

INTRODUCTION

1. Scholars at Risk (SAR) is an international network of higher education institutions dedicated to protecting threatened scholars, preventing attacks on higher education communities and promoting academic freedom worldwide. SAR has Special Consultative Status with ECOSOC (2013), and welcomes the opportunity provided by the Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights to comment on conditions relating to academic freedom and attacks on higher education communities in the United States of America (US).¹
2. This submission focuses on the US's compliance with its obligations to protect and promote academic freedom and related rights within its territory. This review period has seen a significant decline in academic freedom overall, with current patterns suggesting further, serious erosions, including legal restriction on curricula, interference by non-academic actors, and the suppression of on-campus discourse and protest.

APPLICABLE STANDARDS

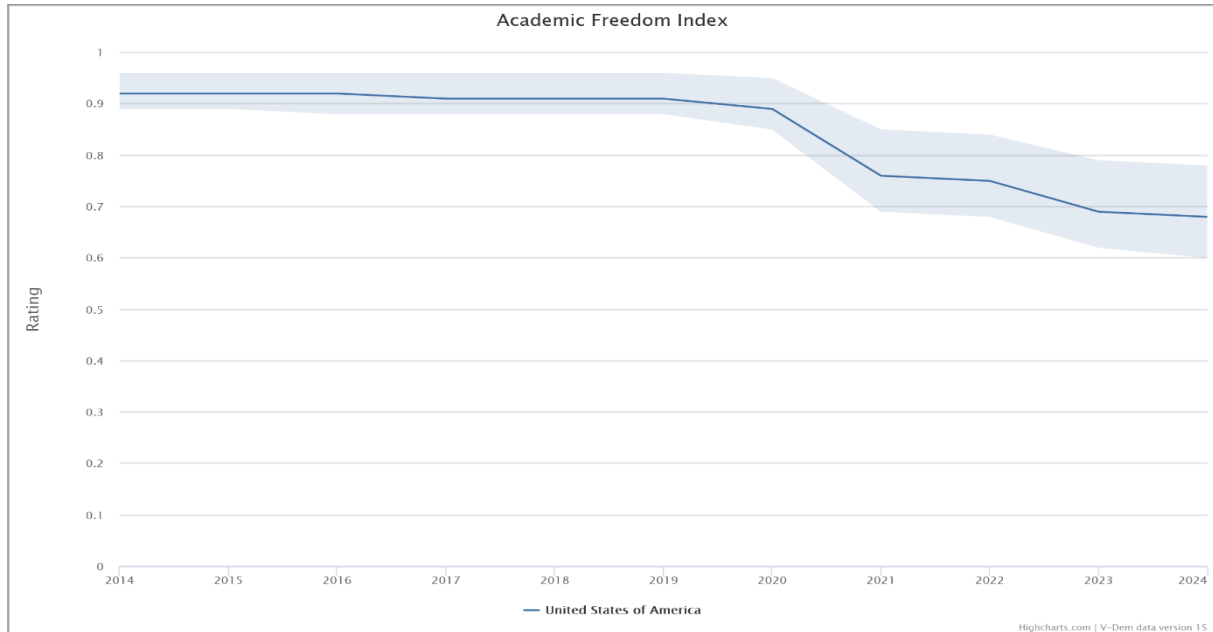
3. Academic freedom is “the human right to acquire, develop, transmit, apply, and engage with a diversity of knowledge and ideas through research, teaching, learning, and discourse.”² As both the Special Rapporteur on the protection and promotion of freedom of opinion and expression, and the Special Rapporteur on the right to education have noted, “academic freedom should be understood to include the freedom of individuals, as members of academic communities (e.g., faculty, students, staff, scholars, administrators and community participants) or in their own pursuits, to conduct activities involving the discovery and transmission of information and ideas, and to do so with the full protection of human rights law.”³
4. Academic freedom is fully and independently grounded in rights to freedom of opinion and expression, the right to education, and the right to the benefits of science, as articulated, respectively, in International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights Article 19, and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Articles 13 and 15(3).⁴ The US is a party to both covenants.
5. Institutional autonomy is a necessary precondition for the fulfillment of academic freedom, and, as UNESCO has noted, “Member States are under an obligation to protect higher education institutions from threats to their autonomy coming from any source.”⁵ The US is a UNESCO Member State.
6. Relevant US legal standards largely mirror relevant international standards. The US Supreme Court has long recognized that academic freedom falls squarely within the protections of the First Amendment to the Constitution.⁶

