FINAL REPORT

Presidential Task Force on Combating Anti-Muslim, Anti-Arab, and Anti-Palestinian Bias

April 29, 2025

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

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Further information on the Task Force, including updates
on the recommendations made in this report, can be found at
https://www.harvard.edu/task-force-on-anti-muslim-and-anti-arab-bias/

FOREWORD

We start with words of gratitude and reflection.

We are deeply thankful to the Harvard community — from the members of the Task Force to the research assistants and especially to the students, staff, and faculty who entrusted us with their experiences. We are endlessly grateful for their contributions to the difficult work of harnessing the pain and trauma experienced by so many in our community into a force for good.

The past 18 months have indeed been incredibly challenging for everyone. Following the October 7th attack by Hamas on Israel and the subsequent war in Gaza, we have witnessed tens of thousands of lives lost, unimaginable suffering, and immense destruction in Gaza and other parts of the Middle East. Despite promising signs after a very short-lived recent ceasefire agreement in Gaza and the release of hostages and prisoners, attacks affecting the lives of civilians have resumed. The conflict's impact on the health, human capital, and security of all people in the region will continue to resonate for decades. This situation calls for immediate action as well as lasting solutions and continuing engagement to improve the well-being and future of those affected.

This impact extends beyond the immediate region and has been deeply felt in our community at Harvard, whose population comes from around the globe and where many feel responsibility for events in other parts of the world. Like many members of our community, at times as a Task Force, we too have felt helpless in bringing about the healing change our world — or even campus — so desperately needs. Confronted with initial skepticism around the work of the Task Force, and listening to the hurt of members of a community we ourselves belong to, there have been many times, including in recent days, when we have questioned what difference we can make.

We emerge at the end of this effort, however, with renewed determination and a clear sense of purpose. While not every effort may seem transformational, our unwavering intent drives us forward. Documenting what our communities have experienced and recommending short- and long-term tangible actions that can be taken are vitally important steps. They help create the accountability and change we all hope for and drive the meaningful improvements we envision. Together, we continue to believe we can build a community rooted in care and mutual support, where healing is both a shared goal and a collective journey. Through this commitment, we also hope to create leaders dedicated to healing the world.

Introduction

The feeling over and over again for Palestinians is that their lives don't matter as much. Sometimes it's explicit. It's really hard when it's your family that matters less. [Student]

As Muslim students we have been living in constant fear. There have been trucks driving around campus for months, displaying the faces of Muslim students … my peers who have lost their jobs simply for being in the leadership of Muslim faith organizations have been left out to dry once they had their offers revoked … If there were antisemitic trucks driving around campus and planes flying over with antisemitic slogans, I cannot help but believe Harvard would have done more to stop it. [Student]

Harvard adopts what has increasingly been referred to as the "Palestine exception to academic freedom," by claiming to protect free speech except speech that affirms the rights and dignity of Palestinians. I have been personally targeted … for my views on attacks on healthcare in Gaza, despite the fact that my position is grounded in empirical evidence published in peer reviewed journals. [Staff]

It would be close to impossible to express views at Harvard sympathizing with Palestinians. The idea of "antisemitism" has been expanded so much that anything that even remotely expresses concern about the calamity that's facing Palestinians is prohibited at Harvard. I'm not Arab/Muslim and have no ethnic or religious affiliations with Palestinians other than having a connection as a fellow human being. [Faculty]

Abandoned and silenced. These two words go a long way towards capturing what many Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian members of the Harvard community reported experiencing in the 2023-24 academic year, and what many continue to feel.

In the hundreds of heart-wrenching conversations we had with students, staff, and faculty, and in their accounts of the events they experienced, their treatment, and how they were portrayed, a common theme emerged: ultimately, many feel that no one in leadership cares about them — that they have been abandoned; and many participants reported a profound sense of erasure — that they, and the cause they feel strongly about, were silenced.

This sense of erasure was fueled by the initial University emails following the October 7th attacks, which made no mention of the humanitarian catastrophe unfolding in Gaza, and extended to a shared perception of ongoing efforts to dismantle academic programs and initiatives that seek to educate about, and provide perspectives on, issues relevant to the challenges faced by Palestinians. Community members we spoke with noted that "Palestine" has effectively become a taboo word. Concerningly, the term "Palestine" was often replaced with "Hamas" by critics of the Palestinian cause — an unfair and dehumanizing labeling that, in our view, renders constructive and balanced discourse impossible.

We heard from students who described Harvard leadership's visits to Friday prayers and their meetings with University leaders as occasions where their immense grief and concerns about genuine threats to personal safety, academic progress, and career prospects were met with what felt to them like complete indifference. When a distraught student who had lost multiple family members was looking for empathy, we heard that even a simple comforting gesture seemed too much to be offered. To them this felt as if external factors — such as whether expressing sympathy would be regarded as explicit support — had gotten in the way of demonstrating even basic care.

Many others reported feeling that, while University leaders may care about them, those leaders are powerless to embody their care in meaningful ways — to develop or modify protective policies, or even to apply *existing* policies equitably and without bias. We also heard from staff about their perception of the inadequacies of policies, the inconsistent application of policies across the University, and the lack of related resources to respond to student needs — whether regarding protection against doxxing or assistance with major personal and professional challenges. We further heard from faculty who identify as Palestinian or pro-Palestinian about how they felt unsupported and unsafe, and in particular not sufficiently protected should they be unfairly and maliciously targeted by internal or external actors.

Beyond feeling abandoned, many community members we spoke with also reported feeling actively silenced. They report that when they tried to raise their voices to push back against being ignored, unrecognized, and unsupported, they were actively suppressed and repressed. Student protests and encampments were viewed as being met with disciplinary measures of unprecedented severity. Too many students, staff, and faculty spoke of multiple watershed moments that they believe demonstrate what they see as active suppression of free speech and academic freedom.

The Harvard Corporation's decision to withhold degrees from 13 Harvard College graduating seniors, which precluded them from participating in the graduation ceremony — despite a vote of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences to award the degrees — was seen by many as a chilling reminder of the consequences Harvard students can face for exercising free speech and engaging in student activism[1]. The cancellation of events and speakers on Palestinian issues, particularly those highlighting humanitarian perspectives, and the extra scrutiny given to programs and centers that offered such programming during and after the 2023-24 academic year, was consistently reported by community members as contributing to this sense of suppression.

Faculty reported feeling unable to include teaching material in their classes or lead relevant discussions critical to academic discourse and learning, for fear of being targeted by those inside and outside the Harvard community. This fear, they said, stemmed from concerns that every comment they made in class and each article included in their syllabi was being subjected to intense scrutiny. They reported that this sense of silencing became increasingly severe in late 2024 and early 2025 with the lack of clarity about the free speech implications of the University's adoption of the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition of antisemitism, the leadership changes in salient Harvard programs that offered programming relevant to Palestine and the Middle East, and the increased hostility of many politicians who were seemingly targeting free and diverse discourse and academia in general.

Among many community members we spoke with, there was a palpable sense that free speech and academic freedom are under grave threat and that many forms of student activism may effectively be dead.

The work of this Task Force was not an easy undertaking. Its formation was announced by then-Interim President Alan Garber on January 19, 2024, and it was set up to address growing concerns about bias and hate at Harvard University. Focused initially on bias against Muslims and Arabs, our Task Force was intended to parallel a similar effort to address antisemitism. However, at the very outset we faced challenges. Even the composition of the Task Force itself was a difficult and concerning task, as several Harvard faculty and students we believe would have contributed tremendously as members chose not to serve because they did not feel they would be safe from personal attacks, doxxing, and other threats. Moreover, the sense of abandonment and lack of care reported by numerous Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian members of the Harvard community was so severe that even those who were willing to participate in our listening sessions and surveys expressed little confidence that the Task Force would matter or that this report would be read widely or carefully, let alone that its recommendations would be

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[1] The Harvard Corporation eventually conferred diplomas to 11 of the 13 seniors: https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/7/23/harvard-corporation-diplomas-encampment/.

acted upon. To many community members our Task Force felt like a belated response, perhaps even an afterthought, and at best a "box-checking" exercise.

Our efforts were especially challenging as they unfolded during a period of escalating tensions on Harvard's campus — as on campuses across the US — related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Each of our subsequent listening session took place alongside a rising death toll in Gaza and its worsening humanitarian crisis, with incredibly sobering predictions of mortality among civilians and livelihood destruction in the months to come. As we sought to listen and engage, community members reported experiencing regular and disturbing instances of bias and intimidation at Harvard, while some also told us they were dealing with the loss of family and friends due to the conflict in the region. Many reported struggling to navigate the trauma they were experiencing in their personal and professional lives within an environment and institution they felt was either unsympathetic, or, at best, performative regarding their concerns.

In this context, our first task was simply to listen deeply and with genuine care and empathy. In each conversation where community members expressed their grief and frustration at not feeling heard, — even though they had, they said, reported instances of bias and safety concerns through multiple channels they were familiar with — we reassured them that regardless of what they felt about the administration's prior response, we were there to listen and learn. Therefore, we requested that they recount what they had experienced so their accounts could inform the development of our reports and recommendations. Over the course of several weeks our Task Force held nearly 50 listening sessions, with around 500 people from across Harvard's Schools in Cambridge, Allston, and Longwood registering to participate. These sessions included undergraduate and graduate students, faculty, and staff; they included Muslim and non-Muslim individuals; Arabs and non-Arabs; Palestinians and those who support Palestine; those directly affected by current events and others who had witnessed members of the Harvard community suffering due to the conflict's effects. We also met with several affinity groups, including alumni, to ensure that a wide range of vital perspectives were represented.

The goal of these listening sessions was to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences of Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian, as well as pro-Palestinian, members of the Harvard community, including, among others, Jewish, South Asian, and Black participants. We solicited their hopes for Harvard and recommendations on how to rebuild our fractured and polarized community. Our outreach included setting up an anonymous feedback form, through which we received several dozen messages from community members sharing their experiences of bias and offering ideas for making Harvard a more welcoming and inclusive community. Moreover, a joint Harvard-wide survey also included space for qualitative and anonymous responses where community members could submit further written thoughts and recommendations.

What we heard was devastating — but sadly, not entirely unexpected. The opening quotes in this introduction illustrate the intensity and depth of the trauma that many in the community reported and that many say they continue to feel. Because these quotes directly express the experiences of those we heard from, we share more here and throughout the report.

Student Voices

We met with students who described feeling stricken with grief, not knowing where to turn, often suspended in a state of shock and disbelief. One undergraduate wrote about their first-year experience:

> *I am an Arab-American here at Harvard, my first year here has been marked by a period of extreme polarization on campus and I have … either experienced, or have seen the targeting of Arabs here, personally. I remember one of my first days here, I was walking down Mt. Auburn street where a woman was holding a sign saying "Islam is dangerous", she was in the process of verbally harassing a woman for wearing her hijab … I myself have heard slurs and insults such as "terrorist", "baby-killer", "towelhead", and "antisemite"… because of my decision to wear a keffiyeh and show my solidarity with a people experiencing the worst [type of] crime known to humanity.*

Others spoke of living amidst daily discrimination. As one undergraduate put it:

There are, of course, the everyday instances of racism — a professor questioning my English (my native language!) in a way they would never question that of a white student, a lecturer playing an unprompted guessing game as to my family's country of origin, a student dismissively attributing my opinion to my religion in a seminar, an administrator telling us to be "grateful" when we challenged the bestowal of a University award upon an apologist for genocide, a fellowship interviewer indicating that my interests were too informed by my Muslimness and asking me what I would study if I weren't Muslim, an administrator calling the henna design from my culture ugly, my research constantly being mischaracterized by my department and beyond because work on Arabs and Muslims can't possibly be considered "theory," a Crimson *reporter incorrectly reporting on an event I held and thus landing it (with my name and photo) on a right-wing website, my first-year adviser (who was also a senior administrator) recurringly confusing me with another … student three years my senior. Examples like these are endless.*

Yet others spoke of facing discrimination and feeling unprotected when they tried to voice their concerns:

When [a Harvard journal] decided to censor a Palestinian author in the Fall in an unprecedented move in over a hundred years of history, I voiced dissent along with many others. For that I began receiving targeted, anonymous, daily harassing emails accusing me of being an antisemite … This is just one example among many of how Arabs and Muslims are treated as second-class members of this community, our feelings do not matter at all, we are not reached out to or valued or protected to the same degree as others; we are disposable.

Another student noted how, in their perception, such discrimination extended beyond Arab and Muslim community members:

On this campus, I live in a building that is named after a man who held my ancestors as property … In my first year, Harvard's racism was quieter — micro-aggressions and the quiet hand of inequity, ignorance — though these days I've watched it become a hanging rope fit for Arab, Muslim, and often, in its process, all Black and brown necks.

Staff Voices

We also met with staff members, some of whom reported having directly experienced bias, while others described feeling helpless and disempowered, wanting to help but unable to do so. As one staff member noted:

This year tilted into a morally upside-down world in which people who object to mass slaughter are treated with suspicion, intimidation, and threats of actual punishment. I am generally grounded in my own ethics and comfortable speaking my mind. Still, the climate of steady hostility toward Palestinians, Muslim students, and those who stand against genocide made me dread coming to work each day.

Another staff member echoed concerns, also raised by many students, about perceived institutional bias and disparate treatment:

This institution has been embarrassingly, shamefully biased. There are many historical examples of Harvard students protesting by encampment in the yard <u>without</u> *harsh pushback from administration. They will protect others —* <u>as they should</u>, *to be clear — but this institution is too cowardly to protect all its students. It has demonstrated this through its lax stance on doxxing.*

Faculty Voices

We met as well with faculty members who reported feeling unable to fulfill their role as guides and mentors, in some cases, they said, because they themselves were the target of external actors. As one noted:

[Harvard's] campus increasingly feels hostile to expressions of support for Palestinian rights or criticism of the Israeli government's treatment of Palestinians. The situation in Israel and Palestine is directly relevant

to my research and teaching. But as a junior faculty member, I do not feel comfortable fully engaging with these questions or even expressing well-formed scholarly views on them publicly because it could hurt my chances of obtaining tenure. I also question whether the University would offer any support if politicians or other outside actors targeted me due to my work or scholarly positions.

Another faculty member expressed concern about students being doxxed:

One student had their face put on a doxxing truck and their phone number and other details doxxed online. They received calls with death and rape threats. This was not an isolated incident.

A doxxing truck displaying the names and faces of Harvard undergraduates, parked in Harvard Square. (Photo submitted anonymously and redacted to protect privacy).

Among many community members, there was a sense that instead of being able to engage in informed discourse, there were what they perceived as concerted efforts to create a "subtractive culture" and to block any efforts to create an "additive culture." These community members reported that the stated goal of achieving "balanced perspectives" was, in their view, being used not to foster a wider range of viewpoints but rather to suppress specific views deemed "one-sided" instead of adding more complementary programming.

A faculty member underscored the challenges faced when organizing events that they felt were important to shed light on the ongoing events in Palestine:

[When a lecture was organized on] the health implications of the war on Gaza by a renowned physician speaker and there were multiple attempts to get it canceled. When [the organizers] moved forward with the lecture and held it virtually, the [Harvard School] department that had agreed to sponsor only a few weeks before asked for their logo to be removed from the flyer. Palestinian and pro-Palestine members of the Harvard community are systematically silenced, bullied, and ostracized.

In fact, one member of this Task Force found the internal and external environments so hostile that they opted to withdraw from a planned Harvard Alumni Association event to discuss the work. Some faculty

members even expressed concerns about how the behavior of some of their own tenured colleagues contributed to a climate of silencing:

> *A tenured faculty member of my department berated a graduate student at an off-campus conference for expressing solidarity towards Palestinian liberation. This mode of retaliation and abuse of power has made it difficult for non-tenured faculty to publicly express support for Harvard Out of Occupied Palestine student protesters and for the cause of Palestinian liberation … [I] do not feel comfortable condemning the US-backed Israeli genocide of Palestinians without fear of retaliation from tenured faculty and the administration.*

The listening sessions, and the broad community participation they attracted, quickly revealed that the scope of issues and concerns far exceeded what the Task Force had anticipated. It was not only Muslims and Arabs who were experiencing biases, or Palestinians facing profound personal losses. There was perhaps an even larger group of community members who were also facing backlash due to their pro-Palestinian views and support.[2] This group spanned multiple religions — including Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism, and individuals with no specific religious affiliation — and diverse racial backgrounds, encompassing Asian, Black, Hispanic, and White individuals. While some of these individuals shared that they had previously experienced discrimination based on their identity, many reported they were now being targeted specifically for their political commitments and humanitarian concerns. This diverse grouping was clearly evident in our listening sessions, as well as at campus protests and the encampment. Notably, of the 13 undergraduates whose degrees were withheld at the 2024 Commencement exercises, only a very small minority were ostensibly Arab or Muslim.

Importantly, the events of the 2023-24 academic year and beyond have highlighted the emergence of a "pro-Palestinian" identity that transcends traditional demographic categories. Recognizing this, we felt it crucial to expand the Task Force's name and scope to explicitly include bias against Palestinians and those who are pro-Palestinian, in addition to Muslims and Arabs. Our June 2024 Preliminary Recommendations proposed this change to President Garber, who promptly accepted it. Our full title was subsequently changed to the Presidential Task Force on Combating Anti-Muslim, Anti-Arab, and Anti-Palestinian Bias, formally acknowledging the impact on, and the identity of, the many community members facing bias due to their pro-Palestinian stance. As one respondent put it:

> *I have faced harassment and discrimination from Zionist protesters on campus for displaying pro-Palestine symbols on my backpack and attending [protests]. They have shouted at me, video recorded me walking around campus without my consent, and physically intimidated and threatened me. Some of my friends are facing backlash from their departments and professors for expressing pro-Palestinian views. Several HUPD officers also surrounded me and took several photographs of me when I was a legal observer at a pro-Palestine protest, even after I explained I was only present as a legal observer for the [nonprofit organization]. They almost physically knocked me over and only left me alone when other students intervened. I do not feel safe being on campus, but I am also highly conscious of the fact that I am a white Christian woman from the US; the harassment and discrimination [of] my friends who are not white or Christian is far worse.*

The sense of abandonment and silencing we heard during the listening sessions was particularly acute, especially when compared to how some community members felt other groups on campus experiencing bias were treated. For example, while acknowledging that antisemitism was a serious issue on campus deserving of attention, many students, staff, and faculty felt that a comparable level of concern was not being expressed regarding anti-Muslim, anti-Arab, and anti-Palestinian biases. This perceived disparity was not only limited to cases where external actors were mentioned; it was a recurring theme we heard in feedback about

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[2] We are using "pro-Palestinian" here to designate those who may empathize with the historical and current plight of Palestinians, based either on their political ideology or because they want equal consideration of human rights for all, irrespective of religion, nationality, ethnicity, and related categories, and do not believe Palestinians are being afforded such consideration currently. Furthermore, "pro-Palestinian" should not be interpreted in zero-sum terms; it is entirely consistent to be pro-Palestinian and to condemn human rights abuses and prejudice against Jews and Israelis.

Harvard's own leadership — at all levels, including senior administration — as well as the interpretation and implementation of Harvard's policies in key areas such as protests, discrimination, and bullying. As one staff member noted:

> *As a Jew with an Israeli parent, I am disgusted by the way the school has treated those who want to stop the genocide in Gaza. You[, the University,] bend over backwards to represent the views of the Zionist members of your community <u>at the expense</u> of those Jews in the diaspora who oppose the colonial project. You choose to privilege their feelings over the lives of innocents, the rights of your community to free speech, and to ignore the very real antisemitism that we face from them (many don't consider secular, humanistic Jews as real [Jews]).*

One student highlighted how policies seem to be applied asymmetrically:

> *When a student posts videos and pictures of other students on campus, without their consent, to nearly 10,000 followers, many of whom proceed to threaten us, call us "terrorists," "fake Jews," and "self-hating Jews," then how am I meant to feel safe on campus? … At no point have we, and certainly not myself, publicly accused specific individuals of Islamophobia, anti-Palestinian, anti-Arab, or even antisemitic behavior; yet, others like [student name], feel it is entirely appropriate to do so … Does doxxing and hate speech not also constitute a violation? The disparity here is alarming, shocking, and deeply disturbing. If the administration would like to uphold a culture of accountability, then <u>all</u> violations should be taken seriously, not just those that are most convenient.*

Unfortunately, based on recent conversations we have had, this feeling of asymmetrical recognition and treatment seems to have only increased in Spring 2025, given the atmosphere on campus and externally.

The listening sessions played a critical role in capturing and giving voice to experiences of inadequate and inequitable treatment, forming an essential foundation for our work. At a time when external narratives may not be fully receptive to Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian perspectives, it was paramount to learn from these community experiences on campus. This effort not only facilitates immediate progress but will serve as a vital testimonial for the future.

An image of a doxxing truck parked in Harvard Square that alleges a Harvard student organization's support of Hamas and conflates Palestine and Hamas. (Photo submitted anonymously).

While the listening sessions provided powerful qualitative insights, the Task Force recognized that it would also be valuable to provide a more convenient, systematic, and anonymous format for individuals to share their experiences through both quantitative and qualitative responses. As a result, we collaborated with the Presidential Task Force on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias to develop a University-wide joint survey, intended to complement the listening sessions. Joint ownership of this initiative — from design and delivery to data analysis and interpretation — was essential to both Task Forces.

The survey instrument focused on a series of fixed-format quantitative questions that were designed with expert input and feedback from both Task Forces. The questions were carefully worded to be applicable not only to the communities that were the initial focus of the two Task Forces, but also to those across the entire Harvard community who had views on the issues examined by the Task Forces, recognizing that the issues of bias experienced may be broader than those solely defined by race and religion. This inclusive design, while potentially having less of the nuanced detail captured in the listening sessions, enabled a complementary quantitative analysis of the situation on campus — an analysis the listening sessions alone could not provide. That said, to incorporate qualitative insights the anonymous survey also included open-ended, free-response questions. These questions elicited further details on self-reported perspectives on community well-being, sense of belonging, freedom of expression, perceived internal and external influences, and recommendations for improvement.

Launched in late Spring 2024 and continuing through Summer 2024, the survey was promoted on both Task Forces' websites and shared directly with participants of the listening sessions and various affinity groups. It received 2,295 responses, from students, faculty, and staff across Harvard's Schools.[3]
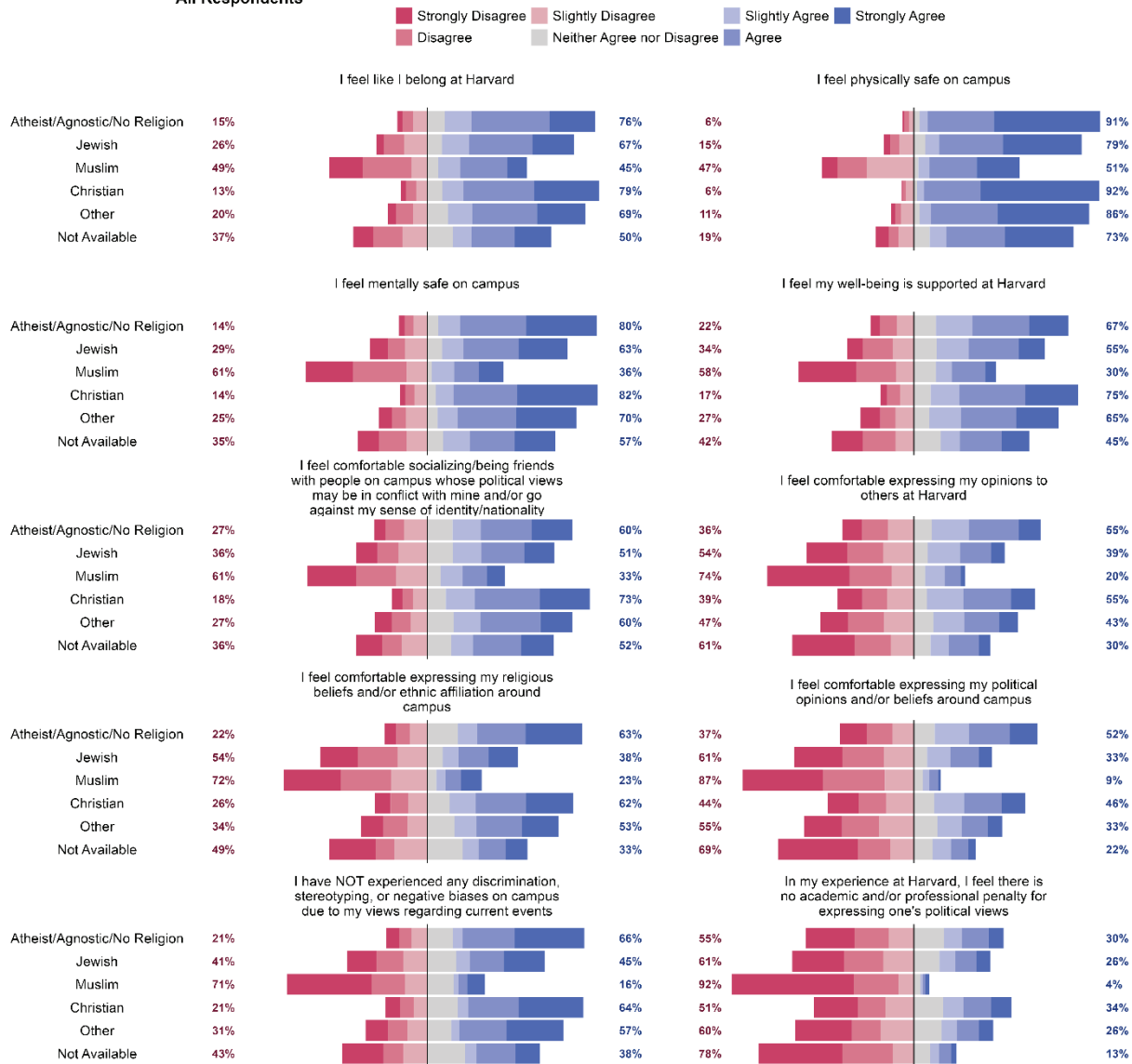
The survey results — a selection of which we present in this introduction — have been revealing, highlighting both the scope and comparative nature of the challenges faced. While many members of the Harvard community reported diminished feelings of belonging and safety, experienced discrimination, and felt restricted in expressing themselves, Muslim respondents and those identifying as Middle Eastern or North African (MENA) reported outcomes that were significantly worse, and reported them more widely — by a considerable margin.

The data (see next page) indicate that Muslim respondents typically reported outcomes approximately four times worse than those reported by groups experiencing the lowest levels (typically Christians). Jewish respondents also reported worse outcomes — generally twice as high as Christians — but Muslim respondents reported outcomes twice as severe even when compared to the already higher negative outcomes experienced by Jewish community members.

One striking finding is that nearly half (47%) of Muslim respondents feel physically unsafe on campus, compared to 15% of Jewish and 6% of Christian respondents. Moreover, consistent with the recurring theme of silencing identified throughout our work, an overwhelming majority (92%) of Muslim respondents said they believed they were likely to face academic or professional repercussions for expressing their opinions. The corresponding figures for other groups are approximately half that level — still concerningly high, and underscoring that freedom of expression is one of the most critical issues facing the entire Harvard campus community.

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[3] In addition to the Task Forces' websites, the survey was distributed to the faculty, staff, and students who attended the listening sessions, shared with relevant affinity groups, and sent out by a few Schools via email. It offered an anonymous and readily accessible means for those Harvard campus community members impacted by and/or holding views on the issues related to the Task Forces' mandate to share their views in both a structured and (optional) open-ended manner. As it is not feasible to identify this population ex ante, and since the survey was not administered as a University-wide survey, we are unable to provide accurate response rates. Nevertheless, we do show demographic coverage comparisons relative to the University-wide 2019 Pulse survey.

All Respondents

Legend: Strongly Disagree | Slightly Disagree | Slightly Agree | Strongly Agree | Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Agree

I feel like I belong at Harvard

Group	% Disagree	% Agree
Atheist/Agnostic/No Religion	15%	76%
Jewish	26%	67%
Muslim	49%	45%
Christian	13%	79%
Other	20%	69%
Not Available	37%	50%

I feel physically safe on campus

Group	% Disagree	% Agree
Atheist/Agnostic/No Religion	6%	91%
Jewish	15%	79%
Muslim	47%	51%
Christian	6%	92%
Other	11%	86%
Not Available	19%	73%

I feel mentally safe on campus

Group	% Disagree	% Agree
Atheist/Agnostic/No Religion	14%	80%
Jewish	29%	63%
Muslim	61%	36%
Christian	14%	82%
Other	25%	70%
Not Available	35%	57%

I feel my well-being is supported at Harvard

Group	% Disagree	% Agree
Atheist/Agnostic/No Religion	22%	67%
Jewish	34%	55%
Muslim	58%	30%
Christian	17%	75%
Other	27%	65%
Not Available	42%	45%

I feel comfortable socializing/being friends with people on campus whose political views may be in conflict with mine and/or go against my sense of identity/nationality

Group	% Disagree	% Agree
Atheist/Agnostic/No Religion	27%	60%
Jewish	36%	51%
Muslim	61%	33%
Christian	18%	73%
Other	27%	60%
Not Available	36%	52%

I feel comfortable expressing my opinions to others at Harvard

Group	% Disagree	% Agree
Atheist/Agnostic/No Religion	36%	55%
Jewish	54%	39%
Muslim	74%	20%
Christian	39%	55%
Other	47%	43%
Not Available	61%	30%

I feel comfortable expressing my religious beliefs and/or ethnic affiliation around campus

Group	% Disagree	% Agree
Atheist/Agnostic/No Religion	22%	63%
Jewish	54%	38%
Muslim	72%	23%
Christian	26%	62%
Other	34%	53%
Not Available	49%	33%

I feel comfortable expressing my political opinions and/or beliefs around campus

Group	% Disagree	% Agree
Atheist/Agnostic/No Religion	37%	52%
Jewish	61%	33%
Muslim	87%	9%
Christian	44%	46%
Other	55%	33%
Not Available	69%	22%

I have NOT experienced any discrimination, stereotyping, or negative biases on campus due to my views regarding current events

Group	% Disagree	% Agree
Atheist/Agnostic/No Religion	21%	66%
Jewish	41%	45%
Muslim	71%	16%
Christian	21%	64%
Other	31%	57%
Not Available	43%	38%

In my experience at Harvard, I feel there is no academic and/or professional penalty for expressing one's political views

Group	% Disagree	% Agree
Atheist/Agnostic/No Religion	55%	30%
Jewish	61%	26%
Muslim	92%	4%
Christian	51%	34%
Other	60%	26%
Not Available	78%	13%

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

The data regarding bias experienced based on racial identity is similarly troubling (see next page), with Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) respondents reporting the most adverse outcomes — often twice as severe as the next most affected group. While MENA community members consistently report the most negative responses, they are typically followed by Black, then Asian and Hispanic respondents, with White respondents reporting, comparatively, the least negative experiences.

All Respondents

Legend: Strongly Disagree · Disagree · Slightly Disagree · Neither Agree nor Disagree · Slightly Agree · Agree · Strongly Agree

I feel like I belong at Harvard (Disagree / Agree) — **I feel physically safe on campus** (Disagree / Agree)

Group	Belong – Disagree	Belong – Agree	Safe – Disagree	Safe – Agree
White	14%	78%	7%	90%
Asian or Asian American	23%	70%	13%	84%
Black or African American	30%	58%	15%	82%
Hispanic or Latina/o/x	23%	65%	13%	82%
Middle Eastern or North African	52%	40%	35%	58%
Other	30%	60%	16%	78%
Not Available	33%	55%	17%	76%

I feel mentally safe on campus (Disagree / Agree) — **I feel my well-being is supported at Harvard** (Disagree / Agree)

Group	Mentally safe – Disagree	Mentally safe – Agree	Well-being – Disagree	Well-being – Agree
White	14%	81%	20%	70%
Asian or Asian American	26%	67%	34%	56%
Black or African American	34%	62%	36%	49%
Hispanic or Latina/o/x	27%	63%	30%	58%
Middle Eastern or North African	58%	34%	59%	30%
Other	44%	50%	43%	46%
Not Available	31%	59%	36%	50%

I feel comfortable socializing/being friends with people on campus whose political views may be in conflict with mine and/or go against my sense of identity/nationality (Disagree / Agree) — **I feel comfortable expressing my opinions to others at Harvard** (Disagree / Agree)

Group	Socializing – Disagree	Socializing – Agree	Opinions – Disagree	Opinions – Agree
White	22%	67%	36%	56%
Asian or Asian American	37%	50%	48%	44%
Black or African American	33%	59%	45%	46%
Hispanic or Latina/o/x	31%	53%	50%	42%
Middle Eastern or North African	55%	34%	76%	17%
Other	50%	39%	64%	29%
Not Available	37%	50%	69%	23%

I feel comfortable expressing my religious beliefs and/or ethnic affiliation around campus (Disagree / Agree) — **I feel comfortable expressing my political opinions and/or beliefs around campus** (Disagree / Agree)

Group	Religious – Disagree	Religious – Agree	Political – Disagree	Political – Agree
White	25%	60%	40%	50%
Asian or Asian American	30%	61%	53%	38%
Black or African American	37%	49%	53%	41%
Hispanic or Latina/o/x	31%	57%	48%	37%
Middle Eastern or North African	70%	24%	80%	15%
Other	61%	29%	73%	21%
Not Available	55%	30%	74%	17%

I have NOT experienced any discrimination, stereotyping, or negative biases on campus due to my views regarding current events (Disagree / Agree) — **In my experience at Harvard, I feel there is no academic and/or professional penalty for expressing one's political views** (Disagree / Agree)

Group	NOT experienced – Disagree	NOT experienced – Agree	No penalty – Disagree	No penalty – Agree
White	21%	67%	52%	33%
Asian or Asian American	37%	44%	66%	24%
Black or African American	43%	41%	71%	20%
Hispanic or Latina/o/x	33%	46%	60%	27%
Middle Eastern or North African	70%	19%	83%	13%
Other	46%	33%	67%	18%
Not Available	44%	39%	80%	14%

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree'.

These statistics are not presented to establish a hierarchy of suffering, but rather to underscore the disproportionate challenges Muslim and Arab individuals say they face at Harvard. These findings highlight the urgent need, in the view of our Task Force, for adequate and comparable resources to be provided to address the concerns facing Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian community members. Doing so is critical given the reality of finite resources and attention — and it serves as a credible and reasonable benchmark for evaluating the fairness and equity of Harvard's policies and remedial actions.

While the listening sessions and joint survey are highly informative of the issues and experiences of community members facing and/or observing biases on campus, there are potentially members of our community — as we heard in the listening sessions — who have experienced even more severe challenges or are so disillusioned that they may have chosen not to attend a listening session or even respond to an anonymous survey. Conversely, other members who perceived fewer issues of concern may have felt less compelled to respond. Therefore, a key, readily achievable recommendation is to leverage Harvard's existing

expertise and capacity to compile and analyze administrative data, safeguarding individual privacy while providing a truly comprehensive and fully representative picture of the community.

Crucially, a central theme throughout our work and our report is the urgent and ongoing need to carefully and regularly document, assess, and analyze the experiences of all of its communities, including the Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian communities. In addition to leveraging qualitative listening sessions and quantitative surveys, historical analysis can illuminate the evolution of current biases and provide valuable context. However, this aspect proved to be a significant challenge for us. This was due both to the limited media coverage and archival material concerning Muslim, Arab, Palestinian and pro-Palestinian communities — consistent, in our view, with the trends of ignoring and silencing previously noted — and to an unexpected personal issue that unfortunately limited the ability of the lead faculty member for our historical analysis to conduct this work within the allocated timeline. Nevertheless, we offer a historical overview of some of the main themes and events confronting our community, from a limited presence for the greater part of Harvard's history, to the Palestinian narrative suppression during the mid to late 1900s, to the biases faced by Muslims and Arabs after the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001. Importantly, as part of the ongoing analysis we also recommend a more comprehensive and sufficiently resourced effort to document the historical and contextual experience of Muslims, Arabs, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian community members at Harvard.

We conclude this introduction by noting several principles our Task Force felt were important to uphold, and which will help the reader understand and appreciate the structure, content, and intent of our work.

First, we felt it crucial to accurately reflect all that we heard. The findings from the listening sessions and survey work reflect that commitment. While we have edited responses to protect the privacy of respondents and the individuals they mention, our goal has been to retain the authenticity and emotion of expression and to document and give meaningful voice to those who have often felt unheard

Second, while accurately reflecting what we learned was critical, our mandate was not to investigate or adjudicate individual cases. Investigation and adjudication are undeniably important, and in some cases may have already happened. That said, many of our recommendations specifically address concerns about the perceived inadequacy and bias of existing processes. However, such processes require focusing on each individual case and hearing all sides and perspectives, something the Task Forces were not resourced or equipped to do. Nor would it be appropriate for the Task Forces to undertake such a role and potentially undermine the University's own processes, which need to handle these matters fairly and efficiently.

Third, our objective has been to inform, not inflame. It may be tempting to amplify emotions and cater to outrage, both within and outside the community. We understand the need to convey the palpable sense of the pain and trauma experienced, and recognize that personal narratives and detailed case studies are a powerful tools for doing so. We have therefore attempted this, though we remain cognizant of the fact that individual stories may not always be generalizable. What may be an intense experience for an individual — and one that should be addressed by appropriate channels and experts — should not automatically be portrayed as an established fact or a pervasive problem. While we share many powerful personal accounts in this report, we have therefore also sought to balance them with other sources of information, such as more comprehensive quantitative surveys to provide a data-driven sense of the prevalence of such experiences.

Fourth, we have chosen not to name and blame individual actors but instead to call out and seek to address problematic actions. We are concerned that targeting any specific actor — be it an individual, a program, or a School — can be counterproductive, as it may elicit a defensive response, leaves little room for behavioral change, and may further divide our community. It may also lead to solutions that promote exclusion rather than inclusion, such as demands for firing or not renewing certain faculty and staff or excluding current or potential students who are deemed to hold the "wrong" political views. At a time when a fundamental problem is a lack of tolerance, empathy, and candid but constructive discourse, excluding individuals simply

because some may disagree with their views seems contradictory to our educational mission and would be an unfortunate admission of our own failure as an institution dedicated to research, teaching, and learning. Instead, we maintain that a university should be as inclusive as possible when selecting and retaining community members, but we should not reward, and indeed should reprimand when necessary, actions and behavior that contradict our values.

The application of this fourth principle led our Task Force to redact actors' names and their program or School affiliations when quoting community members (the only exception being Harvard presidents, past and present, given their public leadership role). This redaction serves to better focus on the behavior being described, and not the specific actor. This principle also influenced the nature of our recommendations, which are designed to be restorative and additive, rather than punitive and subtractive.

Finally, we recognize that our efforts, however well-intentioned, will remain a work in progress. Our goal has not been to offer a definitive understanding of the Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian communities' experiences, nor a universally accepted and adopted set of policies that will satisfy everyone. We acknowledge the prevailing institutional distrust and atmosphere of dissatisfaction. We also appreciate the complexity and rapidly evolving nature of the challenges and tradeoffs we face. Our goal has instead been to initiate and contribute to a process of thoughtful, objective, sincere, and effective deliberation — a process that we hope will continue in the months and years to come, transforming this report into a living document that leverages the wisdom and strength of the entire Harvard community. We hope that is the standard by which this work is judged.

We acknowledge that there have been, and likely will continue to be, many setbacks and moments of despair. But we remain hopeful, because we believe that hope is a powerful, healing, and rejuvenating force — one that we aspire to keep with us always.

Executive Summary

In response to escalating tensions at Harvard University related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, particularly following the October 7, 2023 events, which have further exacerbated the humanitarian crises in Gaza and the region, President Alan Garber announced on January 19, 2024, the formation of two task forces focused on combating bias and discrimination faced by members of the Harvard community. Our task force initially aimed at addressing anti-Muslim and anti-Arab bias, later expanding to include anti-Palestinian bias, while the other task force focused on antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias. The Task Force on Combating Anti-Muslim, Anti-Arab, and Anti-Palestinian Bias began its work on February 27, 2024. Our goal was to understand the experiences of Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian members of the Harvard community and to gather hopes and recommendations for rebuilding a fractured community. Our work involved outreach activities, including data collection across nearly 50 listening sessions with more than 500 participants to better understand the diverse experiences of Harvard community members. Furthermore, the two task forces launched a joint survey that garnered 2,295 responses. We undertook a concise historical overview highlighting significant trends and events, contextualizing current campus dynamics, and addressing contemporary bias affecting Muslims, Arabs, and Palestinians at Harvard. Preliminary recommendations were presented to President Garber in June 2024, focusing on urgent issues to address before the start of the next academic year. Subsequently, subcommittees were formed to explore specific areas and provide further recommendations. We summarize the main findings and recommendations below.

Findings

Listening Sessions

Data collected during these sessions identified five key themes.

Theme 1 — Experiences of Discrimination, Hate, and Violence   Listening sessions surfaced descriptions of experiences of discrimination, hate, and violence against Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian members of the Harvard community. Incidents like doxxing, physical assaults, and online harassment intensified fears, which community members reported created an atmosphere of intimidation. Doxxing trucks targeted students, falsely accusing them of supporting terrorism, which participants felt contributed to a climate of fear. Participants noted a lack of visible presence for Palestinians and those advocating for Palestinian rights in University discussions, contributing to their feeling of marginalization. Many Palestinians shared personal stories of loss and displacement regarding loved ones in Gaza, feeling isolated in their grief and facing disproportionate challenges amidst ongoing bias and safety concerns.

Theme 2 — Institutional Response   Community members expressed dissatisfaction with Harvard's institutional response to incidents of bias and hate, feeling unsupported and fearful of retaliation for expressing their identities. The Task Force received a mixed reception; some saw it as positive, while others found it performative. Concerns of perceived double standards at Harvard were expressed based on what many saw as an inadequate defense of pro-Palestinian speech. Criticism was directed at University

leadership's perceived prioritization of reputation over addressing pressing issues, especially seen in what many felt was an inadequate response to doxxing incidents. Concerns about external actors' influence on University policies fueled feelings of powerlessness, leading to calls for transparency and reinforcing Harvard's values of academic freedom. The University's Non-Discrimination and Anti-Bullying policies were considered confusing and inadequate for addressing subtle biases, indicating a need for a more proactive, comprehensive support system.

Theme 3 — Community Dynamics   Significant changes in Harvard's community dynamics have been observed, with growing divisions, self-censorship, and alienation among members. Advocates for Palestinian rights expressed feeling increasingly marginalized, reporting that efforts made to silence their voices exacerbated feelings of exclusion. The broader Muslim and Arab communities perceived a more hostile campus environment, while Black and brown students felt their relationship with the institution had deteriorated. Critics cited what they saw as the administration's insufficient action as a contributor to these divisions. Some students turned to informal peer networks for support but emphasized the need for structured institutional responses to address these dynamics and foster a supportive community environment effectively.

Theme 4 — Educational Experience, Academic Freedom, and Free Expression   Participants expressed concerns about Harvard's educational experience, advocating for an inclusive curriculum reflecting global complexities, particularly regarding Middle Eastern conflicts. Many felt stigmatized and fearful of expressing support for Palestine due to perceived repercussions. Participants questioned academic freedom, highlighting that faculty appeared to self-censor regarding Palestinian topics, perhaps out of fear of professional consequences. Discussions conflating antisemitism with criticism of Israeli policies created a chilling effect, discouraging pro-Palestinian advocacy. Community members stressed the need for Harvard to lead informed discourse and uphold free expression, with some perceiving a "Palestine exception" to free speech at the University.

Theme 5 — Divestment   Divestment emerged as a key theme, particularly among students, as a means for Harvard to address ethical concerns regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Students expressed frustration with what they felt were dismissive attitudes from leaders, who argued that divestment from Israel lacked moral clarity. Many students linked divestment to their safety and sense of belonging on campus. Drawing parallels to Harvard's past divestment from companies during apartheid South Africa and fossil fuels, students argued for consistency and serious engagement in current ethical issues, feeling their concerns were not sufficiently acknowledged.

Harvard-Wide Joint Survey

Th responses to this survey revealed widespread concerns about safety, belonging, and freedom of expression. Notably, 11% of 2,295 respondents reported feeling physically unsafe on campus, while twice as many felt they did not belong or were not mentally safe. More than a quarter expressed doubts that there was appropriate support for their well-being, and 28% felt uncomfortable socializing with those holding conflicting political views. Regarding freedom of expression, about half of the respondents felt uncomfortable voicing personal or political opinions, with 59% fearing academic and professional repercussions. Additionally, 29% reported experiencing discrimination or bias stemming from their views.

The survey also highlighted significant disparities in feelings of safety, belonging, and freedom of expression across religious and racial lines. Muslim respondents reported the most negative outcomes, with 47% feeling physically unsafe on campus, compared to 15% of Jewish respondents, 6% of Christians, and 6% of individuals who identify as Atheist/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation.[4] Regarding comfort with socializing with people of differing political views, 61% of Muslim respondents, 36% of Jewish respondents, 27% of Atheist/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation individuals, and 18% of Christians expressed discomfort. For

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[4] "No Religious Affiliation" was an option in the survey, and thus we have elected to group those individuals with those who self-identify as Atheist or Agnostic, as all three categories of individuals report not actively affiliating with any religion.

freedom of expression, 92% of Muslim respondents believed there are professional or academic penalties for expressing political views, with Jewish (61%), Atheist/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation (55%), and Christian (51%) respondents following. These disparities persist even when analyzing only student respondents, though the differences become slightly less pronounced.

Concerns about safety, well-being and freedom of expression also showed stark racial disparities, with Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) respondents reporting the worst outcomes followed by Black, Hispanic, and Asian respondents and then White respondents. For example, 52% of MENA respondents reported feeling like they did not belong at Harvard and 76% do not feel comfortable expressing their opinions. The corresponding numbers are 14% and 36% respectively for Whites with other races reporting numbers in between the two racial groups. The combined analysis of race and religion indicated that Muslim MENA respondents reported feeling the most negatively about their experience at Harvard, with the intersection of being both Muslim and MENA exacerbating these negative experiences. This emphasizes a need for further investigation and institutionally targeted interventions to better support these communities at Harvard.

Respondents highlighted perceived inconsistencies in Harvard's policies on free speech and the impact of external pressures, such as those from donors. The administrative action against students who participated in certain protest activities, and the lack of information surrounding the action, compounded these concerns. Despite these challenges, some community members emphasized fostering open dialogues. The survey results also indicate that *interactions within Harvard, like those with faculty and peers, were viewed as net positive, whereas media influences, external actors, and University policies were generally perceived net negatively*. This feedback suggests a pressing need to address these issues and reinforce an environment supporting open and inclusive discourse on campus.

Historical Analysis

The history of Muslims, Arabs, and Palestinians at Harvard reflects a complex and evolving narrative that influences the campus climate. From Harvard's founding in 1636 to the late 19th century, these groups had a limited presence and were largely confined to theological studies. A transformative period began in the mid-20th century, marked by establishing the Harvard Islamic Society in 1955 and the 1965 Immigration Act, which increased Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian diversity among students. Many of the Palestinian students experienced displacement during the 1948 Nakba. This era sparked activism fueled by global events, such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, although these communities often faced marginalization and misrepresentation in campus discourse.

Palestinian and pro-Palestinian voices have navigated unique challenges relating to their displacement and narrative suppression amid ongoing conflicts. The first Palestinian Intifada in 1987 rallied solidarity for the Palestinian cause, culminating in establishing the Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC) in 1990. While the PSC brought visibility to Palestinian issues, it encountered persistent opposition and efforts to silence discussion. Beyond student activism, institutional barriers have impeded faculty and students from engaging in Palestine-related studies, highlighting a lack of scholarship and faculty expertise, which complicates academic pursuits in this area. The events following the 9/11 terrorist attacks saw the Muslim and Arab communities come under intense scrutiny and suspicion and led to an atmosphere of bias and stereotyping. There was a palpable sense that the voices of Muslims, Arabs, and Palestinians were often muted.

Despite these challenges, Muslim, Arab, Palestinian and pro-Palestinian students at Harvard have shown remarkable resilience. Understanding the historical context is critical to comprehending the events that shaped the formation of this Task Force and underscores the urgent need to address the current concerns of Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian students at Harvard. It also points to the necessity of a more comprehensive historical analysis to fully comprehend and address the complexities of these communities' experiences and narratives at the University.

Salient Events

This section examines the key events that were often shared as defining the experience for members of the Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian communities at Harvard University during the 2023-24 academic year. These challenges are contextualized within broader themes of abandonment and silencing, as perceived by these communities.

Doxxing Attacks   In late October 2023, members of the Harvard community who identified with pro-Palestinian activism were targeted through doxxing attacks. External organizations operated trucks displaying personal information of these individuals, leading to widespread harassment. Websites published pictures and names of students, labeling them as antisemites. This doxxing created a climate of intimidation that was compounded by the perception that the administration's response was inadequate, exacerbating community fears and frustrations.

Official Communications on the Palestinian Crisis   Criticism was directed at the administration for its official communications, which frequently addressed antisemitism but often omitted references to Palestinian suffering. These omissions were perceived as evidence of a double standard, which intensified feelings of alienation and distrust among Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian community members. Many interpreted these omissions as a form of active erasure.

Physical Harassment and Safety Concerns   Incidents of physical harassment, including a knife attack on a Muslim woman wearing a hijab reported in a listening session, alcohol poured over a Palestinian student, and community members being followed and yelled at on the streets, heightened concerns over Islamophobic violence on campus. The administration's lack of public acknowledgment and action regarding such incidents further fueled community frustration and perceived institutional bias, especially when contrasted with the administration's messages of stern condemnation for acts of antisemitism.

Interactions with University Leadership   Community meetings with Harvard leadership during the academic year — including an event during Friday prayers, iftar dinner during Ramadan, and small group meetings to listen to student concerns — were characterized by perceptions of unresponsiveness and disengagement. The administration's approach was viewed as dismissive, reinforcing the belief that political and financial considerations took precedence over community well-being.

Disciplinary Actions Against Activists   Pro-Palestinian activists faced disciplinary actions, including suspensions and threats of expulsion, for their participation in protests and a notable encampment. These measures were perceived as selectively enforced, silencing pro-Palestinian voices and escalating tensions between students and the administration. By contrast, people felt that those identified as counter-protesters, or engaged in pro-Israeli or pro-Zionist activity faced less, if any, disciplinary action for disruption.

Institutional Programming and Support   The report highlights institutional barriers to supporting Palestinian programming, with faculty and students calling for increased engagement and representation. The leadership changes within key programs and cancellations of talks that provided a humanitarian perspective on Palestine at various Harvard Schools were especially concerning to community members. The prevailing sentiment suggests that institutional support for Palestinian-focused events remains a pressing issue, with faculty and students advocating for balanced discourse.

IHRA Definition of Antisemitism   The adoption of the International Holocaust Remembrance Association (IHRA) definition of antisemitism as part of a Title VI settlement sparked concerns within the community.[5] There is apprehension that this may suppress pro-Palestinian protest by conflating criticism of Israeli policies with antisemitism. For this reason, in 2020, an international group of scholars

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[5]   https://www.harvard.edu/media-relations/2025/01/21/press-release-settlement-harvard-saa/.

working on Antisemitism Studies and related fields issued the Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism, and in 2021, the Nexus Task Force first published the Nexus Document, which supports "understanding antisemitism at its nexus with Israel and Zionism."

The perceived disconnect between Harvard's administration and the Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian communities is highlighted by themes of abandonment and silencing. Addressing these issues is essential for fostering an inclusive and equitable environment at the University.

Recommendations

Our recommendations offer a comprehensive framework to address systemic bias against Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian communities at Harvard. The Task Force developed the recommendations, divided into seven areas, based on what we learned from the listening sessions and the joint survey findings, followed by discussions among Task Force members. A set of Preliminary Recommendations was shared in June 2024 (see Appendix 1). Here, we outline an additional set of recommendations. In the main report we also provide a brief update on the status of the Preliminary Recommendations, as reported by University officials on the Task Force website.[6]

Safety and Security Concerns

In our Preliminary Recommendations, we advocated for a multi-pronged approach to enhance safety and security, focusing on immediate steps such as a 24-hour safety helpline, chaperone services, and secure transportation. We emphasized denouncing doxxing, creating a centralized resource hub, and providing expert advice. Additionally, we stressed training staff and faculty to support harassment victims and expanding culturally competent counseling services. Here, in our final report, we further recommend continuing to focus on student safety to address current community needs and the longer-term impacts on those previously affected.

Strengthen community well-being services. Invest in culturally competent mental health support by hiring therapists specifically trained to understand the nuances of Muslim and Christian Arabs and various other identities and faiths of the Middle East and North Africa, and broader Muslim identities. This includes understanding geopolitical contexts that may affect community members' mental health.

Continue to combat doxxing. Offer comprehensive resources and training to combat doxxing, including legal support and community-wide education sessions. Consider potentially reimbursing individuals who had to personally cover costs and advocate for time-limited support beyond graduation, reflecting these attacks' protracted nature and impact.

Recognize Islamophobia, Anti-Arab, and Anti-Palestinian racism. Formally define instances of Islamophobia, anti-Arab, and anti-Palestinian bias within University policies to facilitate clear reporting, response, and protective actions from the institution.

Recognition and Representation

The Task Force's Preliminary Recommendations highlighted the importance of ensuring all Harvard community members, especially those identifying as Muslim, Arab, or Palestinian, feel recognized and respected. We advised revising the Task Force's name to address anti-Palestinian bias explicitly, which was adopted by the University. We further suggested measures for equal representation in University communications by consulting with community leaders and faculty on sensitive topics. To

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[6] https://www.harvard.edu/task-force-on-anti-muslim-and-anti-arab-bias/#implementationupdates

address the underrepresentation of Palestinian perspectives, we recommended expanding academic offerings in Palestinian Studies and recruiting tenure-track faculty in this specialty. We suggest further recommendations to increase recognition and representation of Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian views in our community.

Establish a standing advisory committee. Convene a committee of faculty and specialists well-versed in areas pertinent to Middle Eastern history, including Palestine, Islamophobia, and regional ethnic diversities. This body, set up on a five-year renewable basis, should serve as a resource to guide policy, programming, and University responses to prioritize balanced and informed perspectives.

Enhance staff and stakeholder training. Regular and ongoing in-person training for stakeholders at the University, including student life personnel, resident deans, academic and administrative deans, other administrators and staff of centers. The training should focus on issues that are especially pertinent to our community, including Palestine and Palestinians, as well as anti-Islamophobia training and help in building understanding on what these communities are going through. Similar opportunities for faculty to learn more about these populations and relevant issues should also be made available consistently.

