not expect good news. And a housing community at Rose Oaks Apartments, one of the few affordable areas in Iowa City, will have several apartments razed to build a clubhouse and a pool: hundreds of residents have been told to move even before their leases expire, or else to face parking issues, noise, and "possible sewage issues".<sup>67</sup> Georgina Dodge, Iowa's chief campus diversity officer, has even expressed concerns about the impact of demolishing Hawkeye Drive on the university's diversity objectives.<sup>68</sup>

The housing situation is bad enough if one just looks at salary data, but we have to consider that the regents have seen fit to charge graduate students fees to work. These fees amount to \$1,033

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<sup>62</sup> <http://cogs.org/current-contract#Article9>

<sup>63</sup> [http://www.cook-appraisal.com/files/information-2013\\_survey.pdf](http://www.cook-appraisal.com/files/information-2013_survey.pdf)

<sup>64</sup> [http://www.cook-appraisal.com/files/information-2013\\_survey.pdf](http://www.cook-appraisal.com/files/information-2013_survey.pdf)

<sup>65</sup> <http://www.deptofnumbers.com/rent/iowa/iowa-city/>

<sup>66</sup> <http://www.deptofnumbers.com/rent/iowa/iowa-city/>

<sup>67</sup> Erin Jordan, "Renovations of Iowa City apartment complex to displace hundreds", *The Gazette*, March 23, 2016.

<sup>68</sup> Savannah Guyer, "UI Lays Out Diversity Plans", *The Daily Iowan*, January 21, 2016.

each year. Thanks once again to COGS, that number is lowered by our 25% fees coverage, but we still end up paying \$774.75 each year. That does not include summer fees. It would be more proper to say that graduate students deserve an *after-fees* salary that makes housing affordable. Additionally, the salaries for all members of the bargaining unit often fall short of the mandatory minimum because some departments offer quarter-time appointments instead of half-time appointments. When all the graduate student appointees are accounted for, the mean salary is **\$13,528.27**; the median salary is **\$11,156.00**.<sup>69</sup>

Iowa can do better. Iowa can fund its graduate employees fully. It can give us what we deserve - an after-fees salary that makes Zone 2 housing affordable: **\$20,484 each year and full fees coverage - in other words, we deserve a living wage**.<sup>70</sup> Our demand is modest and reasonable. Graduate students should not pay to work while being unable to afford Iowa City housing.

### **How to Stop Graduate Student Cuts without Shared Governance**

Graduate employees should continue to demand a **living wage**. If the regents claim that the costs are too high, that Iowa cannot afford the increases, then we say that 2,234 graduate employees earned \$30,222,149.36 this year while 117 administrators were paid \$25,111,263.90 in 2015. *We are worth more than one-fifteenth of an administrator*. This demand requires a strong and active union to continue fighting for pay equity and other rights of graduate students at the university.

The regents are attempting to unmake our successes of these past twenty years. They are cutting our bargaining unit and hiring more adjuncts than ever to cut costs while maintaining the status quo of administrative bloat for the regents' friends. They use the supposed budget crisis to mask this status quo. But the numbers show there is no crisis: there is money, and we want a fair share.

We urge the faculty at Iowa, both adjunct and non-adjunct, to band together into a faculty union. This is to our advantage and to theirs: they can form one faculty and combine their interests to the betterment of all of Iowa's faculty, just as faculty at University of Illinois - Chicago have.<sup>71</sup>

Faculty would do well to recognize that the regents and the governor consider themselves neither servants nor colleagues of the faculty. The regents and governor view themselves as our bosses. They are not interested in our opinions or our wishes. They will override them on a whim while pretending to commit to shared governance. 'Shared governance' is an empty phrase to them. This was shown when the regents decided to hire Harreld as president knowing that 98% of the faculty disapproved.<sup>72</sup> The American Association of University Professors called this act "blatant

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<sup>69</sup> Internal data, COGS. 2016.