DISCUSSION

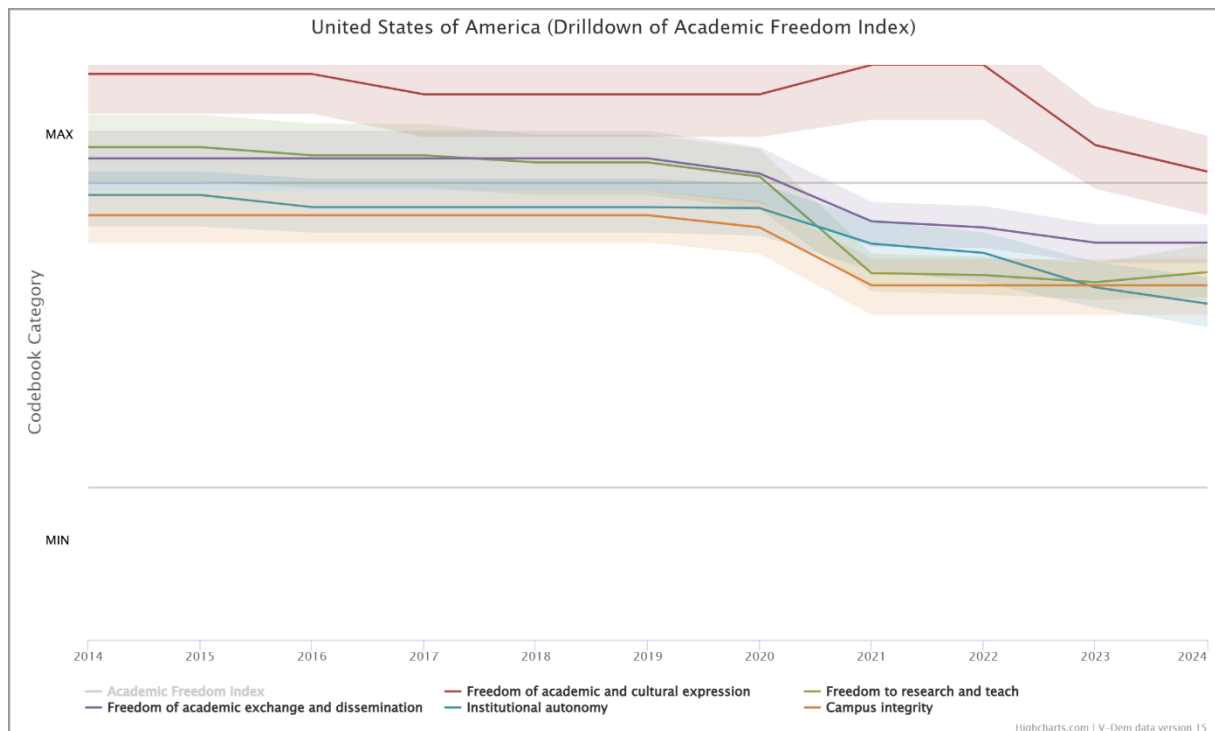
7. This reporting cycle has been marked by several gravely concerning trends, including, *inter alia*, the passage of state laws limiting the scope of academic expression; violations connected to on-campus protests following Hamas's October 7, 2023 attack on Israel and the ensuing war; and executive actions directly targeting particular universities and students, as well as research funding. Significant violations were reported at the federal,

state and institutional levels with protections varying widely between states.⁷

8. The Academic Freedom Index (AFI)⁸ has observed a notable decline in academic freedom in the US. In just five years, the US has gone from being above the 90th percentile to below the 70th, its classification falling from “fully free” to “mostly free.”⁹



9. The AFI documents statistically significant declines in five indicators used to assess the progression of academic freedom: freedom of academic exchange and dissemination, freedom of academic and cultural expression, institutional autonomy, freedom to research and teach, and campus integrity.



10. SAR's monitoring data reinforce concerns about a precipitous decline in academic freedom over the past decade. From 2015-2019, SAR reported 4.4 incidents per year on average. From 2020, the yearly average rose to 42.8.¹⁰ Although modest variations in the number of incidents reported annually may not indicate a worsening trend, the nearly tenfold increase raises significant concerns.