Support campus events and programming. The Central Administration should actively support programming on key community issues, with a current focus on Palestine, Islamophobia, and Middle Eastern developments, by hosting events and ensuring senior University officials' attendance. This approach aims to enhance civil discourse and intellectual vitality within the University.

Undertake a comprehensive historical analysis. Given the unforeseen constraints faced by the Task Force, which resulted in a more abbreviated narrative than originally envisioned, we recommend the University undertake a comprehensive historical overview of Muslims, Arabs, and Palestinians at Harvard. This in-depth exploration should distinguish their unique yet intersecting experiences, particularly concerning Palestinian human rights, to accurately represent their complex identities and inform efforts to address bias and promote inclusivity on campus.

Institutional Response

The Task Force previously recommended clear communication of bias and discrimination policies to students and robust staff training for effective support, emphasizing transparency and clarity in policy modifications. Additionally, we advocated for a more accessible complaint-filing process and improved data collection on complaint resolutions. It is critical to have strong institutional backing of transparent, consistent, and clear policies to advance rebuilding trust with the community. Thus, we further recommend:

Enhance complaint processes. Adopt clearly communicated, user-friendly, and transparent processes for bias incident complaints and anti-discrimination and anti-bullying procedures. Additionally, establish dedicated support roles to manage and guide complainants through these protocols, ensuring empathetic and immediate institution responses and creating opportunities for restorative practices.

Freedom of Expression

The Task Force had recommended fostering an environment for open dialogue at Harvard, especially on contentious issues like Palestine, without fear of repercussions, by issuing a public statement reaffirming commitment to free expression. We also suggested that Harvard's Schools communicate protest and dissent policies to students, faculty, and staff, with the Committee on Open Inquiry potentially involved in this process. Ensuring that freedom of expression is both protected and encouraged is vital to academic innovation and open discourse. We therefore recommend:

Protect academic freedom. Implement measures to protect faculty and students from academic or professional repercussions linked to their political or scholarly expressions, particularly regarding contentious issues like Palestine and Israel. The University should proactively encourage and support efforts that demonstrate academic freedom and the ability to have constructive dialogue.

Encourage free speech. Explore options such as designated areas on campus dedicated to open dialogue and free speech, serving as accessible and safe havens for expression without fear of interruption or retaliation. Make it clear in University communications that we celebrate community members exercising free speech, provided it respects the time, place, and manner restrictions preventing disrupting activities integral to academic work and upholding the University's values.

Address ambiguities and ensure ongoing protest policy review. Establish clear, consistent guidelines and training for frontline staff on managing protest and counter-protest activities, ensuring these policies are executed fairly and transparently across all student groups. Create formal channels to collect feedback from the Harvard community, undertake periodic reviews on the effectiveness and fairness of these policies, and ensure alignment with evolving community needs.

Transparency and Trust

In our Preliminary Recommendations, the Task Force focused on rebuilding trust between Harvard and its community. It recommended fostering direct engagement between University leadership and the community through open forums, emphasizing empathy and transparency. Additionally, we called for clear policies on fundraising to protect academic freedom, alongside reviewing policy consistency and University communication. Furthermore, we recommend:

Promote greater consistency in policy interpretation and administration. To improve transparency and trust at Harvard, a shared policy framework adaptable by individual Schools should be developed, ensuring consistent understanding and flexible application across the University while recognizing the need for School-specific variations. The administration should establish mechanisms for monitoring and feedback, enhance communication strategies, and centralize policy information online, clarifying policy violation consequences and promoting cross-training for staff to ensure equitability. A University-level group should assess policy centralization versus decentralization, implement regular reporting for identifying patterns, and create systems for ongoing feedback on policy enforcement inconsistencies.

Enhance communications on University policies. We propose creating a unified communication strategy at Harvard to address confusion about policies, particularly for students and groups like those identifying as Palestinian or pro-Palestinian. Key strategies include early and consistent policy information delivery, coordinated and clear internal messaging, and developing a centralized, user-friendly website section for policies. The plan also calls for reviewing communication criteria and ensuring leadership communications are targeted and effective in disseminating essential policy information.

Address divestment, disclosure, and engagement. Feedback from the community highlighted the call for Harvard to divest from Israel-related and military firms, with increased disclosure and student involvement in governance. While the Task Force did not reach a consensus on divestment, members emphasized the issue's importance, with some suggesting ongoing dialogue and academic programming, and others recommending using Harvard's resources to engage with the Israel-Palestine conflict academically. This includes supporting Palestinian and other universities in the region, facilitating exchanges, and rebuilding human capital in Palestine. The intent was that Harvard should take action to benefit future generations of Palestinians and all people in the region, showing a commitment to their betterment.

Relationships Among Affinity Groups

The Task Force's Preliminary Recommendations focused on fostering pluralism and strengthening interfaith initiatives, emphasizing engagement with diversity through curricular and extracurricular activities. We suggested incentivizing community-building in residential spaces, addressing religious illiteracy, and supporting student-led intergroup cohesion initiatives. We recommend:

Strengthen community life. Efforts to foster a pluralistic community at Harvard must begin by strengthening individual communities, acknowledging intra-group tensions and the complexities beyond broad categories like Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian. The Task Force recommends creating accessible physical spaces, such as dedicated and permanent prayer areas for Muslims, and flexible virtual spaces to meet diverse community needs while enhancing funding support for community-strengthening events like Ramadan iftars and cultural programs. Additionally, reviewing religious accommodations is essential to demonstrate care and respect for unique community needs, promoting a culture of belonging.

Build a pluralistic community. To promote pluralism at Harvard, in a joint effort between the two Task Forces, we recommend establishing a central hub for pluralism efforts, possibly by transforming the Harvard Foundation or creating a new Center for Pluralism. This would connect pluralism practices across disciplines and enhance programs like interfaith collaborations and cultural events. We also suggest advancing University values by embedding them in policy documents and enhancing staff and student development in pluralism, supported by arts and multilingual education initiatives. Additionally, a University-wide Office of Religious, Spiritual, and Ethical Life is proposed to bolster multifaith opportunities and interfaith collaboration on campus.

Intellectual Excellence

The Task Force highlighted in its Preliminary Recommendations the importance of rigorous scholarship and discourse on topics related to Islam, the Middle East, and Palestine, recommending a University-wide audit to assess academic resources and address gaps by leveraging programs like Scholars at Risk. We emphasized fostering constructive campus dialogue, especially on interfaith issues, through initiatives like a speaker series that encourages productive disagreement and inviting experts in interfaith dialogue. These efforts aim to enhance intellectual engagement and equip the Harvard community to address complex issues more inclusively. We emphasize the need to enhance the intellectual experience on campus and further recommend:

Advance knowledge and education. The Task Force recommends expanding academic offerings by increasing courses on Palestinian Studies, Arabic language, and Islamic studies to promote comprehensive analysis of related histories and cultures. To support these fields, we recommend creating a visiting professorship in Palestinian studies by 2024-25 and establishing two to three additional faculty positions, including a chair in Palestinian history, over the next five years. Hiring committees for these roles should include individuals also knowledgeable about anti-Palestinian racism.

Enhance intellectual and community cohesion through experiential learning. To promote intellectual excellence and community unity, the Task Force suggested experiential learning programs to address issues like antisemitism and anti-Palestinian biases, fostering diverse student engagement, especially during the January term. Faculty from various affinity groups could propose initiatives supported by University grants, enhancing educational opportunities and aligning with the goals of the President's Building Bridges Fund to create a cohesive, vibrant community.

Model civil disagreement. The recommendation urges the Office of the President and Provost to engage more in University-wide dialogues on crisis issues, alongside existing campus efforts, to model respectful

dialogue and understanding. It suggests collaborating with the Deans to avoid scheduling conflicts. It involves the Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism in selecting themes and promoting intellectual engagement through annual meetings with University center directors and School orientation leaders.

Conduct regular research, pulse-taking, and recommendation-monitoring. Leverage regular surveys like the Pulse survey to monitor community well-being and address key issues. Establish a survey coordinating group to propose survey topics. Develop capabilities to analyze administrative data, such as course enrollment and dropouts; this could be tied into the work by the University Data Advisory Group. Enhance the University's Office of Institutional Research and Analytics or create a "Behavioral and Analytical Initiative" under the President's Office jointly run by faculty, researchers, and staff. Implement processes to monitor and report on Task Force recommendations, ensuring feedback, adaptability, and a commitment to fostering inclusivity and academic excellence.

IN CLOSING, over the past year, our work has addressed emergent and chronic challenges, aiming to drive immediate and long-term improvements through specific recommendations and an ongoing process of transparent, credible self-inquiry. By harnessing the collective wisdom of our community, we strive to create a sustainable, adaptable path forward.

Full Report

1. Mandate and Scope of Work

On January 19, 2024, President Alan Garber announced the formation of two Task Forces to address growing concerns about bias and hate at Harvard University. This came during a period of escalating tensions on campus related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, particularly in the aftermath of the Hamas attack on Israel on October 7, 2023, and the subsequent Israeli military attacks and ensuing humanitarian crisis in Gaza. From that point through the end of the 2023-24 academic year, Harvard confronted its most significant internal challenges in decades, laying bare deep-seated divisions within the community that were exacerbated by intense public scrutiny.

The two Task Forces had similar charges, but distinct focuses: one initially focused on anti-Muslim and anti-Arab bias, and the other initially focused on antisemitism. Their shared purpose was to help University leaders understand the causes and expressions of these biases on campus and to identify ways to prevent and address them.

The full membership of the Task Force on Combating Anti-Muslim and Anti-Arab Bias was announced on February 25, 2024, and the Task Force convened for its first meeting on February 27. Meetings were held weekly for the rest of the spring semester. During these meetings, we discussed our charge, developed plans for outreach across the University, and shared feedback from the listening sessions.

President Garber's charge to the Presidential Task Force on Combating Anti-Muslim and Anti-Arab Bias was to "examine the recent history of anti-Muslim and anti-Arab bias and its current manifestations on the Harvard campus." He further outlined the following objectives:

1. identify causes of and contributing factors to anti-Muslim and anti-Arab behaviors on campus;

2. evaluate evidence regarding the characteristics and frequency of these behaviors; and

3. recommend approaches to combat anti-Muslim and anti-Arab bias and its impact on campus.

To frame our work, we focused on:

1. outreach and listening tours to document experiences of anti-Muslim and anti-Arab bias across the Harvard community, building on and learning from previous work done in this domain;

2. historical analysis, focusing on the experiences of and attitudes towards Muslim and Arab members of the Harvard community and how they have been affected by local and global events; and

3. collection and analysis of data from members of the Harvard community, in order to characterize the nature, extent, and proximate causes of anti-Muslim and anti-Arab bias in the Harvard community.

Our charge indicated that, upon concluding our work, our Task Force was to issue a final report with findings and recommendations. This document serves as that report. Additionally, the charge allowed preliminary recommendations to be provided on a rolling basis. We presented an interim report with a set of these preliminary recommendations to President Garber, and he shared them with the Harvard community on June 26, 2024.

We quickly realized that though the name and charge of our Task Force refers to Muslims and Arabs, we also had to focus particularly on Palestinian members of our community and those with diverse backgrounds who identify as pro-Palestinian, as they had experienced a great deal of trauma and pain. One of our preliminary recommendations, which was readily accepted by President Garber, therefore suggested we expand our name to the Presidential Task Force on Combating Anti-Muslim, Anti-Arab, and Anti-Palestinian Bias.

Most of our listening sessions occurred in April 2024, although we held additional sessions intermittently during the summer. We held nearly 50 sessions, with 500 people from across Harvard's Schools in the Cambridge, Allston, and Longwood campuses participating. Typically, separate sessions were held for students (undergraduate and graduate), faculty, and staff. We also engaged with relevant affinity groups, including an alumni group.

These listening sessions helped document the experiences of Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian members of the Harvard community, as well as pro-Palestinian members, including, among others, Jewish, South Asian, and Black community members. We asked participants to share their individual experiences as well as their observations and what they saw were ways to address the issues faced. An anonymous feedback form was also made available for those less comfortable speaking in person.

Furthermore, we developed a University-Wide Joint Survey with the Presidential Task Force on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias. This anonymous survey included a series of fixed-format quantitative questions as well as open-ended free response questions. The survey asked for responses to a range of questions that sought to capture the respondents' sense of well-being and belonging, as well as freedom to voice personal views. We also solicited views on the internal and external factors they felt were instrumental to their experiences — both positive and negative — as well as any recommendations they had for addressing the situation. The survey was launched in late spring and was available through the summer. It was posted on the two Task Forces' websites and was shared with community members who joined the Task Force listening sessions as well as various affinity groups. As of the date of the analysis, the survey garnered 2,295 responses from students, faculty, and staff across Harvard's Schools.

The Preliminary Recommendations that were shared with the Harvard community on June 26, 2024, focused on short-term, actionable items that we felt needed to be addressed before the start of the next academic year. These Preliminary Recommendations are presented in full in Appendix 1; reports of the progress made on these recommendations have been provided by the University on the official Task Force website.[7]

After submitting its preliminary report, the Task Force began the second phase of its work by creating several specialized subcommittees. Guided by information received through the listening sessions, each subcommittee focused on a distinct area:

1. examining policy-related issues at the University;

2. qualitative analysis of input from listening sessions; and

3. the historical context of the Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian experiences at Harvard and in the US.

Additionally, two joint subcommittees were formed in collaboration with the Task Force on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias. One of these concentrated on the development and analyses of a Joint Survey which sought the perspectives of the Harvard community, while the other addressed pluralism as a framework for campus culture and the practices necessary to support a culture of pluralism. All the subcommittees presented their findings and recommendations for the full Task Force to consider for inclusion in the final report.

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[7] https://www.harvard.edu/task-force-on-anti-muslim-and-anti-arab-bias/#implementationupdates

2. Methodology

Our report relies extensively on the rich information gathered through University-wide listening sessions, the Joint Survey, a review of Harvard policies and archival work, communication with the leadership of Harvard's Schools, and follow-up conversations with community members and experts. We use these resources to convey the Harvard community's sense of what they experienced and hope to see to inform the Task Force's recommendations. Here, we further outline some of the specific approaches used.

Listening Sessions and Qualitative Analysis

Nearly 50 listening sessions were conducted across the Harvard community between April and July 2024, including the College, the graduate and professional Schools, and Harvard-affiliated teaching hospitals. Students, staff, and faculty participated. Each session lasted approximately one hour, and while most hosted groups of participants, a few were one-to-one sessions. The sessions were attended mainly by those identifying as Palestinians, Arabs, and Muslims, as well as allies and interested parties. Care was taken to accurately reflect the listening session discussions while preserving the confidentiality of all participants. A team of four people undertook a thematic analysis of information gathered in the listening sessions and developed a qualitative code book (Appendix 3) that was then utilized to summarize the content from each listening session. Additionally, the effort included reviewing the open-ended responses from the Joint Survey, and a few indicative quotes that support these themes were noted and included in the findings. The four-person team identified as Arab and/or Muslim and personally shared some of the experiences recounted by participants in the listening sessions.

Harvard-Wide Joint Survey and Analysis

On May 22, 2024, the two Presidential Task Forces launched the joint Harvard-wide survey. Accessible to any Harvard community member with a HarvardKey, including students, faculty, and staff, this setup ensured that respondents were verified members of the Harvard community, allowing for unique and anonymous responses. The unique identifier was used solely for login authentication and was not retained after submission. The survey link was prominently displayed on the Task Forces' websites and distributed to participants of listening sessions held during the spring semester, as well as various University affinity groups. To encourage participation, messages were sent by several administrators and student and faculty leaders across the University. The goal was to provide an anonymous avenue for those affected by and/or desiring to express an opinion on the situation on campus about matters related to the mandate of the two Task Forces – examining anti-Arab, anti-Israeli, anti-Muslim, anti-Palestinian, anti-pro-Palestinian bias, and antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias, as experienced by the Harvard community.

The data analyzed includes responses submitted up through September 15, 2024, though most responses came in the early part of the summer. A total of 2,295 unique responses were received. These responses were analyzed based on a pre-analysis plan, with additional regression analysis added to assist in exploring the findings. The full report from the joint subcommittee that was set up to design and analyze the survey is in Appendix 4.

Review of Policies and Procedures

The Policy review subcommittee focused on reviewing Harvard's existing policies and making recommendations for areas of improvement. This included examining rules on protests, Community Conduct policies, and social media guidelines, as well as the communication and enforcement of these policies. The process started by reviewing the feedback received during the Spring listening sessions and

through other channels, such as the Task Force's anonymous feedback form. The Task Force's Preliminary Recommendations report was also consulted, focusing on sections addressing Transparency and Trust, Institutional Response, and Freedom of Expression.

A subsequent step was a review of relevant University policies and procedures that included Non-Discrimination and Anti-Bullying Policies, School-based protest and dissent guidelines and procedures, the University Statement on Rights and Responsibilities, Campus Use Rules, as well reports and policy statements issued during the work, including the Report on Institutional Voice in the University, Guidance on Addressing Online Harassment, and the Report of Harvard University's Open Inquiry and Constructive Dialogue Working Group. The subcommittee primarily held internal meetings, while some members also engaged with the Presidential Task Force on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias and jointly met with the University-wide Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging Leadership Council and the Council of Deans of Students.

Examination of Pluralism

This subcommittee was established as a joint subcommittee of the Task Force on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias and the Task Force on Combating Anti-Arab, Anti-Muslim, and Anti-Palestinian Bias. The subcommittee's charge was to examine Harvard's existing resources and services for interfaith engagements, interdisciplinary collaborations, religious literacy, and community building and propose new resources, structures, and/or practices. The subcommittee focused on pluralism as a framework and adopted the University Values Statement as a basic guide to its work.

In addition to drawing on the initial listening sessions with the community, the subcommittee conducted additional listening sessions and discussions with key stakeholders. These included School staff responsible for incoming student orientation and various Harvard interdisciplinary centers, as well as leaders at the University focusing on the arts, languages, and student life. The work also relied on documents tracing the history of the structure of religious life on campus through the help of the Office of the President and discussions with the Office of Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging (OEDIB) and the Office of the Dean of the College. The findings of the Harvard Task Force on Open Inquiry and Constructive Dialogue also informed the subcommittee's work.

Historical Context

The history section of this report was envisioned as a comprehensive analysis of the Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian communities at Harvard, as outlined in President Garber's charge to the Task Force. This charge emphasized linking the historical analysis to the experiences and perceptions of these groups at Harvard, as well as understanding how they have been influenced by local and global events. Initially, one of the co-chairs was set to lead this endeavor. However, due to unforeseen circumstances and a subsequent leave of absence, the anticipated depth and breadth of the analysis could not be achieved. Despite this setback, the Task Force was committed to providing at least a concise historical overview.

Our methodology involved engaging three independent researchers to explore the respective histories of these groups. They undertook a comprehensive review of the relevant literature, assessed articles from news media and *The Harvard Crimson* archives, and conducted interviews with various members of the Harvard community, including longtime faculty and alumni. The Task Force synthesized these findings with additional materials, including archived news reports. Although not exhaustive, this overview aims to highlight significant trends and events affecting Muslims, Arabs, and Palestinians at Harvard, offering context for current campus dynamics and emphasizing the importance of these narratives in addressing contemporary challenges and combating bias.

Salient Events

To understand the experiences impacting the Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian communities at Harvard, key events influencing these groups during the 2023-24 academic year and beyond were compiled. This approach not only helps document various watershed moments for the community but also gives a sense of how these experiences have evolved. Noting these events in one section helps provide a comprehensive view of the historical and ongoing dynamics faced by these communities.

Formulation of Final Recommendations

The final recommendations in the report draw on the feedback received during the listening sessions, the analysis of the Joint Survey, the various subcommittees' work and recommendations, as well as discussions within the full Task Force and further feedback received from diverse stakeholders to ensure these recommendations are clearly articulated and actionable. These recommendations were discussed in full Task Force meetings and reflect the opinions of all Task Force members. Where possible, we sought unanimity and in the few cases where there wasn't an agreement, we note differences in views and broader aspects of agreement. We have also referenced updates issued by the University on progress made on the Preliminary Recommendations Task Force from June 2024. We believe these updates are important to demonstrate the University's commitment to implementing the recommendations while also illustrating the challenges faced when doing so. We hope that such updates continue, as they play a crucial role in fostering institutional trust and enhancing credibility.

3. Findings

In this section we summarize the main findings from the listening sessions, the Joint Survey exercise, and the historical analysis. Many of the themes overlap and help reinforce each other. These findings were critical in forming our final set of recommendations. Moreover, they play an important role in and of themselves by giving voice to and documenting the views of members of our community.

A. Listening Sessions

Between April and July 2024, our Task Force conducted nearly 50 listening sessions across Harvard University, involving hundreds of students, faculty, and staff. While these sessions predominantly attracted individuals identifying as Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, or pro-Palestinian, participation was not limited to these groups. Six sessions were held in conjunction with the Task Force on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias. During our sessions, participants were invited to share their experiences and perspectives on campus life, particularly during the 2023-24 academic year, as well as their hopes for the future and ideas for addressing bias and hate at Harvard. After the Task Force completed the series of listening sessions, a subcommittee conducted a thematic analysis of the shared experiences and perspectives, resulting in the identification of five key themes:

- Theme 1: Reported Experiences of Discrimination, Hate, and Violence
- Theme 2: Institutional Response
- Theme 3: Community Dynamics
- Theme 4: Educational Experience, Academic Freedom, Free Expression
- Theme 5: Divestment

The following summary aims to convey the key insights we gathered within each thematic area. To provide a clearer picture, we have included illustrative examples of what we heard from our community. The listening sessions provided an opportunity to share directly with Task Force representatives. In including quotes throughout this report, we have removed personal and potentially identifiable information to protect the identities of those we heard from. Basic spelling mistakes have been corrected. Additionally, some words may have been added to provide further context and/or clarity and such instances are reflected in between [brackets]. Except for a few instances involving current and former Harvard presidents, we have opted not to mention personal names that were discussed by respondents.

Theme 1: Reported Experiences of Discrimination, Hate, and Violence

It is important to remember that our listening sessions occurred within a broader context extending beyond Harvard's gates. National events and trends have a direct impact on the experiences of our community members. In October 2023, Wadea Al-Fayoume, a six-year-old Palestinian American boy living in Illinois, was stabbed to death and his mother was seriously injured in the same attack. Their landlord has been charged with multiple offenses related to this attack, including hate crimes. Shortly afterward, in November 2023, three Palestinian college students wearing keffiyehs were shot in Vermont, by a suspect who reportedly waited for and targeted them due to their connection to Palestine. Horrific and senseless acts of violence like these heightened fears within Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian communities across the US. This rise in anti-Muslim sentiment is reflected in a Pew Report published in April 2024, which indicated that 44% of Americans perceived "a lot" of discrimination against Muslims in US society, an increase from 39% in 2021. Further, 2023 saw "the highest-ever number of anti-Arab incidents since the FBI began

collecting data on the category in 2015."[8] The experiences of discrimination, hate, and violence prevalent nationally, along with the attendant fear, resonated deeply among Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian communities on Harvard's campus.

EXPERIENCES OF MUSLIMS, ARABS, AND PALESTINIANS

During the listening sessions, the Task Force repeatedly heard reports of heightened fear among Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian members of the Harvard community. This fear extended beyond concerns about the political and humanitarian crisis in Gaza and the inflammatory rhetoric on social media, stemming also from personal experiences of bias and hate both on and near campus. Students shared accounts — both personal and secondhand — of distressing incidents such as doxxing, verbal and physical assaults, online hate, and various forms of discrimination. Particularly alarming were repeated sightings of trucks (which continued throughout the year) driving through Harvard Square displaying images of pro-Palestinian Harvard students labeled as terrorist supporters and antisemites, leaving the affected students feeling vulnerable and harassed. This atmosphere of intimidation that community members reported was intensified by perceived discrimination based on ethnic or religious identities, even in the absence of any overt political expression. Additionally, some students reported having job offers rescinded and professional relationships damaged due to presumed political beliefs or affiliations.

DOXXING

I was doxxed. I was put on Canary Mission. This happened to lots of students. [Student]

One student had their face put on a doxxing truck and their phone number and other details doxxed online. They received calls with death and rape threats. This was not an isolated incident. This was the level of violence people of Arab, Muslim, and Black descent were experiencing. [Faculty]
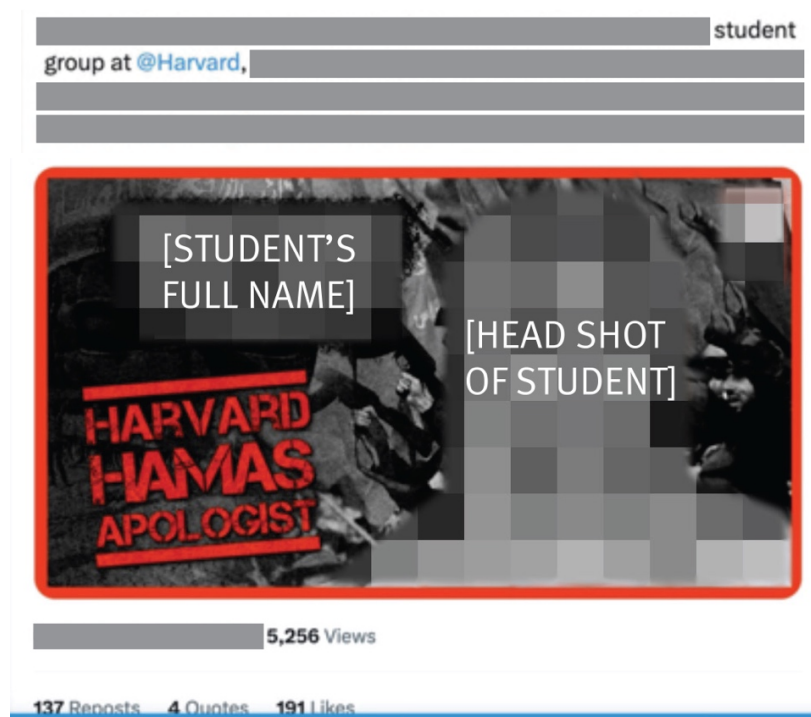
A screenshot of a post (redacted to protect privacy) on the social media platform Twitter (X) doxxing an undergraduate student, posted by a group that seeks to identify individuals it believes promote hate against Jews and Israel.

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[8] https://www.aaiusa.org/library/2023hatecrime

VERBAL AND PHYSICAL ASSAULTS

They were thugs. Not from the University. Screaming at us … Scary. [Faculty]

Lots of interactions when students were wearing keffiyehs, including confrontations from other students for no other reason than just wearing it. [Staff]

I also raised concerns to the deans after I was coughed on and yelled at by students for wearing a keffiyeh. I received a form response. I was told that the "river to the sea" chant is akin to a Confederate monument, which made me feel unsafe. [Student]

The [House] experience has been horrific … Neighbors have shown disrespect by [their way of] spitting in [our shared] sink … I don't feel comfortable approaching the House dean … Until the Houses and Harvard administration address the hatred some students harbor, things won't change. [Student]

I was harassed when I wore a keffiyeh at my … work-study job. I submitted a complaint for harassment and was told it wasn't real harassment. [Another] student took videos of me. I submitted a complaint … but didn't receive a response … I've received death threats and rape threats. I spend a lot of time talking to the administration. [Student]

ONLINE HATE

Based on my own experience, especially around October and November, a lot of students were sharing Islamophobic content on their Instagram stories, saying things like Arabs should go back to their camels, or Arabs rape their sisters. And then I'm supposed to come to class and sit next to those students as if it was nothing. A lot of us reported those stories. You can't expect us to read those and come to class and act normal. [Student]

A screenshot of a message written by a Harvard student on Sidechat.

Name [REDACTED]

Email Address [REDACTED]

Subject: Burning Babies Alive

Message: Dear Palestinian supporters.
Thank you very much for exposing yourselves as the lowest form of life on planet earth. Your support of Hamas (terrorist group) burning babies and chopping their heads off isn't really surprising. After all........they are Palestinians and we expect these things from terrorist supporting scumbags. At least I got to enjoy watching bomb after bomb destroy your terrorist enclave of the Gaza Strip. I'm happy you are all being doxxed publicly so we know who all of you are. When a group of refugees decide to vote for governmental representation from a terrorist group of cowards.....this is exactly what they deserve!! [REDACTED] Hamas, [REDACTED] Hezbolah, and [REDACTED] the Gaza Strip and all who end up dying there. Have a great weekend kids !!

A screenshot of an email a Harvard student received (redacted to protect privacy).

BIAS AND DISCRIMINATION

It was uncomfortable to be in meetings where people call for expulsion of students who support Gaza. More uncomfortable all the time. [Staff]

My perspective on the [Harvard School] career office: since October 7th we have had several employers including [Harvard School] alumni ask us or tell us when they post a job or ask for a resume book that we don't send them names of students who were "involved" in what happened here around support for Palestine. This has happened several times. Completely shocking to me. "Make sure you don't send me anyone whose name was on that document." [Staff]

A lot of faculty felt that students who were being doxxed deserved it. [Student]

This climate of fear described by members of our community has led many to feel a lack of belonging at Harvard, with some even contemplating leaving. These sentiments are particularly troubling given the University's recent efforts to enhance inclusion and belonging. Participants indicated that this sense of alienation was exacerbated by perceived institutional shortcomings in addressing threats to the safety and well-being of Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian community members:

I hate this place. I hate being here. The reason for that has been the administration — a complete erasure of Palestinian, brown students. [Student]

I have heard first or secondhand a lot of stories about students not feeling safe, with the doxxing truck especially … People feeling uncomfortable … Thinking about actually leaving. [Staff]

Participants also drew parallels between the recent rise in bias incidents against Muslims, Arabs, and Palestinians and notable historical periods of discrimination in the United States. Several pointed to similarities between the current environment — both at Harvard and nationally — and the post-9/11 climate of fear and exclusion experienced by many members of these communities:

When October 7th happened, I feared coming to campus. It reminded me of 9/11 … I had a fear of speaking up on different occasions. Because I'm an F1 student I don't want to risk losing my status. [Student]

DISTINCTIVE EXPERIENCES OF PALESTINIANS

Since October 2023, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been a major source of tension at Harvard, as it has been on university campuses globally. Despite the conflict's prominence, many individuals we spoke with observed that Palestinians themselves often seem invisible or absent in discussions at Harvard regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. For instance, we heard that University leaders' public statements and community-wide messages referenced the conflict without explicitly mentioning "Palestine" or "Palestinians."

These omissions were perceived by some as part of a broader trend that either overlooks or questions the existence of Palestinian identity or sidelines it in favor of broader categories such as Arab or Muslim. While there is some overlap with these broader categories, Palestinians constitute a distinct group. Rendering this group invisible, whether intentionally or not, distressed community members and the Task Force alike. It is therefore crucial to highlight the unique experiences of bias and hate directed specifically toward Palestinians and pro-Palestinian individuals. Though fear and concerns about discrimination and safety have affected Muslim and Arab communities at Harvard, the Palestinian community has faced unique and disproportionate challenges. These experiences should not be conflated with those of other groups.

Palestinian members of the Harvard community shared deeply personal accounts of loss and displacement affecting loved ones in Gaza. They spoke of mourning relatives and friends killed in the conflict, and the heartbreak of families forcibly displaced from their homes. The scale of this crisis is immense: the United Nations reports that (as of mid-December 2024) over 45,000 people, predominantly women and children, had lost their lives in Gaza since October 2023.[9] Additionally, UNRWA reported that as of the end of 2024 there were nearly 1.9 million people, comprising approximately 90% of Gaza's population, internally displaced.[10] Several Palestinians at Harvard described dealing with their grief in isolation due to geographical distance from traditional support networks of family and friends compounded by the lack of recognition of their grief and the conflict, and lack of institutional support:

> There is someone [I know] who is personally grieving more than a hundred people in their family. Part of the issue here is that the administration doesn't have an interest or the capacity to understand the suffering of Palestinians. [Student]

> My [immediate family member] has family in Gaza who have been killed and lost their homes. We have immediate family who were visiting [Gaza] who are trapped with no way to get out. I don't think my [immediate family member] and I have ever felt comfortable telling people that at Harvard. We wouldn't go into a department meeting and say that because we don't feel it's welcome. [Faculty]

During our sessions, we gained insight into how the crisis impacted the lives of Palestinians on campus. We heard that students found it challenging to manage daily life at Harvard while simultaneously dealing with the unfolding situation in Palestine. This difficulty was exacerbated by a perceived lack of empathy and understanding from some senior administrators, faculty, and staff. Numerous community members pointed out that existing support systems, especially mental health resources, were insufficient to address their needs during this time:

> The feeling over and over again for Palestinians is that their lives don't matter as much. Sometimes it's explicit. It's really hard when it's your family that matters less. [Student]

> I am two steps away from crying at all times, I've ground my teeth to a pulp. [Student]

> Had to recommend one student seek medical help because they were considering self-harm because of feeling unwelcome at Harvard. How could they complete studies when their friends are dying, and no one is acknowledging that their friends are human? [Faculty]

> I don't feel human … I told President Garber I had family who died in Gaza. He didn't say anything. I can't post pictures at [Harvard School] of my deceased cousin because people might be offended. [Student]

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9 https://press.un.org/en/2024/sc15944.doc.htm
10 https://www.unrwa.org/resources/reports/unrwa-situation-report-153-situation-gaza-strip-and-west-bank-including-east-jerusalem

Colleagues were agreeing with my family members being killed. [Staff]

Do you think that someone whose family members were just bombed in Gaza has the mental capacity to submit a form? [Student]

This was a traumatic event. People are literally suffering. Universities have students who need real counseling help. I don't think that's happened. [Faculty]

Because of the genocide of my people, my mental health has been terrible this year, which has negatively affected my productivity. However, I am too scared to bring that up to my advisers because I fear that I would face discrimination, rather than support. [Written Response, Survey]

We heard that this environment has made openly embracing a Palestinian identity at Harvard seem risky. Students reported feeling pressured to suppress their identities due to negative stereotypes and acute feelings of exclusion and lack of belonging. This suppression manifested in many ways, from hesitant self-expression to completely concealing their Palestinian background:

The one identity I need to tame is the Palestinian one. [Staff]

There is a pervasive climate in which the very existence of being a Palestinian is framed as an attack. [Staff]

My mom literally told me today that I'm probably safe because "I look Indian and not Arab," but to wear my cross outside just in case so they know I'm not Muslim. [Staff]

As a Palestinian staff member, my general experience in higher education has been marked by a sense of non-belonging. [Staff]

My [immediate family member] takes a deep breath before telling people where [they're] from. [They're] nervous to tell people [they are] Palestinian. [Staff]

Theme 2: Institutional Response

Community members expressed widespread dissatisfaction with Harvard's institutional response to reports of bias and hate on campus. While we heard there were individual actions that many felt exemplified positive support for Muslims, Arabs, and Palestinians, the overwhelming view on the institutional response was negative. Participants in the listening sessions used terms such as "abandonment," "suffocation," and "disappointing," suggesting that many community members have lost faith in the University's leadership:

When I see the institutional response, it feels like I'm living in two different worlds. It's natural to want to scream, to do something. I feel suffocated. All these forces seem to be clamping down. Faces of friends will be on [doxxing trucks]. Being targeted because of my religion. I could lose my job by saying something that offends people. Having my Palestinian identity ignored. There's a tangible feeling of suffocation on campus. [Student]

REACTIONS TO THE FORMATION OF THE TASK FORCE

The establishment of the Task Force elicited mixed reactions among community members. While some viewed it as a step toward positive change, others expressed skepticism about its timing, purpose, and structure. Initially, the Task Force's name focused explicitly on "Anti-Muslim and Anti-Arab Bias," which many participants felt was inadequate. They highlighted that the campus issues the Task Force aimed to address were deeply connected to Palestinian experiences, perhaps more so than to those of Muslims or Arabs in general, despite some overlap. As a result, many advocated for

modifying the Task Force's name and scope to explicitly incorporate anti-Palestinian bias, a change that was ultimately adopted:

> *The Task Force doesn't address the issue of Palestinians and obscures the fact that the real issue is about anti-Palestinian racism and genocide. [Student]*

> *There are two separate issues: anti-Muslim issues we need support with, and anti-Palestinian issues. It's troubling that we're mixing these up. This Task Force started and it's confusing to me. I'm Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim — I don't see them as the same issue. I feel the Task Force name is a misnomer. [Student]*

> *For the Task Force to gain the trust of students, add "Palestinian" into the Task Force name. [Student]*

Beyond the name, the very formation of the Task Force was met with skepticism. Some participants criticized the formation of the Task Force as long overdue, raising questions about Harvard's commitment to timely and meaningful change. Concerns were expressed about its initial focus on collecting data and documenting experiences of bias and hate. Many students conveyed frustration, noting that they had already shared their stories and provided information to administrators prior to the Task Force's creation. They reported feeling exhausted from repeatedly recounting their painful and, in some cases, traumatic experiences. There was a sentiment that the time for data collection had passed, and concrete actions were now needed:

> *There's a feeling this Task Force is a pretense and something that checks the box so Harvard can say it's doing something. But we all expect little to come out of it. I encourage the Task Force to prove us wrong. Show us it's not just words. [Student]*

> *This Task Force should take concrete actions, instead of sitting around and listening. [Student]*

> *The administration knows what's wrong. I have submitted things. They have the reports and the bias forms. Why do they have to [go through] this with a listening session? [Student]*

There was skepticism regarding the motivations behind the Task Force and its independence. Some community members suspected that its creation was a performative gesture, intended to project an image of balance in response to similar initiatives addressing antisemitism or to appease government authorities. Concerns about the Task Force's autonomy were further heightened by its status as a presidential initiative, with staff support from the President's Office. This association led some to view the Task Force as an extension of the administration rather than an independent entity. Such skepticism was cited as a factor that may have negatively impacted participation rates in the listening sessions:

> *The Task Force is perceived as a nonstarter. This all seems like a show, as evidenced by the fact that it was established months after the Antisemitism Advisory Group … This Task Force only came into being following a Title VI complaint. Moreover, the Task Force is linked to the President's Office. We suspect that any report produced will not be comprehensive enough and will fall short. This sentiment is shared by people outside this room as well.[11] [Student]*

> *Based on the phrasing of the communications, the Task Force feels faceless and like an extension of the administration rather than something that Muslim faculty are a part of. Making it more personal in terms of communication or describing the experiences of faculty who are leading it would make students feel like this is a safe place. [Student]*

> *[There are a] lot of other students who honestly don't trust Harvard enough to be in this room today. [Student]*

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[11] The Presidential Task Force on Combating Anti-Muslim and Anti-Arab Bias and The Presidential Task Force on Combating Antisemitism were created simultaneously in January 2024. The Antisemitism Advisory Group was created in Fall 2023.

Additionally, some questioned the idea of task forces altogether. They suggested that addressing campus issues should be the sole responsibility of the administration, and relying on task forces seemed to indicate a reluctance to take direct action. Rather than demonstrating a commitment to collaboration and consultation, this approach was perceived as delegating the administration's responsibility to faculty and students:

> *The problem with the Task Force is it further reinforces the idea that the University administration can't engage with students directly. We need an intermediary to do that for us. [Faculty]*

> *The University doesn't want Palestinians in the faculty and other parts of Harvard. This Task Force is either a band-aid solution or a way to address [other matters]. We should ask why task forces are needed.*

HARVARD LEADERSHIP'S RESPONSE

Many participants in our listening sessions perceived a notable lack of empathy from University leaders toward Palestinian members of the Harvard community. Leaders were particularly criticized for failing to adequately acknowledge the ongoing suffering, loss, and trauma experienced by Palestinians on campus. Feedback indicated that this issue was especially pronounced during the fall semester of 2023. While some observed a greater attentiveness to community concerns by the spring semester of 2024, criticism persisted, with many feeling that Harvard's leaders did not take sufficient action to protect vulnerable populations on campus or comprehensively address issues of hate and bias, particularly those affecting Palestinians and pro-Palestinian individuals:

> *[President Gay] got defensive during a prayer, and it was not received well. Not sure what she expected; she came at a charged time when the [doxxing] truck was going around and yelling Islamophobic slurs. Did a meet-and-greet with parents who came but didn't say anything. She gave neutral responses to parents of students who were doxxed … [President Gay] said there's nothing we can do about the truck in the Square. She wasn't condemning it when [parents] were talking to her … After that they felt like they had no hope from the top. I would appreciate it if the administration and professors demonstrated [Harvard's stated] values. High-profile professors often go on online rampages, attacking students … [Former President Lawrence Summers] is a blatant example. It's shocking that such a prominent professor would be so targeted in his discussions about students and people we know. I don't see him practicing [Harvard's] values. There's [also] a lot of avoidance of difficult conversations. For instance, [President Gay] didn't engage in meaningful dialogue with students who wanted to talk to her. At the end of the day, she's supposed to be there for the students. This avoidance of difficult conversations and unwillingness to be accountable is cowardly. [Student]*

> *House deans held space but didn't say anything. There was no conversation. It felt like talking to a wall. We were told we were strong. [Student]*

Harvard's senior leaders were seen as prioritizing the management or prevention of negative publicity over addressing urgent campus issues. This perception extended beyond the President and members of the Central Administration to include deans and others at the School level. Faculty and staff who identified as pro-Palestinian reported that their concerns, when raised with deans and other School officials, were often dismissed or ignored:

> *There's always time to care. Harvard just doesn't. In this case, there wasn't caring or empathy … it was acting to mitigate harm to institutional reputation. [Faculty]*

> *A big issue is that the discrimination is there but it's not being talked about. I've heard in a couple different conversations people are unwilling to go on the record … I'm surprised we haven't been more forward-facing with the war in Gaza, but I have heard people tell me we're trying to avoid being on the front page*

of the New York Times. I feel that created an environment where the discrimination faced by Palestinian and Arab community members is secondary to not having public criticism. [Staff]

PERCEIVED DOUBLE STANDARDS

Among the concerns shared with the Task Force was the belief that Harvard's administration applies a "Palestine exception," a recent colloquialism referring to the unequal enforcement of free speech principles to mute or mitigate Palestinian advocacy. This belief stemmed, in part, from issues related to free expression, protests, and similar matters, which we discuss in more detail later in this report. This view was further fueled by what some saw as a double standard in the University's public statements about the humanitarian plights of Palestinians in Gaza, compared to its comments at the same time regarding Israelis, or its earlier statements about other groups, such as Ukrainians after the Russian invasion in 2022.

Disappointment with the University's communications and public statements underscored the perceived double standard. Participants expressed concern over the many emails and statements from Harvard's leaders — from the President and the Corporation to the deans of various Schools — that addressed, directly or indirectly, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and its impact on the Harvard community. Participants told us that these communications often failed to mention "Palestine" or "Palestinians" and did not explicitly acknowledge the humanitarian crisis in Gaza, even as the staggering scale of suffering, death, and destruction became increasingly evident:

The messaging is one-sided at best and at times is vilifying of Palestinians … [Community Member]

When will the administration say the word "Palestinian"? There has been a deafening silence. [Student]

Even when Claudine [Gay] sent the message at the beginning, I did not feel that I belonged in the "us." [Student]

Participants also criticized the University's perceived reluctance or unwillingness to take a clear, principled stance on these ongoing humanitarian issues:

From an intellectual point of view, we need to look at the human impact and the toll. This is where we cannot be neutral and silent, and that has not come across. [Staff]

I haven't seen in Harvard emails anything about the humanitarian suffering of Palestinians since October 7th. What I have seen from central admin and FAS is an acknowledgment of Hamas attacks and antisemitism, but nothing about the tens of thousands of Palestinian lives that have been ended. [Staff]

THE ADMINISTRATION'S HANDLING OF DOXXING

Students and faculty expressed significant concern regarding the University's response to instances where community members, particularly students, were doxxed for their involvement or perceived involvement with pro-Palestinian activism. They felt the responses, which varied across Schools, were inadequate and had severely eroded trust between segments of the Harvard community and the University's leaders. Many viewed the handling of doxxing — which they considered a threat to students' current safety and future job prospects — as an especially egregious lapse in Harvard's duty of care:

I was doxxed by a student. I worked in good faith with the administration. I provided documentation. But there was no ad board process to hold the student accountable. [Student]

My face was on the doxxing truck. All doxxed students have been subject to Islamophobia with a specific anti-Palestinian framing. Harvard chose not to respond to that. [Student]

The University response to an aggressive campaign of doxxing, which is traumatic and damaging to our students' futures, was not addressed with the seriousness it merited. The lack of response to the shooting of students at our peer institution was traumatic, and did not receive the response it merited. [Student]

My experience last semester felt as though there was a profound failure of this institution to protect students at all levels … Many young people who were doxxed came to the clinic. [Faculty]

DeleteMe isn't covered for all people. It costs $120. It's provided only after the fact which makes doxxing worse. We should be more proactive and offer it to all students, faculty, and staff. [Faculty]

Students came from [multiple Harvard Schools] … One student had their face put on a doxxing truck and their phone number and other details doxxed online. They received calls with death and rape threats. This was not an isolated incident. This was the level of violence people of Arab, Muslim, and Black descent were experiencing. When they went to [School official], the message was to contact [Harvard University Police Department]. [Faculty]
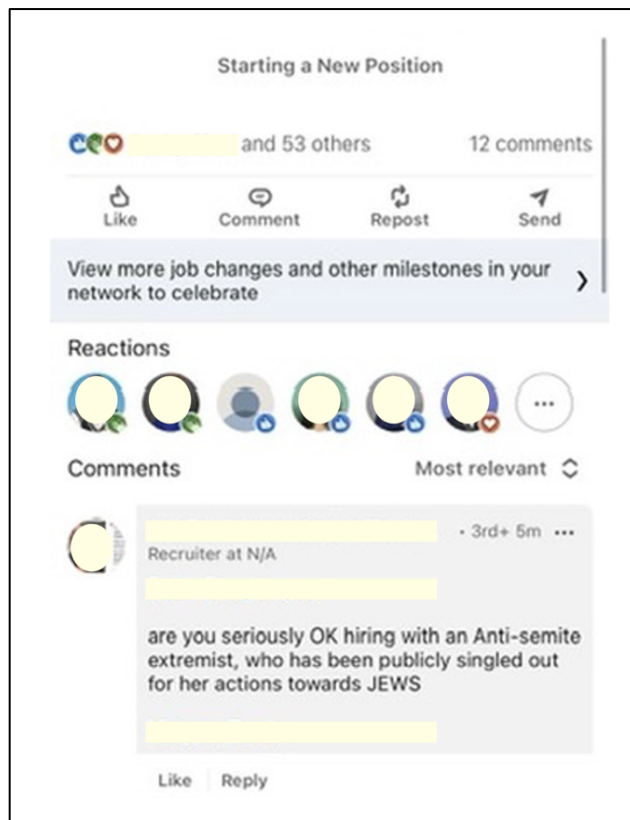
A screenshot (redacted to protect the privacy of all parties) of a comment on a Harvard student's LinkedIn post, tagging their would-be manager and calling the student "an Anti-semite extremist."

CONCERNS REGARDING EXTERNAL INFLUENCE

Harvard is a community that extends beyond its campus, encompassing a vast community of alumni, benefactors, and stakeholders across various sectors. Such connections are part of a desired engagement with the larger world, including the realms of government and public life. However, we heard from members of the Harvard community expressing significant unease regarding the potential influence of external actors on the University's response to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. During listening sessions, concerns were raised by those sympathetic to Palestinian political aspirations about feeling silenced and unsupported by the University. Participants noted a perceived lack of institutional response to Palestinian suffering compared to the condemnation of Hamas's actions. Some saw this apparent disparity as

stemming from Harvard's deference to external considerations which they believe stifle expressions of solidarity with and supportive of the Palestinian cause:

I'm Jewish. The way Harvard is responding to outside forces, Congress or whatever, the University is making it hard for students who have a genuine concern for humanitarian issues in Gaza as they're not at all comfortable expressing humanitarian views about children being killed. If Harvard doesn't set a good example, how can we convince society of anything? We're the grown-ups in the room. We're supposed to be helping these students grow up to be responsible human beings. [Faculty]

When donors threatened to pull money from UPenn, the UPenn president said donors don't control UPenn. Harvard is okay with donors controlling what it says, teaches, and funds … Harvard could surrender some of its endowment and still be fine. [Student]

Think Harvard is subservient to powerful donors and political actors in the US. Felt at the beginning that Claudine [Gay] was addressing [the Israel–Palestine conflict] in an even-handed way with video messaging, then felt political forces were pushing her in a certain way. [Faculty]

They felt that the impact of these perspectives extended beyond official University statements and actions, affecting the campus climate and discourse. Some even suggested that this came at the expense of student well-being and academic freedom. Faculty members expressed a sense of powerlessness, feeling sidelined when it came to shaping Harvard's priorities and responses to campus upheaval. Some suggested that the administration's heeding off-campus voices undermined the faculty's role as stewards of the University's intellectual and academic mission:

A lot of faculty are struggling, not feeling like they have any real leverage or influence by decisions that are being made at the administrative level or with the Corporation. At the meeting with the Corporation, they expressed that they never get to meet them, we're in the NYT, there's no sense that the faculty who are at the core of the University's mission has any bearing on what the University chooses to do. It's difficult for them. It's been politicized by Congress and outside donors in ways that it does not feel like Harvard has its own intellectual space and makes its own decisions about how to care for students, and how we teach is not protected. [Faculty]

I feel uncomfortable sharing any views that are not pro-Israel due to the caving to donors that [Harvard has] done over the past year. I do not think President Gay should have been forced out and if that happened to the most powerful position how can anyone else feel comfortable knowing their job could be on the line? [Written Response, Survey]

The Task Force's job — not easy, the world is watching, donors are threatening you. [Faculty]

Several individuals reported instances where they felt that external influences were hindering open dialogue and debate. They pointed to the widely discussed withdrawal of financial support by certain major donors and foundations following pro-Palestinian activism on campus as evidence. Furthermore, they noted actions by some prominent alumni donors as particularly concerning. One such case involved an individual who allegedly attempted to blacklist students who signed a statement expressing solidarity with Palestine. This individual's continued presence and speaking engagements on campus were deeply troubling to many students and faculty. They interpreted this attempt to harm students' job prospects as an effort to silence dissenting voices, especially given what they described as the administration's muted response, viewing it as an example of how the University weighed external voices relative to those on campus.

These examples reflect broader anxieties regarding the University's commitment to academic freedom and its willingness to prioritize the needs of marginalized students over the demands of external actors. Highlighting the significant role of philanthropy at the University, many participants expressed concern

about its potential to unduly influence academic life and University priorities. They called for a more prominent role for faculty and student voices in shaping University priorities and for greater transparency regarding donor engagement. Some argued for additional actions, such as speaking out on the humanitarian plight of Palestinians in Gaza and urged Harvard to adhere to its values and commitment to open discourse, even if it risked alienating some financial backers or external actors. Ultimately, participants encouraged the University to take concrete steps to address these concerns and reaffirm its commitment to academic freedom and the well-being of all its students:

> *My hope is not to shy away from a negative response if we're standing up for our values. This connects to being honest and clear with donors. Can we solicit donors but tell them they can't influence our policy? We don't want to be influenced by outside donors if we're standing up for values and what we think is just. [Faculty]*

> *Really think the uneasiness that people feel on campus would be transformed if there were some openness to the University supporting what it's always talking about with free speech and engaging with issues. Seeing a fear of responses from donors and people who are unable to see a middle ground. Any move to open it up is seen as promoting one side or the other. [Faculty]*

NON-DISCRIMINATION AND ANTI-BULLYING POLICIES

The Task Force heard concerns regarding the University's Non-Discrimination and Anti-Bullying (NDAB) policies and procedures, which went into effect in September 2023 and were first pressure-tested during the campus upheaval of the 2023-24 academic year. Concerns were also raised about the systems for addressing threats to personal safety and handling discrimination and bias. Some participants described the NDAB procedures and related systems as confusing, difficult to access, and lacking transparency in their processes, expected outcomes, and procedural details. This perceived lack of clarity and accessibility created significant barriers for individuals seeking support and was consistently highlighted as a critical area for improvement.

Additionally, stakeholders conveyed their concerns about the capacity of the Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging (EDIB) offices, both at the University and School levels, to effectively support the Harvard community. They cited last year's campus turmoil as evidence, in their view, of the need for a more proactive and comprehensive approach to addressing bullying and discrimination. This includes what participants identified as the need to tackle more subtle forms of bias, such as microaggressions, which may not be explicitly addressed within existing policy frameworks. Participants suggested the need for enhanced training and support for EDIB staff and others to foster safe and inclusive campus environments more effectively. Many hope that these units more uniformly include training and intentional engagement of students, staff, and faculty toward these goals:

> *Right now, there's systematic targeting of students without adequate University response and broader protections. I just saw a doxxing truck last week. I know the University has no control over that. But it's night and day — Harvard's response to harms is disproportionate between groups [pro-Israel compared to pro-Palestine]. [Faculty]*

> *Process for reporting doesn't let you do so anonymously. [Staff]*

> *One thing that did show up in my day-to-day is inquiries from students about what more could be done in terms of safe transportation … opened my eyes to how scary it can be for students just wearing something that's part of their identity. [Staff]*

> *DeleteMe isn't covered for all people. It costs $120. It's provided only after the fact which makes doxxing worse. We should be more proactive and offer it to all students, faculty, and staff. [Faculty]*

Beyond the desire for modifications to systems and procedures, another theme that emerged was the need for stronger leadership from the University in addressing bias against Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian individuals. Participants expressed a clear preference for a more proactive, coordinated, Harvard-wide approach, rather than what individuals described as leaving students to take on responsibility for identifying problems and proposing solutions, or relying on the efforts of individual staff and faculty members, however well-intentioned, scattered across Schools. This sentiment was linked to a high degree of "exhaustion" described by students, faculty, and staff who felt compelled to seek support over the past year and found the existing avenues, in their opinion, inadequate:

> *One thing that's hard is getting the University to take this threat seriously and provide meaningful resources to help across Harvard and not make it all depend on students getting lucky enough to have helpful one-off professors. Harvard needs to have a more unified University-wide effort. [Faculty]*

> *It signifies that there is a lot of trust that needs to be built. Hard to get through to a lot of people who are hurt. I've been in a lot of conversations with administrators. I feel we've been talking to admin about this, feel like we've already shared these stories. Cried in [School dean's] office, talked to diversity dean. I've attended so many sessions with the doxxing and harassment task force. [Student]*

> *Feels like our stories are going into a black hole. [Palestine Solidarity Committee] circulated a form as an avenue for students to share their experiences about harassment, collected so many responses with evidence, gave a redacted copy of that to [School dean] and he told us "you should be reporting through proper channels, not doing this." Frustrating because we have been reporting through proper channels. Friend submitted report on harassment with support from manager, they didn't find grounds for action. When it feels like it's going into a black hole, it's very frustrating. [Student]*

A doxxing truck parked in Harvard Square displaying the name and face of a Harvard graduate student. (Photo submitted anonymously and redacted to protect privacy.)