<sup>70</sup> The Iowa Policy Project defined in 2014 as \$20,033 each year. <http://www.iowapolicyproject.org/images/COL-2014/2014-COL-johnson.jpg>

<sup>71</sup> Walter Benn Michaels and Scott McFarland, "From One Bargaining Unit to One Faculty: What Can One Faculty Teach Us About Solidarity?", <http://www.aaup.org/article/one-bargaining-unit-one-faculty#.VxBClzArLIU>

<sup>72</sup> Jeff Charis-Carlson, "Survey: Harreld viewed as least qualified UI finalist", *Iowa City Press-Citizen*, September 2, 2015

disregard for the shared nature of university governance”.<sup>73</sup> This blatant disregard was shown in the authoritarian remarks of Terry Branstad and Bruce Rastetter. Branstad said, “The faculty need to calm down and give Harreld a chance.”<sup>74</sup> Rastetter remarked, “But at the end of the day, the Board of Regents has hired him.”<sup>75</sup> The regents have willfully ignored the “no-confidence” votes of their constituents. The message is clear: there is no shared governance. The University of Iowa is ruled by the regents, not the faculty. Iowa’s faculty should heed the warning signs.

Wisconsin is the canary in the coal mine. Tenure protections have been stripped from faculty at Madison. In arguing against an amendment to restore them, Regent Margaret Farrow replied to faculty requests for tenure protections, “Welcome to the 21st century.”<sup>76</sup> The same sort of dismissive language is on full display in Iowa. It is a hallmark of the governor’s office and the regents’ office in response to legitimate concerns of constituencies of the University of Iowa. To take a most vivid case, consider that the regents see fit to take input from stakeholders through a video camera on campus while they remain off campus, not even responding to petitioners.<sup>77</sup>

Faculty and graduate student-employees are invested in the mission of the University of Iowa. But as champion of business style higher education will note, we are also “barriers” to innovative change. We disrupt “disruptive innovation. What the Board of Regents, Bruce Harreld, and Governor Terry Branstad fail to see, however, is that *we* are the innovators. *We* bring purposeful and forward thinking changes to the University-- both in the classroom and in our research. The University of Iowa works because *we* do.

Faculty, on the tenure track or not, and graduate students, on fellowship or not, should recognize that they are laborers. When graduate students unionized 20 years ago, they could challenge the claims that there was no money for graduates: through bargaining, we secured better contracts. COGS still defends graduates with constant pushback from the administration. But with a strong bargaining unit, we can better defend ourselves against the deceit of “not enough peanut butter”

There is a reason that university administrations fear and fight against unions, whether graduate student unions or faculty unions. The administration cannot fight unionized employees. But they can destroy unions and hope that the illusion of shared governance combined with modest salary increases pacifies the workers. That is exactly how Branstad and the Regents have proceeded.

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<sup>73</sup> Vanessa Miller, “Regents acted ‘in bad faith’ in University of Iowa president search, AAUP concludes”, *The Gazette*, April 30, 2014

<sup>74</sup> <http://cbs2iowa.com/news/local/branstad-tells-ui-to-give-harreld-a-chance>

<sup>75</sup> <http://www.thegazette.com/subject/news/education/higher-education/university-of-iowa-students-issue-no-confidence-vote-20150909>

<sup>76</sup> <https://academeblog.org/2016/04/08/the-management-model-driving-wisconsins-faketenure-saga/>

<sup>77</sup> Vanessa Miller, “Speakers at University of Iowa hearing criticize ‘troubling’ regent communication process”, *The Gazette*, February 18, 2016



Strong bargaining units hold the power against the administration. COGS has shown that power, and faculty have the opportunity to unionize and defend themselves against the facade of shared governance. They can demand a path to tenure for the almost-half of the faculty that are adjuncts. They can impose this legal demand by bargaining together as one faculty. And graduate students are stronger together in their demand for their just desserts when working together as one.

The university seeks to replace graduate employees and the faculty with adjuncts. They wish to do this to cut costs despite the fact that the university has plenty of money. We can fight the budget crisis lie at every turn. We can be active and outspoken against the regents' wasteful administration. We can recognize that shared governance is dead at Iowa. And we can fight - we will fight - to have our money returned to us from the hands of hoarding administrators.