Policy-Level Violations

11. This review period saw grave encroachments on academic freedom and university autonomy by state actors and third parties. Sometimes university administrations—under significant pressure from elected officials, donors, or community members—were complicit. These encroachments included: restrictions on academic content, hiring and firing, funding, governance, and admissions; suppression of and retaliation for nonviolent on-campus expression; and direct targeting of specific institutions by both legislative and executive officers at the state and federal level.
12. In September 2020, President Donald Trump issued an Executive Order (EO) instructing federal agencies and contractors to cease diversity trainings that focused on “critical race theory,” “white privilege,” and other ideas he declared were “divisive” and “un-American.”¹¹ President Joe Biden rescinded the EO upon taking office in January 2021. But in the years that followed, executives and legislators in several states targeted curricula, programs, and policies seeking to advance research, understanding, and both curricular and extracurricular activities aimed at supporting full participation in education of persons from historically marginalized or underrepresented groups (commonly referred to as diversity, equity and inclusion or DEI programming), as well as the teaching of certain race- and gender-related concepts (including critical race theory or CRT) in educational institutions.¹²
13. Currently 16 US States have passed laws prohibiting mandatory “DEI/CRT” courses; or restricting diversity statements, identity-based hiring preferences, DEI offices/training.¹³ These include Alabama,¹⁴ Indiana,¹⁵ Iowa,¹⁶ Oklahoma,¹⁷ and Utah.¹⁸ These laws typically use vague, overbroad, or undefined terms, leaving educators uncertain about what conduct or content is prohibited, thus undermining their ability to engage in academic expression without fear of sanction. Relevant incidents include:
 - **Idaho:** on March 17, 2021,¹⁹ Idaho's cut \$409,000 from **Boise State University's** budget, specifically targeting its social justice programs, after students complained about being offended by a class on diversity.²⁰
 - **Florida:** Beginning in 2022, state officials, led by governor Ron DeSantis, took a series of actions to restrict curricula, reverse disfavored university policies, and exclude specific scholars and types of students from state universities. In particular at **New College of Florida**, DeSantis's administration appointed six new members to the school's board of trustees, effectively creating an administration-friendly majority. In one of the Board's first acts, they fired the university's president in apparent retaliation for her support for teaching of CRT and DEI.²¹ The Board later denied tenure requests²² and took other actions against qualified professors,²³ apparently retaliating for their academic or political expression. The government's efforts to alter the character of New College dramatically impacted student life, leading more than a quarter of the school's students to withdraw.²⁴

- **Texas:** In April 2024, dozens of state university employees were terminated in an effort to comply with the state’s recently-passed anti-DEI law, which imposed significant funding cuts on institutions found to be out of compliance.²⁵
14. Upon re-entering office in January 2025, Trump took immediate actions directly targeting multiple universities, including for: maintaining policies and administrative services serving historically marginalized or underrepresented groups (aka DEI programs); failing to sanction faculty or student expression disfavored by the administration; and failing to yield to administration intrusions into admissions, hiring, academic governance, and teaching and research content. These actions include:
- **Columbia University:** On March 7, 2025, multiple federal agencies notified Columbia of plans to cancel \$400 million in grants and contracts in retaliation for what the administration charged were the university’s inadequate efforts to combat antisemitism during on-campus protests over the Israel-Gaza war. On March 21, as a condition to restoring the funds, Columbia agreed to several terms including: appointing a new senior vice provost to oversee its Middle Eastern, South Asian, and African Studies departments; hiring a new internal security force; banning face masks; and adopting a formal definition of anti-Semitism.²⁶
 - **Georgetown Law School:** On February 17, 2025, the acting US Attorney for the District of Columbia sent a letter to Georgetown Law accusing the school of “continu[ing] to promote and teach DEI,” and indicating that graduates of such an institution would not be considered for positions with his office. The school’s dean responded with a letter stating, in part: “Given the First Amendment’s protection of a university’s freedom to determine its own curriculum and how to deliver it, the constitutional violation behind this threat is clear, as is the attack on the University’s mission as a Jesuit and Catholic institution.”²⁷
 - **University of Pennsylvania:** On March 19, 2025, the Trump administration announced plans to suspend \$175 million in federal funding because of the university’s policies concerning transgender athletes—in particular a decision permitting a transgender woman to compete on its women’s swim team.²⁸ The suspension follows an EO establishing that administration policy is “to rescind all funds from educational programs that deprive women and girls of fair athletic opportunities.”²⁹
15. In March 2025, Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents began detaining and placing in removal proceedings students who had expressed criticism of or protested Israel’s actions in Gaza. Those targeted are not accused of violent or criminal conduct; instead, the administration claims they are deportable because their activism runs “counter to [US...] foreign policy.”³⁰ The individuals detained include a lawful permanent resident who was a prominent activist on the Columbia campus,³¹ and a Tufts University student present on a student visa who had written a student newspaper op-ed criticizing the school’s response to concerns about its ties to Israel.³² Secretary of State Marco Rubio has stated that he has cancelled over 300 student visas on similar grounds.³³ Currently, contrary to prior practice, the administration is not notifying campuses of its intention to act against members of their communities, further eroding autonomy and contributing to a climate of uncertainty and fear on campuses, even among individuals who have not committed any offenses.