RELIGIOUS LIFE AND ACCOMMODATIONS

Concerns about religious life and accommodations at Harvard were notably highlighted during our discussions. Although specifics may vary, it was reported to the Task Force that both Muslim and Jewish students share similar concerns regarding these aspects of campus life. Participants suggested that perceived shortcomings in these areas contribute to feelings of exclusion and a diminished sense of belonging among affected individuals within the campus community:

> *The culture before Oct 7th — Harvard has never met the standard of inclusion for Jewish students and sure is not for Muslim/Arab/Palestinian students. To act like you can start meeting that standard in a crisis is problematic. [Student]*

Muslim students conveyed that their religious and cultural needs were not sufficiently understood by administrators, leading to an undue burden on students to organize their own religious activities. Undergraduates reported that having to arrange iftar meals during the last Ramadan, secure dedicated prayer spaces, and ensure the availability of Halal food options was an additional strain in an already difficult year. This dissatisfaction was particularly evident among Harvard College students who expressed frustration that such responsibilities often fell on them instead of being managed by chaplains or administrative officials. Moreover, some students highlighted a perceived lack of financial and institutional support for their religious practices and community needs. There were also comments that reflected the tensions and differences within the community, with some calling for the administration to do more for Muslim life on campus — for example, improving the support provided to Muslim chaplains — while others seemed wary about the administration's formal involvement in such matters:

> *Our chaplains are walking a fine line; they don't want trouble … can't even get money for iftars. [Student]*

> *Why don't we have a mosque? Where's the physical and mental space for Muslims? Where's the institutional support for that? [Student]*

> *We need to consider how we're putting pressure on 19-year-old kids to hold 30 days of programming [during Ramadan]. How are we putting pressure on them and why is that okay? It's incredible. It's hard to get money. [Student]*

Adding to these concerns, participants expressed what they saw as a lack of awareness regarding Islam within the broader Harvard community. They stressed the importance of educational opportunities to enhance understanding of Islamic beliefs, practices, and culture. With the increasing Muslim population at Harvard and across the United States, some participants suggested that a basic understanding of Islam, as one of the major world religions, should be an essential expectation for members of a diverse academic community like Harvard:

> *Perhaps a solution is bringing more awareness onto campus. Islam is a beautiful religion, and the community is beautiful. When I see people use my religion for something else, it makes me sad. So, education and awareness of Islam and Islamic culture and history [might help]. [Student]*

Theme 3: Community Dynamics

Participants observed a significant shift in community dynamics at Harvard over the past year, highlighting what they saw as increasing divisions among community members, a rise in self-censorship on certain topics, and widespread feelings of alienation. These developments have left some individuals feeling as though they do not belong within the Harvard community, which some described as becoming increasingly fractured and marked by a concerning lack of empathy:

> *It's different now that they're angry at each other … We have to go back to the Civil War to find historical examples of students at Harvard who were fighting among each other. [Faculty]*

I've never seen this University so polarized. There's a fear that divisions at this University could be existential if unaddressed. [Faculty]

This sense of alienation was particularly pronounced among advocates for Palestinian rights, who described feeling increasingly isolated, targeted, and marginalized. They indicated that their experience has further eroded their sense of community and belonging. Participants noted both overt and subtle attempts to silence Palestinians and their allies, which they said made it challenging to speak out about the political situation in Palestine or the hardships faced by Palestinians, especially those in Gaza. These sentiments were echoed by others within the Muslim and Arab communities who perceive the campus atmosphere as increasingly hostile:

For Arab and Palestinian students, it's hard to carry on. They're less willing to showcase their culture and embrace their identity. Some students are less active in those groups because of fear … It will take Harvard a lot of time to rebuild that relationship. [Student]

No one harassed me, but suddenly I was not sitting with the same classmates I previously had been. The friendly banter was gone. Everyone was stressed and on their toes. People were picking sides. There was no camaraderie. I can't blame fellow students. There was a sense of confusion and alienation, people don't want to be implicated. [Student]

Harvard has always had a complex history with its Black and brown students. This year has hurt whatever relationship it had created with those students immensely. Arab and Palestinian students don't feel they have that relationship with the institution anymore. Black and brown students feel they are the collateral damage; if anything happens the University can cut the fat with them. [Student]

Participants further pointed to both the administration's actions and, in some cases, its inactions, along with its policies, as factors they feel exacerbate these divisions and contribute to the pervasive sense of alienation among segments of the Harvard community:

Saw students weren't getting responses any time they had conversations with the administration. [Student]

[Former President] Summers' comments were very hurtful to students. It felt like things accelerated after his initial tweet. He is looked at as the catalyst for publicizing things. [A spouse of a Harvard professor] was filmed harassing a student [wearing] a keffiyeh, and students were afraid of taking a class with [the professor]. When it happened, there wasn't an institutional response, a public apology occurred two months later. [Student]

Despite these challenges, some students we engaged with reported experiencing informal support from peers. While they acknowledged this grassroots support as valuable, they emphasized that it cannot substitute for a comprehensive institutional response organized and led by trained experts, which they view as essential for effectively addressing these complex community dynamics:

I felt like a student hotline, tasked with supporting my fellow students. Where were the administrators? Where was our support system? I am 20 years old. [Student]

Students are supporting students, and yet they're not equipped to be counselors. [Faculty]

We need proactive institutional support — not driven by students, more space, and proactive direct communication. [Student]

Theme 4: Educational Experience, Academic Freedom, and Freedom of Speech

EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE

Participants expressed a desire for academic offerings that were more rigorous, inclusive, and reflective of real-world complexities. Some felt that the current courses fell short in preparing students to navigate and understand complex global issues, particularly in the Middle East. They advocated for the inclusion of a wider range of perspectives, particularly on contentious topics like the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, noting that discussions often seemed to lack depth and were overshadowed by ideological biases. Additionally, there was dissatisfaction with the portrayal of certain communities in course materials, notably Muslims, Arabs, and Palestinians, with a feeling that these portrayals perpetuated negative stereotypes. This revealed an urgent need to ensure the curriculum provides an equitable and respectful representation of marginalized groups:

> *[one student] mentioned she didn't feel like she was being educated in a way that helped her grapple with these complex issues and questions. [Staff]*

> *I have been really annoyed with lack of knowledge when representing Muslims, especially those who put on a headscarf, in lectures, books, presentations. They always put images of people who are dirty, sad, miserable in presentations of Syrians, Iraqis, etc. Adds to stereotype of Arabs being unclean. We're always presented as poor refugees. This is inaccurate and lacks humanity. [Faculty member name redacted] is someone who did not do this. [They] gave a presentation on Syrian refugees, did it in a really nice way. [They were] talking about the community in a very positive way. Only one I've seen like this. [Student]*

> *We have major Palestinian thinkers and Israeli thinkers who have been studying these [issues] for half a century. There should be space for it not just as a debate. I want to hear informed, knowledgeable scholars talk about these things. It might be too heated to do that now. If there's any way for us to build trust as a community it's by the fact that we're all committed to knowledge and "veritas," allegedly. Lean into our mission and away from the ideological/political side. [Faculty]*

> *No one at Harvard could help me think about Palestine from a cultural perspective. That was a scary, lonely, and disappointing conclusion to come to. [Student]*

We heard that students felt stigmatized and hesitant to share their views in the classroom, fearing negative perceptions or repercussions for supporting Palestine:

> *The atmosphere in the classroom felt polarized, and it was stigmatizing to talk about these issues. [Student]*

> *What's been most striking is how many students report feeling uncomfortable to speak about their experience with religious identity and the conflict in the Middle East. This is challenging for our international students who have made dramatic pivots in their life to move to the US for this educational experience and have been led to believe there's the opportunity for open dialogue here. They then feel the safest thing is to be silent. [Staff]*

Community members called for an educational approach that promotes constructive dialogue and provides students with the tools to explore diverse perspectives and address complex issues. Faculty expressed a desire to create classroom opportunities where this type of dialogue can occur, ensuring students are equipped with the skills needed for productive disagreement. However, there were concerns that faculty avoidance of conflict, although well-intentioned, may hinder students' ability to engage with challenging topics:

> *There needs to be a healthier and more robust understanding of the importance of the uses of free debate so that it's not a way to display cancel culture and fragility. It should be that of course we have a speaker come. There's a shift in tenor. [Faculty]*

[My] sense is there should be more intellectual spaces for actual discussion of these questions. When [I] have tried to bring these questions into [my] classroom, [I] haven't felt like that's a comfortable thing for [my] colleagues in [our] co-taught class. In other classes, there's been a sense that there's a fear that comes from students and other faculty of there being a sanction or punishment for even talking about it. The University should be clear that it will stand by faculty when they choose to teach or talk about the conflict, [that] would be really helpful. [Haven't] felt sure that Harvard would have [my] back. [Faculty]

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Several community members shared their personal perspectives on academic freedom and fear in the classroom, particularly concerning discussions about Palestine. They informed us that some faculty members avoid including references to Palestine in their syllabi due to concerns about tenure and other professional repercussions. Additionally, we were told that this might contribute to a notable lack of course offerings on Palestinian topics compared to Harvard's peers. This self-censorship points to a broader issue where faculty members feel uncomfortable discussing Palestine-related subjects in classroom settings, fearing negative repercussions and a lack of institutional support. Although no explicit prohibitions on academic work related to Palestine were reported, we heard that there is a widespread perception that such work is implicitly viewed with suspicion and treated differently by those in positions of responsibility. Some felt that the current state of academic freedom at Harvard sharply contrasts with the values that a University is meant to uphold:

Some faculty hide their syllabi with references to Palestine because they're worried about not getting tenure. Few syllabi mention Palestine … You guys should know and report that professors are hiding the word "Palestine" from their syllabus. [Student]

Afraid for [my] own tenure and future. In a meeting to talk about supporting students, faculty members said they didn't want to talk about [issues related to Israel–Palestine] … Many said they didn't want to be seen taking sides. [I feel] this should be talked about, and pedagogy should include sitting in discomfort and being in conversation; not the time and place to shut down. [Faculty]

Professors cannot advocate for Palestine because they are seeking tenure. [Student]

The issue of a broader institutional response to outside pressure, not just Harvard. Universities don't defend faculty from outside pressures — it's a big issue for non-tenured faculty. [Faculty]

If my dean is sending emails about the Israel–Palestine conflict that I feel ignores the plight of Palestinians, and I'm up for promotion, if I complain to the dean, will my promotion be affected? [Faculty]

I've never been told by the University I can't speak up. But it's clear it's different with Palestine issues. The double standards are disheartening. The Palestine exception is clear to us. It runs counter to what an academic institution should hold. [Faculty]

CONTESTED TERMS

During our discussions, community members expressed concerns about the perceived failure to distinguish between antisemitism and pro-Palestinian advocacy or criticism of Israeli policies and actions. Many voiced frustrations over the lack of clarity in how terms such as antisemitism are defined and applied. They emphasized the importance of differentiating antisemitism, understood as hatred against Jews, from what they considered legitimate political critiques of Israeli policies and actions, cautioning against conflating the two or treating them as equivalent. Even administrators responsible for addressing instances of antisemitism reported uncertainty about how to respond in specific situations, citing the lack of clarity surrounding key terms:

The issues at hand begin with the question: what is the definition of antisemitism? Rather than assuming there's a clearly defined concept out there called antisemitism, we first need to interrogate what

antisemitism is and how we're going to address it. This is the case with other kinds of bias as well, but it is more pronounced with antisemitism. Antisemitism is understood differently by different people, making it hard to address without initiating such conversations first. The definition of antisemitism doesn't seem to be sufficiently clear in public discourse. We need to define what we're talking about, and then we can discuss identifying and addressing it — this is the elephant in the room. I would like an acknowledgement that the term is subject to debate. It is widely disputed what this term means. [Faculty]

What bothers me, which I see at Harvard and in the news and everywhere, is that criticism of Israel and the Israeli government and Israel's history and founding is so quickly equated with being antisemitic. And being supportive of Palestinians and other Muslim and Arab groups can lead to being labeled as antisemitic. I feel that's so obviously not true, but I get the sense that this idea and conflation just continue, and that's a problem. [Staff]

I don't know what we'll do except live with these parallel concepts [about what is and isn't antisemitic]. I don't see how the University can side one way or another … Maybe the federal government will force our hand, though, and define antisemitism for us. [Faculty]

A recurring view shared with the Task Force was the perception that labeling criticism of Israel or support for Palestinian rights as antisemitic contributes to a chilling effect on campus, fostering a climate of insecurity that hinders free speech and expression. Some individuals expressed fears of being labeled antisemitic when participating in protests or engaging in activities related to Palestinian issues, even just speaking out about the plight of civilians in Gaza. Community members also drew parallels to historical instances where they felt dissent was misconstrued, such as during the Vietnam War when anti-war advocates were labeled anti-American:

I'm coming into the conversation as a Jewish staff member and Israeli staff member. From this position, I feel I am able, and have a responsibility, to speak out against racism and discrimination faced by Palestinian and Arab students. I worry other people don't feel comfortable speaking out against these forms of racism. I'm very concerned that antisemitism is being weaponized in a way to discriminate against Palestinian students and their freedom of speech on campus. [Staff]

Someone had mentioned there were vocal [pro-Palestinian] students before October 7th and some of them are still vocal, but many have been silent since October 7th because they feel unsafe about their identities in Boston and on [Harvard's] campus. They said that friends and allies are also silent because they are fearful of being judged or called antisemitic. [Staff]

Reminded of Vietnam era when people against the war were broadly painted as anti-American and feel the word antisemitism has been branded by the University in a way that has lacked nuance. [Faculty]

Community members urged Harvard to assume greater intellectual leadership in navigating these complex and contested issues. They called on the University to leverage its influential platform to model and promote discourse that is informed, nuanced, and balanced. Furthermore, they encouraged Harvard's leaders to address future controversies at the intersection of these issues in ways that uphold the institution's core values of freedom of speech and academic freedom:

It's bizarre that [Harvard has] such a strong brand and can have influence, which could make us risk-takers, but we're actually very conservative, all about protecting the brand. We could be leaders in talking about language and separating antisemitism from criticism of Israeli policy. How can Harvard be a leader in putting out facts and calling out inaccuracies? This is what Harvard could do. [Staff]

Wish there was an ability for the University to make a public statement that you're not being antisemitic by supporting our Arab students, and Anti-Arab by supporting Jewish students. It shouldn't be polarizing or politicized to support our students. [Staff]

FREE EXPRESSION AND A "PALESTINE EXCEPTION"

Among the concerns shared with the Task Force was the perception that Harvard's administration applies a "Palestine exception" to free speech and expression. While the University publicly upholds freedom of speech as a fundamental principle, as outlined in the Statement on Rights and Responsibilities, some people believed there was a discrepancy between this stated commitment and actual practice. According to them, although Harvard allows a broad range of views in its classrooms as a matter of academic freedom and permits protests on nearly all topics as a matter of free expression, there appears to be a notable exception for speech advocating for Palestine or Palestinians. This perceived exception was suggested to have become particularly pronounced over the past year:

The administration has cracked down disproportionately on pro-Palestinian advocacy without regard for pre-existing protocols or administrative consistency. It is shameful to watch. [Written Response, Survey]

In this context, several participants pointed to an incident at Harvard Medical School where administrators allegedly removed pro-Palestinian imagery from the annual student-produced music video for newly admitted students, justifying the action by citing a rule against political advocacy, despite previous videos containing political messages like "abortion is healthcare."[12] Questions also arose about the decision by Harvard College administrators to place the Palestine Solidarity Committee on retroactive probation and subsequently suspend the organization due to unsanctioned collaboration with unrecognized student groups, a move seen by some as unusually severe and a deviation from precedent:

I was shocked when the Medical School students were not allowed to have a sign in a class video that just stated "HMS/HSDM Students for Palestine." This is a completely legitimate student group that has hosted various functions aimed at increasing the amount of humanitarian aid for a group of people greatly in need … This is flagrant bias. [Written Response, Anonymous Feedback Form]

A medical student video in the past had public statements about abortion. If it's not political to talk about abortion or Ukraine or gender, why can't we talk about genocide in Gaza? [Faculty]

The response to the music video by the administration was perplexing. They used inclusivity as a reason for deleting the scene. This is hard to reconcile, especially considering that past videos had political messages, like pro-choice. It seems like you can only embrace political messages that Harvard approves, such as pro-choice. [Student]

[the Palestine Solidarity Committee] … is under probation status because of these policy things. It's becoming clear that the policies are unclear on particular points. People [are] mass complaining … Some complaints saying that [just because] we posted event on social media that means we were hosting an unauthorized event … A lot of focus on silencing us. [Student]

The institutional response to the pro-Palestine encampment in Harvard Yard further fueled perceptions of a "Palestine exception." The Harvard College Administrative Board, the College's primary disciplinary body, suspended five students and placed others on probation for their involvement in the encampment. These actions were criticized by students and faculty, who perceived them as overly harsh and inconsistent with established practices. Additionally, the Harvard Corporation, the University's highest governing body, took what many considered the unprecedented step of rejecting a recommendation to confer degrees

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[12] https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/4/22/medical-dental-students-allege-music-video-censorship/

on 13 seniors facing disciplinary charges related to the encampment.[13] The recommendation from the Faculty of Arts and Sciences was itself also considered by many to be unprecedented:

A lot of Palestinians/allies feel frightened, which is justifiable given the University's punitive rhetoric, especially given the encampment. [Student]

I had previously felt like Harvard had an excellent record on freedom of thought. The recent penalization of students for protest, including overruling FAS [in withholding diplomas], as well as giving in to the bad-faith attacks on President Gay, make we wonder if that's the case for opinions unpopular with big donors. [Written Response, Survey]

I fill most of the checkmarks of a privileged person in our society, yet I've seen students and faculty suspended, seen diplomas withheld, and have seen our current President make misleading statements to get what he wants, while turning around and suspending students. I used to love working at Harvard. Now, I have a very bitter taste in my mouth because of the current administration. [Written Response, Survey]

Participants felt the University's response to Palestinian activism was inconsistent, and that the unevenness extended beyond the handling of protests. They reported that pro-Palestinian student activists faced obstacles when distributing materials related to their cause, a response they found atypical compared to other student groups distributing similar materials. Additionally, participants shared their view that the University's fear of donor pressure affected response to student protests related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Certain protest events, they claimed, faced heightened scrutiny or administrative hurdles due to concerns about potential donor backlash. These concerns fueled broader anxieties that the administration's perceived targeting of Palestinian speech had a chilling effect on open dialogue and free expression on campus:

I was trying to pass out pamphlets at [an] event and the [School administrator] approached me and said I couldn't hand them out. He said he didn't know the policy, but I couldn't do it. And they collected the pamphlets. They ambushed me and I couldn't think. They collected everything. They told me I couldn't pass pamphlets out. Things like that keep happening. Anyone who says anything about Palestine is considered bad. [Student]

[Harvard] Lampoon puts [printed material] in Annenberg, but we can't put [printed material] there that's pro-Palestinian. It's immediately thrown out. That's selective enforcement. Harvard needs to acknowledge and defend free speech. There's another Task Force about free speech. We protest because nobody listens to us. [Student]

There's selective enforcement on Palestinian groups. [Harvard School] Valentine event was shut down because the group added the word "Palestine" on a Valentine. [Student]

I have personally had [high-ranking individuals] come to me about silence, erasure, bias, and targeting by [respondent's unit] program leadership around the topic of speaking about human rights in Palestine. [Staff]

Theme 5: Divestment

Divestment emerged as a theme in many of our listening sessions, capturing the interest of many faculty, staff, and especially students we engaged. Divestment, which involves the targeted sale of investments for ethical, social, or political reasons, was seen as a potential tool for leveraging the University's endowment funds to address the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Many community members also saw Harvard's investment in entities that they feel contribute to the crisis in Gaza, and its decision not to divest from those entities, as creating a divide between themselves and Harvard, negatively impacting their sense of safety and belonging on campus. They saw divestment as necessary for Harvard's behavior to align with its stated values and social and ethical

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[13] The Harvard Corporation eventually conferred diplomas to 11 of the 13 seniors.
https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/7/23/harvard-corporation-diplomas-encampment/

commitments. While some might see a less direct link between the issue of divestment and the challenge of bias on campus that our Task Force was charged with addressing, given that community members repeatedly raised the issue, and its impact on their sense of belonging, we would be remiss if we did not address it here.

Students expressed deep frustration with what they considered dismissive responses from senior leaders to their calls for divestment. From our discussion, it was evident that these students understand that divestment is a contentious issue both at Harvard and beyond, with well-known objections to its general practice and specific application to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. However, what seemed to disappoint them most was the apparent refusal of University leaders to engage in meaningful discussions on the topic. They felt that calls for divestment from students, faculty, and staff were being dismissed outright as unserious and unworthy of consideration. This seemingly dismissive attitude, as much as the objections to divestment itself, left students feeling disrespected, marginalized, and unheard:

> *Divestment is on a lot of students' minds. Sometimes I think a mistake is to think of divestment as solely a financial decision. For the purposes of the Task Force, might be worth thinking of it as something directly related to student safety. It's top of mind for many students. Directly linked to student safety. Students will not feel safe at this institution knowing it is directly or indirectly funding mass atrocities like the one in Palestine. When it comes up again, and it definitely will, it's worth thinking about it from the student safety perspective and portraying it as such in your recommendations. [Student]*

> *[President Garber] said divesting from Israel lacks moral clarity. How can he say that divestment as an approach lacks moral clarity? [Student]*

> *At an event, [President Garber] said deciding about something like divestment can't happen now because it's divisive and it will make things worse. [Student]*

> *Most importantly — there needs to be divestment, disclosure broadly. It's very hard for any Palestinian student when Harvard is investing $300 million in an enterprise that is occupying their family's land. That's the most important point. [Student]*

Moreover, students pointed to what they understood to be Harvard's historical precedent of divesting from certain industries and companies for non-financial reasons, such as ethical, social, or political considerations. Notably, the University divested from companies tied to the South African military during apartheid in 1986, from tobacco companies in 1990, and from two Chinese energy companies in 2005 due to their ties to the Sudanese government during the Darfur genocide More recently, in 2021, Harvard decided to halt future investments in fossil fuels and phase out existing ones—actions widely regarded as forms of divestment. This precedent was cited by students as evidence that current calls for divestment warrant serious consideration by University leaders. The perceived inconsistent approach to divestment, and the lack of divestment debate itself, seemed to contribute to the sense of alienation and exclusion that many students described during our sessions:

> *Divestment is a key issue. There must be space to discuss Divestment, (as there has been for other issues such as stopping investment in fossil fuels). A lack of consistency in University leadership positions is acutely felt. [Student]*

> *Divestment — it's not impossible. Harvard did it with South Africa … It's been done in the past. [Student]*

> *We saw in the past two weeks that [two Harvard Schools] passed resolutions calling on Harvard Management Company to divest. We know historically that it's possible. I do believe it's possible. [Student]*

B. Harvard-Wide Joint Survey

The analysis below starts by summarizing the key results for 2,295 overall survey respondents.[14] The survey solicited views — primarily close-ended but some open-ended -on respondents' sense of belonging and safety at Harvard, and what factors contributed to that sense. We also asked respondents for their recommendations. While preserving anonymity, we solicited basic demographic characteristics used in Harvard-wide surveys like the Pulse survey, which enabled us to separate responses by the various demographic groups, including those directly relevant to our charge such as religious and racial groups. In that regard, while we could have restricted the analysis summarized here to Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian respondents, our previous work, including the listening sessions revealed that there was a large Harvard constituency beyond these three groups that held pro-Palestinian views and/or were sympathetic to the issues confronted by the Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian communities. Moreover, we feel that these responses are best understood in the context of and at times in comparison to, the experiences of the wider Harvard community. As we saw in the listening sessions, many Muslim, Arab and Palestinian respondents were reluctant to reveal their identity due to fear of being doxxed or other repercussions. While the survey was anonymous, completing the survey relied on trusting the institution fully — a challenge for some respondents amid a general loss of trust. Consequently, even among those who participated, many chose not to reveal their religious or racial identities. Accordingly, we start our analysis by considering the Harvard community at large so that we can consider all the submitted responses. We then highlight some of the noteworthy differences across groups with a particular focus on Muslim and Middle Eastern/North African (MENA) identity.[15] Given the extensive nature of the quantitative and qualitative analysis, we restrict ourselves to highlighting the main themes, but encourage those interested in a more in-depth and comprehensive analysis to refer to the full report of the survey analysis subcommittee in Appendix 4.

Harvard Community

Figures 1 and 2 on the following pages summarize the Harvard community respondents' views on a range of statements that capture their sense of safety, belonging, and freedom of expression. Responses are on a 7-point scale ranging from strong disagreement to strong agreement with the statement noted in the figures. For ease of response and comprehension the statements are worded in a positive way so that disagreement conveys a more negative response. The more negative responses are illustrated in shades of red while the more positive ones are in shades of blue. As a simple summary statistic, we also note the total percentage of respondents in red (or blue) text who report different levels of disagreement (or agreement) with the statement. Those with neutral positions are shown in grey; non-respondents to a specific question are not included.

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[14] The survey was distributed to faculty, staff, and students using various channels that ranged from emails with an embedded survey link to sharing with relevant affinity groups and mentions in *The Harvard Gazette* and *The Harvard Crimson*. The intent was to complement the listening sessions and provide a convenient and anonymous survey that could be taken by Harvard campus community members who were impacted by and/or had views on the issues related to the Task Forces' mandate. Since this population is not readily identifiable a priori and also because the survey was not administered or marketed as a University-wide survey (such as the 2019 Pulse survey), it is not as feasible to provide accurate response rates. While we do provide relative demographic coverage comparisons to the 2019 Pulse survey, the Task Force Joint Survey is best viewed as a way to incorporate more opinions from those community members who wanted to weigh in on their experiences on campus and observations during the Fall 2023 – Summer 2024 period.

[15] We should note that the survey was not designed to elicit individual political or ideological stances, such as whether someone is pro-Palestinian. Since it was developed as a Joint Survey and was meant to be primarily a short-response instrument, identifying such ideological stances across a variety of views (pro-Palestinian, Zionist etc.) was beyond the scope of this exercise. While we are unable to explore whether there are differences by such self-reported political/ideological positions, this offers an area of further enquiry.

One in 10 respondents (11%) reported they do not feel physically safe on campus. Twice as many reported that they do not feel they belong or feel mentally safe on campus. Just over a quarter of respondents reported they do not believe their well-being is supported. Finally, 28% said they do not feel comfortable socializing with people on campus whose political views conflict with their own or go against their sense of identity.
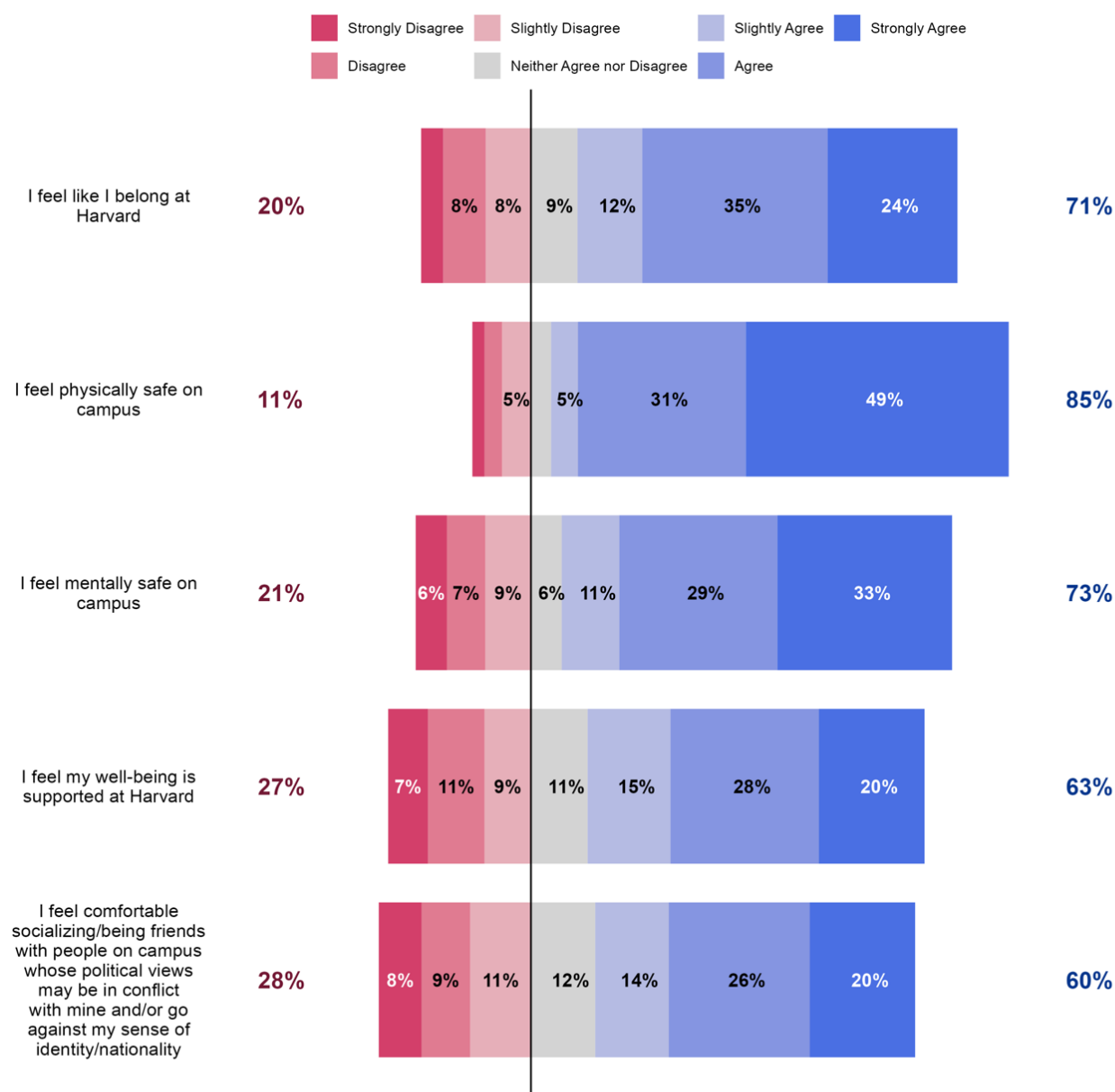
Figure 1: Safety and Belonging — All Respondents

Note:
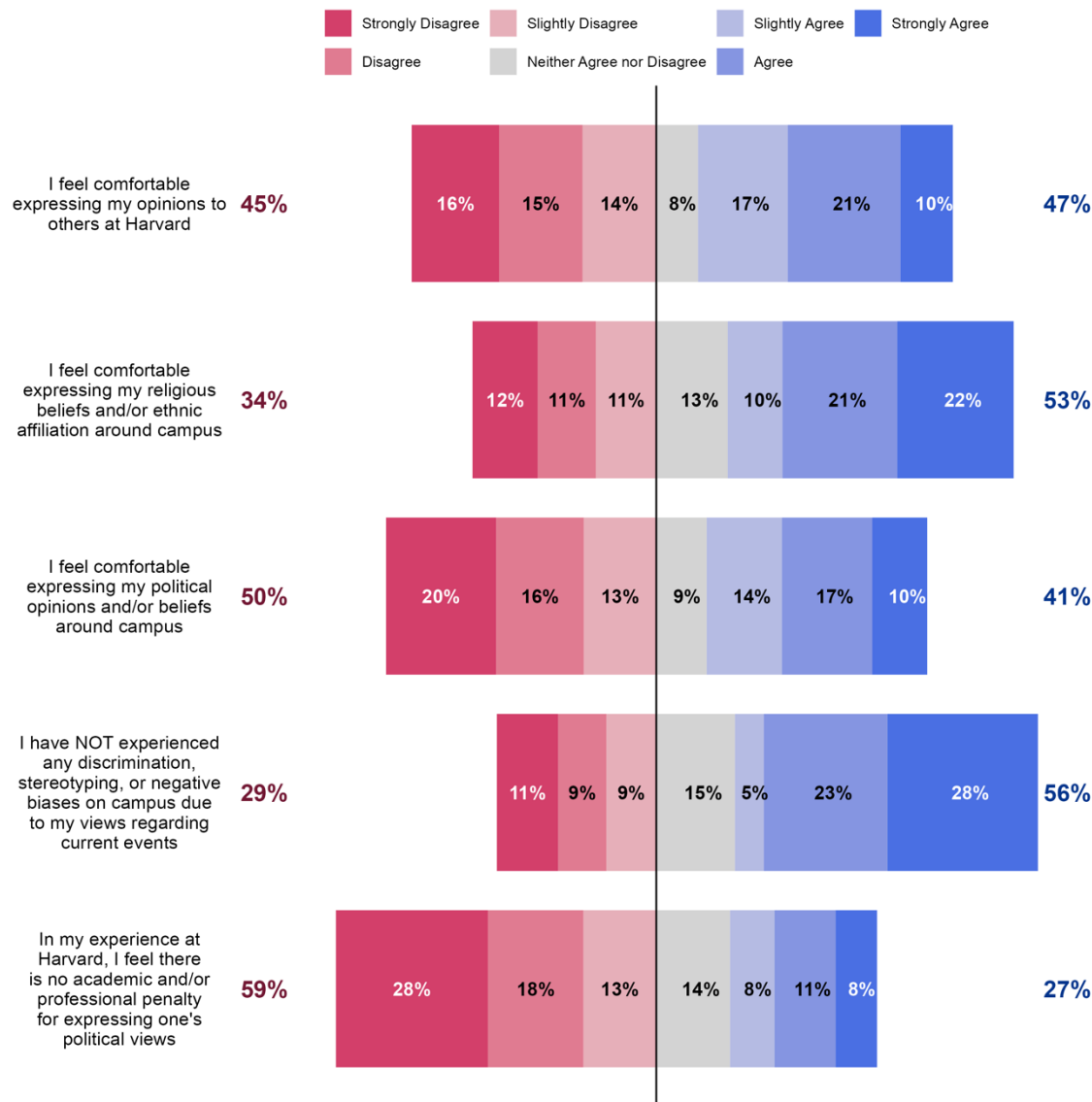*Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.*
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

Figure 2 (next page) examines discomfort with expressing one's views. About half the respondents reported that they are uncomfortable expressing their opinions to others at Harvard and political opinions and/or beliefs around campus. Most respondents (59%) believe there are academic and professional penalties for expressing one's political views at Harvard. Nearly a third (29%) said that they have personally experienced discrimination, stereotyping, or biases because of their views on current events. When asked

about expressing religious beliefs and disclosing ethnic identifications, a third of all respondents do not agree that they can do so comfortably.

Figure 2: Freedom of Expression — All Respondents

The close-ended questions were followed by the opportunity to provide open-ended responses, which allowed for elaboration. Below, we directly quote from a sampling of these responses to provide more color to the quantitative data:

> *Names being posted online so that people will search for those names and choose not to hire those people; faces being put on trucks and the campus doing nothing about it; students having guns pulled on them and having their rooms raided or their belongings thrown out also makes it a much less safe environment mentally and physically. [Student]*

I am not comfortable and do not feel safe expressing my ethnic, religious or political self at Harvard, or even in this survey, for fear of retaliation. This has been the case for many years. The recent events on campus have only solidified this for me. [Anonymous]

Respondents also spoke about the lack of comfort and well-being they felt in social circles on campus:

I generally refrain from discussing political/controversial topics with members of the community who I do not know well because I find that conversations often become hostile and campus reputations are easily harmed. [Student]

I do not feel mentally safe on campus. Though I am not Israeli, I have openly expressed sympathy for October 7th survivors and attended events for Holocaust survivors. I have faced many social consequences for not thinking in ways my classmates would deem progressive, which I find unreasonable. [Student]

Several respondents commented on how Harvard's response affected their sense of belonging and safety:

I have been very harshly punished by Harvard administrators for expressing my political views. These punishments have included sudden eviction from my source of housing and food, sudden termination from my job, the threat of not allowing me to complete the semester, the clear and material threat of calling in police against me, and the withholding of my degree for an entire year after I completed all my graduation credits with high honors … I have never felt more unsafe or unsupported in my life than I have at the hands of Harvard administrators this past year. [Student]

I have felt unsafe by the way that Harvard has conducted themselves. People have been fired for speaking up for their beliefs and displaced from their homes. It is not right for a university to act this way when people have been peaceful, non-violent, and have not physically harmed anyone by their actions. [Staff]

A related and frequent theme was a perceived lack of response by the University to outside actors:

The sight of doxxing trucks and planes flying hateful messages like 'Harvard Hates Jews' around Harvard Square deeply disturbed me. Despite their prominent presence, it seemed like the University wasn't taking any action, which left me feeling perplexed and unsafe. The loud and repetitive circling of the planes over the yard heightened my anxiety, especially since I couldn't discern their intentions. [Student]

A plane flew over Harvard with a message banner on Thursday. DAVID L. RYAN/GLOBE STAFF

A plane flew over Massachusetts Hall in Harvard Yard, where the Office of the President is housed, towing a banner with the Palestinian flag and the message "HARVARD HATES JEWS" (Boston Globe photo).

Another respondent described the presence of non-affiliated protestors on their safety:

I feel safe when it comes to Harvard and the people who are involved with the University. However, there are outside actors who will show up at the Science Plaza and pick fights with people for not supporting their cause. These same outside actors (or at least, other outside actors sharing their viewpoints) have attempted to assassinate the character of much more important people than myself on campus. [Staff]

However, a few respondents had somewhat different views regarding safety and felt more comfortable despite the tumultuousness of the past year:

Much of the discourse that would make someone feel unsafe or unable to express their opinions happens online. In my experience, people are often less combative in person and the negative climate is more digital. [Student]

One of these respondents even felt that the safety on Harvard's campus should encourage challenging conversations:

I think most of the students, faculty, and staff are perfectly capable of engaging in difficult dialogue … Harvard's campus is very likely the safest place on the planet for Palestinian, Israeli, Jewish, and Muslim students, faculty, and staff to engage in productive dialogue. [Staff]

Respondents in the open-ended questions described a divisive environment on campus when it comes to political discourse. While respondents praised the diversity of Harvard, those who had been in classrooms or other settings that brought up political divisions described a level of discomfort. This sense of discomfort comes in many varieties:

I would never feel comfortable voicing my opinion on the current war in Gaza. [Staff]

[Harvard students] are militantly passionate about certain approved views and they will make anyone who disagrees with the party line regret it. [Staff]

Respondents also felt they could be stigmatized or punished for expressing views outside of the mainstream views on campus:

The climate at Harvard is such that unless you profess orthodox woke views, you're ostracized. Admin has contributed to this culture, as have some faculty. I've basically given up on the whole situation and don't particularly care at this point. [Student]

While, in theory, there is freedom of speech, academic freedom, ethnic and religious diversity on and around Harvard, in reality those that are vocal or at either far end of a spectrum are often rejected. Given the dynamic and often volatile climate on campus, I find myself not wanting to discuss anything at all outside of just work-related topics. [Staff]

Respondents also reflect on institutional practices that lead to a strained environment for political expression. A number of respondents believe that pressure from donors and external actors has led Harvard to punish students when they express dissenting viewpoints:

It was really astonishing to see the administration react so poorly towards student protesters simply to save face and protect donor interests. The administration simply could have let the students walk at their graduation without any consequence, but chose retributive action that ultimately eroded the faltering trust between the student body and the administrators. [Student]

Many respondents raised concerns about the unclear enforcement of free speech rules and confusion over the policies:

Harvard is consistently contradicting itself in advocating for free speech and social justice yet at the same time clamping down on those who speak out. [Staff]

Honestly, I am agnostic to the School's policy on student speech but the sheer inconsistency of it astounds and disgusts me. [Student]

The shifting definitions of terms used to describe specific behaviors, actions, or identities has occurred under such ideological/partisan strain that it is difficult to know how to express oneself, even when trying to comfort or empathize. [Staff]

A different group of respondents emphasized the importance of continuing to have difficult conversations openly on campus:

The penalties can be academic, professional, or social. Yet, I really want to push myself and others to have thicker skin, and better faith. It's impossible to stay comfortable, impossible to avoid 'harm.' Our freedom (of speech) should be exercised, not minimized. [Staff]

The survey asked respondents to reflect on the factors that contributed positively or negatively to their experience on campus. What factors made them feel "a sense of safety, belonging, and/or ability to interact with the community"? And what factors made things worse? Based on what the Task Forces had heard from the community in the open-ended listening sessions, we provided a predefined set of factors while allowing respondents to suggest additional factors. Since a given factor may contribute both positively and negatively, we allowed for both options: respondents could check that a factor contributed positively, negatively, or both, or that it did not have a substantial impact. Moreover, for each factor we allowed respondents to provide open-ended responses (see Appendix 4).
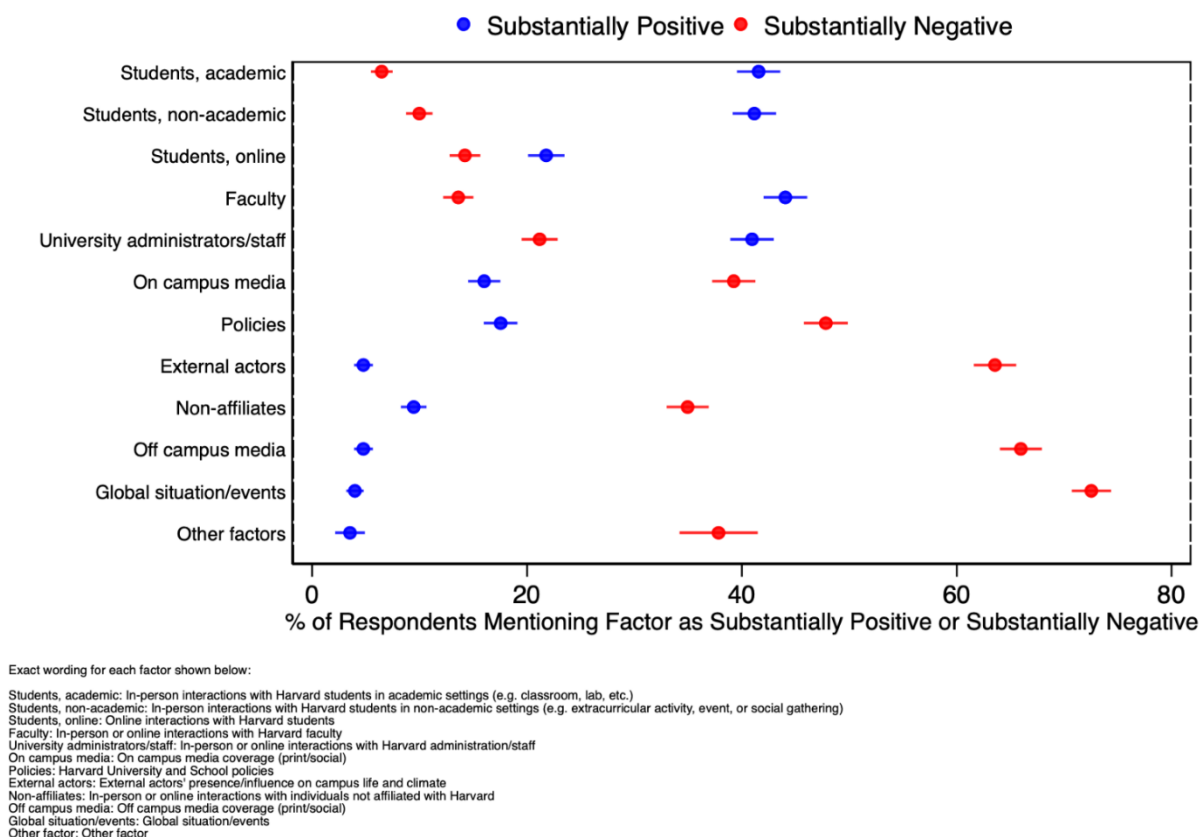

Exact wording for each factor shown below:

Students, academic: In-person interactions with Harvard students in academic settings (e.g. classroom, lab, etc.)
Students, non-academic: In-person interactions with Harvard students in non-academic settings (e.g. extracurricular activity, event, or social gathering)
Students, online: Online interactions with Harvard students
Faculty: In-person or online interactions with Harvard faculty
University administrators/staff: In-person or online interactions with Harvard administration/staff
On campus media: On campus media coverage (print/social)
Policies: Harvard University and School policies
External actors: External actors' presence/influence on campus life and climate
Non-affiliates: In-person or online interactions with individuals not affiliated with Harvard
Off campus media: Off campus media coverage (print/social)
Global situation/events: Global situation/events
Other factor: Other factor

Figure 3: Contributing Factors — All Respondents

Figure 3 considers each factor and presents the percentage of individuals who report this factor as positive and/or negative. Overall, the results show that interactions with faculty, students, and staff were

seen as generally positive, whereas factors associated with media, external actors, and University policies were seen as generally negative.

HETEROGENEITY BY RELIGION AND RACE

We also present our findings by various attributes of the respondent. We focus here on differences across religion and race. In the full survey data found in Appendix 4, we also note differences by a respondent's Harvard affiliation (student, faculty, and staff etc.) as well other demographic characteristics such as age, gender, nationality, political ideology, School, and sexual orientation. The starkest differences are across religion and race, and to a lesser extent, between students and faculty/staff. We encourage readers to look at analyses of other subgroups in Appendix 4 as well.[16]

While we will not detail the differences across Harvard affiliation here, the general pattern is that students (often graduate students) tend to report somewhat worse outcomes on the safety, belonging and freedom of expressions questions. The starkest differences though are between differential religious and racial groups that we summarize below.

DIFFERENCES BY RELIGION

Analogous to Figures 1 and 2, figures 4 and 5 report the results separately for various religious groups. Figure 4 shows that across all measures of safety and belonging we see Muslim community members report the most negative outcomes followed by Jewish community members. A common pattern in the data seems to be that Muslim respondents are four times as likely to report negative outcomes as Christian respondents, while Jewish respondents are twice as likely to report negative sentiment compared to Christians and Atheist/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation respondents. Perhaps, the starkest comparison is physical safety. Here 47% of Muslim respondents report they do not feel physically safe on campus.15% of Jewish respondents feel physically unsafe relative to 6% for Christians and Atheist/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation respondents. The question with the highest rate of negative responses asks if respondents feel comfortable socializing on campus with people with conflicting political views: 61% of Muslim respondents, 36% of Jewish respondents, 27% of respondents who reported Atheist/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation, and 18% of Christian respondents said they are not comfortable doing so.

Given that students (both undergraduates and graduates/fellows) tend to report worse outcomes, we also examined whether these patterns change if we restrict our analysis to this group only. Consistent with overall responses, Muslim students continue to report the most negative outcomes, followed by Jewish students, though the ratios are somewhat less stark: Muslim students are around three times as likely to report negative experiences as Christian students. Jewish students are roughly twice as likely as Christian students to do so.

Figure 5 shows that in terms of freedom of expression Muslim community members report the most negative outcomes followed by Jewish community members. Consistent with previous data, Muslim respondents are three times more likely to report negative outcomes than Christian respondents and Jewish respondents are twice as likely to report negative outcomes compared to Christians or to respondents who identify as Atheist/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation. A stark comparison is the experience of discrimination based on one's views: 71% of Muslim respondents report they experienced discrimination, bias, or negative stereotyping; 40% of Jewish respondents report so, and 21% of Christians and Atheist/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation respondents.

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[16] Note that, as is standard in survey work, interpreting differences across categories in a subgroup (for example, when comparing student to faculty responses) as differential biases experienced by them assumes that a given category did not differentially select to participate in the survey based on their experiences of bias. While plausible, since we don't have a compelling way to test for this, we should exercise caution in interpreting any such differences.
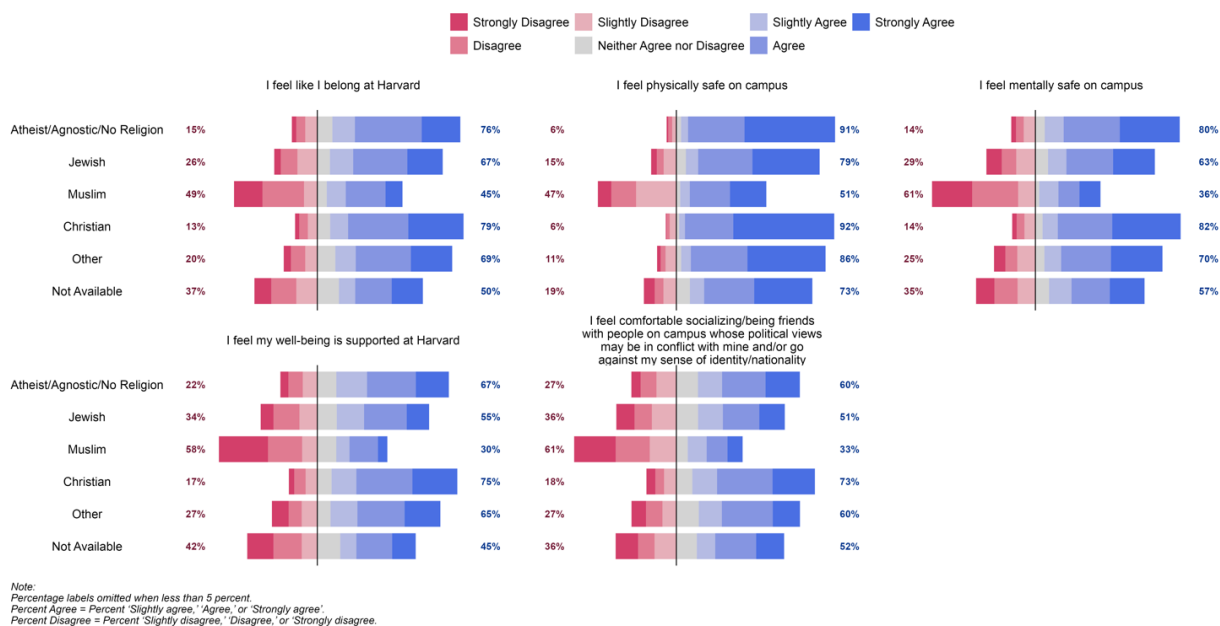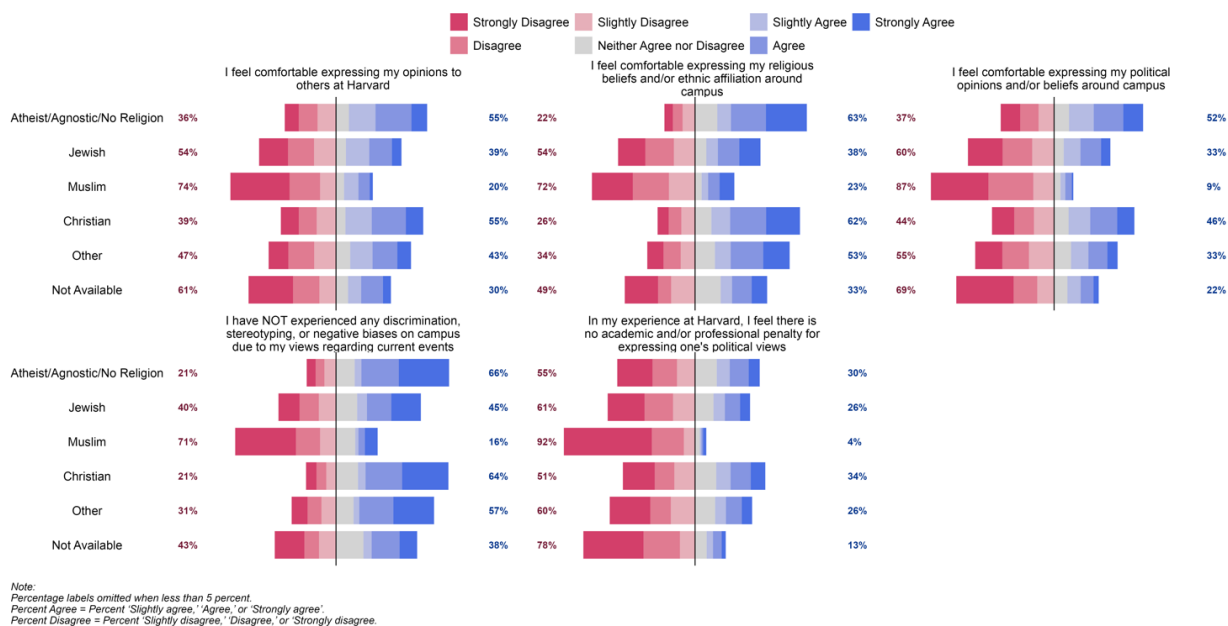
Figure 4: Safety and Belonging by Religion

Figure 5: Freedom of Expression by Religion

Even starker, almost all (92%) of Muslim respondents, 61% of Jewish, 55% of Atheist/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation, and 51% of Christian respondents say there is an academic or professional penalty for expressing political views.

As with Figure 4, the same patterns hold when restricting the analysis to students only — the ordering remains the same though the ratio of differences is lower.