Gaza Protest-Related Violations

16. Following Hamas's October 7, 2023 attack on Israel, and Israel's subsequent bombardment of the Gaza Strip, widespread protests erupted on US campuses. Jewish, Muslim, and Arab students have reported a climate of fear, due in part to violent incidents on³⁴ or near³⁵ their campuses, and a rise in hateful rhetoric. While responding to these, a number of higher education administrators threatened and violated the academic freedom of scholars and students, suspending individual students, faculty, or student groups under circumstances where procedural safeguards and transparency were lacking; cancelling planned academic events where contentious topics were discussed; and resorting to police/security measures to disperse nonviolent, on-campus protests. Students and members of the public sometimes failed to meet their own obligations to respect academic freedom, resorting to violence, harassment, and disruption in response to political expression. Ultimately, between October 7 and this submission, SAR has documented 97 separate violations in the course of Gaza protests on US campuses.^{36,37}
17. By the end of the 2023-24 academic year, thousands of on-campus protesters, including students and faculty, had been arrested, frequently after administrators allowed police onto campus to dismantle encampments or disperse protesters.³⁸ This pattern played out on dozens of campuses across the US,³⁹ often leading to violent confrontations between police, protesters, and counter-protestors. While prosecutors often dropped charges, many students faced significant institutional penalties following their arrests, including being barred from campus,⁴⁰ having diplomas withheld,⁴¹ suspension^{42,43} and expulsion.⁴⁴ For example:
 - On April 25, 2024, **Emory University** police, assisted by local and state police, forcibly dispersed a peaceful pro-Palestinian encampment using pepper balls, tasers, and physical force. 28 individuals, including at least 15 students and a professor, were arrested.⁴⁵
 - On April 26-27, 2024, around 70 people, including 15 **Arizona State University** students, were arrested at a pro-Palestinian protest. Campus and local police used tear gas to disperse the crowd after the protest exceeded curfew. Charges were later dismissed, but students were suspended and barred from graduation.⁴⁶
 - On April 27, 2024, around 100 protesters were arrested at **Washington University** after being warned to disperse. One faculty protester was hospitalized after police forcibly arrested him; six more were placed on paid leave and banned from the university.⁴⁷
 - At **Columbia**⁴⁸ and **American Universities**,⁴⁹ policies relating to free expression on campus were changed suddenly, and student organizations failing to comply with the new policies were punished, including being denied university funding or dissolved entirely.⁵⁰
18. Several cases involved direct political violence by students or third parties, targeting students. For example:
 - On October 12, 2023, a **Columbia** student was violently assaulted for posting flyers of Israelis abducted by Hamas.⁵¹

- On November 3, 2023, a **University of Massachusetts-Amherst** student assaulted students at an on-campus event held by a Jewish student organization.⁵²
 - On February 26, 2024, **University of California (UC)-Berkeley** police halted a lecture by pro-Israel student groups after nearly 200 protesters disrupted the event, breaking windows and a door. Four attendees filed reports of battery and antisemitic slurs.⁵³
 - On April 30, 2024, pro-Israel counter-protesters attacked a pro-Palestinian encampment at **UCLA** with fireworks, chemicals, and physical violence, causing dozens of injuries. University security did not respond to calls for help, and police arrived late and made no arrests.⁵⁴
19. Several scholars who expressed disfavored views about Israel/Palestine suffered professional retaliation. For example:
- On April 9, 2024, an assistant professor at **Columbia's** School of Public Health was informed that his appointment would not be renewed, despite positive teaching evaluations, after he received press criticism for expressing pro-Palestinian views.⁵⁵
 - On May 8, 2024, **DePaul University** terminated an adjunct microbiology professor's contract after she gave students an optional assignment of analyzing biological and health impacts of Israeli military actions in Gaza.⁵⁶
 - On June 10, 2024, the **University of Minnesota** rescinded an offer to direct its Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, after the candidate, a renowned Holocaust scholar—published an article describing Israeli military actions in Gaza as genocide, leading to public backlash.⁵⁷
20. Several planned university events were cancelled. Significant examples include:
- On October 22, 2023, the **University of Vermont** canceled an event featuring a Palestinian poet and journalist, citing safety concerns, although no specific threats were ever established.⁵⁸
 - On October 31, 2023, the **University of Florida** canceled a previously-approved event titled “Fostering Critical Conversations in the Humanities: The War in Israel/Palestine,” featuring prominent academics critical of Israeli policy.⁵⁹
 - On November 8, 2023, the **University of Arkansas** postponed (and subsequently canceled) a panel discussion on Israel-Palestine, hours before it was scheduled to occur, following public and internal pressure, including faculty complaints and accusations of bias.⁶⁰

Other concerning cases

Outside the context of federal and state policy and Israel-Gaza war-related protests, a number of recent, prominent cases raise concerns about the growing politicization of higher education.