Directly examining some of the open-ended responses sheds further light on these experiences. Among Muslim respondents, many note that they have encountered hostility if they present as Muslim, wear a hijab, or have a Muslim surname:

> *My peers who have lost their jobs simply for being in the leadership of Muslim faith organizations have been left out to dry once they had their offers revoked. Most of them never signed anything or participated in any activism. [Student]*

> *Between October and December at the peak of the tension, I took Ubers at night to go from campus to home and would not use public transportation or walk at night alone for fear of my safety due to my Arab-looking and Muslim identity. [Student]*

> *As a Muslim woman who wears hijab, I have faced violent verbal and mental abuse across campus. I have been spat on, yelled at, and harassed in multiple places on campus. [Student]*

For Muslim respondents who expressed solidarity with Palestinians, they found it was difficult to figure out how to express their political views without being accused of antisemitism:

> *I avoid bringing up support for Palestine with anyone I don't know well as I'm worried about being labeled anti-Semitic. I fear this would negatively impact my career/promotion opportunities. [Staff]*

> *My hesitancy to speak up about my political beliefs lies in the fact that I feel as if being pro-Palestinian is automatically viewed as being antisemitic. For example, wearing a keffiyeh, an indicator of Palestinian solidarity, may be considered antisemitic simply because of its affiliation with the pro-Palestinian cause. As a result, I do not [now], and never plan to, wear a keffiyeh on campus. The ambiguity between what is considered antisemitic and what is considered rightfully pro-Palestine is what frustrates me most of all. [Student]*

> *I don't wear the keffiyeh because I feel like I will be targeted. I already wear a hijab and have faced verbal abuse just because of that before. The definition of antisemitism has been stretched beyond belief (to people who simply want a ceasefire) and that is detrimental to Jewish people who are actually facing antisemitism. [Staff]*

Several Muslim respondents recognize antisemitism is real but is not zero sum with Islamophobia:

> *While I acknowledge antisemitism is indeed an issue, this attitude should not project into believing that Islamophobia is a lesser issue. [Student]*

Muslim respondents noted multiple forms of racism they experience:

> *There are, of course, the everyday instances of racism — a professor questioning my English (my native language!) in a way they would never question that of a white student, a lecturer playing an unprompted guessing game as to my family's country of origin, a student dismissively attributing my opinion to my religion in a seminar … Examples like these are endless. [Student]*

Muslim respondents also reported they paid penalties for expressing support for Palestinians:

> *I have felt that my professional relationship with the leader of my organization at Harvard has deteriorated after she sensed my support for Palestinian freedom. For example, this leader started leaving me off emails and invites for teams that I have long been a part of. [Staff]*

> *I myself have heard slurs and insults such as "terrorist", "baby-killer", "towelhead", and "antisemite" … because of my decision to wear a keffiyeh and show my solidarity with a people experiencing the worst [type of] crime known to humanity. [Student]*

Muslim respondents perceived double standards in how the University responded to events on campus:

> *If there were antisemitic trucks driving around campus and planes flying over with antisemitic slogans, I cannot help but believe Harvard would have done more to stop it. [Student]*

An antisemitic cartoon gets a University-wide email from a president but doxxing, physical violence and a list of other crimes does not. [Student]

I have never before felt more disappointed and embarrassed to be a Harvard student. I find it appalling that Harvard can show empathy to other groups of oppressed people but does not extend that same responsibility to Palestinians. [Student]

Appendix 4 summarizes the open-ended responses for Jewish respondents. We encourage the reader to reference the appendix, as well as the report of the Task Force on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias, to understand the wide-ranging experiences for Jewish respondents. While some feel under threat for being Zionist or Israeli, others feel threatened for being pro-Palestinian. Here we focus on the latter group given our Task Force's mandate.

A number of Jewish respondents are supportive of Palestinian rights, anti-Zionist, and/or advocates of a ceasefire in the region. These respondents felt uncomfortable and upset as well:

As a Jewish faculty member without the protections of tenure, I am afraid of publicly expressing my support for a ceasefire or Palestinian human rights. I was afraid to be even seen walking near the encampment lest someone doxx me and try to get me fired. [Faculty]

As an anti-Zionist, pro-Palestinian Jewish student at Harvard, I have been targeted and harassed by Harvard students and faculty for my political views. At the same time, my Jewish identity is totally ignored by the Zionist individuals telling me I am "pro-Hamas." If my Jewish identity is addressed, I have been told I am antisemitic, not a real Jew, or a "kapo." [Student]

I am a Jewish student who holds pro-Palestinian and anti-Zionist views. I do not feel unsafe at all as a Jewish student at Harvard, but I do feel unsafe publicly demonstrating those political beliefs at Harvard although I think that my being Jewish makes me more comfortable voicing those beliefs than if I wasn't. However, I think that there is still a considerable effort to target Jews who stand up for Palestine, and I think Harvard should take steps such as recognizing Harvard Jews for Peace to protect us. [Student]

When examining factors that are contributing to the community's experiences, we tend to see similar patterns across the different religious groups as we saw previously. The few noteworthy effects are that Muslim respondents (especially students) are less happy with faculty and staff interactions, on-campus media, Harvard polices and several of the external factors while Jewish community members (especially students) find non-academic interactions with students to be more negative than other religious groups.

DIFFERENCES BY RACE

We next analyze heterogeneity by race. Figures 6 and 7 are analogous to Figures 1 and 2 where we now report the results separately for respondents' self-declared racial identities. We combine some categories for ease of presentation.

The general result across all these questions is that MENA community members tend to report the most negative responses, followed by Blacks, and then Asian and Hispanics, with Whites reporting the most positively. While there is overlap with our examination of religion, especially for the MENA respondents (a third of whom are Muslim, a quarter Jewish and a reasonable fraction Christian, Atheist/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation) race and religion do have independent impact as well. We should also note that while the respondent numbers are not large enough to meaningfully separate by national identity, the Israeli and Palestinian experiences are both included in the MENA category.
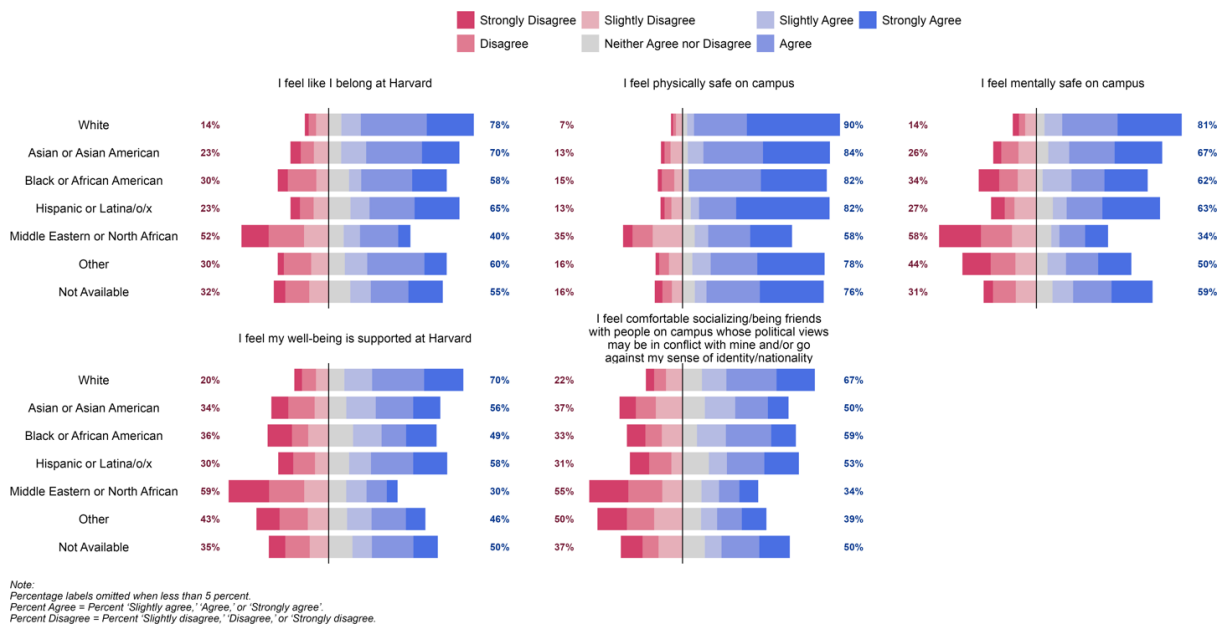
Figure 6: Safety and Belonging by Race — All Respondents

Figure 6 shows that across all the safety and belonging questions, respondents who identify as MENA reported the most negative sentiments — 62% of them feel they do not belong at Harvard, 35% and 58% respectively do not feel physically or mentally safe on campus, 59% feel Harvard does not support their well-being, and 55% do not feel comfortable socially with others who hold differing views. MENA identifiers were almost twice as likely to offer negative feedback as the next closest group — Black or African American students — who were in many cases six times more likely than White respondents to report negative experiences. Hispanic and Asian community members reported slightly more positive experiences than Black community members, and while mental safety is a bigger issue for Hispanics (27% feel mentally unsafe versus 26% for Asians), Asians reported that their well-being is slightly less supported (34% versus 30% for Hispanics) and they are less comfortable socializing with others with differing views (37%) than Blacks (33%) and Hispanics (31%).

We also examined the results (see details in Appendix 4) by restricting the figures to only student respondents, where negative reports were especially common. Close to three-quarters of students who self-identify as MENA reported they do not feel mentally safe on campus or that their well-being is supported by Harvard. Black students are the next group most likely to have negative experiences — especially in the case of physical safety (21% of Black students report feeling physically unsafe versus 17% for Asian and 16% for Hispanic students). On other items, such as those measuring comfort in socializing with those who hold differing views, Asian and Hispanic students are more likely to respond negatively than Black students.

Figure 7 shows that MENA community members also reported the highest levels of concerns about being able to express their opinions. About four-fifths of these respondents reported not being comfortable expressing their views, experiencing discrimination and facing professional and academic penalties for expressing their political views. While Black community members are typically the group next most likely to report negative experiences, in this case Asian and Hispanic community members are fairly close. Even White respondents report fairly high levels of discomfort expressing their views (25 to 40%), facing discrimination (21%), and facing academic or professional penalties (52%) when they do so.
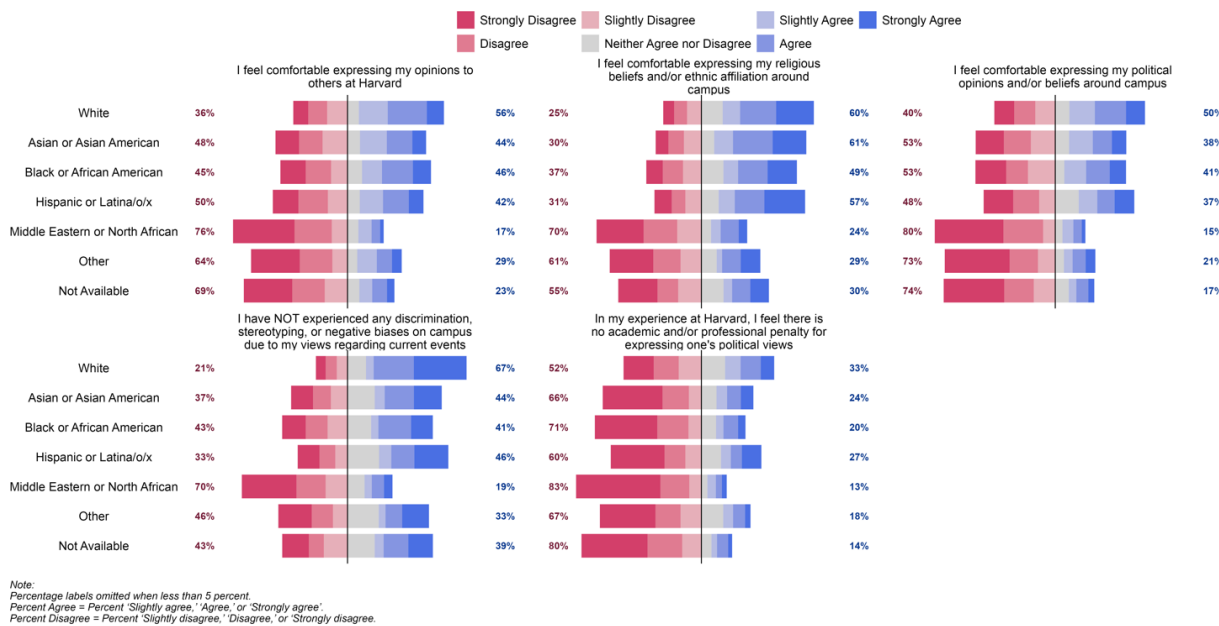
Figure 7: Freedom of Expression by Race — All Respondents

Restricting this analysis to students shows similar patterns with generally more negative reports on all the questions. For example — even for White respondents, close to two-thirds reported an academic/professional penalty for expressing their political views; the corresponding number for MENA students is 86%.

In exploring the open-ended responses by race, we focus first on MENA individuals given that their responses are a significant outlier:

Harvard, like most, if not all, American universities, is a place where the appearance of difference is tolerated, even welcome, but the reality of difference and the expression of difference is not. Diversity is skin-deep here — diversity of color, appearance, and identity markers is encouraged, but difference of opinion and worldview is suppressed in countless ways. This extends to all realms of thought. [Student]

In general, being Arab is hard — people just make a lot of assumptions about you, and you feel professional repercussions. Harvard has never made this easier, and in fact, in the past tried to limit discourse about being Arab or Palestinian. It feels like it has gotten worse this year. [Faculty]

I fear sharing my Arab identity for fear of reprisal. [Staff]

This is echoed by the Palestinian experience as well:

Harvard has made it quite clear that as a Palestinian-American student, I am not welcome here. As someone who started at Harvard in Fall 2023, the things I have experienced this past year will forever shape how I feel at Harvard. [Student]

In most ways my workdays chug along as usual, but there is a pit in my stomach anytime anything having to do with the conflict comes up. What will people say? My team knows I'm Palestinian — I feel all eyes are on me, so I have to watch how I act and what I say. [Staff]

Black students also reported facing a lack of belonging:

I chose Harvard [College] because I felt safe and seen when I visited before I enrolled. My first semester, however, showed me that the support only came from the students who looked like me, but to the larger community, we did not really matter. [Student]

I have experienced negative biases due to my views on current events and even due to my identity — there's a sort of assumption that solidarity with Gaza is equivalent to antisemitism, or that all Black women inherently carry some sort of antisemitism. [Student]

As a woman of color, I don't feel safe expressing my views, especially considering that President Gay was forced out not because she was antisemitic, but because she was a Black woman. [Staff]

While I feel like I belong within certain communities at Harvard, I do not feel a strong sense of belonging to my School or a sense of shared identity with the Harvard administration. Events since the October 7th attacks have contributed to the sense that I do not fully belong at Harvard … I also question whether the University would offer any support if politicians or other outside actors targeted me due to my work or scholarly positions. While I believe my scholarly positions are independent of my ethnic and religious background, I fear that those factors would also be held against me in this context. [Faculty]

We do not see notable differences in terms of contributing factors (analogous to Figure 3 previously) across race. The noteworthy difference is that Middle Eastern community members rated their online interactions with students, faculty and staff, on campus media and Harvard's policies less favorably than other groups. The results for students are similar but just slightly more accentuated.

Three doxxing trucks parked outside of a University leader's home calling for them to resign.[17].

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[17] https://www.forbes.com/sites/brianbushard/2023/12/13/doxxing-trucks-return-at-harvard-president-claudine-gays-house/

RACE AND RELIGION TOGETHER

Muslim, Jewish, and MENA respondents showed the most negative connotations. Given that MENA identity can encompass both Muslim and Jewish individuals, we can further examine the extent to which these perceptions are due to religious affiliation and regional background. In the report in Appendix 4, we run multi-variate regressions where we include both religious and racial identities to examine this question. We find that our results are largely unaffected by the differences a given group experiences, remaining the same even when we have controlled for a range of other demographic attributes.

The only case where our results are affected is the differential experience of Muslim and MENA respondents. While these two groups still show the most negative experiences (within the religion and race categories respectively) even after we introduce other demographic controls, the magnitude of the differences for both are almost halved.

Examining further, we find that this is because both the Muslim and MENA identities have somewhat additive effects. In other words, while non-MENA Muslim respondents report substantially negative experiences, MENA Muslim respondents' reports were even worse (at times twice as much). Analogously, while Non-Muslim MENA respondents' reports are largely negative, Muslim MENA respondents' reports were even more negative. It is the combination of an individual being both Muslim and MENA that leads to the most negative reports.

While the data are somewhat limited to explore even finer sub-groups, we have suggestive evidence that examines responses by focusing on six categories (respondent counts given in parenthesis) where we combine religion and race:

1. MENA Muslims (38)   3. MENA Other Religions (51)   5. Non-MENA Jews (411)
2. MENA Jews (36)   4. Non-MENA Muslims (51)   6. Non-MENA Other Religions (1,710)

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
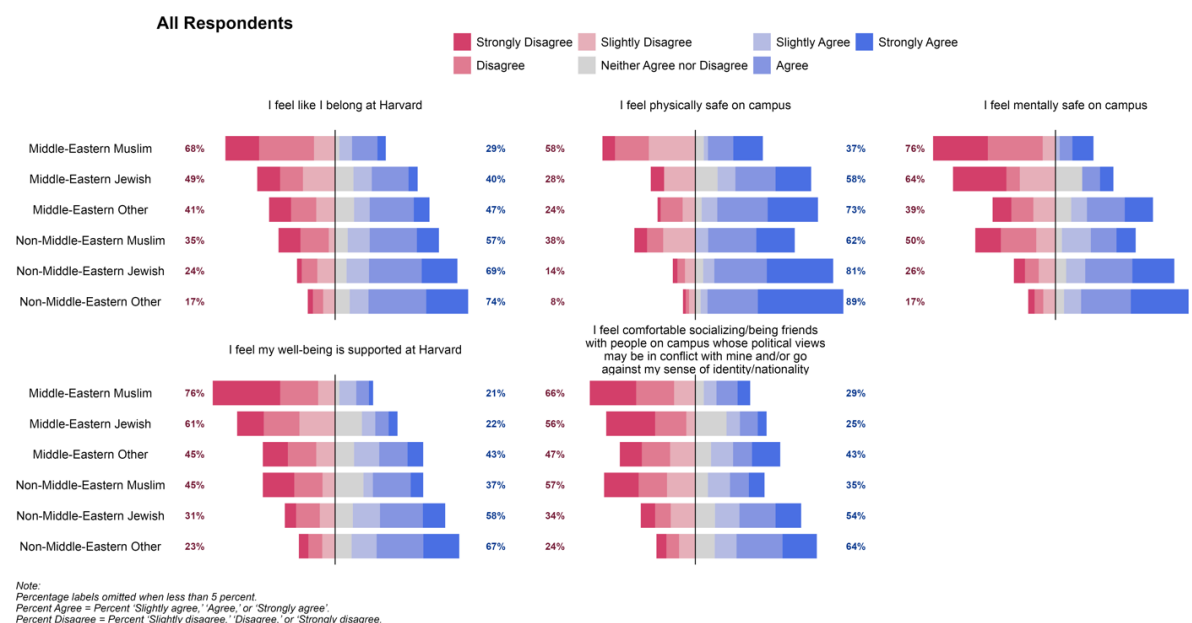Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.'

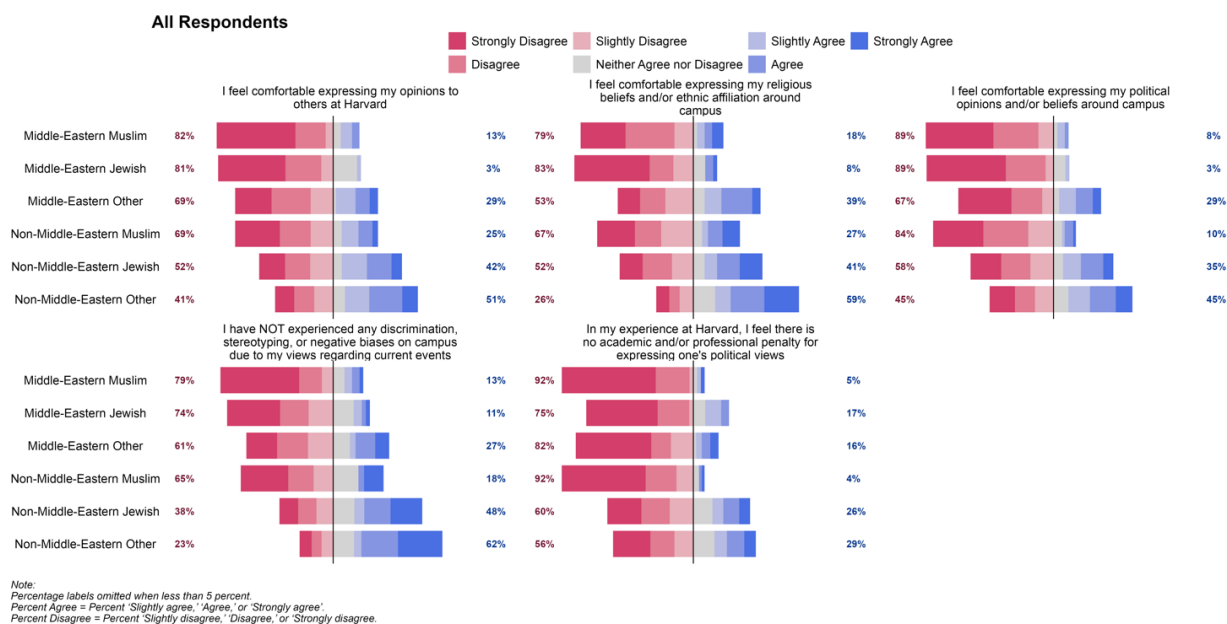**Figure 8: Safety and Belonging by Race and Religion — All Respondents**

Figure 9: Freedom of Expression by Race and Religion

Our results in Figures 8 and 9 reveal a more nuanced picture showing that while MENA Muslims typically express the most negative sentiment, the next most negative group is often MENA Jewish respondents, typically followed by Non-MENA Muslims and MENA respondents who are neither Muslim nor Jewish.

We should caution that some of the respondent counts are small and there is likely non-differential distribution of these categories across some of other demographic variables like Harvard affiliation etc. Therefore, we will also present regression results controlling for these additional demographics. Regardless, given the small sample sizes here, in comparing across race and religion categories, we draw suggestive inferences rather than firm conclusions. This is an area that we feel is worth exploring further using additional and more purposely collected data to study these adversely affected communities.

Respondents' Suggested Recommendations

The survey asked respondents to list specific recommendations that would be responsive to the concerns they raised. Here we synthesized the broad themes that emerge using both Large Language Model (LLM) and manual categorization methods. We emphasize that these recommendations have not been endorsed by the main Task Force nor by the subcommittee analyzing the survey data. They simply reflect the viewpoints of respondents to the survey which, in the spirit of representing the views provided by the community in the survey, we felt was important to highlight.

Once again, as we offer this summary, we believe our understanding is enhanced by a comprehensive picture of responses, extending even beyond the views of Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian respondents. We therefore start by summarizing themes that were surfaced by students, faculty, and staff survey respondents from the Harvard Community.

STUDENT RESPONDENTS' SUGGESTED RECOMMENDATIONS

- **Divestment and disclosure**. A number of students recommended that the University divest financial interests in companies tied to Israel and/or to industries connected to warfare. Along these lines, students also recommended the University disclose investments in these areas.

- **Enforcement of rules**. A number of students would like greater clarity on the University's rules related to exercising free expression, and they would like those rules to be enforced consistently and in a content-neutral manner.

- **Combating prejudice**. This theme relates to claims about anti-Arab bias, antisemitism, anti-Zionism, Islamophobia, and other forms of prejudice. Some students would like more education about what these terms mean to University officials. They also want the University to discipline those who unfairly discriminate against others, and they want the University to do so consistently across the communities targeted.

- **Transparency in University procedures**. Students want more information about how decisions are made and what factors, internal and external (including donors and other external actors) influence University decision making, especially regarding disciplinary and investment decisions.

- **Inclusiveness**. For some students, Harvard has failed to be inclusive by hiring "so many antisemitic faculty members." For others, Harvard has failed to be inclusive by tolerating doxxing trucks. Still others feel that Harvard is not inclusive for pro-Palestine activists, who were treated negatively compared to activists of other social movements. And others report that Harvard could be more inclusive to religious students by offering more accommodations around their holiday observances.

FACULTY RESPONDENTS' SUGGESTED RECOMMENDATIONS

Faculty differed from students somewhat.

- A core theme among faculty respondents was that Harvard should do more to engage students (including graduate students) in *respectful dialogue, including on sensitive issues.*

- Relatedly, faculty suggested more *community-building and trust-building efforts,* so that the University feels more like a cohesive community.

- Faculty also raised several points related to ensuring the University is a place of *free expression* and that this is not undermined by the University's dependence on philanthropy.

STAFF RESPONDENTS' SUGGESTED RECOMMENDATIONS

- Like faculty, for staff the theme of *community-building* also came up. Respondents want to see community members spending more time together and more in dialogue.

- Staff also prioritized *support for various subcommunities,* such as "community members of color, its LGBTQAI+ community members, its community members with disabilities, etc."

- Finally, like students, a number of staff members recommended both *more transparency in University policies* and *improved communication* across the University.

We next examined suggestions from Muslim respondents.

MUSLIM RESPONDENTS' SUGGESTED RECOMMENDATIONS

- **Protecting activism**. Respondents recommended that students be given greater latitude to protest without fear of punishment from the University. Respondents recommended the University apologize to students who faced disciplinary action during the 2023-24 school year. Respondents called for the University to protect students who have been doxxed and support community members when they are subjected to media attacks. Some asked for more security around Harvard Yard.

- **University investments and governance**. Recommendations included divestment from Israel-related and military-related firms and disclosure of such investments. Respondents also recommended ensuring that the University's dependence on philanthropy does not undermine University policies and

academic freedom. Some respondents called for students to be more involved in governance around discipline and financial investments.

- **Education and dialogue**. Respondents called for more educational opportunities to learn about the contemporary Middle East and about, as one student put it, "Palestine, Palestinian culture, and Palestinian history." Respondents also called for more opportunities for dialogue between Jewish and Palestinian community members and more dialogue about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

- **Support for Muslim community**. Muslim respondents recommended greater University support for the Muslim community including resources for community members dealing with Islamophobia and assistance with programming around Ramadan.

Finally, we also reviewed suggested recommendations for respondents by racial categories, including MENA and Black respondents. Both Black respondents and MENA respondents were largely overlapping with themes from Muslim respondents regarding recommendations.

C. Historical Context

Muslims, Arabs, and Palestinians at Harvard

While a comprehensive history of Muslims, Arabs, and Palestinians at Harvard has yet to be written, this overview aims to highlight key trends and events involving these groups, providing context for the campus upheaval following October 7, 2023, and the experiences of bias, both historical and contemporary, that led to the formation of this Task Force. It is crucial to highlight that these groups' experiences, views, and modes of expression are distinct and should not be conflated, even as they intersect around the issue of Palestine. Members of our Task Force consider it imperative to clarify that the issue of Palestine is not only a religious one, but also a political human rights issue; they expressly wish to avoid repeating the bias whereby Palestinians and Arabs are rendered indistinguishable from Muslims.

Though not exhaustive, this overview underscores how these communities, while possessing distinct histories and experiences, have often intersected, collectively shaping the current campus climate. Understanding their histories is crucial to recognizing the varieties of discrimination these groups face and the urgent need to combat bias against them.

Early Encounters and Limited Presence (1636 to late 19th Century)

Founded in 1636 as an institution primarily serving English Protestant Christians, Harvard's early recognition and engagement with the Arab world and Islam was limited, much like its recognition and engagement with many other communities that are now integral to the University but were largely absent in its early history. While some theological discourse existed, often taking the form of polemics against Islam, a degree of academic interest was also present. Some professors, including a Harvard president, were known Arabic scholars, and courses in the Arabic language were offered as early as the 17th century, though primarily to support biblical studies within a theological framework.[18] This pattern of limited engagement, common well beyond Harvard, persisted throughout the 18th and into the 19th century.

Increased Engagement: Late 19th to Early 20th Centuries

A notable shift began in the late 19th century. As America's global engagement grew, so too did Harvard's interest in the wider world. This era saw the establishment of more structured Arabic language programs and the hiring of dedicated faculty, reflecting a burgeoning interest in studying Arab and Islamic civilizations within their own historical and cultural contexts. This shift coincided with the emergence of a distinct Arab-American community in the United States. Driven by economic hardship and persecution under Ottoman rule, Arab immigrants, primarily Christian but also Muslim, began arriving from Mount Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine, seeking new opportunities in industrial centers like Boston.

Despite this increased academic interest, Arab and Muslim representation at elite institutions like Harvard remained limited throughout the first half of the 20th century. Data on Arab and Muslim students specifically is sparse during these years. However, accounts from the time offer a revealing glimpse into their limited presence. For example, articles in *The Harvard Crimson* from 1930[19] and 1937[20] that focus on the religious

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[18] "Early Arabic Instruction," History of Islamic Studies at Harvard, accessed November 22, 2023. https://timeline.islamicstudies.harvard.edu/early-Arabic-instruction

[19] "Episcopalians Have Highest Total as Brooks House Issues Denominational Figures — Hebrews and Catholics Follow," *Harvard Crimson*, October 7, 1930.

[20] "No Atheists at Harvard, But College Worships in 39 Well-Assorted Ways: Shintoists, Taoists, Mennonites, Sun-worshippers Are Among Various Sects," *Harvard Crimson*, October 26, 1937. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1937/10/26/no-atheists-at-harvard-but-college/

demographics of the student body reported only three "Mohammedan" students enrolled each year. These articles categorized any Christian Arabs under relevant religious affiliations, such as Roman Catholic or Greek Orthodox, and there is mention of at least one "Syrian Orthodox" student. The few Arabs and Muslims who did attend Harvard during this period were primarily international students from affluent backgrounds.

Mid-20th Century: Shifting Demographics and Activism

How did the landscape of Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian student life at Harvard transform during the mid-20th century? Though their identities and experiences often overlapped, these student groups remained distinct, shaped by a confluence of on-campus developments and broader societal shifts.

A pivotal moment arrived in 1955 with the founding of the Harvard Islamic Society (HIS) by students. The HIS provided a crucial platform for Muslim students to connect, practice their faith, and cultivate a sense of community. The creation of HIS reflected a growing desire among these students not just for religious practice, but also for greater visibility and a lasting presence within the Harvard community. This desire even led to spearhead efforts to purchase land and build a mosque near Harvard in 1958, though the project ultimately did not materialize.

Beyond Harvard's gates, broader societal transformations were underway, reshaping the demographic landscape of higher education. The landmark 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act dismantled national origin quotas, opening doors for increased immigration from the Arab world and Muslim-majority countries. This, in turn, contributed to a gradual diversification of Harvard's student body, including a growing number of Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian students. Notably, this wave included Palestinian students whose families had experienced displacement from their homeland in 1948 by the creation of the new state of Israel during Nakba ("catastrophe" in Arabic).

The wave of student activism that swept across American universities in the late 1960s did not leave Harvard untouched. While the fight for civil rights and against the Vietnam War dominated national attention, issues related to the Middle East, particularly the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, began to enter campus discourse, engaging students from Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian communities. This engagement, however, was primarily confined to campus publications rather than large-scale demonstrations. For example, *The Harvard Crimson*, the student-run newspaper, largely focused on geopolitical events in the Middle East, often emphasizing Israeli perspectives. Perspectives from Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian, students, however, were rarely centered.

Despite the limited evidence of large-scale demonstrations at Harvard surrounding these issues, *The Harvard Crimson*'s reporting offers glimpses of nascent activism around Israeli-Palestinian issues. For instance, during the 1973 October War in the Middle East, the newspaper reported on a Boston protest involving "pro-Arab and pro-Palestinian groups" advocating against US involvement in the Middle East and for Arab self-determination. While the extent of Harvard student and faculty participation in this demonstration is not clear, that same month, the *Crimson* highlighted fundraising efforts by Harvard affiliates for an "emergency fund" to support Israel in the war effort. This contrast underscores the imbalance in surfacing divergent narratives and activities around Israeli-Palestinian issues at Harvard — a trend that would only become more pronounced in the decades to come.

1980s and 1990s: Heightened Activism around Palestine and Israel

The growing global awareness of the Palestinian struggle in the early 1980s had a profound impact on Harvard. No longer a peripheral issue, it ignited a wave of activism and debate that extended well beyond the University's growing Muslim and Arab student populations, further indicating that pro-Palestine solidarity cannot be adduced solely to religious or ethnic affiliation.

This heightened awareness manifested in increasingly visible ways. The outbreak of the Lebanon War in September 1982, for example, mobilized various groups within and beyond Harvard. The Harvard-Radcliffe Zionist Alliance and the Boston-based Lebanon-Palestine Crisis Coalition held competing demonstrations in the heart of Harvard Square, reflecting the polarized climate surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The University, seeking to ensure order and navigate this sensitive issue, deployed campus police and two senior administrators to the scene, one of whom reflected, "The [pro-Palestinian] demonstrators are very ordered and very well-disciplined and I compliment them on it, as well as the people expressing a different point of view."[21]

The struggle against apartheid in South Africa, gaining momentum throughout the 1980s, resonated deeply with advocates for Palestinian rights. Both at Harvard and on campuses across the United States, the divestment movement became a powerful tool for those seeking to challenge oppressive systems. Harvard's formal divestment from companies tied to the South African military in 1986, a hard-won victory achieved after years of student-led campaigns, served as a particularly potent example. This success, demonstrating the potential of collective action and Harvard's openness to divestment, provided further inspiration for the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement, founded in 2005 and focused on Israel-Palestine.

The first Palestinian Intifada, which began in late 1987, further galvanized solidarity with the Palestinian cause, both within the US and internationally. On Harvard's campus, this surge in awareness and activism ultimately led to the establishment of the Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC) in 1990.[22] Unlike the more culturally focused Society of Arab Students, the PSC emerged as a distinctly political organization, signaling a growing desire among students to engage in direct action and advocacy around Palestinian rights. From the earliest days of the organization's founding, PSC members experienced backlash, reporting early on having their posters torn down and being spat upon.

This period also witnessed a broader shift in how students — including, but not limited to, those of Arab and Muslim backgrounds — expressed their religious and cultural identities at Harvard. Inspired by global movements that embraced religion and cultural identity as tools for social and political change, students from diverse backgrounds, particularly those with international ties, began asserting their identities more visibly. This manifested in increased participation in religious and cultural activities, a greater focus on addressing geopolitical issues affecting the Arab and Muslim world, and, for some, even visible changes in attire, such as the growing prevalence of women wearing headscarves. This trend resonated with US-born students as well, many of whom sought to explore and strengthen their own religious and cultural identities during this period.

Post-9/11 Era: Heightened Scrutiny and Uneven Progress

These evolving campus dynamics became particularly fraught after September 11, 2001, raising the concerns about religious discrimination and free speech that have evolved into those the Task Force now seeks to address. The events of 9/11 cast a long shadow over America, and its reverberations were deeply felt within the gates of Harvard Yard. For Muslim students particularly, this tragedy marked a turning point, ushering in an era of unprecedented scrutiny, suspicion, and, for many, a profound sense of vulnerability.

While Harvard has long prided itself on being a bastion of free speech and intellectual inquiry, the post-9/11 period revealed a more complicated reality, particularly for these communities. The alleged physical assault of a Muslim student near campus, targeted simply for wearing a kufi, an Islamic prayer cap, exemplified the

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[21] Adam S. Cohen and John D. Solomon, "Conflicting Rallies Highlight Lebanon; Held by Pro-Palestinians and Zionists," *Harvard Crimson*, September 24, 1982. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1982/9/24/conflicting-rallies-highlight-lebanon-pwith-two/
[22] Tracy Kramer, "Pro-Palestinian Group Planned: Campus Organization Will Focus on Political Agenda," *Harvard Crimson*, October 25, 1990. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/1990/10/25/pro-palestinian-group-planned-pfrustrated-by-the/

newly intensified threat of bias-motivated violence that emerged in this climate of fear. Beyond physical safety, unconfirmed rumors of surveillance within Muslim student spaces contributed to a palpable atmosphere of distrust and anxiety, which many felt stifled open dialogue and poisoned any hope of genuine community building. For these students, the promise of free expression at Harvard began to ring hollow, as certain voices and viewpoints were readily amplified while others were silenced or marginalized.

The controversy surrounding Zayed Yasin '02, the selected speaker for the 2002 undergraduate Commencement, exemplifies this uneven playing field. Yasin sought to reclaim the term "jihad" from interpretations that would reduce it only to armed struggle, focusing on its meaning as a personal struggle for spiritual growth and social justice. His initial speech title, "My American Jihad," sparked a wave of controversy, attracting national media attention and criticism. Over 5,000 students, faculty, parents, and alumni reportedly signed a petition calling for Yasin's removal as the Commencement speaker. Despite efforts to clarify his intentions, Yasin faced accusations of promoting violence, lukewarm support from University leadership, and intense pressure to modify the title. Ultimately, he delivered his address under the title "Of Faith and Service."

This incident highlighted a concerning power imbalance at Harvard, where the voices of Muslims, Arabs, and Palestinians were often muted, while those advocating anti-Muslim, anti-Arab, and anti-Palestinian views utilized their influence and status to amplify these perspectives. In the same year that Yasin faced backlash for using the term "jihad," then-President Lawrence Summers labeled supporters of a divestment petition for Palestinian human rights as "antisemitic in effect, if not in intent." This conflation of criticism of Israeli policy with antisemitism was further perpetuated by public figures including a high-profile Harvard law professor, who branded "everyone" signing the divestment petition as "bigots."[23] To many within the Harvard community, actions like these further stifled dialogue and debate on Israeli-Palestinian issues, signaling that any effort to challenge the status quo, especially concerning Israeli policy, would be quickly countered with accusations of bigotry and attempts to suppress dissent.

A double standard in acceptable discourse was further highlighted in 2006 when the conservative student journal *Salient* published the provocative Jyllands-Posten cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad. While Yasin's effort to reclaim the meaning of "jihad" was labeled dangerous and effectively subject to censorship, the publication of these cartoons — widely seen as Islamophobic — was defended by some of the same people who attacked Yasin under the banner of "free speech." Adding insult to injury, a subsequent email from a senior Harvard College administrator warned the *Salient*'s editors that "some segments of the campus … may be sufficiently upset by the publication of the cartoons that they may become dangerous," a statement widely interpreted as expressing preconceived notions about Muslim students.

This pattern of platforming anti-Muslim, anti-Arab, and anti-Palestinian figures while simultaneously stifling dissent persisted. In 2010, the Committee on Degrees in Social Studies established an undergraduate research fund honoring a Harvard alumnus and public figure known for bigoted remarks such as declaring "Muslim life is cheap."[24] Similarly, in 2013, a fellowship was awarded to a controversial public figure frequently criticized for Islamophobic rhetoric, including the 2007 statement: "we are at war with Islam … there's no middle ground in wars."[25] These decisions sent a chilling message to many members of the Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian communities at Harvard — including students, faculty, and staff — and signaled a lack of institutional support, which amplified their sense of marginalization. Furthermore, Harvard's ties with the Israeli military establishment, evident in collaborations with former Israeli military and intelligence officials, deepened feelings of disillusionment and alienation, particularly among Palestinian members of the community.

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[23] Randall T. Adams, "Dershowitz: Divestment Petitioners Are 'Bigots'," *Harvard Crimson*, October 8, 2002. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2002/10/8/dershowitz-divestment-petitioners-are-bigots-frankfurter/
[24] https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2010/9/17/social-studies-committee-letter/
[25] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/apr/09/brandeis-withdraws-honorary-degree-ayaan-hirsi-ali-college

Despite these challenges, the post-9/11 period at Harvard was not devoid of progress. There was a growing awareness of the need for greater understanding and inclusion, particularly within the Muslim community. However, this awareness, and the institutional efforts it inspired, did not always extend to the same degree to its Arab and Palestinian communities.

The appointment of William A. Graham, a renowned scholar of Islamic Studies, as Dean of Harvard Divinity School in 2002 signaled a commitment to strengthening Islamic studies at the University's highest levels. This commitment was further solidified in 2005 with the establishment of the Prince Alwaleed bin Talal Islamic Studies Program, which significantly expanded resources for research, teaching, and public engagement related to Islam and Muslim societies. Since the 90s, there had been a series of individuals — often graduate students — who acted as Muslim chaplains (and were recognized by the Harvard chaplains) and who provided much-needed spiritual guidance and support for Muslims on campus. In an effort to further formalize this support, the University hired its first full-time Muslim chaplain in 2017. In the same year, University leaders also expressed support for students following an executive order suspending immigration from seven predominantly Muslim countries by joining a lawsuit challenging the order.[26]

However, while efforts were undertaken for Muslims on campus, there was a lack of similarly focused efforts regarding Arab and specifically Palestinian inclusion, leaving members of these communities yearning for comparable support and recognition.

While these developments offered a glimmer of hope, the post-9/11 era at Harvard revealed an imbalance, particularly related to issues of free speech, religious tolerance, and academic freedom surrounding Palestine. The experiences of Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian students during this period underscored the urgent and unmet need to confront biases, challenge double standards, and cultivate a campus culture genuinely committed to inclusivity and intellectual diversity. Addressing these failures — largely left unaddressed for more than two decades leading up to October 2023 — is the central focus of this Task Force.

Palestinian Students at Harvard: A Unique Set of Challenges

Palestinian students at Harvard have faced a distinct set of challenges, stemming from the ongoing dispossession of their people and the frequent denial and silencing of their historical narrative. This struggle for recognition and self-determination has been central to their experience. Many arrived in the United States — and at Harvard — seeking education and new beginnings, their families often displaced during the Nakba, the mass expulsion of Palestinians that followed Israel's creation in 1948. Yet, their presence on campus has unfolded against a backdrop of ongoing oppression at home and often-hostile political discourse on campus and throughout the US, forcing them to navigate a complex terrain of identity, activism, and silencing.

As the world watched the Palestinian Intifada unfold in the late 1980s, Palestinian and pro-Palestinian students at Harvard felt a growing imperative to organize and advocate for their cause. As noted earlier, this led to the formation of the Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC) in 1990, marking a pivotal moment in this movement at Harvard. The PSC, a student-led organization distinct from broader Arab or Muslim student groups, focused on directly addressing Palestinian political struggles, providing a platform for education, advocacy, and solidarity on campus.

The PSC's creation in 1990 ushered in a new era of visibility for Palestinian issues at Harvard, but also one marked by persistent opposition and silencing. The committee organized events like "Palestine Awareness Week," featuring film screenings, speaker panels, and cultural performances to highlight Palestinian narratives. However, these efforts frequently encountered pushbacks, hindering — in the view of many —

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[26] https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2017/1/30/faust-immigration-email/

nuanced dialogue. This pushback came not only from pro-Israel groups, some of whom equated criticism of Israeli policies with antisemitism, but also from administrators. This dynamic continued even as the Palestinian rights movement experienced a resurgence in the years following 9/11, coinciding with the Second Intifada and fueled by global outcry against US military involvement in the Middle East. This resurgence, led by a new generation committed to amplifying Palestinian voices, led to the PSC's reactivation in 2006. Yet, the struggle to foster open dialogue persisted, as students and faculty critical of Israeli policies continued to face accusations of antisemitism that shut down meaningful debate, highlighting the persistent power imbalance in the ability to express their perspectives.

This disparity manifested in a recurring pattern of silencing dissent surrounding Israel-Palestine. The Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement, advocating for Palestinian rights, became a focal point of contention. First seen in the early 2000s, it resurfaced dramatically in April 2022, when *The Harvard Crimson*'s Editorial Board took the unprecedented step of endorsing BDS, advocating for severing ties with Israel to hold it accountable for its treatment of Palestinians. The backlash was swift and severe. Student groups, faculty, and alumni — including former President Summers — denounced the endorsement, accusing the Board of promoting antisemitism and undermining Israel's legitimacy.

The attempt to silence critical voices is further illustrated by the initial decision of the Dean of the Harvard Kennedy School of Government in 2023 to veto a fellowship for Kenneth Roth, the longtime head of Human Rights Watch (HRW). Roth's fellowship was reportedly denied due to HRW's criticisms of Israeli policies towards Palestinians, with accusations that he harbored an "anti-Israel bias." While the Dean ultimately reversed the decision, the incident fueled persistent anxiety about the precarious state of academic freedom and open discourse on these issues at Harvard.

This discouragement impacted more than student activism. Faculty and students at Harvard interested in researching or discussing Palestine often faced institutional impediments. There was a perceived lack of scholarship, class offerings, and faculty with expertise in Palestine studies on the Harvard campus; and undergraduate and graduate students alike struggled to find faculty to advise Palestine-related projects. Some were advised against pursuing Palestine-related research topics due to potential career risks, while faculty members experienced obstacles in their own careers. Reports surfaced of tenure delays or denials potentially linked to their scholarship or activism on Palestinian issues. The disparity in support for Palestine-related initiatives compared to well-funded Israel-focused programs, like the prestigious Wexner Fellowship, further highlighted the uneven playing field.

Despite these formidable obstacles, Palestinian and pro-Palestinian students at Harvard have demonstrated remarkable resilience. They organized initiatives, such as Palestine Trek, an immersive travel program aiming to foster a deeper understanding of the Palestinian experience. However, as documented in testimonies received by this Task Force, participants faced pushback from Harvard administrators. The PSC has persisted in its advocacy, organizing events and campaigns to raise awareness about human rights abuses and advocating for Palestinian self-determination.

The experiences of Palestinian and pro-Palestinian students at Harvard stand as a stark reminder of the University's complex and often fraught relationship with power, politics, and free speech. Despite moments of progress, the historical suppression of their narratives, the chilling effect on academic inquiry, and the persistent conflation of criticism of Israel with antisemitism underscore the ongoing need to take concrete measures to ensure the free expression of Palestinian and pro-Palestinian advocates, dismantle institutional barriers and create a truly inclusive campus where Palestinian voices can be heard and their humanity fully recognized. Addressing this enduring issue of silencing and double standards falls squarely within this Task Force's mandate to foster a more inclusive and equitable campus for all.

Conclusion

This historical overview, though not exhaustive, underscores the evolving experiences of Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian communities at Harvard. From their limited presence in the early centuries to the rise of activism and the ongoing struggle for recognition, these groups have navigated a complex terrain of inclusion and exclusion. While their stories are distinct, they often intersect, collectively shaping the campus climate and highlighting the persistent challenges faced by marginalized communities.

The events of October 7, 2023, and beyond underscore the painful reality that these struggles are far from over. This historical context is essential for understanding the events that led to the formation of this Task Force and the urgent need to address the concerns of Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian students, staff, and faculty at Harvard today. This Task Force is committed to learning from the past and working towards a future where Harvard fully embodies the ideals of equity, inclusion, and academic freedom for all. Only then can Harvard truly live up to its ideals as a place of learning and free expression for all.

One of the challenges of this work is that the task of analyzing bias on campus against specific groups of students cannot be disentangled from how the campus engages with the intellectual questions of history, politics, and policy at the heart of global conflicts. We will have to do the latter work well, if we expect to succeed at the former effort to achieve a campus that lives up to its own stated values of inclusive excellence.

4. Salient Events

In this section we present a brief summary of some of the key events at Harvard that we continued to hear about and that left a lasting impression on many members of the Muslim, Arab, Palestinian and pro-Palestinian communities during the 2023-24 academic year and beyond. These events highlight some of the bases for the theme of abandonment and silencing we heard from the community.

Doxxing Attacks against Pro-Palestinian Students

In late October 2023, some members of the Harvard community — including students — were subjected to targeted harassment through doxxing trucks that appeared in Harvard Square, near Harvard Yard, and other campus locations. These trucks, operated by external organizations, displayed the names and faces of individuals that were thought to be associated with pro-Palestinian activism, labeling them as "antisemites" in a public and highly visible manner. These trucks targeted students who had signed statements, attended protests, or been vocal about Palestinian rights on campus.[27]

While some students had informally reported being doxxed prior to October 7th (with doxxing websites reporting on individuals engaged in events hosted by Harvard's PSC)[28], the students we heard from noted that there was a substantial increase in doxxing activities afterwards. Reportedly over 100 students had their profiles uploaded to the aforementioned site, including contact information and social media links (the site identifies individuals its owners believe are promoting hate against Jews and Israel). Students reported that such information was internal to Harvard and expressed concerns that it may have been leaked by fellow students who had access to such personal information. Moreover, they expressed concerns that when students tried to prevent other students from taking videos or photographs of protestors for fear of them being doxxed, such students in turn were threatened and at times faced threats of legal action. One especially salient case resulted in students who identified as pro-Palestinian being charged with hate crimes for attempting to stop another student from filming and potentially then doxxing protestors.

The doxxing trucks reappeared in Cambridge multiple times throughout Fall 2023, creating a climate of fear and intimidation for many involved in pro-Palestinian advocacy. Some students even reported that doxxing trucks began to appear in front of their family's homes, in parts of Massachusetts well outside of Cambridge and as distant as Vermont and other East Coast states. As one student noted:

> I'm not Arab or Muslim, but I was doxxed because of my advocacy for Palestine. This led to racialized and sexualized manifestations. A doxxing truck went to my home, which is in a small town. I was met with incompetence and indifference from Harvard officials. There was no response to the truck being at my home, and no response from Harvard.

The trucks became a tool in silencing pro-Palestinian activism, chilling it before it could start. A faculty member who worked with students impacted by the doxxing incidents described the severity of the threats:

> One student had their face put on a doxxing truck and their phone number and other details doxxed online. They received calls with death and rape threats. This was not an isolated incident.

Despite the clear distress caused by these incidents, involved members of the Harvard community noted multiple times that the administration did not immediately issue a strong condemnation. Many students felt the University's failure to publicly denounce the doxxing campaign in a timely manner emboldened its

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[27] "Doxxed Harvard Students Decry 'Heinous and Aggressive' Online Harassment, Call for Greater Support from University," *Harvard Crimson*, December 8, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/12/8/doxxing-students-palestine-feature/

perpetrators and sent a chilling message to those targeted. Several students expressed their frustration and disillusionment; one made a direct plea for action:

> *If the doxxing truck had Jewish faces, it would have been condemned instantly. But it had brown faces. It takes six months to condemn a truck?*

> *Harvard disproportionately caters to other religious groups on campus instead of to Muslims. There was a swift response to the antisemitic cartoon. But a complete lack of response to the doxxing truck.*

> *The university needs to fulfill its protective function by preventing attacks on its community.*

Faculty members also criticized what they felt was the administration's inadequate response to doxxing, arguing that Harvard had a responsibility to better protect its students from harassment and external intimidation.

The continued presence of these doxxing trucks led to long-term damage to campus trust and student well-being. Some students felt silenced and began avoiding activism, fearing professional and academic consequences. Others reported removing themselves from public-facing platforms altogether to avoid being targeted. Ultimately, Harvard's failure to explicitly condemn these doxxing campaigns intensified mistrust between students and administrators, reinforcing some students' perception that political considerations and donor influence took precedence over student safety and well-being.

Harvard's Official Communications on Palestinian Crises

Throughout the 2023-24 academic year, students and faculty at Harvard repeatedly criticized the administration for failing to acknowledge Palestinian suffering in its official statements. While the University issued multiple statements condemning antisemitism and expressing support for Jewish students, we heard concerns that those statements often failed to mention Palestinian casualties or the humanitarian crisis in Gaza. These omissions were often interpreted by Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian individuals at Harvard as an institutional double standard, further alienating Muslim, Arab, Palestinian and pro-Palestinians community members reinforcing the perception that Harvard was unwilling to recognize their pain, and leaving many feeling abandoned.

For many students, the lack of acknowledgment went beyond omission — it felt like active erasure. A student described the frustration of seeing Palestinian suffering ignored while Harvard took clear stances on other issues:

> *There's always a reference to Israel in the statements from Harvard leaders. Palestine, however, isn't mentioned even in passing.*

Faculty and staff also expressed their view that political pressure and donor influence may have shaped Harvard's messaging, often leading to self-censorship among educators — silencing. One faculty member described direct intimidation:

> *With other issues of social justice, I have been tapped by my department to write public statements. I have been privately told by three different faculty members (two BIPOC) that any statement in support of Palestine will be taken as my resignation.*

The administration's selective messaging and delayed responses to issues central to our community seemed in stark contrast to Harvard's comparatively swift responses to antisemitism and other societal and global issues, including the war in Ukraine, Black Lives Matter protests, and anti-Asian hate crimes. A student, demanding accountability, asked:

> *Why is there no condemnation of the doxxing truck? Will you put it in an email?*

A particularly noteworthy event in the community was when then-President Gay condemned using the phrase "from the river to the sea." in a University-wide email.[29] This was viewed with substantial dismay by the community and many faculty, as the term has a long and complicated history, and the community felt it was clear from the context that no Harvard community member was advocating for genocide, but the term was, instead, being used to advocate to end what they felt was the genocide of Palestinian people.[30]

Ultimately, Harvard's perceived failure to explicitly acknowledge Palestinian suffering intensified mistrust between the community and the administration, reinforcing concerns that political and financial considerations were being prioritized over moral clarity and human rights. This concern is even more pronounced now, in the current political climate, where there appears to be a focused effort on controlling, or at minimum, influencing institutions of higher education.

Incidents of Physical Harassment

In our listening sessions we heard multiple instances of community members being physically harassed and intimated. These narratives heightened the sense of fear and lack of personal safety among the community.

We heard that a Muslim woman wearing a hijab was reportedly attacked with a knife on campus in early Fall 2023. A student expressed shock that the Task Force itself was unaware of the incident, stating:

> A woman in a hijab at [Harvard School] was attacked with a knife. If the task force is not aware of this incident, then what is this for?

This sentiment was echoed by others who questioned why the University had not taken a public stance or implemented protective measures in response to such physical threats. For some, Harvard's silence reinforced the perception of institutional bias, particularly in contrast to the University's swift responses to other incidents of discrimination and violence. A student criticized Harvard leadership's selective messaging:

> [University leadership] released a statement on a cartoon but not on a Muslim woman being chased with a knife in October.

Even now, scant information is available about this incident, reinforcing the community member's sense of not being able to safely share their experiences and being silenced and abandoned.

During listening sessions, multiple students also described disturbing experiences in which they felt followed, harassed, or physically threatened, including such statements as these:

> A Palestinian friend had alcohol poured all over him while standing outside of his dorm wearing a keffiyeh.

> I was harassed when I wore a keffiyah at my Harvard library work-study job … I've received both antisemitic and anti-Muslim hate, even though I'm not Jewish or Muslim. I've received death threats and rape threats. I spend a lot of time talking to the administration.

> [A Harvard affiliate's spouse] was filmed harassing a student with a keffiyeh, and students were afraid of taking a class with [them].

A graduate student also mentioned how they were doxxed by a fellow student at their School for organizing an event. They reported that a classmate took a screen shot of their personal information, which led to people on Twitter (X) saying the student should get sent to Gaza and killed and actively wishing them dead on Instagram and X.

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[29] President, Harvard University. "Combating Antisemitism," *Harvard University President*, November 9, 2023. https://www.harvard.edu/president/news-gay/2023/combating-antisemitism/
[30] "More than 100 Harvard Faculty Sign Letter Criticizing President Gay's Censure of Pro-Palestine Slogan," *Harvard Crimson*, November 15, 2023. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/11/15/faculty-condemn-president-gay-statement/

Some female students who wear hijabs reported that they did not feel safe commuting to and from campus. They noted while the University tried to help by arranging ride sharing vouchers for students to commute between campuses, this was still deemed inadequate. One graduate student shared their experience of being bullied by other students their entire first year. They reported being called a derogatory name and told their degree was not real because of the country it was from. The harassment led them to take an academic leave, but when they returned, they reported that people had broken into their on-campus housing, smoked a psychoactive drug, and stuffed prayer shawls in the window.

Ultimately, the perceived lack of a strong response to these events on campus was viewed as examples of the administration's indifference to Islamophobic and anti-Arab violence on campus.

Meetings with Harvard Leadership

In the listening sessions and individual meetings with community members we heard about four noteworthy interactions with Harvard's leadership: a meeting that then-President Gay and other senior leaders held with undergraduate students who were deeply affected by the events, a similar event with graduate students, a fall Family Weekend occurrence where then-President Gay attended Friday prayers, and later in the spring, President Garber attended Ramadan iftar at the Student Organization Center at Hilles (SOCH).

These meetings, especially the three in Fall 2023, were viewed quite unfavorably by those who recounted the events, primarily because they felt Harvard's leadership was not responsive — both in terms of addressing their concerns as well as simply expressing empathy for what they were going through — with some even having lost family members in the ongoing crises in the region. Beyond not being responsive, attendees described leaders as distant, dismissive, and disengaged, which seemed to most as a stark contrast to how leaders engaged at other events around campus.

For example, a student who was present at the Family Weekend Friday prayer event noted that:

[Then–President Gay] did a meet and greet with parents who came but didn't say anything. Parents of students who were doxxed didn't feel safe, might've need[ed] security — [President Gay] went to talk to them and gave them non or negative answers … [the parents] were disappointed because they are her students. After that they felt like they had no hope from the top.

Another student noted the disparity in Harvard's leadership towards interacting with affected communities:

President Gay attended a Shabbat event and spoke, affirming that Harvard is a place for Jewish students. However, at a Muslim event, she stood in the back and attempted to leave early.

In late 2023, then-President Gay and other Harvard leaders held a meeting with a small group of undergraduate students who were especially affected by the crisis. There was a separate and analogous meeting also held with a small set of graduate students. These meetings were aimed at addressing rising tensions and student concerns regarding the University's handling of the Israel-Palestine conflict but were ultimately perceived as unproductive and dismissive, leaving students frustrated and further alienated from University leadership. A student recounted the graduate student meeting in detail:

Palestinians were talking [during the meeting] in very intimate detail, being very vulnerable, they recounted their experiences in tears, their family members who were killed, how they were doxxed, how they were feeling talking to family at home. Pictures were shown, solid presentations were made.

Students experienced Harvard's leadership as non-empathetic and non-responsive and were dismayed when they left earlier than they'd anticipated:

[They] got up and walked out. We felt disrespected. We all sat there in silence for a minute. We were in shock. Incredibly disheartening. That day the graduate students lost a lot of trust in the administration.

At the same time, there was a sense that Harvard's leadership itself was currently under attack, with doxxing trucks targeting them as well and accusing them of being antisemitic as a means of putting pressure on them when in fact these attacks on leadership appeared to reflect underlying racial biases themselves. As one staff member noted:

President Gay was forced out not because she was antisemitic, but because she was a Black woman. [Staff]

President Garber's attendance at an iftar (breaking fast meal) during Ramadan in the spring of 2024 was met with mixed feedback. This was an important event for the University's Muslim community and while some saw his presence as a symbolic step toward rebuilding trust, others remained skeptical. One student noted:

President Garber coming to iftar was a huge step forward. I talked to him a little bit. There is a reason for this lack of trust in the administration, we were treated very poorly by the administration directly last semester.

For others, Garber's attendance did little to change perceptions of the administration's bias and lack of moral leadership. And some questioned Garder's response to a student question that divestment "lacked moral clarity" and noted that both he and then-President Gay gave ambiguous answers. Ultimately, Garber's presence at the iftar dinner had mixed reactions, with some students seeing it as a necessary step toward dialogue, while others viewed it as a superficial attempt at damage control.[31]

Disciplinary Actions Against Pro-Palestinian Protesters and the Student Encampment

Throughout the 2023-24 academic year, Harvard students who participated in pro-Palestinian activism faced disciplinary actions, including formal warnings, suspensions, and threats of expulsion. While these measures were justified by citing violations of University policies, including protest regulations and campus disruption rules, students and faculty felt that these policies were selectively enforced, as they believed similar protests for other causes had not resulted in comparable disciplinary actions.[32]

In addition to the regular protests, especially notable was the student encampment that occurred between April 24, 2024 and May 14, 2024. The encampment, which mirrored similar demonstrations at other universities, quickly became a focal point of pro-Palestinian activism, providing space for teach-ins, discussions, and solidarity actions. As Harvard's administration moved to remove the encampment, it escalated tensions between students and University officials.

Harvard's decision to withhold diplomas for 13 seniors who participated in the encampment, effectively preventing them from graduating as planned, was viewed as especially emblematic of these concerns because the Harvard Corporation overturned a prior Faculty of Arts and Sciences recommendation to reinstate the students' degrees.[33] As one faculty member noted:

There is a rampant Palestine exception to free speech at Harvard. Double standards in how people who are advocating for Palestine are silenced, reprimanded, vilified in a way others aren't currently or historically. For instance, the Corporation overturning the faculty's motion to let graduating seniors who participated in Palestine solidarity encampments graduate.

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[31] "Interim Harvard President Alan Garber '76 Grilled by Students at Iftar Event," *Harvard Crimson*, April 1, 2024. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/4/1/garber-iftar-appearance/

[32] We recognize that disciplinary actions are often confidential and so students and faculty would not necessarily know what actions may have been taken in other cases.

[33] Jung, C. and Lee, S., "Harvard Corporation Won't Give Diplomas to 13 Students, despite Faculty Vote," wbur.org, May 22, 2024. https://www.wbur.org/news/2024/05/22/harvard-corporation-wont-give-diplomas-to-13-students-despite-faculty-vote

Some expressed their concern that Harvard's actions silence pro-Palestinian speech. For example, some felt that Harvard's decision to suspend the PSC for failing to register a demonstration in violation of protest guidelines in the spring of 2024 was an effort to suppress.[34] One student described the chilling effect:

> PSC itself is under probation status because of these policy things. It's becoming clear that the policies are unclear on particular points. People mass complaining, that's why we have to come in [to the Dean of Students office] every time. Some complaints saying that we posted an event on social media that means we were hosting an unauthorized event. They're so targeted on that and not on the harassment we've reported to them, frustrating. A lot of focus on silencing us.

Students reported feeling heightened scrutiny and policing of their gatherings, including administrative presence at silent rallies and informal student meetings.

Harvard's response to the encampment also included increased security measures, with campus gates being closed to the public and a Harvard ID required to entire Harvard Yard — something that had not occurred during previous protest movements. One student described this as an intimidation tactic:

> Harvard College apparently closed all their gates today and are checking IDs, clearly in response to the student encampments at other Massachusetts colleges.

Another student recalled:

> These gatherings have been policed incessantly. Students are just calling reps and senators to call for a ceasefire. These are the kinds of events being policed.

The threat of disciplinary action also extended beyond students to faculty, some of whom reported being warned or pressured over their support for Palestine. One faculty member expressed concerns about job security for those who spoke out, stating:

> A colleague was fired directly after voicing their support for Palestine. How do I know my disclosures will not be used to wrongfully terminate or punish me?

Faculty members also expressed frustration with what they viewed to be Harvard's approach to student activism, with one professor stating:

> The ability to protest is key to the development of enlightenment, and there is a way to protest and speak up respectfully and peacefully. We need to be able to speak up without retribution from our institutions and the [Harvard School] to which so many of us have devoted our academic careers.

Harvard Programs and Centers that offer Palestinian Programming

In our conversations, we heard frequent requests for the University to host events and learning opportunities that represent the Palestinian situation — historically and in the current context, especially the ongoing humanitarian crises.

The Religion and Public Life (RPL) program at Harvard Divinity School has focused on Israel-Palestine through case studies and student trips for several years. This approach included firsthand experiences in the region and involved students from diverse backgrounds across various Harvard Schools. Despite these efforts, students and faculty associated with RPL reported that they have faced institutional hurdles and extra scrutiny, particularly regarding broader University support for initiatives related to Israel-Palestine. The program's stated intent to present balanced perspectives has led to accusations of antisemitism, even though some members of the community noted it was the only program at Harvard to have explicitly

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[34] "Harvard Suspends Palestine Solidarity Committee Amid Wave of Protests on College Campuses." *Harvard Crimson*, April 23, 2024. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2024/4/23/harvard-psc-suspended/

condemned antisemitism and hosted related conferences. Such labeling feeds into a troubling narrative where being Arab or Muslim is often unfairly equated with antisemitism. As one person noted:

> *The RPL office is the office with the most number of public facing Arabs and Muslims in the School (that's three). Because of what their program does in Israel/Palestine through a statement they put out at the beginning of the conflict, asking people to consider both sides, they have implicitly been considered antisemitic.*

Recent leadership changes within the RPL program have intensified concerns.[35] With one faculty lead retiring early and another resigning in protest over perceived anti-Muslim bias, there's heightened apprehension among the Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian communities. The resigning faculty member highlighted a persistent bias at Harvard, noting instances where their office was defamed and accused of promoting terrorism and Jew hatred without official rebuttal. These developments have been perceived as a loss in programming, fueling the sentiment that initiatives perceived as "pro-Palestinian" are marginalized and regarded as antisemitic. Overall, the situation underscores significant challenges in fostering an inclusive environment for Palestinian programming at Harvard.

Similarly, the Palestine Program for Health and Human Rights at the FXB Center for Health and Human Rights, based at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, has been a topic of considerable discussion. Some events associated with the program have faced scrutiny, raising concerns among numerous Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian individuals at Harvard. A particular point of contention is that these events and webinars are biased as they do not include Israeli perspectives on the genesis of the conflict in Gaza on October 7th. However, the organizers have noted that they aim to invite physicians, academics, and frontline workers with diverse perspectives to discuss the humanitarian crises affecting civilians and explore opportunities for relief and health system strengthening. This occurs amidst calls from students for more institutional support for academic freedom for events and courses that focus on Palestinian perspectives. Faculty members echo this sentiment, with one noting:

> *I would like to see hospitals sponsoring conferences about how to help children in Gaza. Especially as Harvard physicians, people look up to us, and I would like to be able to speak out without retribution.*

Two recent reports have further heightened concerns about potential threats to academic freedom at the University following criticism of programming on Palestine. The first report reveals that the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health has suspended its research partnership with Birzeit University in the West Bank.[36] The second report notes that the Faculty of Arts and Sciences dismissed the faculty leaders of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, with the Center continuing under the leadership of its current interim director while they recruit a replacement.[37]

While it is not the mandate of this Task Force to adjudicate particular programs or events, and there is likely much detail and information that is out of the reach of this task force, there is a general concern that such programs are some of the few places and avenues where community members feel they get to learn about the Palestinian issue. While balanced discourse and the highest academic standards are important criteria, and this should be pursued by expanding programming and deepening scholarly expertise not only at specific centers but at the University as a whole. This is especially true in the context where such programming and expertise is limited on campus. As one respondent noted:

> *The lack of faculty who teach on Palestine is something the university needs to address. The realities of what is happening in Israel and Palestine, the destruction of all universities of Gaza is not mentioned by the prestigious university of Harvard is unfathomable and very troubling. The Scholars at Risk committee has*

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[35] "Leaders of Harvard Divinity School's Religion and Public Life Program To Depart Abruptly," *Harvard Crimson*, February 5, 2025. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2025/2/5/RPL-Leader-Departs-Abruptly/
[36] https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2025/3/27/harvard-suspends-birzeit-partnership/
[37] https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2025/3/29/harvard-cmes-director-departure/

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received many applications for Palestinian scholars at risk including several Gazans, until now they have not decided and are waffling on accepting any scholars at risk from Gaza. It's nice to say we have a SAR program, but to not accept any from Gaza is highly problematic.

Adoption of a Definition of Antisemitism

A recent development that has become the subject of discussion within the community is Harvard's incorporation of the International Holocaust Remembrance Association (IHRA) definition of antisemitism into its Non-Discrimination and Anti-Bullying Policies as part of a recent legal settlement.[38,39] To many in the Muslim, Arab, Palestinian and pro-Palestinian community this has raised grave concerns and furthered their sense of being silenced. There is a belief amongst the community, especially given the wider context in the US now and how universities are being treated, that this can and will be used to arm others to further silence pro-Palestinian protest.[40,41]

While there is wide agreement that all forms of bias should be prevented, including antisemitism as well as antizionism, as much as their analogues — anti-Muslim and anti-Palestinian bias and bias against those that support Palestine — should be prevented, the worry expressed in the community is that the IHRA definition and the examples provided alongside it, will conflate and equate protesting against Israel and its policies as antisemitism. It was for this reason that an international group of scholars working on Antisemitism Studies and related fields issued the Jerusalem Declaration on Antisemitism in 2020, and then in 2021, the Nexus Task Force published the Nexus Document for "Understanding Antisemitism at its Nexus with Israel and Zionism."[42,43]

At a time when the general sense is there is already inadequate protection of such protest, as evidenced over the past several months and earlier, the worry expressed is that the trend points to even more silencing and suppression of free speech and academic freedom.

[38] "One Day After Trump Takes Office, Harvard Settles Two Antisemitism Lawsuits," *Harvard Crimson*, January 21, 2025. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2025/1/21/harvard-settles-antisemitism-lawsuits/

[39] In doing so, Harvard agreed to apply the IHRA definition within its NDAB policies in the same manner as the Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights and other federal agencies were expected to under the December 11, 2019. https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/DCPD-201900859/pdf/DCPD-201900859.pdf

[40] Joseph Zuloaga, "Trump Administration Cuts $400 Million in Federal Funding to Columbia," *Columbia Daily Spectator*, March 7, 2025. https://www.columbiaspectator.com/news/2025/03/07/trump-administration-cuts-400-million-in-federal-funding-to-columbia/

[41] "Free Speech, Punishable Conduct: As Harvard Clarifies Protest Policies, Some Lines Remain Blurred," *Harvard Crimson*, March 7, 2025. https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2025/3/7/harvard-protest-discrimination-policies/

[42] https://jerusalemdeclaration.org/

[43] https://nexusproject.us/nexus-resources/the-nexus-document/

5. Recommendations

We now turn to the recommendations of our Task Force, developed on the basis of all the learning presented above. These recommendations are organized into seven groups, reflecting the seven thematic areas we first identified in our preliminary report. These themes were based on what we heard in the listening sessions among Harvard community members. They have also been informed by findings from the University-Wide Joint Survey that was carried out by the two Task Forces as well as additional discussions with community members and subject matter experts.

The Task Force's recommendations aim to address the concerns raised by Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian students, staff, and faculty members at Harvard. We recognize the importance of distinguishing between issues related to anti-Muslim bias and those concerning anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian bias, as these are distinct and should not be conflated. Furthermore, we acknowledge the religious diversity within Arab and Palestinian communities, encompassing Christians, Muslims, and individuals of various other beliefs. Our goal is to foster a truly inclusive and supportive environment that recognizes and serves the needs of all community members.

Our recommendations range from those that can be acted upon immediately to those that will take more time to implement and to achieve their full impact, reflecting the need to address both urgent concerns and more systemic longer-terms ones. We believe this balanced approach is necessary to achieve the shorter, medium, and longer-term goals of healing our community. For each recommendation, we have provided a clear explanation of its intent and scope along with specific implementation suggestions where feasible. We also recognize that these recommendations may need to evolve to meet the diverse needs and structures across Harvard's various Schools and adapt to new developments over time.

The proposed recommendations have unanimous support from all Task Force members. While differing opinions arose regarding implementation details or approaches for certain recommendations, we have aimed for transparency by noting the different viewpoints. Additionally, some topics that emerged prominently during our community engagements generated differing views on whether a recommendation was warranted. We have diligently strived for transparency in these cases as well, outlining the nature of the differing perspectives.

We should also note that while we have tried our best to address the concerns raised by our community, these are complex issues, many of which are long-standing, as evident in the brief historical section of this report. Our recommendations should therefore be regarded as a step that helps us all move in the right direction towards a safer, more vibrant, and inclusive community. We consider this an ongoing endeavor, one that we and future members of the Harvard community must remain committed to pursuing.

We understand the concern that recommendations often go unheeded and acknowledge the institutional distrust expressed by some community members. To demonstrate our commitment to action, each thematic section in this report begins with a brief review of the Preliminary Recommendations issued in June 2024. We provide a concise summary of our initial suggestions in each area, followed by highlights of the progress made, as reported by University officials on the Harvard website.[44] While only a few months have passed, we are encouraged by the steps taken in several areas. Each section then presents further recommendations, some elaborating on previous suggestions with greater detail, and others offering new recommendations based on our work over the past several months.

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[44] https://www.harvard.edu/task-force-on-anti-muslim-and-anti-arab-bias/#implementationupdates

A. Safety and Security Concerns

As is documented in our listening sessions and starkly evident in the Harvard-Wide Joint Survey, physical and mental safety has been a substantial concern for members of the Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian communities at Harvard. The survey responses from Muslim and from Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) students, which includes Palestinians and Israelis, are particularly troubling. More than half (56%) of the Muslim student respondents and 42% of the MENA student respondents reported feeling physically unsafe on campus.

Summary of Preliminary Recommendations

The Task Force's Preliminary Recommendations[45] on Safety and Security Concerns from June 2024 emphasized a multi-pronged approach to ensuring that every member of the Harvard community feels safe and respected. These recommendations included immediate steps to enhance physical safety, such as promoting the availability of a robust 24-hour safety helpline, readily accessible chaperone services, and other safe transportation options. Recognizing the severity of doxxing, the Task Force also proposed concrete actions, including a public denouncement of this harmful behavior, the creation of a centralized resource hub with clear information on policies and support services, and the compilation of expert advice and tools for those affected by doxxing. Finally, the recommendations highlighted the importance of equipping designated staff and faculty with the training and resources needed to provide empathetic and effective support to individuals targeted by harassment while also expanding the availability and promotion of culturally competent counseling and support services.

Since the Preliminary Recommendations were made, the University has reported several significant steps to enhance the safety and well-being of Harvard students, addressing both physical and online safety concerns. The measures taken include increased security personnel, expanded collaboration with external law enforcement agencies, and the implementation of access restrictions to Harvard Yard when deemed necessary to maintain a safe campus environment. Additionally, the University has established 24/7 anonymous reporting mechanisms for bias incidents and launched a centralized support and resources website for personal safety, online safety, mental health, and community support. To bolster mental health resources, the University has secured additional trauma-informed counseling through Harvard Counseling and Mental Health Services (CAMHS). Separately, the University has also engaged with Sidechat leadership to encourage stricter content moderation. Significantly, on September 5, 2024, University leadership issued a community-wide message explicitly denouncing doxxing, clarifying its violation of existing policies and outlining potential disciplinary consequences.

While this progress is encouraging, we are not yet aware of developments in making legal counsel and services such as DeleteMe available for those directly affected by doxxing. We reiterate our Preliminary Recommendations in this area and look forward to the University updating the community on progress soon.

New Recommendations

Building upon the progress made and recognizing the need for ongoing attention, we recommend further actions focused on student safety to address both current community needs and the longer-term impacts of those previously affected.

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[45] https://www.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/June-2024-preliminary-recommendations-AMAAB.pdf

STRENGTHEN COMMUNITY WELL-BEING SERVICES

Centralize and strengthen existing resources and support for students who originate from countries/areas in crisis, including visa support, academic support, housing, and funding:

- Recommend that CAMHS ensure that there are clinicians who are (i) well-versed and well-trained in serving the mental health needs of Muslims and (ii) familiar with the various ethnic and religious identities of members of the Harvard community originally from the Middle East and North Africa, particularly clinicians with training and familiarity regarding the context of conflicts in the region. In the aftermath of October 7, 2023, we understand this role was often informally played by Arab alumni in psychiatry/therapy who volunteered pro-bono to meet with students.

- At the College level, Residential Deans usually reach out to affected undergraduate students via email, checking in/asking if they need support keeping up with their academic commitments. However, this process may be at times ad-hoc and we recommend this be streamlined and made part of normal practice. Similarly, graduate students need to receive consistent and proactive support from relevant offices at their respective Schools that are dedicated to their needs.

CONTINUE TO COMBAT DOXXING

Offer all campus stakeholders, including alumni who were doxxed in the 2023-24 academic year, free and ongoing access to tools and legal services designed to address and combat doxxing attacks. Access for alumni could be time-limited to a period of one to two years after graduation and offered within a well-defined scope that encompasses the fundamental issues associated with being doxxed. Additionally, the University should evaluate the possibility of reimbursing individuals who incurred costs related to doxxing prior to the establishment of these services.

Offer training sessions open to faculty, staff, and students on how best to combat doxxing.

Platform restrictions. Advocate for search engines such as Google to drop sites that exacerbate doxxing concerns (e.g., Canary Mission) in search results.

RECOGNIZE ISLAMOPHOBIA AND ANTI-ARAB AND ANTI-PALESTINIAN RACISM

The Harvard-Wide Joint Survey revealed that community members have concerns over various forms of prejudice they experience not being adequately recognized, including anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian bias, antisemitism, anti-Zionism, Islamophobia, and other forms of prejudice. Survey respondents would like more education about what these terms mean to the University. They also want the University to sanction those who engage in conduct that constitutes bullying or discrimination under the University's policies, and they want the University to do so consistently across targeted communities. We agree with these concerns and recommend that the University recognize and clearly define what constitutes Islamophobia and anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian racism. This will help enable Harvard policies to clearly prohibit such instances, community members to file incidents of having experienced such behavior, and policies and institutional leaders to better respond to and protect against these forms of bias and discrimination.

B. Recognition and Representation

A continuing and important issue that we have heard is the desire to have Arab, Muslim, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian voices and views be recognized, and to have representation of these perspectives in our community and events. The Joint Survey analysis reveals that a significant majority of Muslim and MENA respondents report discomfort with expressing their religious and ethnic identities on campus. This contrasts sharply with the sentiments expressed by students from other religious and racial backgrounds.

Summary of Preliminary Recommendations

The Task Force's Preliminary Recommendations[46] on Recognition and Representation emphasized ensuring that every member of the Harvard community, especially those identifying as Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, or pro-Palestinian feels seen, heard, and respected. The recommendations began with a call to revise the Task Force's name to explicitly acknowledge and address anti-Palestinian bias alongside anti-Muslim and anti-Arab bias. Recognizing the impact of imbalanced messaging, the Task Force proposed concrete steps to ensure University communications demonstrated equal solidarity with all affected groups. This included establishing a practice of consulting with trusted community leaders and relevant faculty experts before issuing statements on sensitive topics. Furthermore, to directly address the underrepresentation of Palestinian experiences and perspectives within the University, the Task Force advocated for expanding academic offerings and expertise in Palestinian Studies. This included developing new courses, actively recruiting tenure-track faculty specializing in this area, and establishing a visiting professorship as a short-term measure to begin enriching Harvard's intellectual landscape.

Since the Preliminary Recommendations were made, steps have been taken to foster a greater sense of belonging and inclusion for Arab, Muslim, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian students, faculty, and staff. Demonstrating a commitment to directly addressing anti-Palestinian bias, President Garber approved the recommendation to expand the Task Force's name in June 2024 to encompass this form of discrimination and there have been greater efforts towards balanced messaging. Moreover, to further cultivate a welcoming environment, the University has highlighted and supported events and initiatives that celebrate these communities and create spaces for connection and visibility. These efforts include an Arab Affinity celebration for graduates in 2024, organized by alumni and student groups, and supported by various Harvard offices; the University's diversity office (OEDIB) collaborated with Muslim Chaplains and practitioners from Counseling and Mental Health Services (CAMHS) to offer community spaces for Arab, Muslim, and Palestinian students; a webpage with a multifaith calendar was launched, and included guidance for planning events that promote inclusion. Further events have been highlighted by various Schools, such as the Harvard Islamic Society's annual Fall Dinner, which introduces students to Islamic culture, and the MENA Club conference at Harvard Business School, which highlights the dynamic business landscape of the region.

While these are encouraging developments, several are also regular and ongoing activities, and we encourage the University to highlight and support more of these events. Moreover, recent reporting[47] reinforces what we heard from our community — that Palestinian-focused stories and narratives appear to be suppressed or minimized — and highlights the importance of affording those voices and perspectives the opportunity to be heard. Furthermore, as we also note below, we are not aware of progress made on enhancing the intellectual experience regarding the region through greater course offerings and faculty presence and would encourage the University to share more updates on this. This is especially relevant given the concerns raised in the community regarding the recent changes in leadership and potential program adjustments affecting initiatives at various Schools focused on Palestinian and Middle Eastern studies.

New Recommendations

We propose the following recommendations to increase recognition and representation of Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian perspectives in our community. Our emphasis on Palestinian issues reflects their prominence both in our listening sessions and as a focus on campus this past year,

[46] https://www.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/June-2024-preliminary-recommendations-AMAAB.pdf
[47] As a recent example see https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2025/1/23/hms-cancels-gaza-patient-panel/.

highlighting a longstanding yet increasingly visible concern within our community. That said, we also acknowledge that there are many other issues, such as those in the broader Levant (Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine/Israel and Syria), Sudan, Kashmir, and the Uyghur Muslims in China, which affect members of our community and also deserve recognition and representation. We hope that the efforts proposed below can also be flexible enough to address these wide-ranging issues as they change in their salience over time.

ESTABLISH A STANDING ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Establish a Standing Advisory Committee of faculty and senior staff well-versed in the history of issues currently confronting our community. This committee can be set up for an initial five-year period, after which its scope and structure can be re-evaluated.

The initial membership of this group should consist of subgroups of faculty and staff who are well-versed in the history of Palestine and Palestinians, as well as Islamophobia and the various ethnic and religious groups in the Middle East. This could be done as part of a broader Advisory committee which has regional expertise on issues confronting both presidential Task Forces. The group would act as a resource and play a central advisory role on a range of issues across the University and Schools, including:

- Advising the administration on implementing the recommendations of the Task Force, including those related to hiring, course offerings, programming and future growth, and ongoing training to combat biases faced by members of the community.
- Advising the University on messaging to ensure the equality of responses and sympathies to events on campus that warrant comment in the context of the new University position on neutrality, especially incidents on campus that affect Palestine and Israel.

ENHANCE STAFF AND STAKEHOLDER TRAINING

Regular and ongoing in-person training for stakeholders at the University including student life personnel, resident deans, academic and administrative deans, administration, and staff of centers. The training should focus on issues that are especially pertinent to our community at a given time. Similar opportunities for faculty to learn more about these populations and relevant issues should also be made available consistently. At the current moment this includes the history of Palestine and Palestinians as well as anti-Palestinian racism and anti-Islamophobia training. These two trainings should be separate since there are distinct issues involved in both. Such training should be part of the orientation and/or onboarding of new staff and faculty.

SUPPORT CAMPUS EVENTS AND PROGRAMMING

Beyond the current initiatives regarding civil discourse or intellectual vitality, the Central Administration should visibly support and encourage programming on salient issues of interest to our community. At the moment, this includes events on Palestine and Palestinians, especially those that feature Palestinian speakers, as well as (separate) events on Islamophobia and ongoing developments in the Middle East, such as in Syria, Libya, Sudan, and Yemen. To demonstrate wider support, we suggest high-profile senior members of the administration should attend these University-sponsored events.

UNDERTAKE A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

Given the unexpected circumstances that limited the Task Force's historical narrative effort, we advocate for this task to be conducted in greater detail, building on the work in this report to ensure a thorough and nuanced exploration of the historical contexts. We recommend undertaking a comprehensive historical overview of Muslims, Arabs, and Palestinians at Harvard to better understand the key trends and events shaping their experiences on campus. This endeavor should explicitly

differentiate between these groups' distinct yet intersecting experiences, views, and modes of expression, particularly about political human rights issues related to Palestine. Such an initiative will ensure that these groups' complex social, cultural, and political dimensions are accurately represented and understood, avoiding any conflation of identities. This comprehensive overview will inform future efforts to address bias and promote an inclusive intellectual environment, recognizing the unique contributions and challenges faced by Muslims, Arabs, and Palestinians at Harvard.

C. Institutional Response

A significant concern expressed in our listening sessions and the Joint Survey was the perceived inadequacy of University and School policies, particularly those pertaining to issues faced by members of our community.

Summary of Preliminary Recommendations

The Task Force's Preliminary Recommendations[48] on Institutional Response focused on addressing the widespread confusion surrounding policies and procedures related to bias incidents and discrimination at Harvard. They proposed the clear and accessible communication of these policies to all students at the start of the 2024-25 academic year, emphasizing a commitment to transparency and clarity regarding any modifications made throughout the year. Additionally, the recommendations highlighted the need for robust training for staff members tasked with implementing these policies or offering support to students, ensuring they can fulfill their roles effectively and empathetically. Finally, the Task Force called for a more transparent, user-friendly, and responsive process for filing complaints, alongside efforts to improve data collection and reporting on complaint resolutions.

Since the Preliminary Recommendations were made,[49] efforts in this area have centered around updating and clarifying policies related to protest and dissent, as well as standardizing certain aspects of disciplinary processes. At the start of the 2024-25 academic year, the University issued multiple communications reaffirming existing policies on expressive activity and outlining expectations for campus use. This included guidance from University leadership on protest and dissent, clarifying acceptable locations and actions. Following this guidance, several Schools within Harvard adopted or began developing their own aligned policies. In August 2024, the Office of the Executive Vice President shared updated Campus Use Rules, establishing consistent expectations across all Schools and emphasizing the prompt handling of violations. To standardize disciplinary procedures for incidents involving students from multiple Schools, Harvard adopted new University Committee on Rights and Responsibilities (UCRR) procedures in July 2024. These procedures aim to ensure that disciplinary boards work from a consistent set of facts when making decisions. The University has also emphasized that disruption of activities will be treated uniformly, regardless of the demonstration's content, and that participation in unauthorized encampments or protests will result in disciplinary action.

New Recommendations

We also convened a subcommittee of Task Force members tasked with carefully reviewing relevant policies and processes connected to the concerns raised and suggesting potential improvements. In addition to improving clarity around policies and attending to appropriate standardization and consistent implementation, it is also critical that both the policies and their implementation be viewed as fair and effective, addressing some of the main issues raised by the community. The policy subcommittee therefore mainly focused on the complaint processes as many of the community's concerns, especially

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[48] https://www.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/June-2024-preliminary-recommendations-AMAAB.pdf
[49] https://www.harvard.edu/task-force-on-anti-muslim-and-anti-arab-bias/#implementationupdates

regarding their safety and well-being, could ideally have been addressed through such policies. Specifically, the subcommittee notes that clarifying the processes for the University's Non-Discrimination and Anti-Bullying policies will help address a significant lack of understanding among students and other community members about differentiating between formal and informal complaints, how to file a formal complaint, and what to expect during the process, as well as what steps might be available for addressing interpersonal conflict that doesn't rise to the level of justifying a formal complaint. This lack of clarity can lead to frustration and alienation, with some believing they have formally complained when they have not, causing misunderstandings about the University's response. The specific recommendations below also stress the importance of considering the human aspect of these sensitive situations, which can often be overshadowed by legal and bureaucratic procedures.

ENHANCE COMPLAINT PROCESSES

User-centered design and streamlined pathways. Build on Harvard's commitment to user-centered design to review and refine complaint processes for Non-Discrimination and Anti-Bullying policies. Ensure these processes remain transparent, accessible, and clearly defined by establishing detailed pathways and expectations. This should involve a centralized platform for all relevant information that combines both front-facing trained individuals as well as backend databases that can help provide better services and response time. We should note that such a system should also be adaptable to individual School needs, while maintaining ongoing communication with participants.

Dedicated support roles and opportunities for restorative practices. Establish dedicated roles to serve as intake coordinators and process guides without overburdening current staff. Evaluate whether these roles are more effective at a University-wide level or within individual Schools. These roles will be in addition to the Local Designated Resources (LDRs) so as not to overburden such service providers. Further, we encourage identifying opportunities to implement restorative practices (i.e., practices that focus on the repair of harm and relationships rather than on punishing the offender) — particularly in instances where there is a significant impact to a group within the community — to address harm, encourage meaningful accountability, and foster healthy communities.

D. Freedom of Expression

One of the major findings from the Joint Survey as well as our listening sessions is that most community members — especially Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian/pro-Palestinian — are hesitant to express their views and opinions openly. This is both in the context of academic freedom as well as free speech. The former describes the rights and responsibilities established as part of academic institutions. The latter is a political right of individuals to express their ideas, opinions, and beliefs without unwarranted censorship, restriction, or retaliation, and it applies universally, both within and outside educational settings. Universities, including Harvard, often support both academic freedom and free speech, considering them essential to fostering a free public sphere and a strong democracy. Therefore, it is imperative that we protect academic freedom on campus and ensure appropriate free speech protections.

We start by noting progress on the Preliminary Recommendations the Task Force made in June 2024 and then turn to our new set of recommendations on this thematic area.

Summary of Preliminary Recommendations

The Task Force's Preliminary Recommendations[50] on Freedom of Expression focused on cultivating an environment at Harvard where all members felt empowered to engage in open dialogue and debate —

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[50] https://www.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/June-2024-preliminary-recommendations-AMAAB.pdf

even on complex and potentially contentious issues related to Palestine and the Palestinian people — without fear of institutional repercussions. To achieve this, the Task Force called for the University to issue a clear and public statement explicitly reaffirming its commitment to free expression and open debate. This statement, the Task Force suggested, should encompass a broad spectrum of expressive activities, including political speech, critique, protest, dissent, and academic freedom. The Task Force also suggested that the Committee on Open Inquiry could play a role in crafting this statement. Recognizing the existing confusion and ambiguity surrounding policies on protest and dissent, the Task Force further recommended that each of Harvard's Schools prioritize effectively communicating these policies to all students, faculty, and staff as the new academic year began.

Since the Preliminary Recommendations were made, Harvard has since emphasized a balance between upholding free expression and ensuring a safe and respectful campus environment. The University has clarified its policies regarding acceptable forms of protest and dissent, emphasizing that while expressive activity is encouraged, actions that disrupt University activities or infringe upon the rights of others will be addressed. University leadership issued a community-wide message reaffirming Harvard's commitment to its existing policies on free expression while also providing specific guidance on protest and dissent. This guidance outlined permissible locations and forms of protest. Several Schools within Harvard have subsequently adopted or are developing additional policies aligned with this guidance, according to the University. Before the start of the 2024-25 academic year, University leadership reiterated Harvard's stance in another community-wide message, emphasizing the importance of open expression while also underscoring that individuals are accountable for their actions and that harassment, intimidation, and threats will not be tolerated. While these are important and necessary clarifications, it is equally critical that they not be viewed and implemented as restrictions that discourage free expression but rather as means to enable such expression in a safe and supported manner.

New Recommendations

It is reassuring to see reaffirmation of free expression by the University, given our community's experiences and views. However, as noted above, it is important to reiterate that both academic freedom and free speech are facing real challenges, and on balance more needs to be done to ensure they are both protected. We outline further recommendations in this regard below:

PROTECT ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Several centers across the University, including the Religion and Public Life Program at the Harvard Divinity School, the Center for Middle Eastern Studies in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, the Middle East Initiative at the Harvard Kennedy School, and the FXB Center for Health and Human Rights at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, among others, actively engage in academic work related to Palestine and the broader conflict in the Middle East, although this is limited in scope and much more needs to be done. A consistent theme amongst respondents of the quantitative survey and listening sessions, especially faculty, was the need to protect academic freedom at the University and create an environment for candid and constructive conversations. This not only highlights a key value-add of universities and central to their teaching mission, but also, when done effectively, illustrates how constructive dialogue can and should occur. To facilitate this, we recommend the University:

Safeguard research, teaching, and speakers. The University and individual Schools should implement measures to protect its faculty, teaching staff, and various centers and initiatives to pursue their research and teaching without fear of being targeted and/or offer support if they are doxxed. This applies to both internal and external pressures. Our community has noted that they often face obstacles in inviting

speakers, especially those that some may consider controversial. These measures are both ex-ante — in terms of making clear the safeguards in place for academic freedom — and ex-post — in terms of providing support to community members and University and School centers who may be targeted due to the research, teaching, and events they may be engaged in.

Encourage academic freedom and constructive dialogue. Given the general pressures in the current environment that increase the costs of pursuing academic freedom, we also recommend that the University and Schools proactively encourage and support efforts that demonstrate academic freedom and the ability to have constructive dialogue. This could also be done by through a "Constructive Dialogue Presidential Fund" that solicits proposals from community members — including faculty, staff, and students — to host conversations that showcase different viewpoints and how to disagree while still being respectful and attentive to the differing opinions expressed. Such a fund could also be an expansion to the recently announced the President's Building Bridges Fund that is currently only open to Harvard students but could increase its coverage to include faculty, fellows, researchers, and staff as well.

ENCOURAGE FREE SPEECH

The Joint Survey shows that 59% of respondents believe that there are academic and/or professional penalties for expressing one's political views and only 55% are comfortable expressing their opinions to others at Harvard. For an academic setting where the hope is that individuals exchange ideas freely, passionately debate, and grow, these are sobering statistics. These numbers are even worse for students, and for Muslim and MENA community members. As an example, 92% of Muslim respondents report academic/professional penalties from expressing their political views and only 20% are comfortable expressing opinions to others at Harvard. In addition to potential academic/professional consequences, a new concern has emerged since our survey was conducted. Specifically, there have been cases reported in the media, including some at Harvard, where individuals who have participated in pro-Palestinian activities have allegedly had their visas revoked. These findings suggest that not only do we need to protect academic freedom and free speech on campus, including the right to protest peacefully in alignment with time, manner, and place restrictions, but that we should also consider proactively encouraging free speech to counter both the sobering responses from community members on campus and the broader challenges beyond Harvard for those who may try to exercise this right. Our recommendations below offer some initial ideas in this regard:

Create free speech spaces. Harvard should consider public spaces where our community can exercise their right to speak freely, and others can also exercise their right to listen or choose not to. This is especially important as universities, including Harvard, are upholding the principle of avoiding disruptions to pursuing the universities' educational mission. Thus, it is important at the same time to offer alternative spaces where such speech is actively promoted, protected, and heard. To the extent that disruptions are an outcome of a community not being heard — and those in our listening sessions and survey have expressed this sense of not being listened to, being ignored, and even abandoned — creating easily accessible spaces where the community members are able to safely amplify their voice and provide a genuine opportunity to be heard, including by University leadership, is critical.

The committee discussed potential models — like a "Speaker's Corner" in a public space like the Harvard Yard, similar to the Hyde Park Corner but only open for speaking to members of the Harvard community, and creating a live campus map that identifies places and hours where free speech rights can be exercised. However, developing details on such a structure was beyond the scope of the Task Force, and there was no clear consensus on a specific implementation plan that could create a credible space for free speech while ensuring that it does not risk being disallowed due to disruption and security concerns. Our current recommendation is therefore that the administration and related efforts at the University should consider practical ways this can be done in the upcoming year by seeking feedback from faculty,

staff, and students committed to protecting and exercising free speech and legal and expert counsel on how best to do so feasibly.

Celebrate and promote the exercise of free speech. Words matter, especially when voiced by those in a position of leadership. Instead of taking a defensive and at times even discouraging view on instances of exercising free speech, the University should make clear in its communications that it celebrates Harvard community members exercising free speech, even if it may not be popular, provided it respects the time, place, and manner restrictions that avoid disrupting activities that are integral to the academic work and uphold the University's values, especially the fifth one about bearing "responsibility for the bonds and bridges that enable all to grow with and learn from one another." This is especially true in cases where there is external critique and scrutiny.

ADDRESS AMBIGUITIES AND ENSURE ONGOING PROTEST POLICY REVIEW

While we emphasize the value of open inquiry, constructive dialogue, and academic freedom at Harvard, there is a concern that protest policies are unclear and applied in ad hoc ways that end up suppressing these rights. In the Joint Survey many respondents noted the chilling effect punishing protestors has had and talked with dismay about the University's decision to suspend students who were protesting peacefully. Student respondents in the survey called for greater clarity on rules related to free expression, and more consistent enforcement in a content-neutral manner.

Our recommendations here aim to clarify ambiguities in protest policies, affecting both protesters (including counter-protesters) and frontline staff responsible for enforcement. We stress the importance of gathering feedback about policies and enforcement from frontline staff and the broader Harvard community, particularly from those who identify as Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian. We also propose implementing regular reviews of protest policies at both the University and School levels to ensure they are informed by community feedback and meet evolving needs.

Clarify and guide protests and counter-protests. Develop comprehensive guidelines with examples to help frontline staff enforce policies effectively and explore the possibility of designated counter-protest zones. Ensure there is a clear understanding that counter-protests are subject to the same rules as other protest activities, and that the use of police would only be contemplated only in extreme circumstances, and even then only after taking reasonable steps to avoid such police intervention.

Enhance training. Establish or expand University-wide mandatory training programs for frontline personnel and key administrators, emphasizing consistent and fair enforcement for all student groups.

Create feedback mechanisms and regular policy reviews. Create formal channels to collect feedback from both frontline staff and other members of the Harvard community, focusing on potential biases, unfair targeting, and viewpoint suppression. Implement systems that include faculty and staff for periodic reviews of protest policies at the University and School levels to assess effectiveness, analyze enforcement trends, identify issues, and ensure alignment with evolving community needs.

In addition to clarifying policies regarding protest, the University should take reasonable steps to ensure that individuals are able to exercise their rights of free speech, within the parameters outlined in our clarified policies.

E. Transparency and Trust

A general loss of trust in institutions arose as a recurring theme in the listening sessions and the Joint Survey. This sentiment stems from a perceived lack of transparency and consistency in University and School policies and processes. Students, in particular, expressed a need for greater clarity regarding

decision-making processes, especially concerning disciplinary and investment decisions. They voiced specific concerns about the influence of external actors, such as donors or politicians, on these decisions.

Summary of Preliminary Recommendations

The Task Force's Preliminary Recommendations[51] on Transparency and Trust focused on concrete actions to rebuild trust between Harvard and its community. They urged a critical examination and potential revision of the University's 2018 Values Statement[52] to address current challenges, including the desire for greater emphasis on safety. The Task Force also recommended increased direct engagement between University leadership, faculty, and community members through open forums and dialogues. This engagement, they suggested, should prioritize empathy, transparent communication, and a willingness to acknowledge and learn from past mistakes. Finally, the recommendations called for clearly articulated policies and practices regarding fundraising to safeguard academic freedom and institutional independence. By taking these steps, the Task Force believed Harvard could begin to repair relationships and rebuild trust with its community.

We have noted that University leadership has taken steps to rebuild the transparency and trust by adopting the University Committee on Rights and Responsibilities for an initial two-year period.[53] We urge University leadership to continue reviewing and addressing these issues and to communicate any updates or progress made to the broader Harvard community. Additionally, the University has provided further clarification on the Non-Discrimination and Anti-Bullying Policies (NDAB), via an expanded Frequently Asked Questions page.[54] This page includes specific references to discrimination based on Islamophobia and anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian bias, which we appreciate as it highlights the needs of these members of the Harvard community. We continue to urge the University to revisit our recommendation on adherence to fundraising best practices.

New Recommendations

Building on our Preliminary Recommendations, the Task Force proposes the following additional recommendations to advance policy consistency and enhance University communications:

PROMOTE GREATER CONSISTENCY IN POLICY INTERPRETATION AND ADMINISTRATION

To enhance transparency and trust at Harvard, it is essential to address perceived inconsistencies in how key policies are interpreted and applied across the University's various Schools. Such discrepancies can lead to perceptions of arbitrary enforcement, particularly affecting groups like those identifying as Palestinian or pro-Palestinian. By fostering a shared understanding of policies and their intended application among those responsible for administering them, while still respecting School autonomy, we can help mitigate feelings of arbitrary application. The Central Administration must play a crucial role in establishing mechanisms for regular monitoring and feedback related to policy administration, enabling the swift identification and correction of any disparities. Additionally, enhancing communication strategies and centralizing policy information on Harvard's website will help reduce confusion, strengthen trust, and ensure that all community members feel well-informed and supported.

Create a common policy framework. Develop a shared framework or set of standards for policy administration, adaptable by each School for its specific needs, with clear examples and guidelines. The goal

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[51] https://www.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/June-2024-preliminary-recommendations-AMAAB.pdf
[52] https://inclusionandbelongingtaskforce.harvard.edu/files/inclusion/files/vii._appendix_d._revised_values_statement.pdf
[53] https://www.harvard.edu/president/news/2024/update-on-university-rights-and-responsibilities/
[54] https://hwpi.harvard.edu/communityconduct/frequently-asked-questions

is to ensure that — in a decentralized environment — there should be an effort to bring administrators from the various Schools together to make sure they have a common understanding of policies, how they are intended to work, and how each of the Schools is enforcing them. The objective isn't to dictate uniformity but to encourage consistency and know why differences might be needed or preferred in some cases from School to School. Doing so should foster a shared understanding of University-wide policies, allowing for consistent interpretation yet flexible implementation, thus avoiding prescribed outcomes. It is imperative to encourage a shared understanding among Harvard's Schools and the Central Administration responsible for enforcing policies on discrimination, bullying, campus use, and protests.

Clarify potential consequences. Establish consistent guidelines for addressing policy violations to promote equitable experiences for all community members across Schools.

Promote cross-training. Enhance training among staff, including Local Designated Resources (LDRs) and emergency personnel, to ensure consistent application of policies, thereby supporting equitable student experiences.

Explore centralization and decentralization in University policies. Task a University-level group to assess the centralization versus decentralization of policy administration in areas like non-discrimination and protests, with the goal of identifying opportunities for addressing community dissatisfaction associated with decentralized policy enforcement.

Conduct regular reporting. Develop a system for Schools to report data on policy usage and potential revision needs to the appropriate officials in the Central Administration, with the goal of helping the University identify any patterns and inconsistencies across the Schools.

Solicit ongoing feedback. Create accessible systems for students and affiliates to report concerns on policy implementation, specifically focusing on potential enforcement inconsistencies.

ENHANCE COMMUNICATIONS ON UNIVERSITY POLICIES

Creating a more unified and effective communication strategy could address confusion and lack of awareness among Harvard affiliates — especially students — regarding relevant policies. As this report shows, uncertainty can lead to confusion, stress, and suspicions of intentional ambiguity aimed at specific groups such as those identifying as Palestinian or pro-Palestinian. We propose strategies to enhance communication of essential policy information and emphasize centralizing this information on Harvard's website, ensuring faculty and staff have a clear and reliable place to turn for information about policies and their administration and enforcement.

Enhance policy communication. Ensure that information to students, faculty, and staff is provided early during orientation and consistently reinforced throughout the academic year, with the goal of maintaining clarity and transparency about policies and procedures, especially when they change. Continuously evaluate and enhance how critical policy information is communicated.

Coordinate messaging. Strengthen the internal communications strategy to ensure that policy messages are coordinated, clear, accessible, and timely, minimizing the risk of them being overlooked and avoiding information overload. Ensure faculty and staff are well-informed about policies, including their typical interpretation and enforcement, to foster a broader understanding and appreciation for consistent enforcement aligned with Harvard's values. Develop dissemination methods, such as integrating information into routine faculty and staff meetings, to ensure key constituencies remain updated.

Centralize information. Create a centralized, user-friendly section of the Harvard website consolidating all relevant policies, guidelines, and procedural information for both the University and each of the Schools, covering topics like discrimination, bullying, campus use, and protests. While these policies may cut across several groups, it may be more effective for a single entity, like the Associate Provost for Student Affairs or another designated authority, to maintain this section, determining public accessibility and

content requiring HarvardKey access. This section should also serve as a hub for key policy-related emails and other communications from School and University leadership.

Targeted leadership communications. Review criteria for communications from University leadership on relevant policies, reserving the President's voice for the most critical University-wide issues and delegating other communications to appropriate individuals or offices. This can streamline communication channels and ensure essential policy information reaches its intended audiences effectively.

ADDRESS DIVESTMENT, DISCLOSURE, AND ENGAGEMENT

In addition to the above, a consistent theme that came up in our listening sessions as well as in the Harvard-Wide Joint Survey was the topic of divestment and disclosure of investments. Some respondents recommended that the University divest from Israel-related and military-related firms and disclose such investments. Along these lines, students in listening sessions also recommended the University disclose investments in these areas and requested that they themselves be more involved in governance around financial investments.

The Task Force discussed the issue of divestment but did not reach a clear consensus.

Some members recommended that discussions about divestment be continued, despite the current status of these discussions,[55] given how salient this issue was for community members. They suggested several avenues for doing so, including:

- facilitating conversations and town halls between the administration and interested community stakeholders;
- conducting an examination of how a human rights perspective and Harvard's values should — and have previously — guided divestment decisions;[56] and
- offering academic programming on the topic.

These members also suggested offering concrete steps — such as a poll to gauge community views and definitions and understandings of the topic of divestment — that could go a long way in building institutional trust by demonstrating to community members that they have been heard. Matters will be helped if there is more transparency about how the University makes its investment decisions and whether and how they internalize Harvard's values when making these decisions.

Other Task Force members felt such recommendations would not be feasible as they would risk undercutting reasonable fulfillment of the fiduciary duty of University leaders with regard to the endowment. Instead, they felt a more productive course would be that the University use its resources to more directly engage with the Israel-Palestine conflict in ways that academic institutions are best positioned to do.

Regardless of which perspective one held, the consensus of the Task Force was to recommend that Harvard take a proactive role in addressing the Israel-Palestine conflict by leveraging its strengths and resources to foster dialogue and understanding, support educational institutions in Palestine and other countries in the region, and invest in human capital development. This includes reopening platforms for academic and community discussions to explore pathways to peace, rallying a global network of universities to provide resources and support to educational entities in Palestine and other countries in the region, and establishing exchange programs for Palestinian students and scholars at risk. Officially partnering with a university in Palestine may be another way for Harvard to foster academic collaboration,

[55] In the fall of 2024, President Garber and another member of the Corporation met with a group of students for an informational discussion about Harvard's endowment. During this meeting, the topic of divestment was raised. In a communication following the meeting, President Garber reaffirmed Harvard's position that it has no intention of divesting.
[56] See https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2005/04/harvard-announces-decision-to-divest-petrochina-stock/

promote cross-cultural understanding, and enhance educational opportunities in the region.[57] This is especially important now given the huge disruption to schooling caused by the conflict. Moreover, with the anticipated return of Palestinians to their homes under a ceasefire agreement, the need to provide these educational support, guidance, services, and resources is especially critical. By implementing these initiatives, Harvard can not only reassure and respond to its community but also demonstrate a commitment to global responsibility, positively impacting the lives of current and future generations affected by the conflict.

F. Relationships among Affinity Groups

The events in the past year and the scale of human suffering and tragedy have resulted in immense stress and a sense of powerlessness in our community. Students in listening sessions talked about how they have a hard time even acknowledging and navigating their sense of well-being and feel guilty about doing so when so many in Gaza are dealing with a daily existential crisis.

However, what is also clear is that our community needs to heal and that doing so requires both investing in each community and building greater ties between communities, especially those who find themselves at odds with each other. The listening sessions and Harvard-Wide Joint Survey reflect this, as well as emphasizing the need to create a more inclusive space where community members feel more included. Students talk about a lack of belonging, and faculty and staff also call for efforts to build community and opportunities for Harvard community members to spend more time together and foster a sense of cohesion.

We start below by noting our Preliminary Recommendations and the important progress made towards these efforts. We then leverage the work of the Joint Pluralism Subcommittee of the two Task Forces in further expanding on how we can build a more cohesive and pluralistic community.

Summary of Preliminary Recommendations

The Task Force's Preliminary Recommendations[58] on Relationships Among Affinity Groups centered on two interconnected strategies: fostering pluralism and strengthening religious life and interfaith initiatives. The Task Force recognized that intentional engagement with diversity is essential to a Harvard education and recommended providing students, faculty, and staff with opportunities to engage with potential differences through curricular, co-curricular, and extracurricular activities. This included addressing the siloed nature of residential spaces by incentivizing community-building activities, incorporating discussions on pluralism into orientation programs, and tackling religious illiteracy through accessible educational resources like the "World Religions through their Scriptures" course. Furthermore, the Task Force advocated for supporting student-led initiatives that foster intergroup cohesion through funding opportunities for events such as cultural outings, art exhibitions, and dialogues with diverse communities.

Additionally, recognizing the need to support the religious and spiritual needs of a diverse student body, the Task Force recommended enhancing awareness and resources related to religious observances. This included improving the multifaith calendar, potentially revising the holiday schedule to be more inclusive, and providing readily accessible, online information on accommodation policies. The Task Force also stressed the importance of dedicated and permanent prayer spaces for Muslim students,

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[57] This can be similar to the commitment Harvard has recently made to "establish an official partnership with a university in Israel, in addition to programs the University currently has in place with Israeli universities". See https://www.harvard.edu/media-relations/2025/01/21/press-release-settlement-harvard-brandeis-ctr-jafe/
[58] https://www.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/June-2024-preliminary-recommendations-AMAAB.pdf

faculty, and staff across all Harvard Schools, suggesting the refurbishment of the Sever Hall prayer space or exploration of other centrally located options.

Since the Preliminary Recommendations were made, Harvard has taken steps to promote inclusion and address bias, with a particular focus on supporting Arab, Muslim, and Palestinian members of the community. In April 2024, the University's inaugural Inclusion and Belonging Summit focused on combating hate and bias, featuring sessions exploring various forms of discrimination, including Islamophobia and anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian bias. This was followed by other initiatives including seminars exploring Islamophobia and cultural competency training for Counseling and Mental Health Services (CAMHS) staff to better serve Muslim students.

In December 2024, the University launched a webpage dedicated to fostering inclusion, offering resources such as a multifaith calendar, a glossary of religious observances, and guidelines for inclusive event planning.[59] During the fall 2024 semester, the Office for Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging facilitated Community Spaces specifically for Arab, Muslim, and Palestinian students, creating opportunities for dialogue and mutual support. Additionally, the President's Building Bridges Fund, a new initiative of the Office of the President, aims to promote a culture at Harvard that fosters community between affinity groups and encourages constructive dialogue on interfaith and/or intercultural issues. These steps are encouraging and in the spirit of building on this momentum, we suggest further recommendations that can build bonds both within and between our diverse communities on campus.

New Recommendations

STRENGTHEN COMMUNITY LIFE

Any effort to build a more pluralistic community on campus will have to start with strengthening each community. Our listening sessions and detailed conversations with affected members of our community have revealed that as much as there are tensions between opposing groups, there are significant fissures within these groups as well. Without healing those, it is hard to see how we will build bridges across groups. Moreover, categories such as Muslim, Arab, Palestinian and pro-Palestinian are overly simplistic and do not capture the nuance and complexities of how each member of our communities feel and interact. The Harvard-Wide Joint Survey shows the challenges between and within communities and how these do not always fall within easily recognizable categories such as religion and race.