Individual Losses of Position

21. In several prominent cases, highly credentialed scholars have been terminated, or lost job offers, due to inappropriate political pressure. These include:

- A **Texas A&M** professor⁶¹ and a **University of Mississippi** professor⁶² were suspended and dismissed, respectively, after participating in a November 2020 “Strike for Social Justice.”⁶³
- A Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist, whose offer of a tenured professorship at the **University of North Carolina** was rescinded in May 2021 by the school’s Board of Trustees, following pressure from donors and political figures. The Board eventually reversed its decision, but the professor declined the offer.⁶⁴
- A **Hamline University** professor whose invitation to a temporary teaching position was rescinded in October 2022, after a student complained about her decision to display a picture of the Prophet Mohammed in an art history class—despite her advance warnings that the class would involve such images. A university spokesperson stated that “respect for the observant Muslim students in that classroom should have superseded academic freedom;” Hamline reversed its decision after the professor sued.⁶⁵
- On March 7, 2023, after making negative comments about Texas’s lieutenant governor, a **Texas A&M** professor was placed on administrative leave, apparently at the behest of the lieutenant governor’s political allies.⁶⁶

Third Party Harassment/Attacks

- In September 2023, the **University of Arizona’s** College of Nursing received threats after an influential anti-LGBTQ+ social media account posted slides of a seminar encouraging gender-affirming care for children.⁶⁷
- On September 28, 2023, **California State University**, Fresno, received bomb threats against a campus facility and a professor’s home, following social media posts targeting the professor for asking students about their preferred pronouns.⁶⁸
- On October 12, 2023, after a conservative organization placed an **Arizona State University** professor on its “watchlist” for his support of the LGBTQ+ community, a film crew for the organization reportedly followed, filmed, harassed, and ultimately assaulted the professor.⁶⁹

RECOMMENDATIONS

SAR respectfully urges UN member states to call on the US and individual state governments to affirm their commitment to academic freedom and related human rights by:

- a. Immediately reversing policy measures which undermine academic freedom and university autonomy, including policies which undermine universities’ self-governance and control over curricula, personnel and admissions decisions, and finance.

- b. Reversing current policies targeting universities on political grounds, and refraining from future such policies.
- c. Adopting affirmative measures to protect academic freedom, based on relevant constitutional standards and international human rights norms.

Likewise, SAR respectfully calls on higher education institutions and associations, in partnership with administrators, faculty and students, to:

- a. Refrain from complicity in future violations of academic freedom.
- b. Adopt policies and practices to strengthen local and institutional protections for academic freedom, and greater understanding of the rights and responsibilities of all stakeholders, as articulated in the Principles for Implementing the Right to Academic Freedom.⁷⁰

¹ This submission is the result of a joint effort between Scholars at Risk's Academic Freedom Monitoring Project and members of a research seminar held at the Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg (FAU), Germany. SAR gratefully acknowledges the substantial research and drafting work of FAU's faculty and students which also benefited from funding granted by the German ZEIT Stiftung Bucerius. The views and opinions expressed in this submission do not reflect any official position of the FAU, the ZEIT Stiftung Bucerius or individual Scholars at Risk Network members, institutions, or participating individuals.

² Principles for Implementing the Right to Academic Freedom, A/HRC/56/CRP.2, available at <https://www.ohchr.org/en/documents/thematic-reports/ahrc56crp2-principles-implementing-right-academic-freedom-working-group>

³ Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to education, A/HRC/56/58 (A/HRC/56/58), para. 9, quoting Report of the Special Rapporteur on the protection and promotion of freedom of opinion and expression, A/75/261 (A/75/261), para. 8.

⁴ See General comment No. 25 (2020) on science and economic, social and cultural rights, E/C.12/GC/25 (2020), para. 46; A/HRC/56/58, para. 10; A/75/261, para. 5; R. Quinn and J. Levine, Intellectual-HRDs & Claims for Academic Freedom Under Human Rights Law, Int'l J. of Hum. Rts., Dec. 2014, Vol. 18, Issue 7-8, ISBN: 1364-2987.

⁵ UNESCO Recommendation Concerning the Status of Higher-Education Teaching Personnel (1997); see also Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to education, A/HRC/56/57, paras. 48-50.