To strengthen community life, the Task Force recommends that Harvard create physical and virtual spaces where members of the Muslim, Arab, Palestinian and pro-Palestinian community can find opportunities dedicated to meeting their needs. These should also be flexible enough so that they can cater to specific needs that may even vary within these groups. Specifically, we recommend:

Create regular physical spaces. There is a need for a permanent and dedicated prayer space for Muslim students, staff, and faculty in the Cambridge, Allston, and Longwood areas. This is especially time-sensitive given that the current space is a basement that is not as accessible and the space in Sever Hall was a temporary provision in the previous years. A permanent space, whether at Sever or elsewhere, should have accessible bathrooms, footbaths, and Harvard ID card access. In general, such spaces should be open to all community members so that they provide interaction opportunities between undergraduate and graduate students, faculty, and staff.

We recommend creating an additional, inclusive space on campus, separate from existing prayer rooms, to serve as a supportive environment where community members can come together across

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[59] https://edib.harvard.edu/resources-support/inclusive-scheduling-logistics

different identities and faiths. This space would provide an opportunity for individuals to connect, support each other, and engage in dialogue, fostering a sense of community and understanding among diverse groups.

Provide support for community-strengthening events. The University should open funding opportunities and facilitate logistics for community members to propose and host events that bring other members together. These could be religious, ethnic, and other celebrations or simply an occasion to enjoy familiar food and culture. For Muslim community members this could include increased support in the form of programming around Ramadan. This could be done by expanding the ambit of the President's Building Bridges Fund to support not only cross-community efforts, but also efforts to strengthen bonds within one's community, especially if that creates the capacity to build bridges between groups as well.

Create virtual spaces for healing. While there is a concern that anonymous virtual spaces such as Sidechat have done harm by allowing bullying and harassment, that does not mean that private spaces — especially ones where individual identities are protected but revealed to other members — cannot also play an important healing role. In many of our listening sessions and the Harvard-wide survey, even as students talk about being hurt by others in their community, they also acknowledge how they have found strengthening and nurturing ties. While physical spaces help with that, creating similarly positive virtual spaces may expand this even further.

Review accommodations. Fostering a stronger culture of belonging also entails explicitly acknowledging differences and accommodating for these to show that we care for and respect each other's unique needs. For Muslims as well as Arab and Palestinian Christians and those of other faiths from the region, this includes reviewing religious accommodations (e.g., for fasting, prayer spaces, and provision of religiously appropriate foods, such as halal and Lenten options).

BUILD A PLURALISTIC COMMUNITY

In a joint effort between the two Task Forces, the Pluralism Subcommittee examined the resources that exist at Harvard for interfaith engagements, interdisciplinary collaborations, religious literacy, and community building, including the arts, as well as considering potential new resources, structures, and/or practices.

The focus was on promoting a culture of pluralism, defined as recognizing the diversity of identities and ideologies on campus, respecting, relating, and cooperating with one another, and connecting personal and campus civic values to advance our educational and research mission. These campus civic values are anchored in the University's Values Statement: a focus on advancing respect for the rights, differences, and dignity of others; honesty and integrity in all dealings; conscientious pursuit of excellence in our work; accountability for actions and conduct in the community; and responsibility for the bonds and bridges that enable all to grow with and learn from one another.

A broad focus on pluralism will ultimately be foundational to ensuring the experience of inclusion and belonging on our campus for members of Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian communities and their allies. At the same time, we wish to underscore that it is crucial not to overlook the specific forms of hate and bias that the two anti-bias Task Forces are committed to addressing, including anti-Muslim, anti-Arab, anti-Palestinian sentiments, as well as antisemitism and anti-Israeli biases. Directly confronting these particular issues by advancing a pluralism agenda ensures that our efforts are impactful and resonate with the experiences of those most affected, fostering a truly inclusive environment.

While the full report of the Joint Subcommittee appears in Appendix 2, we note here the main recommendations. The two anti-bias Task Forces jointly call for the following:

Establish an institutional anchor for practices of pluralism on campus. There is a need for a central hub for pluralism efforts on campus — to anchor the practices of the University around a commitment to pluralism, and to engage all members of our campus community in exploring, embracing, and bringing our University values to life across a variety of contexts — from orientation and onboarding to interdisciplinary exchanges and language learning, and on to interfaith experiences, student life, and the arts on campus.

Though the University will need to determine the appropriate approach to implementation, the Joint Subcommittee report (Appendix 2) details two possible options: expanding the Harvard Foundation into the Harvard Foundation for Pluralism or creating a new University-wide Center for Pluralism that incorporates the Harvard Foundation, which would continue to be College-facing, as a program. Many other entities also work in these areas and the specific value-add of a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism would be to connect the academic enterprise of the University, including campus expertise on issues of inclusion, belonging, and pluralism, to the administrative enterprise that fulfills these functions. As the University considers the design of the Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism, three key principles are essential for success: faculty leadership, collaboration with OEDIB and other diversity offices on campus, and a strong staffing structure to support cross-functional work.

To develop and implement programs that reinforce pluralism, a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism could support:

- a fellowship program for students,

- a campus awards program for students who lead in advancing a culture of pluralism on campus,

- engaging faculty with expertise in pluralism and connected subject areas to develop trainings and professional development opportunities for the campus,

- mediation resources for conflicts that involve issues of pluralism; and

- the work of OEDIB and the School-specific DIB offices to cultivate a campus-wide network of expertise on pluralism that all Schools could tap into in a shared way.

This reimagined center, in partnership with OEDIB, could also lead the Harvard Culture Collaborative, fostering faculty-staff partnerships to enhance research and learning in support of inclusion and belonging that are grounded in a commitment to pluralism. Several of the Task Force recommendations laid out above might also be advanced via this vehicle, including the development of new intellectual exchanges and innovative trainings.

The Task Force discussed the merits and potential challenges of using the Harvard Foundation as the hub for University-wide pluralism efforts. A detailed examination of these issues is warranted, as exploring these complexities was beyond the Task Force's remit. The Harvard Foundation currently focuses on undergraduate students, and there is a proposal to transform it into a Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism that serves the entire campus community, while preserving and indeed strengthening the current mandate of the Harvard Foundation. The subcommittee suggests structuring this Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism as a School-based entity for easier integration with the University's mission. The subcommittee recommends significant investment from the Office of the President and Provost, as well as School deans, to establish faculty leadership and anchor pluralism practices across the campus.

Advance the University's values. The University has established a strong framework of core values, yet these are not well known on campus. These values should anchor our efforts in navigating challenging moments and the gray areas of campus interaction that do not warrant formal grievance processes. To address this, the Office of the President and Provost should add the University Values Statement to the

University website and the Provost's Office's list of policies. Additionally, deans should incorporate the University Values Statement into School policy documents and core messaging. They should collaborate with faculty leadership at the Harvard Foundation to develop invitations and incentives for departments to engage in case-based workshops focused on the University Values Statement.

Cultivate practices of pluralism anchored in the University's values. Naming values alone does not establish a culture of pluralism; it is crucial to develop practices that bring these values to life. The fifth University value — "taking responsibility for the bonds and bridges that enable all to grow with and learn from one another" — requires innovation in understanding core practices that define our community. The Office of the President and Provost should charge existing bodies, including the Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism; OEDIB, CODOS, OFA, HUCA; the informal cross-campus arts planning group, the faculty committee in religion, the board of religious, ethical, and spiritual life; and House Deans, with advancing University values and a culture of pluralism. They should report annually over the next three years on their progress and the impact of their efforts. Additionally, deans should support staff participation in professional development related to University values, pluralism, and constructive dialogue. The Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism should coordinate these pluralism efforts across the various groups.

Inspire creativity in engagement with the concept of pluralism. Effective participation in pluralism is achieved when individuals feel that their identities are recognized and supported. The Office for the Arts can play a key role in celebrating the diverse cultures within the Harvard community by creating events that encourage interaction among different heritages and traditions. The Office of the President and Provost should invest in the Office for the Arts to foster a University-wide culture of creative engagement with pluralism and seek additional funding from each School. They should also task the OFA with leading discussions on space needs for arts programming. Deans across all Schools should support this arts initiative and collaborate in identifying improved spaces for arts activities. Furthermore, the OFA, HUCA, and informal arts planning group should connect with the national Presidential Committee on Arts & Humanities and Artists for Understanding to unite artists across differences and explore new avenues for student arts programming related to pluralism.

Invest in strengthening multifaith opportunities on campus. The listening sessions and survey revealed our community's diversity and the need for greater support, both through formal administrative channels and student-led initiatives. Despite having over 40 chaplains and various services, past events have shown that existing resources are inadequate, particularly for the diverse Muslim population and the Arab and Palestinian Christian communities on campus. To address this, there may be a need to establish a University-wide Office of Religious, Spiritual, and Ethical Life and to leverage the Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism. This would promote religious literacy and interfaith collaboration. The Office of the President and Provost should create this office to support interfaith and ethical engagements, ideally led by someone with an academic appointment, whether ladder or non-ladder. This new office should formalize chaplains' roles, include student input in hiring and evaluation, and fund student-led interfaith initiatives. The new office should collaborate with the Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism and the Edmond and Lily Safra Center for Ethics. The Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism should partner with the new office to ensure religious and cultural identities are included in pluralism practices and sponsor student and community-suggested events without requiring everything to go through the Office of Religious, Spiritual, and Ethical Life.

Support access to multilingualism for all. Understanding the value of a pluralistic culture requires access to diverse cultures, particularly through language learning. To support multilingualism on campus, we should strengthen language instruction. The Dean of FAS and the Dean of Arts and Humanities should collaborate with language program leaders to recruit and retain professional instructors, especially in

languages like Arabic and Hebrew, which may involve thematic controversies. Although recent events have highlighted these languages, challenges can arise with any language instruction. Additionally, reconsidering the recent reduction of the language requirement to one year is recommended.

G. Intellectual Excellence

The listening sessions and Harvard-Wide Joint Survey both reveal a need voiced by the community in enhancing the intellectual experience of being on campus. This includes the ability to discuss difficult issues and have more constructive dialogue as well as learn more about the challenges faced in the region more broadly and issues that are especially relevant to the Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian members of our community. We have already noted some of the efforts in the previous sections and here we share updates on the Preliminary Recommendations as well as offer new suggestions. These efforts focus on enhancing learning on campus while pursuing systematic data gathering and research. This work can provide deeper insights on these issues in a way that helps both our community and generates knowledge and best practices.

Summary of Preliminary Recommendations

The Task Force's Preliminary Recommendations[60] on Intellectual Excellence emphasized the vital role of rigorous scholarship, teaching, and discourse in addressing complex issues, particularly those related to Islam, the Middle East, and Palestine. Recognizing the need for a comprehensive assessment, the Task Force recommended a University-wide audit of academic resources dedicated to these areas, including an evaluation of course offerings and faculty expertise across all Schools. This audit aimed to identify existing gaps and propose strategies to address them, such as leveraging existing programs like Scholars at Risk to bring in visiting faculty, particularly from underrepresented regions like Gaza. Furthermore, the Task Force stressed the importance of fostering constructive dialogue on campus, particularly regarding interfaith and intercultural issues. To achieve this, we recommended several initiatives, including a high-profile speaker series featuring individuals with differing viewpoints engaging in productive disagreement, as well as recognition and support for existing programs and initiatives that promote such dialogue. The Task Force also advocated for inviting renowned speakers with expertise in interfaith dialogue to share insights and strategies for building bridges across religious divides. By fostering intellectual engagement and constructive dialogue, the Task Force aimed to equip the Harvard community with the tools and understanding needed to navigate complex issues and contribute to a more informed and inclusive society.

Since the Preliminary Recommendations were made, Harvard has continued to implement and expand initiatives aimed at fostering respectful dialogue and engagement with diverse perspectives. These efforts, built on programs initiated in spring 2024, focus on equipping students with the skills and frameworks to navigate challenging conversations and engage constructively with different viewpoints. For example, Harvard College has continued to develop its Intellectual Vitality Initiative, which includes incorporating lessons on civil disagreement into its curriculum, sponsoring fellowships for House tutors focused on promoting civil discourse, and offering the Perspectives Program, which trains students to engage in dialogue across differences. Other Schools within Harvard have implemented similar initiatives, including a new Fellowship in Values Engagement at the Edmond and Lily Safra Center for Ethics, new training modules on civil discourse at Harvard Kennedy School, and ongoing efforts at Harvard Law School to promote productive classroom discussion and ensure student remarks remain confidential. Harvard Divinity School has also hosted events focused on fostering understanding and dialogue related to the

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[60] https://www.harvard.edu/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/June-2024-preliminary-recommendations-AMAAB.pdf

Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In early 2025, it was reported that the Dean of the Harvard Kennedy School, Jeremy M. Weinstein, traveled to the West Bank and Israel to recruit Israeli and Palestinian students and to re-establish a relationship with Palestinian alumni.[61] While these efforts are encouraging, at the same time, recent changes in the Religion and Public Life program at HDS, the Palestine Program for Health and Human Rights at the FXB Center for Health and Human Rights at HSPH, and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at FAS, have also raised concerns about the extent and content of intellectual programming on Palestine, Muslims, and the broader region.

As of the writing of this report, the Task Force is not aware of any specific actions taken in response to the Preliminary Recommendations regarding a University-wide audit of academic resources dedicated to Islam, the Middle East, and Palestine, or the proposal to leverage programs like Scholars at Risk to bring visiting faculty from underrepresented regions to campus, as communicated by the University. In fact, given the likelihood of retirements and attrition, it is important to ensure that we not only have an understanding of what is currently offered but also that we are making long-term plans to ensure adequate and appropriate programing remains available in an enduring way. Therefore, we reiterate the importance of these recommendations and urge University leadership to communicate any updates or progress made to the broader Harvard community.

New Recommendations

ADVANCE KNOWLEDGE AND EDUCATION

In line with Harvard's commitment to intellectual excellence and its academic mission to advance the frontiers of research and teaching, we are prioritizing the expansion and enrichment of Middle Eastern and North African, Palestinian, and Islamic Studies. These recommendations address the necessity of providing a well-rounded academic portrayal of complex geopolitical issues, such as those surrounding Palestine and Israel, as well as other conflicts in the region. By fostering an environment of diverse scholarly perspectives, we seek to enrich the academic dialogue and contribute meaningfully to the field. Through strategic course and faculty expansions, these steps are designed not only to diversify the curriculum but to also deepen our research capabilities, ensuring that students and scholars have access to a comprehensive, multi-faceted education in this vital area.

Course expansion. The listening sessions revealed a very limited offering of courses on Palestine and Israel that promote critical analysis of their histories, societies and cultures. We recommend expanding course offerings on Palestinian Studies and Arabic language and cultures, as well as offering more robust courses on Islam and Islamic studies.

Faculty expansion. In our Preliminary Recommendations we had noted the need in the shorter term for the University to fund a one- or two-year visiting professorship in Palestinian studies, with the appointment beginning in the spring semester 2024-25. We now add further that in the coming five years, the University should establish two to three positions, prioritizing a chair in Palestinian history. Additional faculty are needed in other fields relating to the Middle East, Palestinian Studies, and Islam. Hiring committees for specializations in the Middle East and/or Palestine should include members who are well-versed in the history of anti-Palestinian racism, both at Harvard and more broadly.

ENHANCE INTELLECTUAL AND COMMUNITY COHESION THROUGH EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING

Offer experiential learning programs. To foster intellectual excellence while uniting our diverse community, we propose developing programs centered on experiential learning. These programs will explore vital issues impacting various community members within different affinity groups (such as

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[61] https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2025/3/13/hks-dean-weinstein-travel/

antisemitism and anti-Palestinian bias). These efforts could also address broader concerns like climate change or food security affecting all communities so that the dialogue is not exclusively on emotionally challenging issues. By implementing these programs during periods such as the January term, students will engage in small, diverse groups guided by faculty mentors. This framework will ensure inclusivity and collaboration across different cultural and identity backgrounds. Faculty members from different affinity groups would be encouraged to propose innovative experiential learning opportunities, enriching the educational landscape. Support from the University would be essential, potentially involving modest grants ranging from $25,000 to $50,000, to facilitate these domestic or international initiatives. These programs would complement and enhance the objectives of student-led initiatives promoted by the President's Building Bridges Fund, ultimately fostering a more cohesive and intellectually vibrant community.

MODEL CIVIL DISAGREEMENT BY ANNUALLY SPONSORING PRESIDENTIAL-LEVEL DIALOGUES

Constructive dialogue on substantive issues. This recommendation addresses feedback from listening sessions indicating a desire for more University-wide intellectual engagement with substantive crisis issues. While many campus centers are already leading such efforts, engagement from the Office of the President and Provost is also needed, building on existing initiatives. The aims are to model constructive, respectful dialogue in a pluralistic context and to enhance understanding of contentious themes. The Office of the President and Provost should consider dialogues on pressing and substantive issues, with multiple speakers representing a range of views per event and high-caliber moderators. Deans should help expand the audience for these events by avoiding scheduling conflicts. The Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism should annually gather directors from University-wide centers to discuss potential themes for a presidential dialogue series and meet with School orientation directors to promote intellectual engagement and professional development.

CONDUCT REGULAR RESEARCH, PULSE-TAKING, AND RECOMMENDATION-MONITORING

One of the primary value-adds of the Task Force's work has been giving voice to the affected communities through our listening sessions and Harvard-Wide Joint Survey. Moreover, by providing updates in this report on our Preliminary Recommendations, we hope to demonstrate the value of monitoring progress to maintain the community's trust and motivate them for further engagement and be open and transparent about the challenges faced in the process of implementing recommendations.

The two anti-bias Task Forces jointly call for regular and in-depth demographic research about Harvard community members and their sense of safety and well-being, with a particular focus on groups that appear to have had a harder time expressing themselves and finding safety and comfort at Harvard while recognizing that these groups may change over time. We specifically recommend the following:

Conduct regular surveys. There is a need to carry out regular surveys such as the University-wide Pulse survey where we can assess the state of our entire community, students, staff, and faculty and give them an opportunity to voice their concerns and offer suggestions to bring about positive change. It would also be good to develop a sustainable, transparent, systematic process to make sure we're collecting data that addresses our community's needs. This can be facilitated by enabling community members to offer feedback on the Pulse survey itself, or propose other surveys, so that it may be able to further explore concepts — such as anti-Arab, anti-Israeli, and anti-Palestinian racism, and antisemitism and Islamophobia — that are especially relevant to the community as well as identify trends that may not yet have fully surfaced. One option to consider is creating a standing survey coordinating group composed of faculty, staff, and students that would review survey suggestions from the community and draft

recommendations for leadership.[62] Such an entity could organizationally sit within the University's Office of Institutional Research and Analytics under the Office of the President and Provost. In addition, these University-wide surveys can be complemented with feedback from organized groups on campus as such interest group data can provide a more in-depth and detailed perspective similar to what we found in our listening sessions.

Enhance administrative data analysis abilities. Since surveys will necessarily face partial response rates and survey fatigue, we recommend the University also enhance its ability to analyze administrative data such as course enrollment, course dropout, and other touch points that community members, especially students, regularly interact on and are recorded as a matter of routine. This can help provide a comprehensive overview of the community and surface any unexpected behavior.

Needless to say, in doing so, care must be taken to comply with applicable policies, rules, and laws, including for example FERPA, and respect the privacy of our community members. This could be tied into the work by the University Executive Data Committee and their recently launched University Data Advisory Group (UDAG) that meets regularly to discuss administrative data collection, management, and governance. Such a group could start by taking stock of the scope and quality of administrative data that is available for analysis. Such analysis could then be carried out centrally by the University's Office of Institutional Research and Analytics or by setting up a dedicated "behavioral and analytical initiative" under the President's office that is jointly run by appropriate faculty, researchers, and staff and is able to coordinate directly with the Central Administration and the various Schools.[63]

Establish a process to monitor and share progress on Task Force recommendations. We recommend the University initiate a process by which progress on the recommendations of this Task Force (or for that matter any other) can be regularly monitored and shared with the community. Currently, relevant updates are being provided by Harvard Public Affairs and Communications (HPAC) on the Task Force's website. With the completion of the Task Force's work, we recommend that HPAC or another appropriate office will continue to provide regular updates to the community using the webpage or other suitable channels. This will help build trust and transparency and build greater buy-in while also being able to create the space to modify and adapt recommendations that, while well intentioned and designed, turned out to be not as effective or easy to implement.

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[62] An example of such an effort is Georgetown University's survey coordinating group that reviews its University-wide survey requests by students, faculty, staff, and other groups and committees, as well as off-campus researchers. https://oads.georgetown.edu/surveypolicy/survey-coordinating-group/

[63] An example of such work is Princeton University's Initiative for Data Exploration and Analytics effort that has enabled access to administrative data for researchers to address pressing University questions. https://analytics.princeton.edu/

6. Conclusion

The work of the Task Force has been long overdue. The challenges we deal with in this report, the events that underlie them, and the recommendations made need to be viewed as what they are: specific instances of, and responses to, more systemic challenges that have been with us for decades and will likely continue to confront us in the years to come. We are dealing with both emergent and chronic issues. We are dealing with issues that affect each of us in diverse ways that evolve over time and vary in their impact. Our goal therefore has been twofold: to provide specific recommendations that can drive immediate and long-term improvements, and to advocate for an ongoing process of self-examination and continuous progress that becomes ingrained in our standard practices. We seek a process that is transparent, deliberate, and credible; one that continually draws on the collective wisdom and energy of our ever-evolving community. Ultimately, we believe this is the only sustainable path forward.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Preliminary Recommendations (June 2024)

June 24, 2024

Harvard University
Presidential Task Force on Combating Anti-Muslim and Anti-Arab Bias
Preliminary Recommendations

I. Introduction

On January 19, 2024, Interim President Alan Garber established two Presidential Task Forces: one devoted to combating anti-Muslim and anti-Arab bias, and one devoted to combating antisemitism.

The Presidential Task Force on Combating Anti-Muslim and Anti-Arab Bias was charged with examining the recent history and current manifestations of anti-Muslim and anti-Arab bias, identifying the root causes and contributing factors to such behaviors on campus, evaluating the characteristics and frequency of these behaviors, and recommending approaches to combat anti-Muslim and anti-Arab bias and its impact on campus.

The full membership of the Task Force on Combating Anti-Muslim and Anti-Arab Bias was announced on February 25, and the Task Force convened for its first meeting on February 27. Meetings were held weekly for the rest of the spring semester. During these meetings, we discussed our charge, developed plans for outreach across the University, and shared feedback from the listening sessions.

Our listening sessions commenced on April 1 and were largely completed by the end of that month. We held about forty-five sessions, with more than four hundred people from across Harvard's Schools in Cambridge, Allston, and Longwood registering to participate. These sessions included students (undergraduate and graduate), faculty, and staff. We also met with several affinity groups, ensuring a wide range of vital perspectives were heard. We learned early on that though the name and charge of our Task Force refer to Muslims and Arabs, we also had to focus particularly on Palestinian members of our community and those with diverse backgrounds who identify as pro-Palestinian as they had experienced a great deal of trauma and pain.

The goal of these listening sessions was to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences of Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian as well as pro-Palestinian members of the Harvard community, including, among others, those from Jewish, South Asian, as well as African American backgrounds. We also solicited from participants in our sessions their hopes for Harvard and their recommendations on how to rebuild our fractured and polarized community.

II. Key Themes from Listening Sessions

The insights gathered from listening sessions were instrumental in identifying seven key thematic areas that encapsulate the primary concerns and aspirations of our communities. These themes — Safety and Security Concerns, Recognition and Representation, Institutional Response, Freedom of Expression, Transparency and Trust, Relationships among Affinity Groups, and Intellectual Excellence. We will expand on these themes in detail — directly drawing from the listening sessions — in the

comprehensive Task Force report we anticipate producing by the fall semester. In this document we provide a high-level summary of what we learnt from the listening sessions as that serves as the foundation for our initial recommendations and will guide our ongoing efforts to advise University leaders on combating anti-Muslim and anti-Arab bias at Harvard.

Safety and Security Concerns: The listening sessions revealed a deep-seated sense of fear among students, staff, and faculty. Muslims, Palestinians, Arab Christians, and others of Arab descent as well as pro-Palestinian allies described a state of uncertainty, abandonment, threat, and isolation, and a pervasive climate of intolerance. People of color from other groups and identities — often Black and South Asian students — shared experiences of racism and hatred because they were allies, or because they were misidentified as Arab, Muslim, or Palestinian. Muslim women who wear hijab and pro-Palestinian students wearing keffiyehs spoke about facing verbal harassment, being called "terrorists," and even being spat upon. The issue of doxxing was particularly highlighted as a significant concern that affects not only physical safety and mental well-being, but also future career prospects.

Recognition and Representation: Participants expressed a strong desire for recognition and representation of diverse experiences and identities. Palestinians spoke about their identity being erased by campus-wide or School-specific messages and their pain not being acknowledged. They felt that the words "Palestine" and "Palestinian" had in effect become taboo on campus. Students also said that Harvard lacked sufficient faculty and course offerings dedicated to Palestinian studies and the complexities of the Israel-Palestine conflict — a reality that perpetuates a lack of understanding on campus about the current crisis in Gaza, which many in the community believe to be an ongoing genocide, and about the long-standing issues around recognition of Palestinian identity. There was a consistent call during the listening sessions to add "anti-Palestinian bias" to the name or at least to the charge of this Task Force to address this lack of recognition and representation.

Institutional Response: There was significant concern about the University's perceived lack of response to pressures and damaging attacks from external agents, such as some high-profile donors. As a result, participants expressed a heightened sense of insecurity and felt unsafe, as the University seems to lack the requisite independence to protect them. Students felt that reporting distressing incidents, such as doxxing, did little to curb further targeting or address underlying biases. They stated that University administrators claimed there was little they could do, as these issues were related to free speech or outside Harvard's jurisdiction. Moreover, students expressed frustration with the burden of having to document and share (and re-share) their experiences of harassment with multiple channels at the University, without receiving any significant response.

Freedom of Expression: Participants raised concerns about restrictions on freedom of expression, resulting in their feeling unable to share their views frankly. Many Muslim, Arab, Palestinian, and pro-Palestinian students, staff, and faculty, including Jewish allies, said they continue to fear negative consequences if they speak publicly on issues they care about, especially those related to Palestine, human rights, social justice, and critiques of Harvard's global engagements and investments. The constant threat of harassment, physical violence, or damage to their careers and reputations forces these community members to choose between suppressing their views or facing negative consequences that affect their safety and future career prospects.

Transparency and Trust: A recurring theme was a lack of trust in the University's and Schools' leaders and administrators. Participants stressed the need for greater clarity and transparency in the communication and enforcement of policies. They felt their experiences were not being acknowledged or, when they were, not given the same attention as those of other stakeholders. They also expressed concern that the University was struggling to protect independence of decision-making due to its fundraising considerations and that this in turn affected the University's ability to uphold its stated values. The lack of response from various administrators to complaints further eroded trust in the University and its leadership.

Relationships among Affinity Groups: Participants expressed a need for improving dialogue and engagement among the affected affinity groups. There was a clear call for the creation of interfaith and multicultural spaces — both physical and programmatic. Participants also questioned the decision to establish two Task Forces rather than a single unified one, suggesting that this could exacerbate divisions among affinity groups.

Intellectual Excellence: Participants raised concerns about the failure of the University to effectively support high-profile, structured intellectual engagements around contentious issues such as the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict. They raised concerns about lack of support for faculty who have sought to undertake such intellectual work; they pointed to student efforts to achieve this that have gone unsupported by the administration; and they pointed to a lack of sufficient course or other offerings on the Palestinian experience. They raised the concern that the University was in fact failing to activate its most core mission — excellence in research and teaching — in relation to the clearly challenging intellectual questions emerging from the conflict.

III. Initial Recommendations

The initial recommendations in this document are focused on short-term, actionable items rather than long-term ones that may entail substantial changes in institutional policies, curricular and co-curricular improvements, and rethinking of the structure of religious life on campus.

To develop and propose long-term recommendations, the Task Force will dedicate the summer to conducting research into the historical, political, and sociological origins of anti-Muslim, anti-Arab, and anti-Palestinian bias on campus. We will also analyze collections of qualitative and quantitative data for understanding the issues we face, collate and evaluate existing policies that relate to those issues, and explore opportunities for creating bridges across divides by fostering pluralism through intentional and creative engagement with diversity. The findings from this research will serve as a basis for a comprehensive report, which we anticipate will be submitted in the fall semester.

Based on feedback from Harvard community members (including feedback submitted in Fall 2023 before the formation of the Task Force), wide-ranging discussions among Task Force members, as well as consultation with University leaders and other stakeholders, our Task Force recommends the following near-term measures to address the biases that our communities have experienced, and foster an environment where, in the words of Interim President Garber, "each of us can feel safe to participate fully in the life of the University, whether we are studying, teaching, conducting research, or working in other ways."

SAFETY AND SECURITY CONCERNS

Ensure that all students, staff, and faculty feel safe and secure as members of the Harvard community. As one participant put it, "no one is safe until we all feel safe." While the University's Values Statement expresses a commitment to respect for all people regardless of their backgrounds, we believe this commitment should extend to safety and respect. While we evaluate the adequacy of current policies, there are some short-term steps that could be taken. With this in mind, we propose the following actions for the University, Schools, and relevant Units:

A) To address the physical safety concerns raised by our communities, we should ensure that the 24-hour safety helpline provides rapid and real-time support, as well as chaperones and safe transportation options in cases where this is warranted.

B) Doxxing is a major concern for students who have been affected directly or indirectly, as well as for faculty and staff who have found it challenging to assist impacted students. The University should:

- Publicly and immediately denounce doxxing as an abhorrent activity. We are emphasizing this because participants in our listening sessions, as well as members of the Task Force, have noticed

that even highly visible and public instances of doxxing, such as the "doxxing trucks" around campus, were not publicly condemned by the University.

- Publicize the current policies on doxxing, for example, through a single, University-wide webpage as well as mass email to all members of the Harvard community — students, staff and faculty. This should include information on what doxxing is, how to identify it, penalties for those who engage in it, and resources available for those who have been targeted.

- Building upon previous efforts, compile and publicize a comprehensive set of resources for those affected by or at risk of doxxing. This should include expert cybersecurity advice, legal counsel, and services like DeleteMe.

- Provide resources and training for designated staff and faculty from across the University on how to empathetically support and address the concerns of students and faculty dealing with doxxing and other forms of harassment.

C) Offer and actively promote a sufficient range of counseling services, peer support groups, stress management programs, as well as pastoral counseling. These services must be culturally competent in addressing affinity-specific experiences and can complement and enhance HUHS and chaplaincy services currently in place.

RECOGNITION AND REPRESENTATION

Address the lack of recognition expressed by many Muslim, Arab, and especially, Palestinian members of the Harvard community, as well as those who support Palestine.

D) We recommend revising our Task Force's name to the "Presidential Task Force on Combating Anti-Muslim, Anti-Arab, and Anti-Palestinian Bias" to address the wider but necessary scope of affected community members.

E) While we recognize that Harvard will be issuing fewer University-wide statements, it is crucial that statements from University and School leaders express solidarity for all groups equally, without overlooking affected groups. Leaders should learn from past mistakes and aim for adequate balance in their responses, taking care not to give the impression that they are taking sides on contentious issues. It would be beneficial for leaders to maintain lists of trusted leaders from across the campus' diverse communities who might be called upon to provide confidential feedback on particularly sensitive draft messages. The University should ensure that faculty with subject expertise have been consulted before messages are released.

F) While we discuss our recommendations regarding enabling Intellectual Excellence in more detail below, here we should note that the University can address the specific issue of lack of recognition of the Palestinian experience by expanding curricular offerings related to Palestinian studies and seeking to recruit tenure-track faculty to enable this effort. This would also help educate our diverse community and deepen the academic exploration of the Middle East at Harvard. In the short term, we recommend that the University fund a one- or two-year visiting professorship in Palestinian studies, with the appointment beginning in Spring semester 2024-25.

INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE

Address the significant confusion and misunderstanding that exists among students, faculty, and staff about existing policies and procedures related to bias incidents and discrimination. We plan to assess the impact these policies have had in the current context and examine areas for improvement in the coming months.

In the meantime, we recommend the following:

G) At the start of the 2024-25 academic year, students at all Harvard Schools should receive clear information regarding the policies and procedures for filing formal complaints about bullying, bias, and other incidents of discrimination. The current policies must be clarified, and both the policies and rationale must be communicated. Any activity that occurs over the year should be handled according to existing policies. If policies are modified during the year, then a clear and public statement should be issued detailing the change, the process by which the decision was made, and the rationale behind it.

H) Staff members, whether tasked with implementing these policies and procedures or offering guidance and support to students, should undergo suitable training, if they have not done so already, to execute their roles effectively, expeditiously, and empathetically.

I) The University should initiate efforts to establish a more transparent, accessible, complainant-friendly, and responsive process for filing formal complaints about bias incidents and discrimination. In doing so, the University will also need to clarify what actions, despite being antithetical to fostering community, are neither illegal nor a violation of our policies. Additionally, the University should equip itself to provide aggregate statistics about complaints filed and their resolutions.

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Establish a climate that enables Harvard students, faculty, and staff to express views on the plight of the Palestinian people and related issues without fear of institutional pressure. We recommend:

J) The University should explicitly and publicly reaffirm its commitment to free expression and open debate. This commitment should include safeguarding political speech and critique, upholding the rights to protest and dissent, and ensuring that academic freedom is not infringed upon by political considerations. It may be especially helpful for the Committee on Open Inquiry to include in its work the production of a Harvard statement on free expression.

K) As Harvard community members return to campus for the fall semester, Harvard's Schools should ensure that their policies on protest and dissent are clearly and effectively communicated to all students, faculty, and staff. This is a crucial step towards addressing the ambiguity about these policies that we heard exists among many students and even among some staff responsible for applying them.

TRANSPARENCY AND TRUST

Take steps to rebuild trust between the University and community members.

L) The University must reaffirm and be consistent with its declared values. The current Values Statement[64] from 2018 emphasizes "Respect for the rights, differences, and dignity of others; honesty and integrity in all dealings; conscientious pursuit of excellence in our work; accountability for actions and conduct in the community; and responsibility for the bonds and bridges that enable all to grow with and learn from one another." Recent events present an opportunity to revisit this Values Statement to ensure it addresses the challenges currently faced by our community and to create a shared understanding of the University's commitment to uphold and live up to these values. We would also suggest considering the inclusion of safety in this Values Statement.

M) To rebuild trust, the University's leadership and its faculty need to engage with community members directly through open fora, smaller conversation sessions, and attendance at community events. It is imperative that leadership demonstrates empathy and understanding towards all students, staff, and faculty and maintains transparency as much as possible regarding their actions and decisions. When appropriate, leadership should also acknowledge mistakes, discuss efforts to mitigate their impact, and outline strategies to prevent future occurrences.

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[64] https://inclusionandbelongingtaskforce.harvard.edu/files/inclusion/files/vii._appendix_d._revised_values_statement.pdf

N) Harvard should find ways to publicly highlight and clarify its adherence to fundraising best practices that protect academic freedom and institutional independence. Practices could involve issuing standard language to be shared during fundraising meetings that describes the guardrails in place to protect those values. Keeping in mind the important, supportive, and at times quite visible role alumni and donors can play, we also encourage the University's and the Schools' alumni and development offices to expand current engagement efforts by striving to augment their networks to fully reflect and represent the diversity of our students, staff, and faculty.

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG AFFINITY GROUPS

Foster Pluralism and Create Bridges of Understanding. Intentional engagement with diversity and the commitment to learning from it must be affirmed as a crucial part of a Harvard education. There should be a concerted effort to provide students, faculty, and staff with the frameworks, tools, opportunities, and experiences to engage with difference. These initiatives could take the shape of curricular, co-curricular, or extracurricular activities. The following initiatives may be pursued in the short term:

O) On-campus residential spaces, particularly the College Houses and First-Year Dorms, provide an ideal opportunity for students to engage with the remarkable diversity of residents. Currently, however, these spaces, especially the Houses, are often characterized by "silos," with a minority of residents being fully engaged in House life. Recent events have exacerbated polarization in residential spaces. For example, some students chose not to have meals in the dining halls of their assigned House and went to other Houses where they felt "safer" or "more comfortable." Indeed, one student characterized going into the dining hall as entering a minefield. Building bridges across such divides is important. We suggest that all students be incentivized to participate in a range of creatively designed community building activities through which residents get to know one another. The research of Harvard psychologist Mina Cikara has shown that when people get to know other people as individuals, their group or affinity identity becomes less important, and they are less likely to fall into fearful and hateful patterns. Similar initiatives could be introduced in other University housing for graduate students.

P) Faculties across the University could organize community conversations during orientation engaging with issues related to diversity and pluralism using the case method. Elinor Pierce's Pluralism in Practice (Orbis 2023) may be a helpful resource in this regard. The book is based on Diana Eck's transformative General Education course on Pluralism which utilizes the case method to explore issues related to religious conflict and public leadership in the United States.

Q) Religious illiteracy needs to be addressed as it is a significant factor contributing to stereotypes and prejudices. It is characterized not only by ignorance of the beliefs and practices of specific religious traditions but also by a lack of understanding about the nature of religion as a cultural phenomenon deeply embedded in and influenced by various contexts, historical, political, and social. To help address this problem in the immediate short-term, the University could make available the HarvardX course, "World Religions through their Scriptures." It includes a short introductory online module on religious literacy that could be repurposed for orienting students, faculty, staff, and administrators at the beginning of the fall semester. For those interested, it also includes well-designed modules on Judaism, Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Sikhism.

R) Support initiatives that seek to build intra- or inter-group cohesion by launching a funding window through which students, staff, and/or faculty at the University can apply for small grants to host events that help build cohesion within and/or across specific communities, especially those that have felt marginalized and excluded. These initiatives could include funding student-led activities that build community across affinity groups and faculties through various arts-based initiatives. They could also

include University-organized (by DEI offices, for example) visits to cultural and religious institutions, neighborhood outings, art exhibitions, cultural fairs, and on-campus facilitated discussions with members of the Boston area's own diverse communities. The Office for the Arts could explore the possibility of bringing Middle Eastern, particularly Palestinian, and American Muslim artists and musicians to campus.

Strengthen Religious Life and Interfaith initiatives.

S) Many Muslim students, faculty, and staff, and presumably those from other religious minority groups, have voiced frustration over the unintentional yet prevalent lack of understanding about their specific holidays, religious observance requirements, dietary needs, and other factors that influence their experience within the Harvard community. To address these concerns, possible initiatives that can enhance religious and spiritual life can include (we recognize that some of these might be more feasible in the medium to long term):

- Publicizing and enhancing as needed the multifaith calendar hosted on the Harvard Divinity School website with detailed holiday entries, as well as accommodation policies and contact information for inquiries. Related efforts may eventually extend to evaluating the current holiday schedule and considering potential changes to enhance inclusivity and potentially even piloting a program that provides a floating holiday for observing a day of cultural or religious significance and includes a provision for new employees to utilize unearned vacation time for religious observances.

- Publicizing and augmenting as needed designated individuals at the University who have received specialized training on religious, ethnic, and cultural sensitivity issues, and are available as resources to help answer or direct questions that may arise in these areas.

T) Harvard's Muslims need to have dedicated spaces for prayer and communal gathering across Harvard's campuses. This has been a long-standing issue of concern. While the University has made progress in this area, more needs to be done, especially in some of the graduate Schools where students have complained that some of the spaces are inadequate. The recently allocated prayer space in Sever Hall could be made permanent and refurbished, or other options centrally located near Harvard Yard need to be explored.

INTELLECTUAL EXCELLENCE

Redouble on intellectual engagement. The best way for the University to acknowledge pressing public events is by advancing our academic mission through classes, conferences, scholarship, and teaching that draw on the expert knowledge of its faculty.

U) We recommend that the Office of the Provost should undertake a Harvard-wide audit of academic resources related to Islam, the Middle East, and Palestine studies, as well as Arab, Middle Eastern, and Islamic Studies (particularly the lived experiences of Muslim, Arab and Palestinian communities in the US and around the world) across the University's faculties. This includes:

- Courses: A University-wide review — potentially in coordination with the Task Force on Combating Antisemitism — could examine the course offerings dedicated to Islam, the Middle East, and Palestine studies. Such a systematic review should then endeavor to address gaps identified, by leveraging existing resources as well as visiting faculty and other scholars who may be invited through various programs, including the Scholars at Risk program that could bring scholars from Gaza to Harvard. Funding could also be established for innovative course offerings that equip students with the tools to understand and navigate conflicts and disagreements.

- Faculty: While we recognize this is a longer-term objective, Harvard's Schools should work to increase the representation of Muslim, Arab, and Palestinian faculty on campus. These would enrich the community of researchers at these Schools and serve as mentors and role models for students.

V) It is crucial that Harvard students have the opportunity to observe examples of constructive and meaningful dialogue among members of our community. Potential initiatives could include:

- A high-profile series of talks, attended by the President or Provost, between pairs of individuals who disagree vehemently on controversial issues but do so productively.

- Recognition of faculty, student leaders, and programs and initiatives that are promoting constructive dialogue on campus about interfaith and/or intercultural issues. Examples of such programs and initiatives include the Middle East Initiative Dialogues series at Harvard Kennedy School and events at the Weatherhead Center, such as the panel titled "Pernicious Prejudice: Scholarly Approaches to Antisemitism & Islamophobia."

- Inviting a series of speakers to campus to discuss ways to encourage interfaith dialogue and build bridges across religious divides. This lecture series would be high profile campus-wide events attended by University and School leadership, with renowned speakers who have worked on interfaith issues.

Appendix 2: Report from the Joint Subcommittee on Pluralism

Report from the Joint Subcommittee on Pluralism
To the Presidential Task Forces on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias,
and on Combating Anti-Muslim, Anti-Arab, and Anti-Palestinian Bias
December 2, 2024

Charge to the Committee: In May 2024, two members were charged by both Task Forces with establishing a joint subcommittee to examine the resources that exist at Harvard for interfaith engagements, interdisciplinary collaborations, religious literacy, and community building, including through the arts, and propose new resources, structures, and/or practices.

At the first meeting, the subcommittee agreed to organize its work by means of a framework of pluralism with the goal of advancing a campus culture of pluralism and the practices necessary to support it. That modification to the charge was reviewed and approved by the Task Force chairs.

Definition of Pluralism: The committee established the following framework for pluralism to guide its work:

We understand a culture of pluralism to entail a recognition that we are a campus:

- where people are diverse in their identities and divergent in their ideologies, and the concept of identity ranges broadly across race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, faith, viewpoint, geographic background, and the wide variety of experiential characteristics; also there is diversity within groups, cultures, and religious traditions as well as between and across them;

- where even within a given identity there is much diversity;

- where we **respect, relate and cooperate** with each other;

- where the specific project of our cooperation is to advance an educational and research mission where all can learn and grow;

- where therefore we all bear responsibility for the quality of the relationships that support that cooperative project of learning and growth;

- and where that work requires that we connect our personal values and commitments to the shared civic values of our campus as expressed in the University Values Statement, thereby linking our personal identity and our Harvard civic identity.

Our committee also acknowledges that the definition sketched above includes our aspirations. For instance, we cannot always relate. Sometimes relating is hard when the differences are so real and run as deeply as they do. Yet we should aspire to relate and, even when relating is difficult, we should value one another as partners in learning.

Application of the Theme of Pluralism to the Themes of the Two Task Forces

The Presidential Task Forces on Combating Anti-Muslim, Anti-Arab, and Anti-Palestinian Bias and on Combating Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Bias have both found a campus context in which students from a range of religious, cultural, ethnic, geographic, and ideological backgrounds have experienced harms to their experience of belonging on campus, limits on their abilities to express their views, and forms of bias.

Many of these experiences pre-dated the events of October 7, 2023. They were, however, after that date, significantly exacerbated by the efforts of members of our campus community to make sense of the Hamas attack on Israel, the ensuing conflict between Israel and Hamas (and now further parties), and the

resulting humanitarian crisis for Palestinians, and to find ways of communicating views about these matters and to advance related civic causes. How members of our community harmed one another brought to the surface weaknesses in how our existing paradigms for inclusion and belonging work for all members of our campus. While the original Inclusion and Belonging framework developed for the campus in 2018 prioritized "pluralism," as defined above, that pluralism framework for advancing inclusive excellence has often disappeared from view. While some members of our campus community have felt well supported by diversity, equity and inclusion offices on campus, many others had come to feel that these offices were not effectively supporting their needs, by virtue of largely prioritizing work around race, disability, and sexual and gender identity, and not engaging the many other aspects of identity listed above. Race, disability, and sexual and gender identity are all important aspects of human identity, but they do not suffice to capture the range of experiences people bring to campus. Supporting members of our campus community to thrive in a context where our differences can be very profound requires the broader and more multi-faceted framework of pluralism. A pluralism framework helps us view one another more holistically; encourages us to focus on how we can activate the assets that we all bring to campus from our different backgrounds; and asks us to develop a sense of some shared values, even as we also carry forward a variety of differing and even opposing commitments. A pluralism framework spurs intentionality in how we inhabit our several roles as students, educators, staff members, members of specific social communities, and citizens and civic participants, so that we can enjoy the rights and fulfill the responsibilities of all these roles. Ultimately, a pluralism framework should support efforts of all members of our campus community to connect their multi-faceted senses of personal identity to their identity as a member of the Harvard community, a role given definition by the values of the University.

University Values and Pluralism:

The subcommittee also adopted the University Values Statement as a basic guide to its work, and especially the fifth value, focused on bonds and bridges. The Values Statement is as follows:

> Harvard University aspires to provide education and scholarship of the highest quality — to advance the frontiers of knowledge; to equip students, staff, and faculty and academic personnel for fulfilling experiences of life, work, and inclusive leadership in a complex world; and to provide all members of our diverse community with opportunities for growth. We pursue these goals for our own good and for the public good through the many ways that advancing and sharing knowledge can improve human flourishing and through the service and leadership of our community members on campus and beyond. Achieving these aims depends on the efforts of thousands of students, staff, and faculty and academic personnel across the University. Some make their contributions by engaging directly in teaching, learning, and research; others contribute by supporting and enabling those core activities in essential ways, while also pursuing professional growth.

> Whatever each person's individual role or location within Harvard, we owe it to one another to uphold certain basic values of the community. These include:

> - Respect for the rights, differences, and dignity of others.
> - Honesty and integrity in all dealings.
> - Conscientious pursuit of excellence in our work.
> - Accountability for actions and conduct in the community.
> - Responsibility for the bonds and bridges that enable all to grow with and learn from one another.

Motivation for the Committee's Work:

During the spring of 2024, both committees conducted extensive listening sessions on Task Force themes throughout the Harvard campus. In addition, a survey was fielded exploring challenges around bias and

inclusion. Also, another University Task Force on Open Inquiry and Constructive Dialogue explored related questions. The listening sessions, and the work of the Task Force on Open Inquiry and Constructive Dialogue, brought out clearly that all constituencies on campus found it difficult to discuss controversial issues, whether in the classroom or outside of it. In addition, many students found themselves experiencing social ostracism that undermined their learning experience, on account of their political views or views attributed to them. Students with religious commitments found it difficult to find places simply to practice their faith without their faith being politicized. The quantitative data revealed that questions of race and religion were both important to understanding people's experiences in addition to other demographic attributes.

Finally, in the listening sessions, when participants were asked to reflect on University values, key themes emerged: (1) that the values were reasonable but that the participants did not experience the University as living up to them; (2) that participants understood concretely what was entailed by the first four values, but not by the value of taking "responsibility for the bonds and bridges that enable all to grow with and learn from one another."

In sum, the listening sessions and quantitative data painted a clear picture of a campus that has no ethnic, religious, or racial "mainstream." In contrast to the University's early history as a school for and of Puritans, and in contrast to the 1970s, when the question was whether Harvard's white majority would be open to Black students or whether Christian students would include Jewish students in University organizations, now the question is how a community composed of a far wider range of people from a far wider range of backgrounds than nearly all have previously encountered, can activate the assets that all bring to our community for individual and shared thriving. Harvard University has actively chosen to organize itself around the value of pluralism, and now we need the culture and practices that can support that, but we do not yet have them.

Paradoxically, Harvard researchers have a long history of working on the value of pluralism, and the challenge of activating it for the well-being of a specific community, or society more generally. As Eboo Patel[65] points out, and as is documented in Louis Menand's ***The Metaphysical Club***,[66] pluralism, as an intellectual tradition can be traced back to the work of Harvard Professor William James. James argued "against Hegel's theory that the universe was one thing, countered that the universe was many things. Hegel's theory was known as monism.[67] James called his view 'pluralism.' … He proposed an intriguing metaphor: 'The pluralistic world is thus more like a federal republic than like an empire or a kingdom.'" Since the time of James, Harvard scholars from numerous disciplines have advanced our understanding of the nature and potential of pluralism, and pluralistic societies — from the work of John Rawls in philosophy to Michèle Lamont in sociology, Mina Cikara in psychology, Melani Cammett in government, and Diana Eck and Ali Asani in the study of religion, among many others. Yet as a campus we have done an imperfect job of drawing on this rich work to help ourselves advance in a direction that supports practices of pluralism, and the intellectual vitality, they can sustain.

There have been efforts. The Harvard Foundation was established by President Derek Bok and the Deans of Harvard University in 1981, as the Harvard Foundation for Intercultural and Race Relations with the mandate to "improve relations among racial and ethnic groups within the University and to enhance the quality of our common life." In pursuit of this mission, the Foundation has sought to involve students of all racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds in the ongoing enterprises of the University. The Foundation sponsors annual programs and activities that are designed to promote interracial and intercultural awareness and understanding in the Harvard community, as well as to highlight the cultural contributions

[65] https://www.insidehighered.com/opinion/views/2024/10/10/pluralism-better-frame-free-speech-opinion
[66] https://books.google.com/books/about/The_Metaphysical_Club.html?id=-hpHYbwdCCkC#:~:text=The%20Metaphysical%20Club%20is%20the%20winner%20of%20the%202002%20Pulitzer
[67] https://www.britannica.com/topic/pluralism-philosophy#ref236719

of students from all backgrounds. The Harvard Foundation for Intercultural and Race Relations runs through the hard work and dedication of many stakeholders such as full-time staff, undergraduate interns, an undergraduate student advisory board, member student organizations, race relations tutors, a faculty advisory committee, student volunteers, and various campus partners.

Over time, the Harvard Foundation came to focus its efforts on students in the College, rather than supporting the whole University, and to focus primarily on race relations, gender, and sexuality, a subset of a pluralism agenda. For the students whom the Foundation currently serves, it does valuable work.

In 2018, the University-wide Task Force on Inclusion and Belonging sought to establish pluralism as the basis for campus practices and to ensure that attention to diversity that emerges from religion, viewpoint, geographic origin, disability, and life experience (for instance, military service) would also receive due attention in work on campus culture. That Task Force report stressed the need for adequate support (including prayer spaces) for students of faith as well as the need to support a culture of academic freedom and civil discourse, as necessary parts of the work of inclusion and belonging, so that all voices may richly contribute to our campus teaching and learning.

The spring 2024 listening sessions and subsequent surveys made clear the urgent need to elevate that nascent focus on pluralism, civil discourse, and support for practices that help everyone on campus activate the assets they bring to campus from their remarkably wide array of backgrounds, for the sake of intellectual vitality and personal and community flourishing. **To achieve that elevation, the campus needs an organizational focal point for pluralism work.**

A few key principles should inform the design of that focal point.

First, the broad conception of pluralism laid out above should be at the center of the work, as well as the University's values statement, especially the fifth value.

Second, this focal point should serve faculty, staff, and students, across the whole University. No community should be left out of this work.

Third, this focal point should have faculty leadership, because a significant portion of the necessary work is intellectual and should be fully integrated with the academic mission of the University. The campus would benefit from routine engagement with the intellectual themes involved in the work of inclusion, belonging, and pluralism in ways that connect to the academic mission of the University and its standards of academic excellence. There is need to teach and support instruction in practices of pluralism; this work should be connected to the campus' teaching mission. There is important translational work to do to draw on the University's research enterprise to inform the University's organizational practices. As a "translational" entity, this focal point should facilitate the adaptation of rich scholarly material into tools and resources for use in applied and practical contexts. The importance of faculty leadership in this domain is a point that has now been made in many generations of reports. We hope this recommendation will not be overlooked again.

Fourth, the campus focal point for cultivating practices of pluralism should have a staffing structure that enables integration of academic resources, student affairs resources, and translational work. This principal points in the direction of establishment of this campus focal point inside a School, with a mission to serve the whole University, rather than as an inter-faculty initiative.

Fifth, the campus focal point for cultivating practices of pluralism should be well-connected to and working in partnership with the Office of Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging, other Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging offices on campus, and the Harvard Foundation so that the campus' inclusive excellence framework can evolve in partnership with, and not in competition with, efforts to deepen campus cultures of pluralism. Such connection and partnership should ensure that good work currently being done for specific campus communities continues even as additional work and a broadened mandate

are embraced. Such a partnership would also support developing an approach to issues of inclusion, belonging, and pluralism that can align approaches across staff, student, and faculty cohorts.

Sixth, the campus focal point for cultivating practices of pluralism should be well-connected to and working in partnership with a new Office of Religious, Spiritual, and Ethical Life, to advance interfaith opportunities and experiences, and to integrate engagement with religious identity fully within the work on pluralism. This should be an explicit and clearly communicated part of the mission of the entity.

Our subcommittee believes that such a focal point could be achieved by reimagining the existing Harvard Foundation as the Harvard Foundation for Pluralism, or by establishing a new University-wide Center for Pluralism, in which the Harvard Foundation is incorporated as a program. (A model for this kind of incorporation exists in the incorporation of the DuBois Institute within the Hutchins Center.) We recommend reimagining the Harvard Foundation or incorporating it in a new Center for Pluralism because of the importance of bringing different communities on our campus into a shared framework for pursuing inclusive excellence. The Harvard Foundation has already been through several evolutions in its operations; evolution is possible. On either path (a reimagined Foundation or a new Center incorporating the Foundation as a program), **special focus must be paid to ensure that the expansion does not detract from the services currently offered to undergraduate students and community members who are engaged with the existing institution.** At the same time, the importance of ensuring that the communities currently served by the Foundation are also connected to campus pluralism work brings us back again and again to the idea that a connection here is necessary.