⁶ See, e.g. *Sweezy v. New Hampshire*, 354 US 234, 250 (1957) ("The essentiality of freedom in the community of American universities is almost self-evident. No one should underestimate the vital role in a democracy that is played by those who guide and train our youth. To impose any strait jacket upon the intellectual leaders in our colleges and universities would imperil the future of our Nation.").

⁷ Because regulation of higher education occurs largely at the state level, the politics of a given state may give rise to significant attacks, while other states may be largely protective. See Katrin Kinzelbach et al., "Academic Freedom Index – 2023 Update" (2023), 8–9.

⁸ The Katrin Kinzelbach, Staffan I. Lindberg, and Lars Lott, "Academic Freedom Index – 2025 Update" (2025). The AFI employs a peer-reviewed methodology to assess academic freedom compliance across 179 countries and territories and is based on expert surveys from over 2,300 scholars worldwide. See also Spannagel, J., & Kinzelbach, K. (2023). The Academic Freedom Index and its indicators: Introduction to new global time-series V-Dem data. *Quality & Quantity*, 57, 3969–3989. doi:10.1007/s11135-022-01544-0
Lott, L. & Spannagel, J. (2025). Quality Assessment of the Academic Freedom Index: Strengths, Weaknesses, and How Best to Use It. *Perspectives on Politics*. doi:10.1017/S1537592724001968

⁹ The data of the Academic Freedom index is freely available and can be accessed at https://academic-freedom-index.net/research/Academic_Freedom_Index_Update_2025.pdf and <https://www.v-dem.net>.

¹⁰ Specifically, in 2015: 2 incidents; 2016: 2 incidents; 2017: 10 incidents; 2018: 5 incidents; 2019: 3 incidents; 2020: 17 incidents; 2021: 14 incidents; 2022: 23 incidents; 2023: 37 incidents; 2024: 123 incidents.

¹¹ The White House, "Executive Order on Combating Race and Sex Stereotyping," September 22, 2021, <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/presidential-actions/executive-order-combating-race-sex-stereotyping/>; Fabiola Cineas, "Critical Race Theory, and Trump's War On It, Explained," Vox, September 24, 2020, <https://www.vox.com/2020/9/24/21451220/critical-racetheory-diversity-training-trump>.

- ¹² “Free to Think 2024: Report of the Scholars at Risk Academic Freedom Monitoring Project”, SAR, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/resources/free-to-think-2024/>, 31f.
- ¹³ See Chronicle of Higher Education, DEI Tracker, available at <https://www.chronicle.com/article/here-are-the-states-where-lawmakers-are-seeking-to-ban-colleges-dei-efforts?sra=true>
- ¹⁴ Scholars at Risk Academic Freedom Monitoring Project (SAR AFMP), March 20, 2024 <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-03-20-multiple-institutions/>
- ¹⁵ SAR AFMP, March 13, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-03-13-multiple-institutions/>
- ¹⁶ SAR AFMP, May 9, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-05-09-multiple-institutions/>
- ¹⁷ SAR AFMP, December 13, 2023, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2023-12-13-multiple-institutions/>
- ¹⁸ SAR AFMP, January 30, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-01-30-utah-system-of-higher-education/>; see also SAR AFMP, January 14, 2025, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2025-01-14-multiple-institutions/> (West Virginia governor restricts DEI programs through executive order).
- ¹⁹ SAR AFMP, March 17, 2021, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2021-03-17-boise-state-university/>
- ²⁰ SAR AFMP, March 16, 2021, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2021-03-16-boise-state-university/>
- ²¹ SAR AFMP, January 31, 2023, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2023-01-31-new-college-of-florida/>
- ²² SAR AFMP, April 26, 2023, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2023-04-26-new-college-of-florida/>
- ²³ SAR AFMP, May 12, 2023, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2023-05-12-new-college-of-florida/>
- ²⁴ Inside Higher Ed, October 13, 2023, Josh Moody, *New College Sees Spike in Dropouts, Retention Rates*, <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/quick-takes/2023/10/13/new-college-sees-spike-dropouts-retention-issues#>
- ²⁵ SAR AFMP, April 9, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-09-university-of-texas-dallas/> (planned termination of 20 employees); SAR AFMP, April 2, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-02-university-of-texas-austin/> (planned termination of around 50 employees); see also SAR AFMP, August 2, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-08-02-university-of-south-alabama/> (involving similar layoffs at the University of South Alabama).
- ²⁶ SAR AFMP, March 7, 2025, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2025-03-07-columbia-university/> New York Times, Troy Closson, March 21, 2025, *Columbia Agrees to Trump’s Demands After Federal Funds Are Stripped*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/03/21/nyregion/columbia-response-trump-demands.html>
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- ²⁸ New York Times, March 19, 2025, Alan Blinder and Michael C. Bender, *White House Plans to Pause \$175 Million for Penn Over Transgender Policy*, <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/03/19/us/politics/trump-to-pause-175-million-for-university-of-pennsylvania-over-transgender-policy.html>
- ²⁹ White House Website, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/02/keeping-men-out-of-womens-sports/>
- ³⁰ State Department Website, <https://www.state.gov/secretary-of-state-marco-rubio-remarks-to-the-press-3/>
- ³¹ SAR AFMP, March 8, 2025, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2025-03-08-columbia-university/>
- ³² The Hill, Lexi Lonas Cochran, March 27, 2025, *Rubio defends detention of Tufts graduate student Rumeysa Ozturk*, <https://thehill.com/homenews/education/5217879-rubio-defends-turkish-student-arrest/>
- ³³ New York Times, March 28, 2025, Edward Wong, *Rubio Says He Has Revoked 300 or More Visas in Trump’s Deportation Push* <https://www.nytimes.com/2025/03/28/us/politics/rubio-immigration-students-ozturk-chung-khalil.html>
- ³⁴ SAR AFMP, November 3, 2023, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2023-11-03-university-of-massachusetts-amherst/>
- ³⁵ The Hill, Lexi Lonas Cochran, November 30, 2023, *Fears rise on campuses after attack on Palestinian college students*, <https://thehill.com/homenews/education/4331566-fears-campus-attack-palestinian-islamophobia-hamas-israel/>
- ³⁶ Washington Post, Josh Dawsey, Karen DeYoung, and Marianne LeVine, May 27, 2024, *Trump Told Donors He Will Crush Pro-Palestinian Protests, Deport Demonstrators*, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2024/05/27/trump-israel-gaza-policy-donors/>
- ³⁷ *The Atlantic*, David A. Graham, May 28, 2024, *Trump Has a New Plan to Deal with Campus Protests: And He Doesn’t Seem to Care That It Violates the Constitution*” <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2024/05/trump-campus-protests-deportation/678521/>
- ³⁸ Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, last modified May 30, 2024, Jay Ulfelder, *Crowd Counting Consortium: An Empirical Overview of Recent Pro-Palestine Protests at US Schools*”, <https://ash.harvard.edu/articles/crowd-counting-blog-an-empirical-overview-of-recent-pro-palestine-protests-at-u-s-schools/> (noting that as of May 2024, police had arrested more than 3,600 on-campus protesters).
- ³⁹ SAR AFMP, April 13, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-13-washington-university-saint-louis/>; SAR AFMP, April 18, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-18-columbia-university/>; SAR AFMP, April 22, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-22-yale-university-2/>; SAR AFMP, April 22, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-22-yale-university/>; SAR AFMP April 22, 2024; <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-22-new-york-university/>; SAR AFMP April 23, 2024,

<https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-23-university-of-south-carolina/>; SAR AFMP April 24, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-24-university-of-southern-california/>; SAR AFMP April 24, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-24-university-of-texas-austin/>; SAR AFMP April 25, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-25-princeton-university/>; SAR AFMP, April 25, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-25-ohio-state-university/>; SAR AFMP, April 25, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-25-university-of-connecticut/>; SAR AFMP, April 25, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-25-emerson-college/>; SAR AFMP, April 25, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-25-emory-university/>; SAR AFMP, April 25, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-25-indiana-university-bloomington/>; SAR AFMP, April 26, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-26-auraria-campus/>; SAR AFMP, April 26, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-26-arizona-state-university/>; SAR AFMP, April 27, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-27-washington-university-saint-louis/>; SAR AFMP, April 27, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-27-university-of-mary-washington/>; SAR AFMP, April 29, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-29-tulane-university/>; SAR AFMP, April 29, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-29-university-of-utah/>; SAR AFMP, April 29, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-29-university-of-florida/>; SAR AFMP, April 29, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-29-university-of-south-florida/>; SAR AFMP, April 29, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-29-case-western-reserve-university/>; SAR AFMP, April 29, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-29-university-of-georgia/>; SAR AFMP, April 29, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-29-university-of-texas-austin/>; SAR AFMP, April 30, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-30-city-college-of-new-york/>; SAR AFMP, May 1, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-05-01-university-of-arizona/>; SAR AFMP, May 1, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-05-01-dartmouth-college/>; SAR AFMP, May 2, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-05-02-university-of-california-los-angeles/>; SAR AFMP, May 8, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-05-08-george-washington-university/>; SAR AFMP, May 9, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-05-09-university-of-arizona/>; SAR AFMP, May 10, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-05-10-university-of-pennsylvania/>; SAR AFMP, May 21, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-05-21-university-of-michigan/>; SAR AFMP, December 12, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-12-12-new-york-university/>