The Committee's Work

Listening Sessions and Discussions

Participants	Learning Materials	Key Takeaways
School staff responsible for orientation	Readings and visit from Eboo Patel of Interfaith America about a pluralism framework; University Values Statement	Orientation leaders were receptive to using a pluralism framework; identified opportunities for bringing it to life in their programs; and communicated a need for further learning and professional development, particularly around how a pluralism framework connects to diversity, equity and inclusion work.
Office of the President	Documents tracing the history of the structure of religious life on campus	The President's Office is currently working on a redesign of structures to support religious life and recognizes the importance of interfaith resources; committee discussion included some dissent focused on the value of secularism.
Center Leaders	Discussion of draft proposal for dialogue series	Dialogue themes were developed for a potential presidentially-sponsored dialogue series, to model civil disagreement on challenging topics.
Arts Leaders	Reflection on University values statement	Arts Leaders collated all upcoming arts events relevant to Israel and Palestine; and are open to exploring expanded collaborations.
NELC Language Leaders	Reflection on challenges that emerge in contexts of Arabic and Hebrew instruction	NELC has added a diversity and civility statement to courses in the department; program leaders would appreciate support in identifying helpful professional development resources for language instructional staff; program leaders also see a need for

		tools to improve their ability to recruit and retain professionalized language instructional staff.
OEDIB and Harvard Foundation Leadership	Discussion of the history of the Harvard Foundation and pros and cons of different models for potentially reimagining the Foundation, or for potentially incorporating within a new center	The Harvard Foundation currently serves students and communities in important ways that should be protected, as part of any reimagining or incorporation within a Center for Pluralism; also best practices can be drawn from current work; reimagining might also bring opportunity to tackle strategic questions that have arisen.
Central student life leaders	Reflection on University Values Statement	Identified a need for student life leaders, EDIB personnel, and Local Designated Resources to have professional development opportunities around the University values.

Overarching Recommendation:

To establish a campus focal point for pluralism work, we recommend reimagining the Harvard Foundation as the Harvard Foundation for Pluralism, or establishing a new University-wide Center for Pluralism, in which the Harvard Foundation is incorporated as a program. (A model for this kind of incorporation exists in the incorporation of the DuBois Institute within the Hutchins Center.) A proliferation of entities in overlapping thematic areas is not ideal for both budgetary reasons and the potential to generate competition where there should be collaboration. For the sake of simplicity, we'll refer to whatever entity emerges based on this recommendation as the Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism. The Reimagined Harvard Foundation/ Center for Pluralism would ground its work in the University Values Statement.

As design of a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism is considered, the three design principles named above are critical for the success of this endeavor: faculty leadership; partnership with OEDIB and other DIB offices on campus; and a robust staffing structure to support cross-functional work.

The goal of this recommendation is to anchor the practices of the University around a commitment to pluralism, and to engage all members of our campus community in exploring, bringing to life, and embracing our University values across a variety of contexts — from orientation and onboarding to interdisciplinary exchanges and language learning, to interfaith experiences, student life, and the arts on campus. Many other entities also work in these areas and the specific value-add of a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism would be to connect the academic enterprise of the University, and campus expertise on issues of inclusion, belonging, and pluralism, to the administrative enterprise that fulfills these functions.

A Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism would need to serve the whole campus community. If the decision is to reimagine the Harvard Foundation, this reimagining might be modeled on recent reorganizations for Phillips Brooks House and the Office for the Arts, where they have been elevated in their reporting structures, restructured with regard to their engagement with faculty leadership, and expanded in their functions, as well as receiving University-level resources for their work. Special focus would need to be paid to ensure that the expansion does not detract from the services currently offered to community members who are engaged with the existing institution. Other campus models also exist to provide precedent for innovation in organizational structure, for instance the Harvard Center for International Development, which is housed in one School but serves the whole University and leads coordination across a set of allied and adjacent organizations. We would recommend taking as a model a School-based entity that serves the whole University campus, rather than an inter-faculty initiative. In general, School-based entities are more quickly

woven into the capillary structure of the University than IFIs; also IFIs generally support faculty research but do not as easily articulate with the teaching and co-curricular mission of the campus.

Finally, a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism should develop and implement programs that reinforce pluralism. For example, the Center/Foundation could support a fellowship program for students; a campus awards program for students who lead in advancing a culture of pluralism on campus; engaging faculty with expertise in pluralism and connected subject areas to develop trainings and professional development opportunities for the campus; mediation resources for conflicts that involve issues of pluralism; and the work of OEDIB and the School-specific DIB offices to cultivate a campus-wide network of expertise on pluralism that all Schools could tap into in a shared way, so that support is available for students from the full range of backgrounds, via expertise sharing across campus.

A Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism offers a valuable opportunity to rethink the qualitative character of academic bureaucracy, a realm too often characterized by alienation and distance between faculty and staff. One of the most profound flaws of the traditional DEI framework — and indeed of much of contemporary university organization — is that it sustains this divide, reinforcing the sense that staff are functionaries rather than integral partners in the academic mission (See Appendix B for further thoughts emerging from subcommittee listening sessions on how the character of academic bureaucracy might be rethought.)

As a partner to OEDIB, a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism could spearhead the Harvard Culture Collaborative, under development by OEDIB, an interdisciplinary, faculty-led network designed to develop new research, learning initiatives, and pathways to advance the University's shared values, particularly focusing on inclusion and belonging. By leveraging faculty expertise, the collaborative will aim to cultivate an inclusive campus culture and develop related curricular and co-curricular programs that align with Harvard's broader strategic diversity agenda. Such a collaborative could:

1. Contribute to the development of orientation programming to integrate pluralism and inclusion.

2. Complement an office of religious life in supporting programming that respects and enhances diversity that relates to the wide range of faith backgrounds on campus.

3. Convene leaders of interdisciplinary centers to create dialogue series on substantively significant and challenging issues.

4. Collaborate with arts leaders on projects that resonate with the mission of pluralism and inclusion.

Achieving the Goal of a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism would require action steps as follows:

GOAL 1: Establish an institutional anchor for practices of pluralism on campus.

Responsible Party	Recommended Action Step
OPP	Invest in a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism on par with investments in OFA, and as a One Harvard entity to serve the whole University, even if administered in the College; seek partnering investments in a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism from all Schools to support a re-establishment of its University-wide mission; establish faculty leadership for the Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism, charge the leadership of the Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism with developing a next generation strategy for anchoring practices of pluralism on campus.

Deans	Support faculty leadership for a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism; Deans of all Schools invest in a revamped, One Harvard model for a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism.
Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism	Under University and/or decanal leadership, and with restored faculty leadership and a faculty advisory committee, a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism to take responsibility for a One Harvard strategy for advancing University values and a culture of pluralism, including providing professional development across campus in University values, a culture of pluralism, and constructive dialogue for staff in OEDIB, CODOS, OFA, HUCA, and the informal cross-campus arts planning group; the faculty committee in religion and board of religious, ethical, and spiritual life; and House Dean teams and staff designated as Local Designated Resources, Orientation Leaders, Student Affairs leaders, or language instructors.

Further Recommendations:

The goal of creating a Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism would work in tandem with five other, **independent goals but no less important** goals:

(1) **Advance the University's Values.** The University has established a strong framework of core values but these are not well-known on campus. They should anchor our efforts to navigate through challenging moments on campus, as well as the gray areas of campus interaction, that don't rise to the level of formal grievance processes.

(2) **Cultivate practices of pluralism anchored in the University's values.** It is not enough to name values to establish a culture of pluralism. Developing practices that bring those values to life is also important. The fifth University value — "taking responsibility for the bonds and bridges that enable all to grow with and learn from one another" — requires innovation in campus understanding of core practices that define our community.

(3) **Invest in strengthening interfaith opportunities on campus and support access to multi-lingualism for all.** The campus has over forty chaplains and an impressive array of ways of engaging with faith, belief, and the lack thereof. The time has come to create a University-wide Office of Religious, Spiritual, and Ethical Life (see below for further detail). A culture of pluralism would activate that diversity in support of increased religious literacy, mutual understanding, and opportunities for interfaith collaboration. Similarly, understanding the value of a pluralistic culture requires access to the cultures of others. This is especially acquired through language learning. We should be strengthening language learning on campus in support of multilingualism as a defining feature of our campus.

(4) **Inspire creativity in engagement with the concept of pluralism.** People participate best in pluralism when they are confident that their own identities are seen and supported. The Office for the Arts may be especially able to uplift and to celebrate the various cultures represented in the Harvard community, and also to create events that reflect, model, and encourage interchange among these heritages and living traditions.

(5) **Model civil disagreement by annually sponsoring Presidential level dialogues on substantive questions.** This goal addresses the common theme in listening sessions for both Task Forces that members of our campus community desired more intellectual engagement with the substantive issues in the crisis at a University-wide level. While recognizing that many Centers in campus have indeed been leading such engagement, there continues to be a need for such engagement

sponsored from the Offices of the President and Provost. Such further engagement should, however, build on the good efforts of many colleagues around campus. The goals of the dialogues would be: (1) to model constructive, respectful dialogue in conditions of pluralism; and (2) to make substantive progress toward improved understanding on themes subject to heated debate. See Appendix A [of this Appendix 2] for sample topics that might by curated for such a series.

These goals could be advanced as follows:

GOAL 2: Advance the University's values.

Responsible Party	Recommended Action Step
OPP	Add existing University Values' statement to University website and Provost's Office list of policies.
Deans	Incorporate the University's Values Statement in School policy documents and core School messaging; work with faculty leadership at Harvard Foundation to develop invitation and incentives for departments to engage in case-based workshops related to the University Values Statement.
Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism	See above, Goal 1.

GOAL 3: Cultivate practices of pluralism anchored in the University's values.

Responsible Party	Recommended Action Step
OPP	Charge existing standing bodies with carrying out two initiatives- — one about advancing the University's values and one about advancing a culture of pluralism, reporting back at the end of each of the coming three years what they have done and what difference it is making in their work; bodies to be charged are the Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism, OEDIB, CODOS, OFA, HUCA, and the informal cross-campus arts planning group; the faculty committee in religion and board of religious, ethical, and spiritual life; and House Deans.
Deans	Deans of all Schools should support staff at all levels in participating in professional development and professional communities of practice around University values, pluralism, and constructive dialogue.
Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism	Coordinate pluralism work across OEDIB, CODOS, OFA, HUCA, and the informal cross-campus arts planning group; the faculty committee in religion and board of religious, ethical, and spiritual life; and House Deans.

GOAL 4: Inspire creativity in engagement with the concept of pluralism.

Responsible Party	Recommended Action Step
OPP	Invest in the Office of the Arts to seed a University-wide culture of creative engagements with the idea of pluralism; seek a partnering investment from every School; charge OFA with leading a University-wide conversation about space needs for arts programming.
Deans	Deans of all Schools invest in the Office of the Arts to seed a University-wide culture of creative engagements with the idea of pluralism and have Schools participate in campus-wide effort to identify improved spaces for the arts.
OFA, HUCA, and informal arts planning group	Connect the campus to the national Presidential Committee on Arts & Humanities, Artists for Understanding — brings together communities of artists from across lines of difference; explore creation of new routes to support student arts programming the relates to pluralism.

GOAL 5: Invest in strengthening multifaith opportunities on campus and support access to multilingualism for all.

Responsible Party	Recommended Action Step
OPP	Create an Office of Religious, Spiritual, and Ethical life to support students in their faith engagements and proactively advance interfaith programming, with this office ideally to be led by someone who also carries an academic appointment, whether ladder or non-ladder, as at our peers (Yale, Stanford, and until recently, Princeton); formalize the rights and responsibilities of chaplains and require adherence to University policies such as NDAB; create a feedback process for the director of the Office of Religious Life and the Chaplains, as well as mechanism for student input into the hire of the above roles; fund an application-based process for student proposals to advance interfaith initiatives. This Office should collaborate effectively with the Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism as well as with the Edmond and Lily Safra Center for Ethics.
Deans	The Dean of FAS and the Dean of Humanities should work with leaders of language instruction programs to identify tools that will improve the ability of program leaders to recruit and retain a highly professionalized corps of language instructors, particularly in language areas where thematic controversies can arise such as Arabic and Hebrew; while campus events post Oct.7th, 2024, brought particular attention to these languages, the challenge of instructing students with differing relations to the societies and cultures connected to the language of instruction can appear across the curriculum, from Japanese and Korean to Ukrainian and Russian, and so on. We also recommend revisiting the reduction of the language requirement to 1 year.
Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism	Partner with the Office of Religious Life to support interfaith engagements, and to ensure that religion, faith, and cultural identity connected to religious communities are fully taken into account in practices of pluralism.

GOAL 6: Model civil disagreement by annually sponsoring Presidential level dialogues on substantive questions, with multiple speakers representing a range of views per event, and a high caliber moderator.

Responsible Party	Recommended Action Step
OPP	Four questions have been proposed for 2024-25; see appendix. Given the passage of time, they would need to be updated prior to embarking on programming, but they provide an indication of the kind of direction intended.
Deans	Support build-out of audience for these events by seeking to avoid counter-programming.
Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism	Annually convene directors of University-wide centers to explore potential themes for Presidential level dialogue series; annually convene directors of orientation at all Schools for intellectual engagement in support of professional development.

Conclusion

The Harvard campus is full of people who appreciate the pluralism of our community and long for that pluralism to be a source of intellectual vitality, rather than conflict. Our subcommittee believes that an explicit effort to anchor the culture of the campus around practices of pluralism will improve the teaching, learning, and working environment for everyone, strengthen the caliber of our debate on campus, and enhance the ability of all members of our community to make a positive difference on the issues they care about on campus and in the world.

Appendices included in the Report from the Joint Subcommittee on Pluralism

APPENDIX A: THE MAJOR QUESTIONS DIALOGUE SERIES — SAMPLE EVENTS

The Reimagined Harvard Foundation for Pluralism would present dialogues over the course of the year. Each event would be organized around a question and would have four participants and a moderator. The four participants would represent a wide spread of opinion in relation to the question at hand. They would be selected for their academic and intellectual excellence.

Each event would be staged in a major campus venue and also livestreamed into other venues on campus. For instance, an event might be staged in Sanders Theater or the Smith Center, and then livestreamed into an auditorium in the Medical School, and vice versa. Some should be physically based on the Harvard Square campus and some in either Longwood or Allston. Events should be scheduled with a view to maximizing participation.

All interdisciplinary centers and student groups pertinent to the themes of the dialogues would be engaged by series organizers to secure co-sponsorships and co-marketing, to support campus-wide crowd-building for the conversations.

A set of sample dialogue themes developed by our subcommittee, in consultation with the leaders of interdisciplinary centers on campus, is as follows:

1. **The Road to 1948:** What was the history that led up to the events of 1948 and what key lessons from that history can help us think about the present? How did European nationalisms, antisemitism, Islamophobia, the general transition from empires to nation-states in the first half of

the 20th century, pan-Arab nationalism, newly established Arab countries, and Israelite/Jewish roots and indigeneity in the Middle East all play a role in that history?

2. **The Road to Oct 7 and Beyond:** Starting from roughly 2000, what is the history of the conflict that led up to the events of Oct 7, the Hamas attack on Israel, the ensuing conflict between Israel and Hamas (and now further parties), and the resulting humanitarian crisis for Palestinians? How does that history help us understand and contextualize the present? Who are the parties to the conflict and why? How is religion being used in this conflict? What can we learn from other cases where religion has been brought into deeply political issues about land and governance, such as Kashmir and Chechnya?

3. **Where do we go from here on campus?**: What does pluralism mean in the context of our University and our education? Can we support one another, across deeply experienced differences and disagreements, as partners in learning? How can we help people connect their personal identities to identification with a shared learning community, a Harvard identity? What can engagement with values offer us as we think about identity and community? What is the value and what are the opportunities of dialogue in our University community? What are the obstacles? And why should we even care?

4. **Antisemitism and Islamophobia in America — and at Harvard:** What are the sources of the surge in antisemitism and rise in Islamophobic incidents in the US over the past decade? How are these phenomena impacting Muslim and Jewish communities? How are these increases affecting college campuses? Can we see any hopeful countertrends or constructive phenomena in this regard? How does the social shunning of Israeli and Zionist students arise and figure in campus life? How are experiences of Palestinian invisibility on campus part of the present situation? What demands of assimilation or self-negation are being made on different communities and individuals, as a price of belonging? How can we instead forge a culture of pluralism?

APPENDIX B: RETHINKING ACADEMIC BUREAUCRACY AS A COLLABORATIVE ENTERPRISE

The creation of the Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism offers a valuable opportunity to re-think the qualitative character of academic bureaucracy, a realm too often characterized by alienation and distance between faculty and staff. One of the most profound flaws of the traditional DEI framework — and indeed of much of contemporary University organization — is that it sustains this divide, reinforcing the sense that staff are functionaries rather than integral partners in the academic mission.

1. A New Model of Administration

A Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism could, for instance, reimagine staff roles. Leading staff members in the Foundation should hold hybrid positions that bridge the academic and administrative worlds, involving not only programmatic leadership but also direct engagement with academic instruction. Such roles would allow staff to participate as co-creators of Harvard's intellectual and institutional culture, modeling the collaboration necessary to bring pluralism to life. Harvard could set a transformative precedent, demonstrating that institutional pluralism begins with the very design of its positions and the relationships they enable. Some examples of the alternative model described here currently exist throughout the FAS, as when individuals hold positions that combine a Senior Lectureship appointment with an administrative appointment (for instance, several Directors of Undergraduate Studies).

2. Faculty and Staff Pluralism Workshops

To address the perennial sense of mission drift among faculty, students, and staff, the Reimagined Harvard Foundation/ Center for Pluralism should emulate Radcliffe's exploratory seminar project, offering a program of workshops designed to align diverse constituencies around the values of pluralism. Faculty and staff clusters, departments, and programs could apply for tailored workshops convened with outside experts to learn, strategize, and experiment with embedding pluralism in their work.

Imagine a retreat on pluralism and the social theory canon for Social Studies, or a seminar on teaching conservatism across cultures for the Government Department. Consider the potential of Gen Ed courses invigorated by guest speakers, curricular planning support, and the kind of intellectual scaffolding that inspires faculty to engage deeply with pluralist themes.

These workshops would provide not just a framework for implementing pluralism but an arena for grappling with its complexities — contextualizing it within the particular missions of various academic and administrative units. Through these efforts, the Foundation can help build intellectual and strategic bridges across the University.

3. A Year-Long Thematic Series for Sustained Intellectual Engagement

Pluralism is not something that can be cultivated in sporadic, one-off events. To deepen the intellectual and cultural engagement of the Harvard community, we recommend not only a year-long thematic series of signature events, but also a further surround of workshops, readings, lectures, and discussions.

This series would aim to move beyond the shallow rhetoric of inclusion and toward the kind of substantive engagement that equips students to think critically and empathetically across profound differences. Over four years, students would ideally participate in one or two such series, attending talks, engaging with readings, and sharing meals with interlocutors. This would be pluralism as lived, not merely invoked. It might be a way of earning course credit.

While a year-long series might narrow attendance in some respects, it would deepen our community's collective capacity to address pressing questions, foster informed debate, and cultivate habits of sustained intellectual inquiry. Dynamic feedback mechanisms would ensure that the themes and speakers reflect the intellectual vitality of the student body itself.

4. Leadership for Crisis Response and Inclusion

The leadership of the Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism must reflect its dual mandate: to serve as a beacon of pluralist values and a steady hand during moments of crisis. This is no small charge. The leadership team must include individuals with the empathy, intellectual dexterity, and moral clarity to address the fractious issues that inevitably arise in a community as diverse as ours.

This leadership will be crucial in fostering trust across constituencies — among students who feel alienated, among faculty who feel skeptical, and among staff who too often feel undervalued. To succeed, the Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism must see crisis response not as a detour from its mission but as central to the work of pluralism.

5. Revitalizing House Diversity Tutors and Local Engagement

The Reimagined Harvard Foundation/Center for Pluralism should look to its own history for inspiration. House diversity tutors once played a vital role in bridging the intellectual and social lives of students, particularly around issues of race and culture. While the needs of today's student body are broader and more complex, the Houses remain an invaluable resource. The Foundation should explore ways to integrate House-based programming into its broader mission, encouraging Houses to serve as microcosms of pluralism.

6. Alain Locke as a Symbol and Intellectual Guide

If the Foundation is to embody Harvard's commitment to pluralism, it must anchor itself in a lineage that is both intellectually rigorous and profoundly humane. Alain Locke, a Harvard alumnus, the first Black Rhodes Scholar, and one of the most incisive theorists of pluralism, offers such a touchstone.

Locke's vision of cultural pluralism — his insistence that diversity enriches the human experience and that cultural exchange can deepen our understanding of ourselves and others — resonates deeply with the mission of this Foundation. His reflections on race, culture, sexuality, and religion remain as urgent today as they were in his time. To center Locke in the Foundation's narrative is not merely to honor the past but to remind ourselves of the intellectual and moral stakes of the work ahead.

The links below provide an entry point into Locke's vision, which should inform both the narrative and programming of the Center:

- [Video on Alain Locke's life and work] (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KCaE_jQAPa0)
- [Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy: Alain Locke] (https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/alain-locke/)

Appendix 3: Listening Session Facilitation Guide and Qualitative Analysis of Listening Session Code Book

This appendix outlines the facilitation guide that was provided to Task Force members in advance of every listening session, and the code book that was developed to analyze the qualitative data garnered from each listening session.

Update to opening language (4/8/24)

Thank you all for joining us for this listening session. Before we get started, we want to outline how we hope to spend the next 60 minutes. We are here to listen. As outlined in our Charge, we want to learn about your experiences of Anti-Arab and/or Anti-Muslim bias at Harvard so that we can inform our work and eventual recommendations. We recognize that many of you may be looking for updates on our progress and information about what we intend to do. Because we are still in our learning phase, we are not in a position to answer those types of questions at this time, but we will provide updates and other helpful information through our Task Force's website an ongoing basis. But, for now, and for this conversation, we ask for your patience and understanding. We are conducting a significant number of listening sessions with faculty, students, and staff across the University, from all of Harvard's Schools, and it will take time for us to manage this portion of our efforts in a methodical and thoughtful way. With that, we would like to begin by opening the conversation up to you by asking [first discussion question]

Opening of session

- Welcome and thank you for taking the time to meet with us.
- I'm _____, a member of the Presidential Task Force on Combating Anti-Muslim and Anti-Arab Bias, which I'll say more about in a moment.
- I'm joined by fellow Task Force member(s): _____.
- We'll introduce the others with us, but first, I want to say a few words of introduction.
- It's no secret that students and other members of the Harvard community have experienced a great deal of anger, pain, and other emotions, particularly after October 7th. But these experiences were happening well before then. Harvard's community life has suffered.
- To help heal the divisions within our community and to help Harvard be a place where everyone is treated with respect, dignity, and equity, President Garber formed two Task Forces.
- Ours is specifically focused on understanding the experiences of Muslim and Arab community members, the anti-Muslim and anti-Arab bias that is manifesting at Harvard, the causes of that, and what steps the University can take to address these problems.
- Our Task Force is committed to presenting recommendations to President Garber on a rolling basis — some may come at the end of our process, but others might be obvious suggestions that we can make right away.
- The purpose of our time together today is to have an open and honest discussion about your experiences on campus. Our goal is two-fold:
    - First, to gain a deeper understanding of how certain identities and groups experience the Harvard culture, policies, and day-to-day interactions within the Harvard community.

> Specifically, to better understand the breadth and depth of discrimination and bias that may be present at Harvard and what forms that discrimination and bias take.
>
> - And second, to collect your thoughtful feedback and ideas on actions the University can take to build a more equitable, respectful, and supportive environment.

- _____ and I want to listen deeply and attentively, so we've asked some people to join us tonight; _____ will be helping with facilitating the conversation and _____ will be helping with taking notes. With their help, we can focus on what you have to say.

- We want this to be a safe, confidential, and respectful space. We ask that there be no recording, and that nobody shares the names of who says what. Our notes won't include anybody's name.

- We'll turn to _____ , but first, any questions at the outset?

Closing of session

- Thank you so much for sharing. I know this wasn't easy. But I want to assure you that what you shared tonight will be very helpful for the Task Force as we think about anti-Muslim and anti-Arab bias on our campus, and how we can address it and make Harvard better.

- Listening to you, some of my key takeaways are _____.

- Thank you again. If there's anything you didn't share tonight and would like to share separately, feel free to email me directly or send an email to the Task Force email account.

Questions

1. Please share specific experiences you' have had at Harvard where, because of your identity, you've felt unwelcome or that you didn't belong. (Please share your own experiences — either something that has happened directly to you or that you witnessed happening to another, not experiences you've heard others have had).

2. When you reflect on the current events on campus, what is a hope you have about Harvard's future and your place in it? What can the University do to help this hope(s) be realized?

3. When you reflect on the current events on campus, what is a concern you have about Harvard's future and your place in it? What can the University do to address or alleviate this concern?

   Alternatives:

   A. When you reflect on the impact of recent campus and global events on yourself, and on peers on campus (or on Muslim community members or Palestinian community members or community members of Arab descent), what is a hope you have about Harvard's future and your place in it? What can the University do to help this hope(s) be realized?

   B. When you reflect on the impact of recent campus and global events on yourself, and on peers on campus (or on Muslim community members or Palestinian community members or community members of Arab descent), what is a concern you have about the University's future and your place in it? What can the University do to address or alleviate this concern?

4. Harvard's 2018 Values Statement refers to certain values that all members of our community need to uphold. You may or may not seen this statement. In either case, it would be helpful to hear from you: what are the values that you think we should have as a University? Has Harvard failed to realize these values? If so, how?

Note: For reference, these are the values listed in the statement: Respect for the rights, differences, and dignity of others; Honesty and integrity in all dealings; Conscientious pursuit of excellence in our work; Accountability for actions and conduct in the community; Responsibility for the bonds and bridges that enable all to grow with and learn from one another.

Parent Code	Subcodes	Definition
1. Institutional response	• Positive • Negative	Describes the response by the Harvard University leadership to issues raised by the Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim community members, and/or their allies as well as response to external events that impact the lives of Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim community members. Responses may be negative perceptions (e.g., dismissive attitudes) or positive examples (e.g., creation of safe spaces).
	• Definition and clarity of terms used in this discourse, specifically with respect to prejudice/discrimin-ation/hate	Discussions specifically about the need to define and clarify key terms related to various forms of bias and discrimination, such as antisemitism, Islamophobia, and other related terms. The origins of terms adopted and why these are adopted are critical as well as how these may influence discussion, education.
2. Perceptions of the Anti-Muslim and Anti-Arab Bias Task Force	• Religious accommodations	Perceptions of the name, role, and expectations of the Task Force on Ant-Muslim and Anti-Arab Bias.
3. Resources	• Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Belonging Committees • Systems and responses for reporting hate, bias, discrimination, and safety issues	Identified resources that are needed in the Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim communities as well as expressed needs by their allies. Additionally, sheds light on the perceived effectiveness of existing resources to keep community members safe, foster a sense of belonging, and ensure diverse voices are heard. For example, the adequacy of systems and responses in light of doxxing.
	• Impact of University Infrastructure	Captures instances where the physical geography, layout, or organizational structure of the University contributes to stratification, segregation, or prevents effective organization and community building. This could include issues related to how campus spaces are allocated, how groups are physically separated, or how institutional structures hinder collaboration or cohesion.

4. Safety, security, and emotional well-being of Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim community members	Impact of Hate, Discrimination, and Bias	Describes **explicit** examples (e.g., racial slurs) of the impact of hate, discrimination, and bias on community members (and their loved ones) as experienced on campus and because of external exposure to hate, discrimination, and bias (implicit and explicit) (e.g., off campus, in the media).
	Fear and Intimida-tion	Captures instances where individuals express fear, anxiety, or intimidation due to repercussions from expressing their views, participating in discussions, or encountering harassment (actual or perceived feelings/implicit).
5. Trauma from displacement, violence, loss of contact and death of family, friends and community	—	Captures the emotional and psychological trauma (and intergenerational trauma) experienced by community members, specifically Palestinian, whose families or communities are directly impacted by violence, such as being in conflict zones or experiencing loss due to conflict. Specially focuses on situations where community members feel unsupported or dismissed by the institution while dealing with ongoing trauma and grief by the continued conflict and occupation.
6. Community dynamics	• Positive • Negative	Positive (alliedship, support) and negative (e.g., isolation, strained relationships, polarization, invisibility) experiences within and between campus communities/peers/colleagues.
7. Education	—	Identified needs to strengthen education efforts on issues pertaining to the Arab region (e.g., politics, history, colonization, culture), Islam.
8. Restriction of expression	• Speech restrictions	Perceptions of restrictions imposed on pro-Palestinian solidarity and freedom of speech on campus.
	• Academic Freedom and Integrity	Tension with respect to academic freedom and integrity felt by faculty, students and staff including inconsistent standards/lines drawn on different issues.
9. Divestment	—	Expressed wish for engagement and open discussion on demand for divestment.
10. Harassment	• Doxxing and Privacy Violations	Focuses on instances where individuals' personal information is exposed or threatened to be exposed without consent.
	• Online and Cyber Harassment	Covers harassment that occurs online, including social media, email, or other digital platforms, often involving hate speech, threats, and targeted attacks.

	• In-Person Harassment and Intimidation	Pertains to physical or verbal harassment that occurs on campus or in person, which may include threats, intimidation, or other forms of direct harassment.
11. Expressed suggestions or recommenda-tions	—	Captures ideas, solutions, or suggestions offered by participants during the sessions. This includes recommendations for policy changes, structural improvements, new initiatives, or other actions that the institution could take to address the concerns raised.

Appendix 4: Analysis Report from the Joint Subcommittee on the Harvard-Wide Task Force Survey

January 5, 2025

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I.   Introduction

At the end of the 2023-24 academic year, Harvard's two presidential taskforces — one aimed at combating anti-Muslim, anti-Arab, and anti-Palestinian bias, the other aimed at combating antisemitism and anti-Israeli bias — jointly organized an opt-in survey of the Harvard community. Between May and September 2024, the online survey was open to students, faculty, and staff across all of Harvard's Schools.

The survey asked questions about respondents' sense of belonging and safety at Harvard and solicited what factors contributed to that sense of belonging and safety. The survey also asked respondents for their recommendations. The survey asked about respondents' identities, such as their religious, racial, and political identities. In this report, we detail the findings from the survey, including both qualitative and quantitative results.

The intent of the survey was to complement the listening sessions conducted by the two Task Forces in the Spring of 2024. It provided a structured way for a wider segment of the Harvard community to express their opinions in an anonymous format. Compared to participating in listening sessions, taking the survey required less time and could be done when convenient for the respondents rather than at a scheduled time, and in a way that allowed for anonymity, which was a serious concern for many respondents given incidents of being targeted and/or doxxed. We should note that the survey was not designed to be representative of the entire Harvard community for two reasons. First, we lacked an appropriate sampling frame for the affected/relevant communities. For instance, we do not know precisely how many Jewish identifying and Muslim identifying individuals are in the Harvard community. Similarly, there may likely be relevant populations from other demographic groups that hold views on the issues related to the Task Forces or may have experienced/observed bias but are not readily verifiable based on their demographics. Second, given the specific intent of the survey as noted above, it was not administered or marketed as a University-wide survey like the 2019 Pulse Survey, for instance, but rather distributed in a variety of channels on behalf of the two Task Forces. This survey exercise is therefore best viewed as a way to incorporate more opinions from those community-members who wanted to anonymously weigh in than listening sessions alone would allow and to also do so in a closed-ended format that enabled presenting quantitative results overall and by various relevant respondent demographic attributes as outlined in the pre-analysis plan. Importantly, the findings provide a window into the social, educational, and professional environment at Harvard. They also point to the need for the continuation and expansion of efforts that gauge the wellbeing of the community and ways to address their concerns.

A core finding is that most respondents do not feel comfortable expressing their political views and believe doing so would jeopardize their academic and professional careers. Most respondents also reported that that the 2023-24 year was worse than the previous year in terms of their sense of well-being and safety.

Faculty and staff feel a greater sense of belonging than students. They are more comfortable expressing their opinions and less likely to have personally experienced stereotyping and discrimination. Students feel particularly stifled in their ability to express themselves.

Muslim respondents are especially likely to say they do not feel a sense of belonging and safety at Harvard. Among students, we find that Jewish respondents and Muslim respondents have much more negative experiences than the two largest religious cohorts in our survey: Christians and Atheists/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation. On nearly every measure, Muslim and Jewish identifiers are less comfortable sharing their views and are more likely to report experience with discrimination than Christians and Atheists/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation. Among racial groups, Middle Eastern or North African (MENA) students offer the most negative experiences of any group.

When asked what factors contributed negatively or positively to their experience, the survey respondents are mostly in consensus that internal factors were more positive than external ones. Notably, external events, external actors, and external media contributed negatively to their experiences, whereas student, faculty, and staff interaction contributed mostly positively. However, student interactions outside academic spaces, especially in online interactions, contributed negatively to the experiences of Jewish and Muslim students. Respondents evaluated University policies and administrative responses less positively.

II.   Survey and Methodology

The survey was fielded starting late May 2024 with most responses coming in the earlier part of the summer. The data from this analysis spans from May 22 to September 15 and comprises of a total of 2,295 submitted responses. The survey was posted on the two Task Forces' websites. Responses were solicited by the taskforces sharing the survey link with community members who had joined the listening sessions hosted by the taskforces during the Spring semester. The link was also shared with various affinity groups.

The pre-analysis plan for this study is provided in the appendix along with the survey instrument. For each of the substantive questions in the survey, we show the overall distribution of responses. We also tabulate responses by subgroups within key demographics, including affiliation (e.g., faculty, staff, student), School, age, national identity, race/ethnicity, religious views, gender, sexuality, and political ideology. The subgroups that show the most meaningful differences are in the main text while the remaining ones are in appendices. In places, we further subdivide the sample, for instance, we look at differences by religious affiliation just among students. We also employ regression analysis to better understand how a variety of background characteristics correspond to the substantive responses. The multivariate analysis is not explicitly described in the pre-analysis plan, but it is a helpful extension to the original plan and assists our understanding of the sample.

In Table 1 below, we show the distribution of respondents by demographic subgroup.

Table 1: Summary Statistics

Summary Statistics	Count 2295	Percent 100.00		Count 2295	Percent 100.00
Affiliation			**Religion**		
Undergraduate	233	10.15	Agnostic/Atheist/No Religious Affiliation	875	38.13
Graduate/Post-Doc/Fellow	495	21.57	Christian	592	25.80
Faculty	489	21.31	Jewish	447	19.48
Staff	898	39.13	Muslim	89	3.88
Other	68	2.96	Other	282	12.29
Prefer not to answer	112	4.88	Prefer not to answer	258	11.24
School			**Gender**		
College/FAS/GSAS	1100	47.93	Female	1084	47.23
HBS	303	13.20	Male	866	37.73
HMS/HSPH/HSDM	349	15.21	Other	117	5.10
Other	641	27.93	Prefer not to answer	259	11.29
Prefer not to answer	164	7.15			
Race			**Sexuality**		
White	1508	65.71	Straight	1464	63.79
Asian	230	10.02	Gay/Lesbian	155	6.75
Black	83	3.62	Other	331	14.42
Hispanic	124	5.40	Prefer not to answer	391	17.04
MENA	125	5.45			
Other	139	6.06			
Prefer not to answer	314	13.68			
Age			**Ideology**		
Under 21	123	5.36	Very liberal	457	19.91
21-25	217	9.46	Liberal	783	34.12
26-30	280	12.20	Slightly liberal	263	11.64
31-40	470	20.48	Moderate	255	11.11
41-50	381	16.60	Conservative	124	5.40
51-60	321	13.99	Other	170	7.41
61+	317	13.81	Prefer not to answer	243	10.59
Prefer not to answer	186	8.10			

Table 1 Note: Some categories do not sum to 100% since some respondents provided multiple responses to the same question. "Other" category for affiliation represents those that selected "Other" as their affiliation in the survey. "Other" category for religion aggregates: Buddhist, Hindu, Taoist, Shintoist, Sikh, Bahai, Jain, followers of folk religions, those who identified as spiritual, and those who chose to self-identify. "Other" category for School aggregates: HDS, HKS, GSD, HGSE, SEAS, HLS, Division of Continuing Education (including the Extension School), Central Administration, and those who simply selected "Other" as their School in the survey. "Other" category for gender aggregates: Gender Non-Conforming, Genderqueer, Nonbinary, Questioning, Transgender, and those who chose to self-identify. Other category for race aggregates: American Indian or Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, and those who chose to self-identify. "Other" category for sexuality aggregates: Bisexual, Queer, Pansexual, Asexual, and those who chose to self-identify. "Other" category for ideology aggregates: Apolitical and those who chose to self-identify.

As we noted above, the survey was intended to provide an avenue for those affected by and/or desiring to express an opinion on matters related to the mandate of the two Task Forces — examining anti-Arab, anti-Israeli, anti-Muslim, anti-Palestinian, anti-Pro-Palestinian bias, and antisemitism as experienced by the Harvard community. Since this population frame is not readily identifiable and the survey was not administered as a University-wide survey, we cannot provide appropriate response rate numbers or say how representative our sample is of this population or of the underlying demographic populations such as race, religion, and political views (regarding the conflict). That said, we can use the 2019 Pulse survey — a University-wide effort at Harvard — as a benchmark Appendix D [of this Appendix 5] shows comparisons with the Pulse survey. As the first table shows, our sample here is 66% White, which is slightly higher than that in the Pulse data (59%). Asian/Asian Americans and Black respondents are underrepresented in our survey, and MENA respondents are slightly overrepresented, compared to Pulse. Respondents to this survey are twice as likely to not list a race (13% vs 6%) compared to Pulse.

By religion, Christian identifiers are effectively equally represented in this survey compared to Pulse (25% vs 26%). Muslim and especially Jewish respondents are somewhat overrepresented relative to the Pulse survey (3.9% vs 1.8% and 19.5% vs 6.8% respectively), as one may expect given the intent of the survey. "No religion" is the largest religious category in both surveys, with 38-39% of respondents identifying this way. Finally, a big difference between Pulse and this survey here is in the degree to which faculty and students are represented. In Pulse, there are 4 ½ times more students than faculty (45.7% vs 10.1%). In the current survey, faculty and students compose similar shares of the sample (21.3% and 26.5% respectively).

In addition to the survey questions that will be analyzed with quantitative methods, some survey questions solicited open-ended responses as a follow-up to the quantitative questions. While these were entirely optional, 81% of respondents provided at least one open-ended response. We analyze the qualitative data by directly reviewing responses from demographic groups that were outliers in their negative experiences as revealed in the quantitative analysis as well as by using machine learning techniques to help synthesize the main themes and salient responses for all respondents. The quotes were selected to reflect the main themes observed while protecting the respondents' identity. We present this qualitative analysis alongside the quantitative findings as it helps provide some more color and context.

III. Main Results

A. Safety, Belonging, and Free Expression

The first section of the online survey asked respondents a battery of ten agree/disagree questions. For each, respondents used a 7-point scale (from strongly disagree to strongly agree). They could also select that they preferred not to answer.

In Figure 1 below, we show responses to five of these ten agree/disagree items that relate to safety and belonging.[68] One in ten respondents (11%) reported they do not feel physically safe on campus. Twice as many reported that they do not feel like they belong or that they do not feel mentally safe on campus. Just over a quarter of respondents reported they do not believe their well-being is supported. Finally, 28% said they do not feel comfortable socializing with people on campus whose political views conflict with their own or go against their sense of identity. Thus, while most respondents reported positive sentiment toward their sense of safety, well-being, and comfort at Harvard, it is not uncommon for community-members to express negative sentiment either.

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[68] We only report non-missing values for each question. Missing responses constitute 0.7-2.2% of all responses.

Figure 1: Safety and Belonging — All Respondents
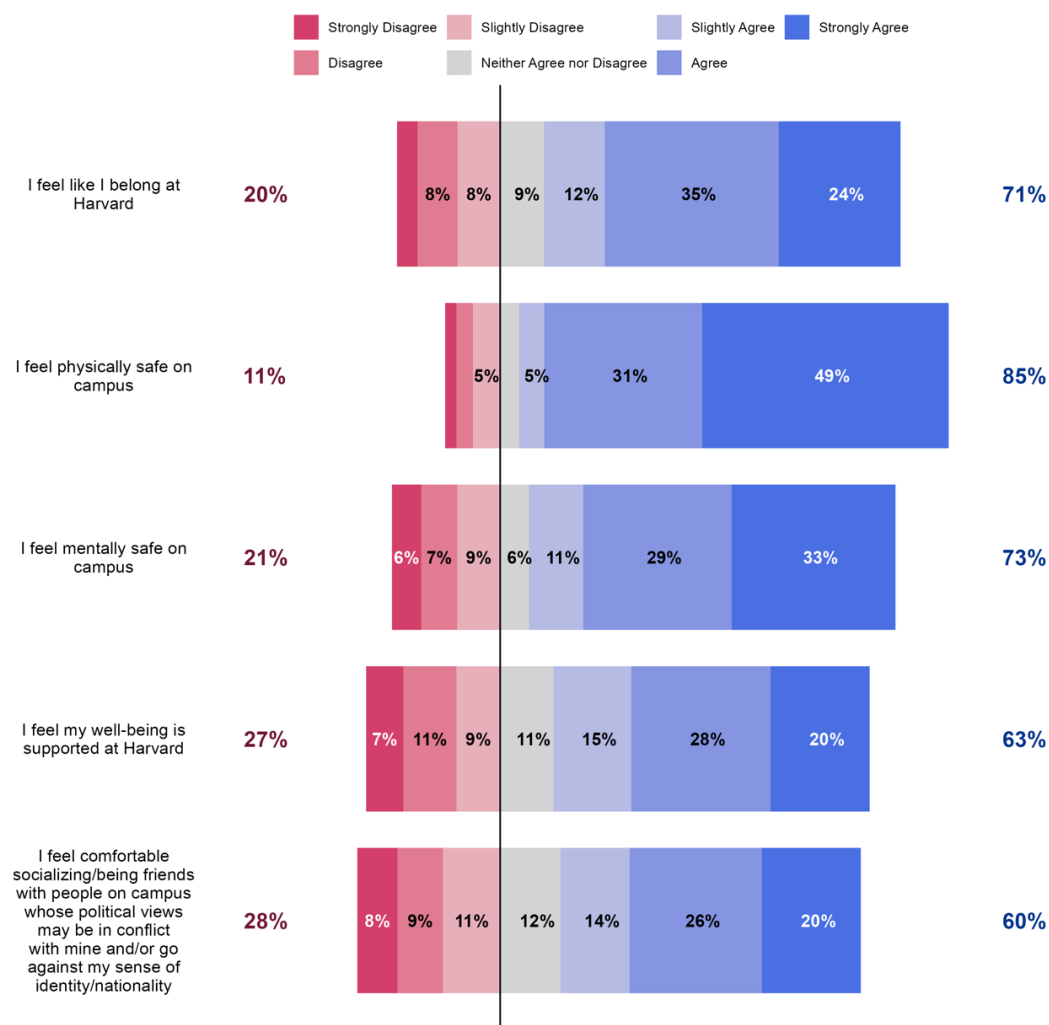
Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

As noted previously, respondents could also provide open-text responses to further elaborate on their quantitative responses. Specifically, we asked them to share recent and/or salient experience(s) — positive and/or negative — that could shed further light and/or nuance on their quantitative responses. Looking at this qualitative data helps further our understanding of the quantitative findings.[69]

Some respondents spoke directly to the low level of physical and mental safety they felt on campus. One respondent (#978, student) explained how "names being posted online so that people will search for those names and choose not to hire those people; faces being put on trucks and the campus doing nothing about it, students having guns pulled on them and having their rooms raided or their belongings thrown out also makes it a much less safe environment mentally and physically." Another respondent (#512, missing affiliation) wrote, "I am not comfortable and do not feel safe expressing my ethnic, religious or political self at Harvard, or even in this survey, for fear of retaliation. This has been the case for many years. The recent events on campus have only solidified this for me." A third (#135, missing affiliation) succinctly wrote, "I

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[69] We provide excerpts directly from the quotations from respondents without changing any of their language. The only exception is that we correct obvious typos and spelling mistakes.

definitely do not feel safe on campus or in remote Harvard environments to express my political opinions and personal beliefs."

A key theme mentioned by respondents was how the response at Harvard to expressing opinions over the past year made Harvard less safe. Several respondents commented on Harvard's response directly — one respondent (#1460, student) wrote, "I have been very harshly punished by Harvard administrators for expressing my political views. These punishments have included sudden eviction from my source of housing and food, sudden termination from my job, the threat of not allowing me to complete the semester, the clear and material threat of calling in police against me, and the withholding of my degree for an entire year after I completed all my graduation credits with high honors… I have never felt more unsafe or unsupported in my life than I have at the hands of Harvard administrators this past year." Another respondent (#793, staff) echoed this sentiment, saying "I have felt unsafe by the way that Harvard has conducted themselves. People have been fired for speaking up for their beliefs and displaced from their homes. It is not right for a university to act this way when people have been peaceful, non-violent, and have not physically harmed anyone their actions."

Respondents also spoke to the lack of comfort and well-being they felt socially on campus. One respondent (#1803, student) noted, "I generally refrain from discussing political/controversial topics with members of the community who I do not know well because I find that conversations often become hostile and campus reputations are easily harmed." Another (#2167, student) wrote, "I do not feel mentally safe on campus. Though I am not Israeli, I have openly expressed sympathy for October 7th survivors and attended events for Holocaust survivors. I have faced many social consequences for not thinking in ways my classmates would deem progressive, which I find unreasonable."

Another frequent theme was a perceived lack of response by the University to outside actors — one respondent (#1091, student) wrote, "The sight of doxxing trucks and planes flying hateful messages like 'Harvard Hates Jews' around Harvard Square deeply disturbed me. Despite their prominent presence, it seemed like the University wasn't taking any action, which left me feeling perplexed and unsafe. The loud and repetitive circling of the planes over the yard heightened my anxiety, especially since I couldn't discern their intentions." Another respondent (#708, staff) described the presence of non-affiliated protestors on their safety — "I feel safe when it comes to Harvard and the people who are involved with the University. However, there are outside actors who will show up at the Science Plaza and pick fights with people for not supporting their cause. These same outside actors (or at least, other outside actors sharing their viewpoints) have attempted to assassinate the character of much more important people than myself on campus." Similarly, a different respondent (#2080, staff) noted that "the administration seems to prioritize external political interests over the well-being of internal community members, and has not done enough to earn trust among the community."

However, a few respondents had somewhat different views regarding safety and felt more comfortable despite the tumultuousness of the past year. One respondent (#1603, staff) said, "I have never felt unsafe on campus, but the camp in the yard made a big mess of trying to just get my own things done. I wish it had made a difference without disrupting everything and making folks angry but ineffective." Another respondent (#413, student) wrote, "Much of the discourse that would make someone feel unsafe or unable to express their opinions happens online. In my experience, people are often less combative in person and the negative climate is more digital." A third respondent (#532, staff) even stressed that the safety on Harvard's campus should encourage challenging conversations — "I think most of the students, faculty, and staff are perfectly capable of engaging in difficult dialogue… Harvard's campus is very likely the safest place on the planet for Palestinian, Israeli, Jewish, and Muslim students, faculty, and staff to engage in productive dialogue. Make it so, keep leaning into this. Wasted potential that can genuinely save lives is hard to witness."

The remaining five agree/disagree items in this first battery of survey questions largely reflect on how comfortable or uncomfortable it is to express one's views on campus. Is it easy to express oneself? Do respondents feel they suffer professionally or academically, or face outright discrimination, when they express their views? Figure 2 shows overall results.[70]

This second graphic shows that discomfort with expressing one's views is quite common, and much more common than feeling physically or mentally unsafe. About half of all respondents reported that they are uncomfortable expressing their opinions and uncomfortable expressing their political opinions. Most respondents (59%) believe there are academic and professional penalties for expressing one's political views at Harvard. Nearly a third (29%) said that they have personally experienced discrimination, stereotyping, or biases because of their views on current events. When asked about expressing religious beliefs and disclosing ethnic identifications, a third of all respondents do not agree that they can do so comfortably.

It is worth emphasizing that readers of this report may disagree about the normative interpretation of the results in these first two graphics. For instance, some may believe that at a university, faculty, staff, and students should all feel at liberty to express their views on political and other matters. If they do not feel comfortable doing so, this means the University is failing to create a culture of dialogue and debate. Others may believe, particularly for staff and faculty, that it is inappropriate to express one's personal views in the workplace. Thus, some readers may believe it would be better for more respondents to feel uncomfortable expressing their views.

As another example of normative disagreement, consider the item about being comfortable socializing with those on campus who have conflicting viewpoints. Some may believe that everyone should feel comfortable socializing with those who disagree with them politically; others may believe that community-members should not need to feel comfortable doing so.

Thus, while on some of these survey items, we think there would be widespread agreement about the interpretation of results (e.g., students feeling physically unsafe on campus is a problem), on other items, the interpretation of results would be more contested.

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[70] We only report non-missing values for each question. Missing responses constitute 0.6-2.6% of all responses.

Figure 2: Freedom of Expression — All Respondents
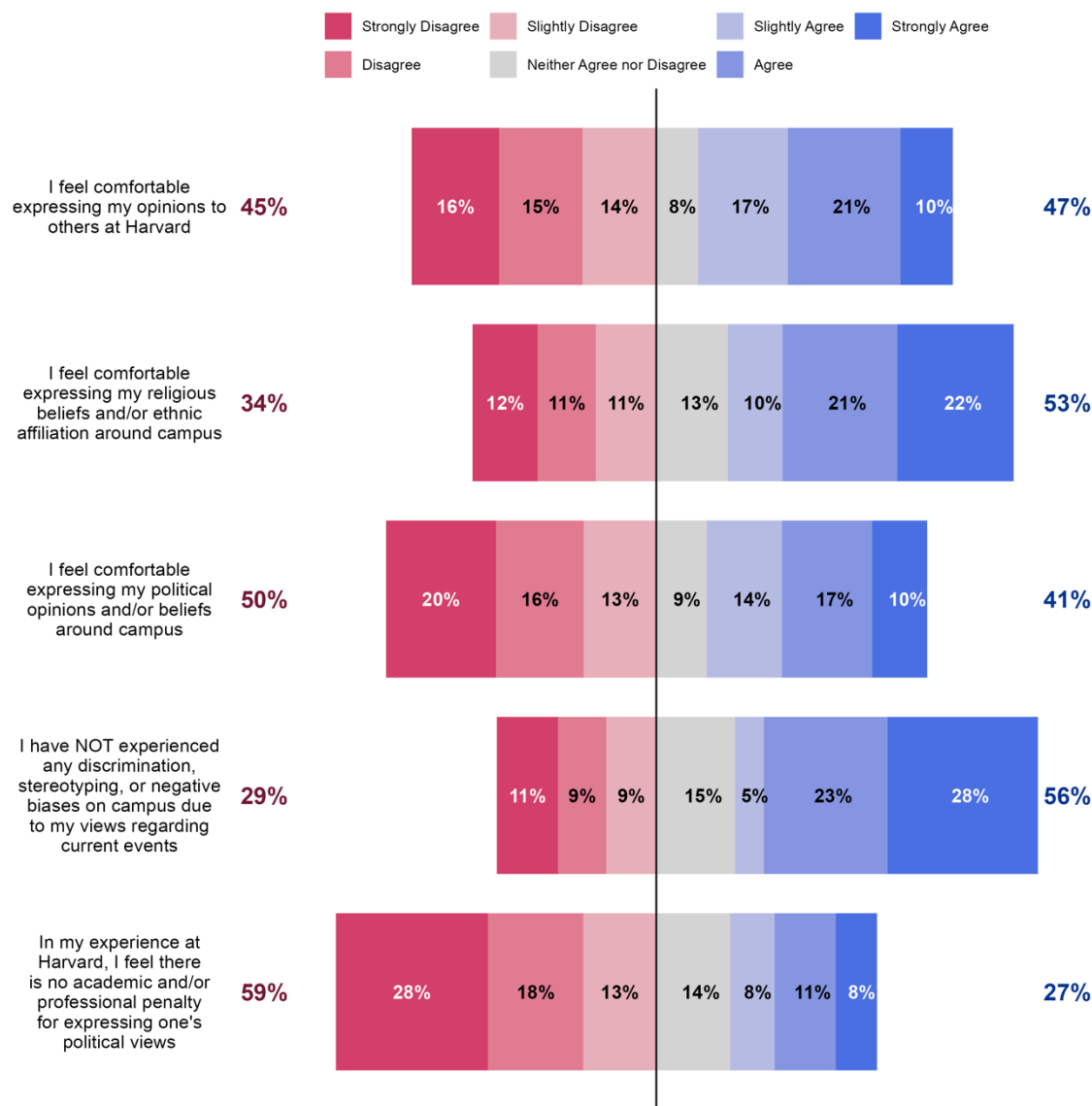
Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

Consistent with the quantitative results, respondents in the open-ended questions described a divisive environment on campus when it comes to political discourse. While respondents praised the diversity of Harvard, those who had been in classrooms or other settings that brought up political divisions described a level of discomfort. This sense of discomfort comes in many varieties. For instance, as one respondent (#932, staff) said, "I would never feel comfortable voicing my opinion on the current war in Gaza." The respondent does not share his/her identity with others. Another respondent (#894, staff) feels at home at Harvard because his/her views align with the majority view, but laments how unwelcome the environment is to those who are politically conservative. Harvard students, the respondent says, "are militantly passionate about certain approved views and they will make anyone who disagrees with the party line regret it."

Respondents feel they could be stigmatized or punished for expressing views outside of the mainstream views on campus. One respondent (#856, student) explained that "the climate at Harvard is such that unless you profess orthodox woke views, you're ostracized. Admin has contributed to this culture, as have some faculty. I've basically given up on the whole situation and don't particularly care at this point." Another (#346, staff) wrote, "While, in theory, there is freedom of speech, academic freedom, ethnic and religious diversity on and around Harvard, in reality those that are vocal or at either far end of a spectrum are often rejected. Given the dynamic and often volatile climate on campus, I find myself not wanting to discuss anything at all outside of just work related topics."

Respondents also reflect on institutional practices that lead to a strained environment for political expression. Several respondents believe that pressure from donors and external actors has led Harvard to punish students when they express dissenting viewpoints, with one respondent (#474, student) saying, "It was really astonishing to see the administration react so poorly towards student protesters simply to save face and protect donor interests. The administration simply could have let the students walk at their graduation without any consequence, but chose retributive action that ultimately eroded the faltering trust between the student body and the administrators." A staff member respondent (#132, staff) stated, "Freedom of expression has been severely restricted by OUTSIDE actors. Alumni and donors should NEVER have a say in Harvard life. Harvard is a FACULTY LED university, not donor led, not alumni led, not student led."

Respondents also reflected on the pressure coming from inside the University, with one (#297, fellow) saying "There is a peculiar sensitivity to expressing divergent views in light of recent events whether international or US-related. Often certain perspectives shared are constrained or deterred if they don't appear to align with University opinions. This breeds discontentment and likely civil disobedience." They also spoke about the effect that disciplinary action against protestors had on the overall sense of freedom of expression on campus — one respondent (#1067, staff) commented, "I have seen that Harvard administration has decided to pursue disciplinary action against staff and students who have peacefully protested, and in some cases simply been in the vicinity of the peaceful protesting. This makes me feel extremely uncomfortable with the administration's position on protecting free speech and the ability to express one's political views without fear of retaliation. It is Harvard's actions as an institution that is concerning to me, not the actions of students or staff with differing viewpoints."