⁴⁰ SAR AFMP, April 25, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-25-indiana-university-bloomington/>

⁴¹ USA TODAY, Michael Loria and Christopher Cann, *No Diploma: Colleges Withhold Degrees from Students After Pro-Palestinian Protests*, <https://eu.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2024/06/01/college-degrees-withheld-after-israel-gaza-protests/73899493007/>

⁴² SAR AFMP, April 29, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-29-university-of-florida/>

⁴³ SAR AFMP, April 29, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-29-university-of-texas-austin/>

⁴⁴ SAR AFMP, April 29, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-29-university-of-south-florida/>

⁴⁵ SAR AFMP, April 29, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-25-emory-university/>, see also Inside Higher Ed, Liam Knox, April 30, 2024, *Abrupt Changes to Protest Policies Raise Alarm*, <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/students/free-speech/2024/04/30/indiana-protest-policy-change-raises-free-speech-concerns>; SAR AFMP, April 25, 2024 <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-25-indiana-university-bloomington/> (on April 24, 2024 at Indiana University, administrators changed the school's assembly policy the night before a planned pro-Palestinian encampment, newly prohibiting the "temporary or permanent installation of outdoor structures" without announcing the change. Police were summoned to dismantle the encampment, leading to clashes with protesters and 56 arrests. Those arrested were banned from campus for one year (although the local prosecutor declined to prosecute all but one incident, and the university suspended the bans while protesters appealed them)).

⁴⁶ SAR AFMP, April 26, 2024 <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-26-arizona-state-university/>

⁴⁷ SAR AFMP, April 27, 2024 <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-27-washington-university-saint-louis/>

⁴⁸ SAR AFMP, November 10, 2023, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2023-11-10-columbia-university/>

⁴⁹ SAR AFMP, April 8, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-08-american-university/>

⁵⁰ First Amendment Law Review, Timothy Zick, *New Threats to Campus Protest*, (forthcoming), 2025, 2, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.5035039>

⁵¹ SAR AFMP, October 12, 2023, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2023-10-12-columbia-university/>;

⁵² SAR AFMP, November 3, 2023, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2023-11-03-university-of-massachusetts-amherst/>

⁵³ SAR AFMP, February 26, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-02-26-university-of-california-berkeley/>

⁵⁴ SAR AFMP, April 30, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-30-university-of-california-los-angeles/>

⁵⁵ SAR AFMP, April 9, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-04-09-columbia-university/>

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- ⁵⁶ SAR AFMP, May 8, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-05-08-depaul-university/>
- ⁵⁷ SAR AFMP, June 10, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-06-10-university-of-minnesota/>
- ⁵⁸ SAR AFMP, October 23, 2023 <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2023-10-23-university-of-vermont/>
- ⁵⁹ SAR AFMP, October 31, 2024, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-10-31-university-of-florida/>
- ⁶⁰ SAR AFMP, November 8, 2023, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2023-11-08-university-of-arkansas/>
- ⁶¹ SAR AFMP, September 9, 2020, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2020-09-09-texas-am-university/>
- ⁶² SAR AFMP, September 14, 2020, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2020-09-14-university-of-mississippi/>
- ⁶³ See also SAR AFMP, January 30, 2024 <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2024-01-30-catholic-university-of-america/> (dismissing professor after a doula she had invited to speak to a class addressed abortion and transgender rights).
- ⁶⁴ SAR AFMP, May 19, 2021, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2021-05-19-university-of-north-carolina-at-chapel-hill/>; see also SAR AFMP, July 11, 2023, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2023-07-11-texas-am-university/> (rescission of a job offer by Texas A&M in response to political pressure).
- ⁶⁵ SAR AFMP, October 24, 2022 <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2022-10-24-hamline-university/>
- ⁶⁶ SAR AFMP, March 7, 2023, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2023-03-07-texas-am-university/>
- ⁶⁷ SAR AFMP, September 7, 2023, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2023-09-07-university-of-arizona/>
- ⁶⁸ SAR AFMP, September 28, 2023, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2023-09-28-california-state-university-fresno/>
- ⁶⁹ SAR AFMP, October 12, 2023, <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/report/2023-10-12-arizona-state-university/>
- ⁷⁰ A/HRC/56/CRP.2