Many respondents raised concerns about the unclear enforcement of free speech rules and confusion over the policies. One respondent (#2035, staff) said, "Harvard is consistently contradicting itself in advocating for free speech and social justice yet at the same time clamping down on those who speak out." Another (#2074, student) stated, "Honestly, I am agnostic to the School's policy on student speech but the sheer inconsistency of it astounds and disgusts me." A third respondent (#1054, staff) specifically explained their personal concerns: "As a staff member, I do not feel safe in expressing political opinions, particularly when they go against what many students and faculty seem to believe. While faculty and students seem to have license to express theirs, the University is lacking clear guidance, or at least clearly communicated guidance, on what staff members can and cannot say, as well as whether such speech is as supported as it is for faculty and students." A fourth (#907, student) similarly wrote, "I self censor these views because I do not believe to have any protection from the University on freedom of expression."

Another major theme arising from the open-ended responses is the sense that individuals no longer want to discuss views on campus. Some respondents explained they do so to avoid offending others even unintentionally or to prevent others from misinterpreting them. One respondent (#1008, post-doc) said "I simply don't express much of my political views, or if I do, I am careful to use tempered inclusive language," and another (#231, staff) similarly remarked, "The shifting definitions of terms that used to describe specific behaviors, actions, or identities has occurred under such ideological/partisan strain that it

is difficult to know how to express oneself, even when trying to comfort or empathize." A third respondent (#796, staff) though, explained how their views have shifted away from discussing sensitive topics in the workplace as a broader rule: "The events of this past year have made me question whether it is appropriate at all to be discussing my personal political views at work. As a person in a leadership role, I would not want my expression of views to inhibit more junior people or make them feel that they are not welcome or unable to advance because my views are different than theirs. Conversations with friends at work are different when they are during a break, but during working hours I sometimes wonder if we should all just be more mindful about when and how we express our views so others do not feel excluded."

A different group of respondents emphasized the importance of continuing to have difficult conversations openly on campus. "The penalties can be academic, professional, or social. Yet, I really want to push myself and others to have thicker skin, and better faith. It's impossible to stay comfortable, impossible to avoid 'harm.' Our freedom (of speech) should be exercised, not minimized," wrote one respondent (#217, staff). A second respondent (#2072, student) similarly commented, "While I find many conservative views antithetical to my own views, I think part of studying at a university is having your own views challenged. If we can't accept those with differing views at a place where diversity is encouraged, how can we expect society to do the same. I find that the University prides itself on diversity of thought, religion, sexuality, etc. — and that's a good thing, I love that about Harvard — but at least at the graduate level, I do not think enough emphasis is placed on accepting people with conservative views or at least welcoming them even if we disagree with their political values."

Finally, some respondents spoke positively about the status of free speech at Harvard and the administration's policies. One respondent (#1536, staff) wrote, "I feel the University has done a good job overall at trying to accommodate a very diverse set of opinions and feelings while honoring our values and the right to free speech." Another (#1409, staff) similarly commented, "In my relations with Harvard colleagues, I prefer to acknowledge differences, and despite our differences, focus on the good we can do together in fulfilling Harvard's noblest values, and when we have true consensus, act. I welcome the new Institutional Voice policy."

After answering this battery of ten agree/disagree questions, the survey asked respondents, "Compared to this time last year, how has your sense of safety, belonging, and/or ability to interact positively with the community on the Harvard campus changed?" Recall that respondents took this survey in the spring or summer of 2024, and so they were being asked to reflect on how they felt after the 2023-24 school year compared to after the 2022-2023 school year. They could say they felt the same or that things had become much worse, worse, better, or much better than the prior year. The data (see appendix B) shows — perhaps unsurprisingly given the circumstances of the 2023-24 school year — that there was a significant worsening with 61% reporting worsening situation (25% say much worse and 36% say worse). Thirty-six percent reported the situation was the same as a year before, and 3% said the situation was improved.

B. Contributing Factors

The survey asked respondents to reflect on the factors that contributed positively or negatively to their experience on campus. What factors made them feel "a sense of safety, belonging, and/or ability to interact with the community"? And what factors made things worse? Based on what the taskforces had heard from the community in the open-ended listening sessions, we provided a pre-defined set of factors while allowing respondents to suggest additional factors (12.9% did). Since a given factor may contribute both positively and negatively, we allowed for both options: respondents could check that a factor contributed positively and/or negatively or that it did not have a substantial impact. Moreover, for each factor we allowed respondents to provide open-text details that we also include below.

Figure 3 below considers each factor in turn and presents the percentage of individuals who report this factor as positive and/or negative.[71] Overall, the findings make clear that interactions with faculty, students, and staff were seen as generally positive, whereas factors associated with media, external actors, and University policies were seen as generally negative. Recall that a large fraction of respondents to this survey are faculty and staff, and so their perceptions of interactions might differ than we restrict the sample just to students, as we do later on in this report.

Figure 3: Contributing Factors — All Respondents

Exact wording for each factor shown below:

Students, academic: In-person interactions with Harvard students in academic settings (e.g. classroom, lab, etc.)
Students, non-academic: In-person interactions with Harvard students in non-academic settings (e.g. extracurricular activity, event, or social gathering)
Students, online: Online interactions with Harvard students
Faculty: In-person or online interactions with Harvard faculty
University administrators/staff: In-person or online interactions with Harvard administration/staff
On campus media: On campus media coverage (print/social)
Policies: Harvard University and School policies
External actors: External actors' presence/influence on campus life and climate
Non-affiliates: In-person or online interactions with individuals not affiliated with Harvard
Off campus media: Off campus media coverage (print/social)
Global situation/events: Global situation/events
Other factor: Other factor

We now examine each potential factor in turn:

(1) In-person interactions with Harvard students in academic settings (e.g. classroom, lab, etc.)

41.6% rated a positive factor; 6.5% rated a negative factor.

In open-ended explanations, responses with positive reflections praised students for their thoughtfulness, intellect, and their desire to have open and honest discussions, even on controversial topics. One respondent (#2150, faculty) noted they "had a fantastic class, multi-cultural, from all parts of the world, different religions, and views. Classroom experience was still fantastic." Respondents felt that they benefit from a sense of community on campus centered around a desire to learn together, with one respondent (#1141, student) noting "In-person interactions with students is the heart of the on-campus connection. These interactions provide a sense of belonging and creative interaction that are essential to higher

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[71] The omitted category for each factor consists of those that answered "not substantial/no opinion" for each factor or did not answer the questions. 0.4% of respondents did not answer the questions.

education." Most students, respondents said, understand that difficult political and social issues are complex and nuanced.

Respondents with negative evaluations found students to be easily offended when confronted with opinions they disagree with. One respondent (#1320, faculty) summarized this as "Students do not give others grace for differing opinions, and easily dismiss others in the course of class discussions. If someone misspeaks and then tries to course-correct, there is no forgiveness." Interactions with students in classes, some respondents noted, tend to be superficial and not lead to durable friendships and relationships. Some students are seen as struggling when discussing sensitive issues. Some respondents also have experienced directly either discrimination, bias, or teasing based on attributes such as their race or their political views.

(2) In-person interactions with Harvard students in non-academic settings (e.g. extracurricular activity, event, or social gathering)

41.2% rated a positive factor; 9.9% rated a negative factor.

Respondents expressed genuine excitement for the opportunity to learn from students from a diversity of backgrounds. Students are interested in what others think. One respondent (#324, staff) called students "thoughtful, curious, and wise." Another respondent explained that outside academic settings, students are not always discussing current events; they bond over shared interests like sports and entertainment.

Respondents who feel that student interactions in non-academic settings have been negative pointed to several contributing factors. One is that some students do not seem interested in exploring difficult issues with nuance, but rather want to be provocative or dominate conversations with their views. Another is that there is special difficulty in talking about sensitive issues such as race and gender without fear of retribution, with one respondent (#269, staff) saying they had "very intense social conversations in which it was made clear that if you didn't agree, you would be verbally attacked and criticized behind your back." A third is that students largely do not want to have deep conversations about issues.

(3) Online interactions with Harvard students

21.8% rated a positive factor; 14.1% rated a negative factor.

Respondents who found online interactions with students to be positive mostly articulated similar themes to those about in-person interactions. Namely, they find students online to be open, empathetic, thoughtful, and inquisitive. Respondents also reflected on the benefits of diversity of perspectives in online interactions. Much online interaction is not political at all. As one respondent (#152, faculty) said, their "online interactions with Harvard students have been very similar to this year as in prior years" adding that "political discussions basically never arise for me — we are scientists and stay focused on that."

Those with negative evaluations pointed to the intolerance they witness online. One respondent (#1075, student) suggested an increase among students in "racism, Islamophobia, and colonial mentalities." Another (#1111, NA) noted that they "hate that Sidechat and other University socials exist because they perpetuate radical views, student conflict, etc." A third respondent (#998, faculty) found online student behavior to be lacking nuance: "I have been very disappointed by the level of vitriol, ignorance, and binary thinking in these posts."

(4) In-person or online interactions with Harvard faculty

44.1% rated a positive factor; 13.6% rated a negative factor.

Respondents with positive insights about their interactions with Harvard faculty pointed to the supportive, thoughtful environments created by faculty, with one respondent (#278, faculty) noting "I saw colleagues engaging current events in unprecedented ways, reading deeply and broadly and wanting to discuss academic works on the topic". Most respondents feel energized by the professionalism and research-orientation of faculty, but typically avoid politics-related conversation, with one respondent (#152, faculty)

explaining: "Interactions have been very similar to in prior years (which is to say, positive), but it's important to note that political topics rarely (if ever) arise."

On the negative side, respondents find that discussions with faculty members are superficial because there is a general avoidance of sensitive subjects. Respondents also find that interactions can be difficult due to underlying power dynamics between faculty and students or because of a lack of diversity among faculty with respect to race and gender. One respondent (#1712, faculty) succinctly said, "They have power to decide my future. I am very careful how I present myself".

(5) In-person or online interactions with Harvard administration/staff

41.0% rated a positive factor; 21.1% rated a negative factor.

Respondents with positive interactions with administration and staff describe staff as helpful, collegial, and effective. One respondent praised technology, maintenance, and library staff. Another respondent (#395, staff) specifically praised staff for helping the University work through conflicts in a constructive way — "My interactions with administration and staff have all focused on finding a way through these problems and protecting students".

Respondents with negative interactions did not think staff and administration performed well in dealing with campus conflicts. Multiple respondents felt that staff-members approach difficult issues with increasingly inflexible, top-down methods, with one (#1788, student) explaining "Top-down policies around discipline, and restrictions on what they can say through public emails, made it difficult to have any good interactions".

(6) On campus media coverage (print/social)

16.0% rated a positive factor; 39.2% rated a negative factor.

Respondents with positive experiences with on-campus media praised campus publications for platforming a more diverse set of perspectives than off-campus publications. Respondents found on-campus media to be entertaining, informative, and leading to dialogue. One respondent (#277, faculty) noted "I found opinion pieces on both sides, some agreeable, some disagreeable; this is as it should be."

Those with negative experiences find that the on-campus publications, like mainstream publications, prioritize negative stories and casting blame, presenting a skewed view of Harvard. One respondent (#1520, staff) explained "I felt a lot of the media coverage was negative and did not provide for a full picture of what was happening across the University." Respondents find this approach is not constructive and does not help build a sense of community.

(7) Harvard University and School policies

17.5% rated a positive factor; 47.8% rated a negative factor.

Respondents with positive reviews of Harvard polices reported that policies succeed in being inclusive, thoughtful, and balanced. As one respondent (#853, staff) said, "I felt like policies tried to balance different views as best as possible."

Respondents with negative reviews had a wide variety of themes. One theme is that policies are made reactively rather than proactively, which undermines the goal of the University having a principled approach to campus issues. One respondent (#979, staff) explained this as follows: "The School policies have not felt clear and have seemed to change with the times rather than policies intended for the best academic honest approach". Another theme is that policies have failed to get the balance right between free expression and creating an inclusive environment. A third theme is that rules are vague, and enforcement of rules is inconsistent, and so students do not have a clear sense of what behaviors will be punished. Finally, respondents believe that University policies are politically biased. To some respondents,

the political bias disfavors pro-Palestinian voices. To others, the political bias disfavors conservative voices on issues such as race (e.g., diversity statements) and gender (e.g., use of pronouns).

(8) External actors' presence/influence on campus life and climate

4.7% rated a positive factor; 63.6% rated a negative factor.

Respondents who had positive reports about external actors pointed to several themes. Due to Harvard's standing, it is inevitable that outsiders will take interest in what happens on campus. One respondent (#1487, student) argued that this was good, explaining that "External actors, including speakers and commentators, help connect the campus to the real world and larger community in which we will serve." Outside actors can also be helpful in pointing out problems on campus. One respondent mentioned that outside actors helped to call out antisemitism on campus.

Respondents who had negative reports about outside actors point to the undue influence of certain actors, such as donors, on the University administration, which comes at the expense of the administration listening to on-campus stakeholders. Other respondents felt that outside interests have goals (such as advocating for a political position) that are at odds with the goals of the University (such as research and learning) — one respondent (#34, student) noted "I have gotten the sense that external actors often operate solely with their own interests in mind and without respect for our mission as academics."

(9) In-person or online interactions with individuals not affiliated with Harvard

9.5% rated a positive factor; 34.9% rated a negative factor.

Those who describe positive interactions with individuals not associated with Harvard reported a general satisfaction with discussions with friends. Some specifically felt they benefited from talking about some of the University-related conflicts with friends not affiliated with Harvard, with one respondent (#1983, faculty) explaining "I have found outsiders I talk to open, respectful and interested in learning more. While people have had, not infrequently, strong views on Harvard and how it has presented in the public forum over the last year; no one has given me trouble but instead they have been interested to hear what my experience and thoughts are". Another respondent (#1957, faculty) found that interactions with those outside Harvard helped pushed Harvard toward prioritizing "diversity of thought."

Respondents with negative interactions with individuals outside of Harvard point to the spillover between campus conflicts and those not affiliated with Harvard. Respondents received negative feedback about Harvard from outsiders, which affected their ability to do their work. They saw negative messaging about Harvard on social media. One respondent (#1731, staff) felt a lower sense of morale due to the tarnished reputation of Harvard in their community: "My community has been largely negative about the institution and so that has been tough to my sense of pride in my work."

(10) Off campus media coverage (print/social)

4.8% rated a positive factor; 66.0% rated a negative factor.

Respondents who pointed to positive attributes of media coverage expressed that most news about Harvard is positive and draws attention to work being done on campus. When it comes to media coverage of campus conflicts, some respondents felt that the outside coverage shined light on real problems on campus, such as a lack of viewpoint diversity. Finally, one respondent (#859, faculty) said outside media coverage was "good and useful to see how the events at Harvard compare with events at other universities."

Respondents who felt that off-campus media coverage was negative said that the stories reported about Harvard were negative, conflict-driven, biased, sensationalist, and not fully truthful. One respondent (#386, NA) explained "News and social media coverage has been highly skewed and, due to the nature of these medias, help worsen tensions. Headlines are simplistic, social media posts are short and snappy, neither provide nuanced coverage nor do they encourage nuanced and thoughtful engagement."

(11) Global situation/ events

4.0% rated a positive factor; 72.6% rated a negative factor.

Respondents who viewed global events as having a positive effect on them fell into two camps. Some respondents felt hopeful about the prospects of change in the world, a sense of connection to the world outside Harvard, and, as one respondent (#1248, fellow) put it, a feeling of "solidarity in the actions of others around the world." Another camp identified world events as catalyzing introspection and change on campus. As one respondent (#1722, faculty) put it, "Global events have provoked thoughts for everyone in terms of the role and appropriate behavior for both institutions and individuals."

Those who viewed global events negatively tie events, namely the war in Israel and Gaza, to campus conflicts. The war and the reactions to the war have been both polarizing on campus and constant topic of discourse. Some found the discourse around the war to be uncivil and lacking in nuance. Others viewed global events negatively not because of the effects on campus but rather because the "suffering and brutality in Israel and Palestine" (respondent #1747, staff) affected them emotionally. One respondent (#331, student) wrote they felt "overwhelmed and powerless in the face of enormous injustice."

(12) Other factors:

3.5% rated a positive factor; 37.8% rated a negative factor.

The positive additional factors primarily surfaced themes that were already reviewed above. Respondents felt positive about an environment conducive to open inquiry and a setting in which students can develop as people and express themselves. On the negative side, respondents emphasized the mood on campus is not good, with community members feeling isolated, feeling required to conform to viewpoints, and feeling that they have witnessed hateful behavior on campus.

IV. Heterogeneity by Affiliation, Religion, and Race

We now revisit the analysis in the previous section but focus on whether and how this varies across different demographic groups. We focus this section on dimensions where we find the most meaningful differences by subgroup, particularly as they relate to campus issues brought on by the events in the Middle East. We report on the other demographic groups (age, gender, nationality, political ideology, School, and sexual orientation), in the appendix. We do encourage readers to look at analyses of other subgroups, where there are meaningful differences as well. For instance, a common theme in some open-ended comments relates to a lack of ideological diversity and conservatives feeling stifled. Figure A4d shows meaningful differences between liberals and conservatives in their ability to express themselves.

We should caution that while comparisons within a demographic category — say between students and faculty — are interesting, they need to be interpreted carefully. As is standard in survey work, interpreting these differences as arising due to differential biases experienced by these groups assumes that the groups themselves did not differentially select to participate in the survey based on their experiences of bias. For example, if we find that student respondents report worse outcomes than faculty respondents, to ensure that this result would hold for the average student compared to the average faculty requires that a student with a given level of bias experienced is as likely to participate in the survey as a faculty member with a comparable bias experienced. While plausible, without being able to test for this explicitly, we need to be cautious in interpretating the results. As an additional reminder, when a finding references a respondent's affiliation, that finding only encompasses those who chose to respond to this survey and also chose to identify their religion, ethnicity, or other demographic characteristics in the survey.

A. Heterogeneity by Harvard Affiliation

The results below present our previous findings separately by the Harvard affiliation of the respondent. The general result here is that student respondents (undergraduate students and graduates/fellows) tend to report more negative responses as compared to faculty and staff respondents (note: for the sake of brevity we will not always add the word "respondents" after each demographic category).

SAFETY, BELONGING, COMFORT, AND FREE EXPRESSION

For all measures reflecting on a sense of belonging, undergraduate and graduate students report worse outcomes. For the sake of completeness, we report results also for respondents who chose not to report their Harvard affiliation. These also tend to report worse outcomes, perhaps unsurprising, since their unwillingness to report their status may itself reflect their sense of belonging and well-being.

One in five (19%) undergraduate students report feeling physically unsafe on campus, and even for graduate students this number is quite high at 17%. Close to 40% of undergraduate and graduate students do not feel their well-being is supported at Harvard or that they are comfortable socializing with others on campus who have differing views.

Figure 4: Safety and Belonging by Affiliation — All Respondents

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.
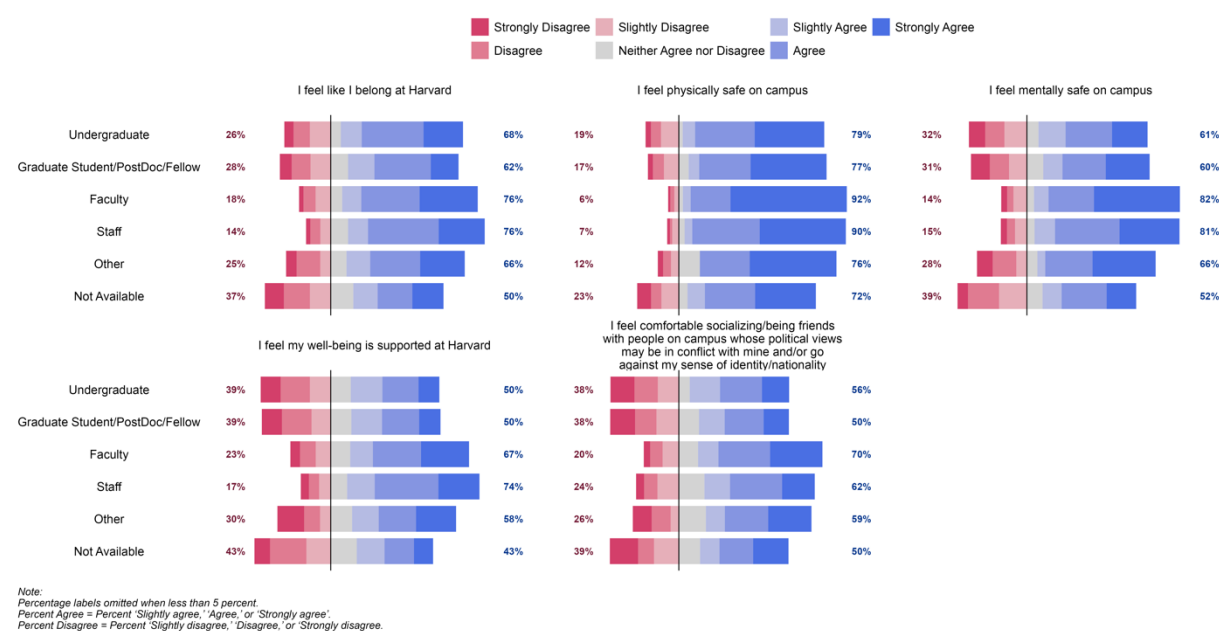
Recall from the previous section that results related to free expression contained more negative evaluations than the ones regarding safety and belonging. Here, too, undergraduate and graduate students/fellows report more negative evaluations than others at Harvard. For instance, 72% of our undergraduate students and 70% of graduate students and fellows said that there is an academic and professional penalty for expressing their political views. The majority of faculty agree with this as well (53%).

Interestingly, the one area where the difference between students and faculty/staff is less stark is comfort around expressing one's religious beliefs and ethnic identity. On this item, undergraduate student and faculty are similarly uncomfortable (31% and 32%) while graduate students and fellows are the most uncomfortable (41%).

Figure 5: Freedom of Expression by Affiliation — All Respondents
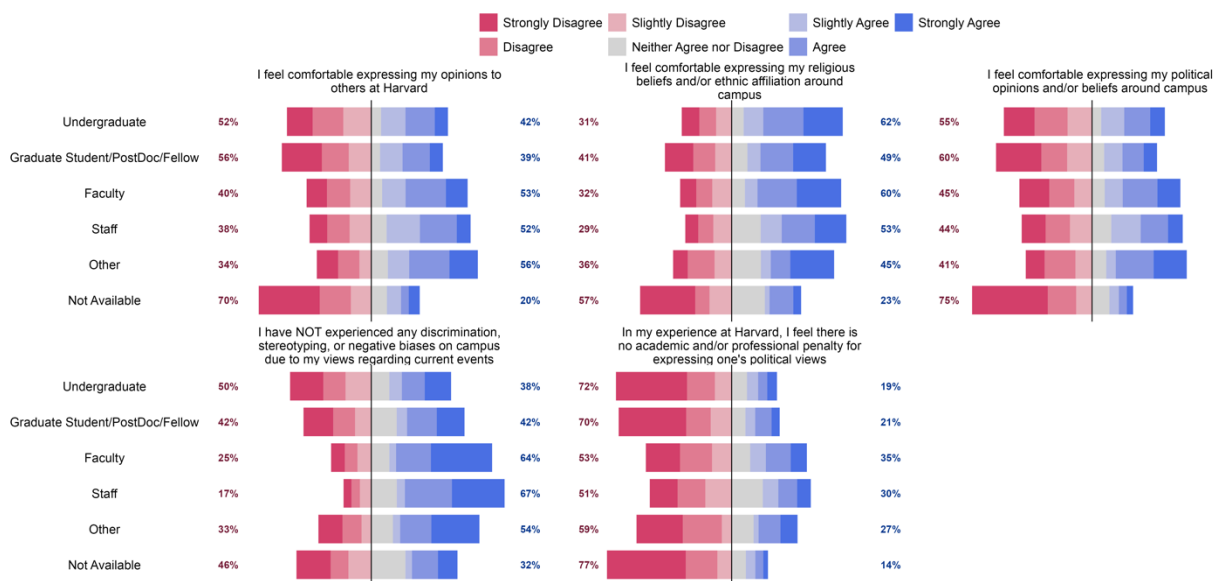
Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.'

In examining the qualitative data, students talk about a range of issues. One student noted, "I have repeatedly felt physically unsafe on campus." (#649, student). Another student worries that "Having seen how Harvard has sanctioned or threatened student protestors, I no longer feel like the University has our safety at heart, nor that it does its utmost to defend academic freedom" (#876, student).

And while not everyone has expressed discrimination, students note the difficult situations others face because of their identity. As one student comments "I have not personally experienced discrimination of this sort because I fall into the majority view at my School — anti-genocide, anti-Hamas, anti-Netanyahu. I am not Jewish or Muslim, nor have I been active in the protests. However, I have had conversations with groups of my peers about taking a more active role. These conversations always acknowledge the real risks of doing so. We don't consider these to be safety risks; instead, we see how students like those at Columbia have been treated, and how our University president was forced out, and we recognize the possibility of social (and professional) censor that could derail our careers". (#487, student)

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

The general pattern we had noted earlier was that for most factors internal to Harvard (except campus media and Harvard policies), more respondents reported them as positive. On the other hand, factors external to Harvard were widely seen as negative. As seen in the figures below, this pattern generally holds for the different Harvard affiliates. However, there are some nuances that we highlight below, again showcasing the more negative experiences for students. Students tend to report more negative and somewhat less positive roles of internal factors compared to faculty and staff. The starkest example of this is perhaps online interactions with students, which undergraduate students rate as more negative than positive (43% say it is negative while 14% say it is positive) and graduate students noting them somewhat similarly positive and negative (23% say it is negative while 19% say it is positive). In contrast to internal factors, we find less heterogeneity across Harvard affiliates with regards to factors external to Havard — all find them more negative than positive.

Figure 6: Contributing Factors by Affiliation — All Respondents

% of Respondents Mentioning Factor as Substantially Positive or Substantially Negative
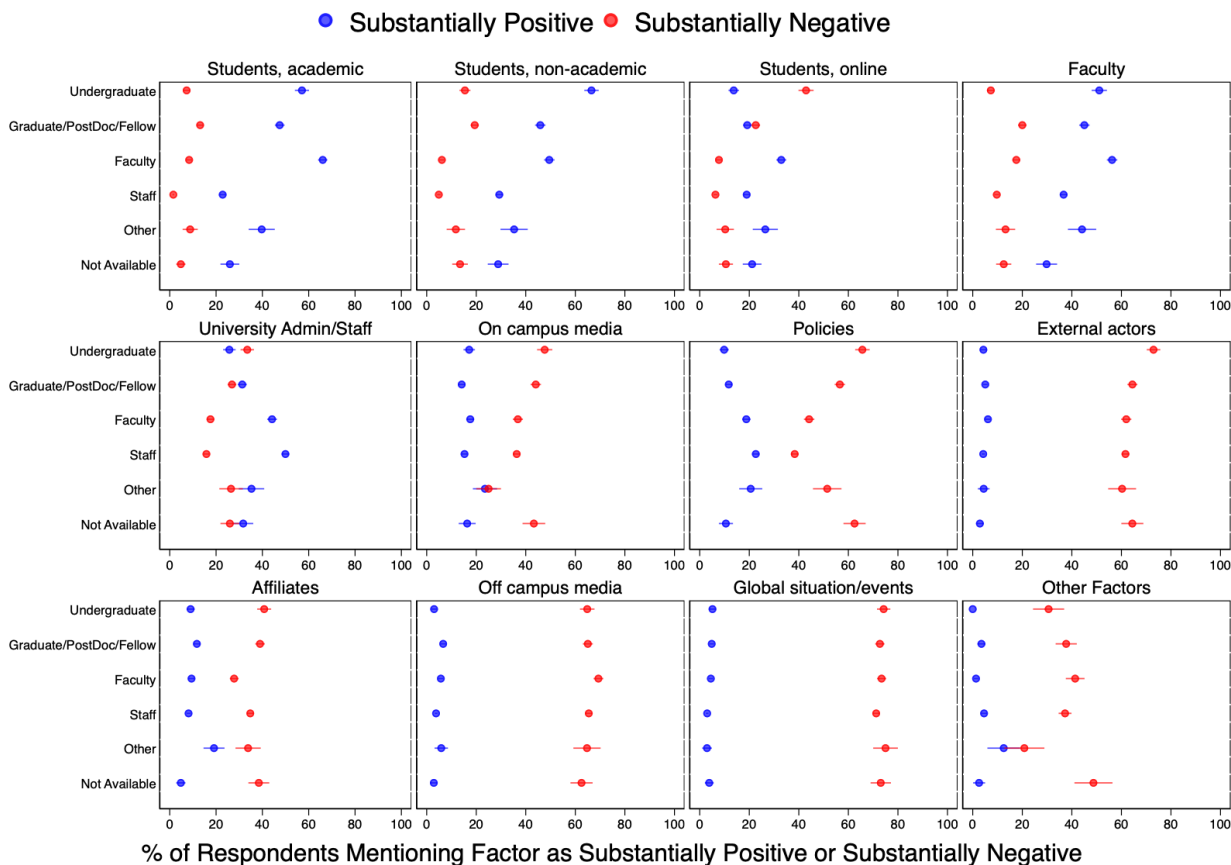
Students generally talk positively about their interactions with other students. One notes that "Working with other students is half the reason why I am here. This contributes to my sense of belonging" (#744, student). Another says that "engaging with other students in academic settings has made me feel like I can agree to disagree more, and I like learning why people think the way they do in an academic context" (#1426, student).

Students are also grateful that they have been supported by classmates. One noted that "I have had people ask me how I am doing in class and offer assistance in terms of study groups" (#965, student). Yet another respondent noted that "speaking with friends often proved to be the most fruitful way to discuss difficult themes and events." (#474, student)

But there is also a sense that students may be choosing carefully who to interact with. One student noted that "(I) was able to surround myself with people who have similar interests and do things that distracted from the political atmosphere on campus (or allowed me to talk about it in a safe space)" (#348, student).

But there are examples of negative student interactions, with one student noting that other students can be "Incredibly unfriendly and unwelcoming" and that there is a "lack of accountability in students being aggressive or offensive" (#845, student). Yet another student observes that they have had "very positive interactions with open minded people on campus, but interactions with other students has felt unproductive, and some students have acted provocatively, making me feel uncomfortable engaging in a peaceful protest. These students have had a hateful agenda and been uninterested in dialogue or common ground, just stoking anger and further disengagement across lines." (#1165, student)

The University's' policies received negative feedback from students, but for different sets of reasons. One student questioned: "Why were the protests allowed when they were in CLEAR violation of campus

policies?" (#2048, student) Another remarked that "Banning protests is a ridiculous policy. Inventing rules and secretively imposing academic sanctions to those who break them is unjust. The University has worked overtime trying to chill free speech." (#1871, student). Another student worried that "the University seemed to selectively enforce its policies, and it often generated more controversy than it was worth." (#934, student)

Even more negative is the students' views of external actors. One noted that "Outside agitators absolutely influence campus vibes and security" (#2154, student) and another that "outside media and alumni made Harvard too concerned about its reputation rather than its students" (#1412, student). Student respondents were quite attentive to external actors engaging in "doxxing." A student noted: "The doxxing trucks were an awful addition to the school campus this year, and did much harm to the student community, especially Muslim students. IT discouraged free speech and punished specific people for their political opinions. Furthermore, Harvard's inaction towards this harassment only exacerbated the situation and demonstrated Harvard's lack of care for its brown students." (#474, student) Another (#844, student) said that "I have seen many people attempt to photograph or record students, and it makes me feel less safe walking on campus, especially on the main campus."

Students noted that external individuals and media attention has been especially harmful. One student observed that "The amount of random protesters who come onto the school to yell at passerby students makes me feel uncomfortable when I'm walking to class" (#1070, student) Another wrote that it has been "incredibly stressful to have prominent figures constantly weighing in on Harvard and adding tension to difficult times on campus." (#1086, student) These concerns are well summarized by a student who remarks that "Politicians, journalists, donors, etc., all writing or talking about how terrible and violent the community at Harvard has become. This has been extremely divisive, both directly for the community, and in the way it has brought further negative media attention to us." (180, student)

B. Heterogeneity by Religion

We now examine whether there are differences in experiences across individuals' self-declared religious identities. We combine some categories for ease of presentation. There is a nontrivial fraction of individuals who did not declare their religious identity and we separately report outcomes for them as well. The general result across all these questions is Muslims tend to report the worst outcomes, followed by Jews as well as those who chose not to report their religious affiliation.

SAFETY, BELONGING, COMFORT, AND FREE EXPRESSION

As seen in the figure below across all measures of safety and belonging we see Muslim community members report the most negative outcomes followed by Jewish community members. A common pattern seems to be Muslim respondents are four times as likely, and Jewish respondents twice as likely, to report negative sentiment compared to Christians and Atheists/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation. The starkest comparison perhaps is physically safety where 47% of Muslim respondents report they are not physically safe on campus and 15% of Jewish respondents also feel physically unsafe relative to 6% for Christians and Atheists/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation. The item with the highest rate of negative evaluations is the one asking if respondents feel comfortable socializing on campus with people with conflicting political views: 61% of Muslim respondents, 36% of Jewish respondents, 27% of Atheist/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation respondents, and 18% of Christian respondents said they are not comfortable doing so.

Figure 7: Safety and Belonging by Religion — All Respondents

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.
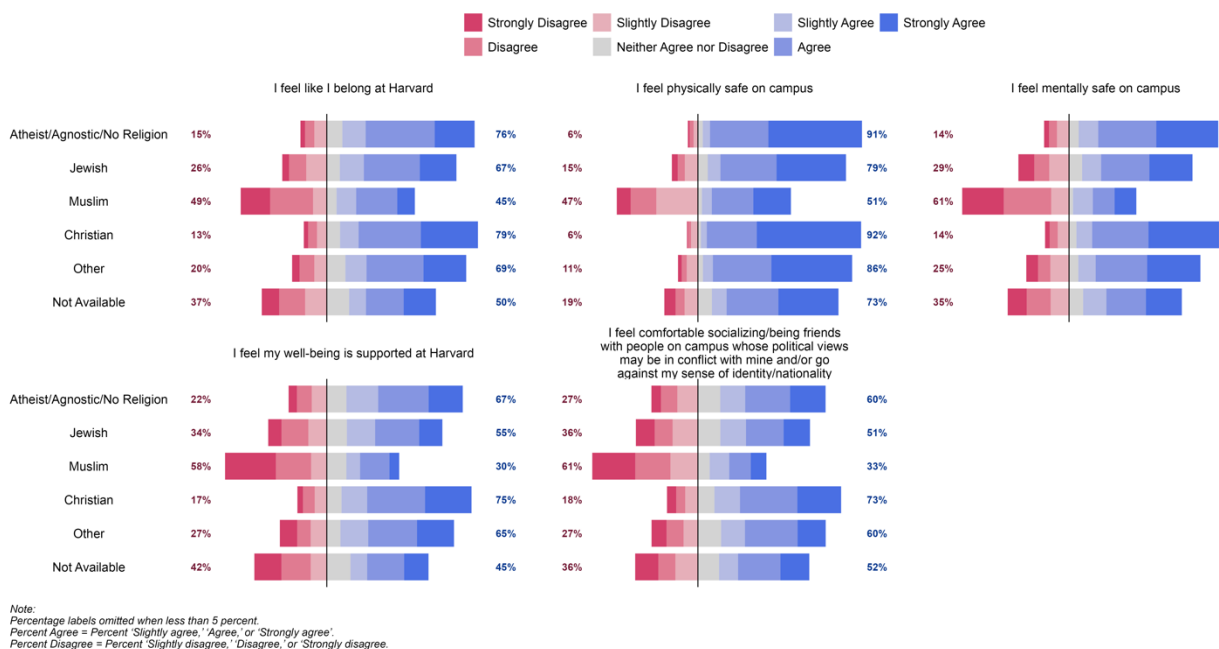
Given our previous results that students tend to report worse outcomes, we felt it was instructive to show the religious heterogeneity for students (undergraduate student and graduates/fellows) only to see if the patterns change. Among student respondents, Muslims have the most negative evaluations followed by Jews though the ratios are somewhat less stark. Jewish students are roughly twice as likely as Christian students to report negative evaluations, while Muslim students are around 3 times more likely to do so as Christian students.

Figure 8: Safety and Belonging by Religion — Only Students

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

Muslim and Jewish respondents offered many details about their sense of safety and belonging on campus. Beginning with Muslim respondents, several commented about the discrimination they face even though they take no political positions. Respondents encountered hostility if they present as Muslim, wear a hijab, or have a Muslim surname. One wrote (#89, student), "My peers who have lost their jobs simply for being in the leadership of Muslim faith organizations have been left out to dry once they had their offers revoked. Most of them never signed anything or participated in any activism." Another (#649, student) wrote, "Between October and December at the peak of the tension, I took Ubers at night to go from campus to home and would not use public transportation or walk at night alone for fear of my safety due to my Arab-looking and Muslim identity." Another (#1486, student): "As a Muslim woman who wears hijab, I have faced violent verbal and mental abuse across campus. I have been spat on, yelled at, and harassed in multiple places on campus."

For Muslim respondents who expressed solidarity with Palestinians, they found it was difficult to figure out how to express their political views without being accused of antisemitism. As one respondent (#38, staff) put it, "I avoid bringing up support for Palestine with anyone I don't know well as I'm worried about being labeled anti-Semitic. I fear this would negatively impact my career/promotion opportunities." Another (#162, student): "I often self-censor in fear that my opinion be misinterpreted or misunderstood and that I would be labeled anti-semitic." Another (#505, student): "My hesitancy to speak up about my political beliefs lies in the fact that I feel as if being pro-Palestinian is automatically viewed as being anti-semitic. For example, wearing a kefiyyeh, an indicator of Palestinian solidarity, may be considered antisemitic simply because of its affiliation with the pro-Palestinian cause. As a result, I do not and never plan to wear a kefiyyeh on campus. The ambiguity between what is considered antisemitic and what is considered rightfully pro-Palestine is what frustrates me most of all." Another (#1003, staff): "I don't wear the kiffeyeh because I feel like I will be targeted. I already wear a hijab and have faced verbal abuse just because of that before. The definition of `anti-semitism' has been stretched beyond belief (to people who simply want a ceasefire) and that is detrimental to Jewish people who are actually facing anti-semitism."

Finally, some respondents felt that the chasm between sides in this conflict were too deep to allow for civic discourse. As one student (#901, student) wrote, "Why would I ever feel a sense of belonging here? I would rather be dead in Gaza than feel comfortable conversing with the people who defend a genocide that has murdered 10 of my family friends."

Muslim respondents noted multiple forms of racism they experience. One (#1863, student) said "There are, of course, the everyday instances of racism—a professor questioning my English (my native language!) in a way they would never question that of a White student, a lecturer playing an unprompted guessing game as to my family's country of origin, a student dismissively attributing my opinion to my religion in a seminar, an administrator telling us to be "grateful" when we challenged the bestowal of a University award upon an apologist for genocide, a fellowship interviewer indicating that my interests were too informed by my Muslimness and asking me what I would study if I weren't Muslim, an administrator calling the henna design from my culture ugly, my research constantly being mischaracterized by my department and beyond because work on Arabs and Muslims can't possibly be considered "theory," a Crimson reporter incorrectly reporting on an event I held and thus landing it (with my name and photo) on a right-wing website, my first-year adviser (who was also a senior administrator) recurringly confusing me with another female Muslim student three years my senior. Examples like these are endless."

Several Muslim respondents recognize antisemitism is real but is not zero sum with Islamophobia. As one wrote (#1210, student), "While I acknowledge Antisemitism is indeed an issue, this attitude should not project into believing that Islamophobia is lesser of an issue."

Among Jewish respondents, several themes emerged in the open-ended responses. The first is that a number of Jewish students felt targeted based on their Jewish identity. As one wrote (#361, student): "I've never

experienced antisemitism as profound and pervasive as it has been at Harvard. I left campus before the end of the semester to move back home due to the detrimental effects on my productivity and well-being. I've been stalked across Harvard Yard by students whose faces were completely covered by keffiyehs, I've been screamed at while attending outdoor, on campus events held by Harvard Chabad, and have encountered more swastikas and classic antisemitic canards than I did growing up in the Bible Belt." Another (#1251, fellow): "I hesitate to wear any visible symbols of my Jewish faith or to express support for Israel, due to potential negative reactions, or being perceived as wanting to inflame tensions." Another (#997, student): "I was in a class and had said that I spoke Hebrew. Right afterwards, someone pretended to stretch in order to punch me in the face. Although the professor saw it, she said nothing to the student. I also do not feel comfortable expressing my views even in the field that I study for fear that I will not receive funding or good letters of recommendation. I do not feel physically or intellectually safe at Harvard."

Jewish respondents reported that they pay social penalties for expressing support for Israel. As one said (#286, student): "As a Jewish student, I have been told that certain people (particularly the ones in the encampments) hate me for being pro-Israel. I have lost friendships because of it as well." Another (#118, student): "When I walk around campus, I do not fear for my physical safety. But I feel socially isolated. At times, I tried to have conversations with students whom I knew had different views, but this often did not go well. Even though I have not engaged in any counter-protests (or said anything publicly about the conflict), the students at the encampment refused to speak to me because, as one said, "I'm a Palestinian-hating Zionist." Maybe it was the fact that I wear a kippah that led them to believe that?" Another (#1273, staff): "I cannot express my opinions (two state solution and peace) as I know I would face backlash professionally and socially. It is almost like Jews have to pass a purity test to be 'a good jew' in order to be accepted." Another (#82, student): "I have felt totally alienated and alone on campus- anyone who was friendly to me before October 7th has gone to at best, ignoring me, or at worst saying awful comments to me about how `no Israeli is a civilian including babies who will grow up to be in the IDF' and that they want to scare all Zionists away from Harvard." Another (#1224, student): "The 'cancel' culture rules this campus. If you are not progressive, you should know that expressing your opinion == someone will cancel you and some doors will be closed for you, etc."

On measures of free expression (Figure 9), we see Muslim community members report the most disagreement with the items followed by Jewish community members. A common pattern seems to be Jewish members are twice as likely to disagree with the survey items compared to Christians and Atheists/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation, while Muslim members are one-and-a-half more likely to report negative outcomes than Jewish members. Almost all (92%) of Muslim respondents, 61% of Jewish, 55% of Atheist/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation, and 51% of Christian respondents say there is an academic or professional penalty for expressing political views. Another stark comparison is experiencing discrimination based on one's views: 71% of Muslim respondents report they experienced discrimination, bias, or negative stereotyping along with 40% of Jewish respondents and 21% of Christians and Atheists/Agnostic/No Religious Affiliation respondents.

Figure 9: Freedom of Expression by Religion — All Respondents

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree'.
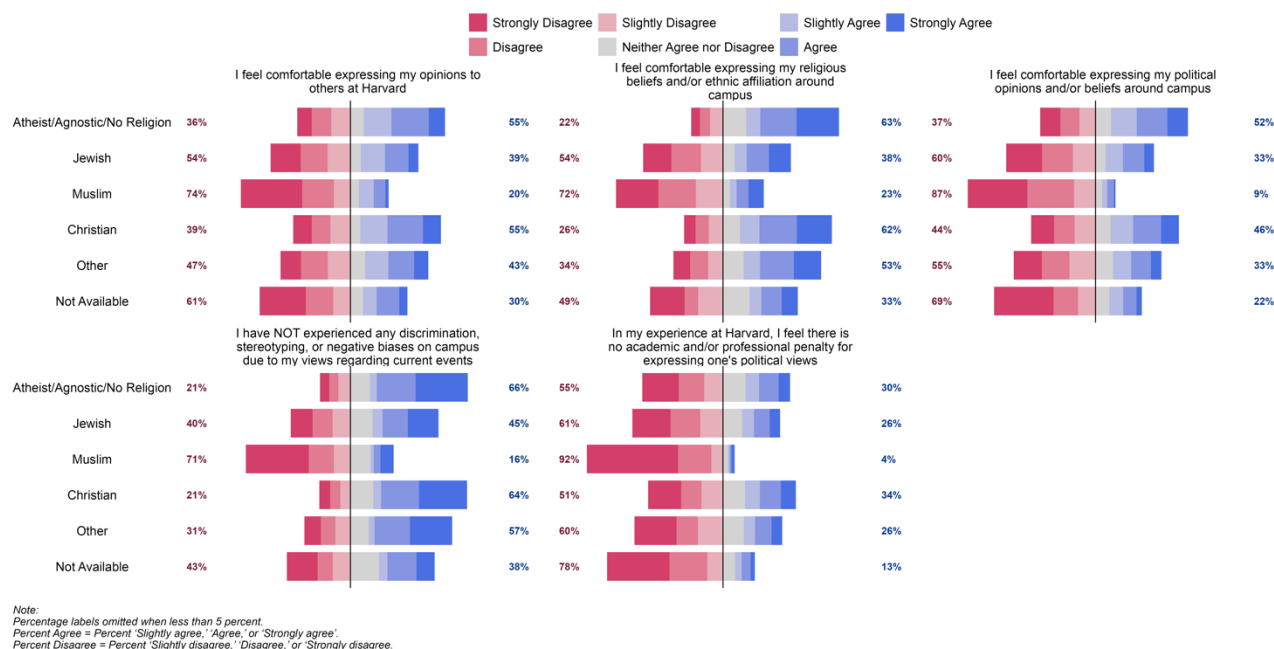
As before, we also show the above results restricted to students and see the same patterns as previously — the ordering remains the same though the ratio of differences is reduced. For example, around two-thirds of students regardless of religious affiliation perceive academic and professional penalties from expressing their political views, though here too Muslim students are more likely to offer negative evaluations (96% negative).

Figure 10: Freedom of Expression by Religion — Only Students
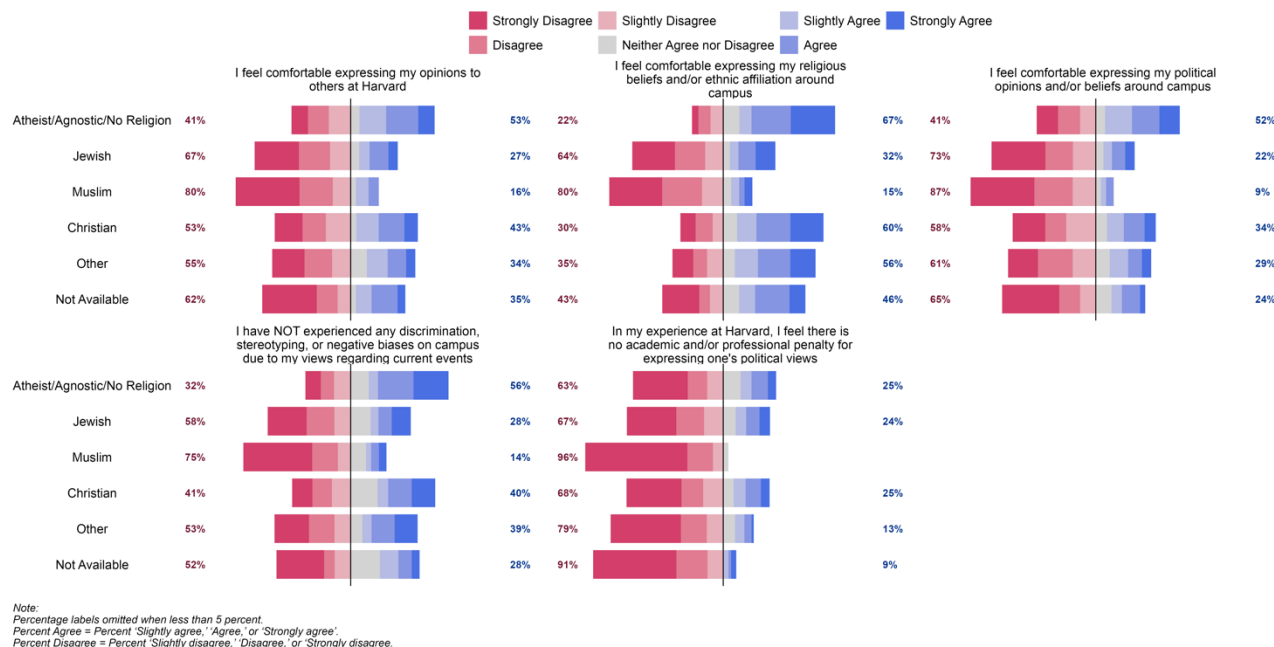
Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree'.

Muslim respondents also reported they paid penalties for expressing support for Palestinians. One respondent said that a potential donor for a research project decided not to support the research after learning that the respondent signed a letter supportive of a ceasefire. Another wrote (#121, staff), "I have felt that my professional relationship with the leader of my organization at Harvard has deteriorated after she sensed my support for Palestinian freedom. For example, this leader started leaving me off emails and invites for teams that I have long been a part of."

Respondents who expressed support for the Palestinian cause felt harassed. For instance, one wrote (#412, student), "I myself have heard slurs and insults such as `terrorist', `baby-killer', `towelhead', and `anti-semite' … because of my decision to wear a keffiyeh and show my solidarity with a people experiencing the worst crime known to humanity." One respondent (#302, faculty) wrote about how they were surveilled after being publicly supportive of Palestinians: "My boss has told me my colleagues are complaining to him that my social media posts are offensive. This is all because I am posting about Palestine. HR has found my posts compliant but it hasn't stopped them from surveilling me. My boss has refused to tell me what exactly was offensive or offered to facilitate a conversation with those who have been offended."

Muslim respondents perceived double standards in how the University responded to events on campus. As one wrote (#89, student), "If there were anti-Semitic trucks driving around campus and planes flying over with anti-Semitic slogans, I cannot help but believe Harvard would have done more to stop it." Another student (#314, student): "An antisemitic cartoon gets a University wide email from a president but doxxing, physical violence and a list of other crimes does not." Another student (#1966, student): "I have never before felt more disappointed and embarrassed to be a Harvard student. I find it appalling that Harvard can show empathy to other groups of oppressed people but does not extend that same responsibility to Palestinians."

Several Jewish students felt uncomfortable around the pro-Palestine protests. As one explained (#861, student), "For almost eight months Jews living in the Yard have been yelled at, or around them, things like 'globalize intifada'. I experienced the second intifada in Israel, in which suicide bombers kept blowing up in civilians centers, busses, coffee shops, night clubs — murdering over a thousand children, elderly, just people. Having that chanted daily without any repercussion, recourse, or help from the University has been a complete failure of the University to protect one of its smallest minority groups."

A common refrain from Jewish respondents was that there was a lack of nuance on campus, and Jewish students had difficulty taking a middle position on the conflict. One wrote (#383, student), "The abject canceling, dehumanization, and unwillingness to even engage with anyone who even slightly questions small aspects of the groupthink mentality has unfortunately characterized my final year at Harvard." Another (#570, student): "I am in my first year of grad school and I am afraid to meet new people (including both students and faculty) because they may very well think I am a monster for being a Jew and a Zionist (I believe that the State of Israel has a right to exist and is the homeland of the Jewish people. I also believe there should be a Palestinian state)." Another (#1650, faculty): "I think that the polarization has eliminated discussion of moderate liberal views on many issues — e.g., despite a two-state solution being the only viable path, it is hard to bring up in the current climate."

A number of Jewish respondents are supportive of Palestinian rights, anti-Zionist, and/or advocates of a ceasefire in the region. These respondents felt uncomfortable and upset as well. As one said (#46, faculty), "As a Jewish faculty member without the protections of tenure, I am afraid of publicly expressing my support for a ceasefire or Palestinian human rights. I was afraid to be even seen walking near the encampment lest someone doxx me and try to get me fired." Another (#1014, student): "As an anti-Zionist, pro-Palestinian Jewish student at Harvard, I have been targeted and harassed by Harvard students and faculty for my political views. At the same time, my Jewish identity is totally ignored by the Zionist individuals telling me I am `pro-Hamas.' If my Jewish identity is addressed, I have been told I am

antisemitic, not a real Jew, or a `kapo.'" Another (#486, student): "I am a Jewish student who holds pro-Palestinian and anti-Zionist views. I do not feel unsafe at all as a Jewish student at Harvard, but I do feel unsafe publicly demonstrating those political beliefs at Harvard although I think that my being Jewish makes me more comfortable voicing those beliefs than if I wasn't. However, I think that there is still a considerable effort to target Jews who stand up for Palestine, and I think Harvard should take steps such as recognizing Harvard Jews for Peace to protect us."

When asked if the 2023-24 school year was worse than prior years, Muslim and Jewish respondents had many reflections about the Israel/Hamas war and its effects on campus.

A student (#61, student) wrote, "Muslim students were almost constantly subjected to both internal and external persecution regardless of whether or not they had actually said anything about the conflict, and administration never provided support the way it has shown support for Jewish students." Muslim respondents specifically mentioned doxxing (i.e., publicizing names and faces of individual student activists and leaders) as a source of their negative feelings on the year.

Jewish respondents perceive a double-standard against them as well. As one student (#2136, student) wrote, "I lost faith that my classmates would treat me and my beliefs and opinions with respect. I felt isolated and threatened by chants that protesters claimed were made with good intent. However, while we broadly condemn microaggressions not for their intention but for their impact, we seem to not care at all about the impact of the chants that echo around campus."

Jewish respondents largely said the year was worse than prior because they feel unwelcome. As one wrote (#95, student), "The barrage of antisemitic hate speech and protests outside of Harvard regulations (e.g. encampment) is nonstop and unrelenting. I feel completely unwelcome and out of place at Harvard now." Another wrote (#361, student), "Literally have been stalked across Harvard Yard by protestors while walking my dog, had "Heil Hitler" yelled at me twice while waiting for the M2, lost most of my non-Jewish friends and acquaintances on campus after posting about antisemitism I've been experiencing (nothing about Israel or politics). I've never felt less safe on a campus than I did this past year at Harvard."

Jewish respondents who were supportive of pro-Palestine protests also voiced dismay about being vilified for their views and the "consequences for standing up against genocide."

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

When examining factors that are contributing to the community's experiences, we tend to see similar patterns across the different religious groups as we saw previously. The few noteworthy effects may be that Jewish community members (especially students — see the subsequent figure) find non-academic interactions with students to be more negative than other religious groups, and Muslim respondents (especially students) are less happy with faculty and staff interactions, on-campus media, Harvard polices and several of the external factors.

Figure 11: Contributing Factors by Religion — All Respondents

% of Respondents Mentioning Factor as Substantially Positive or Substantially Negative
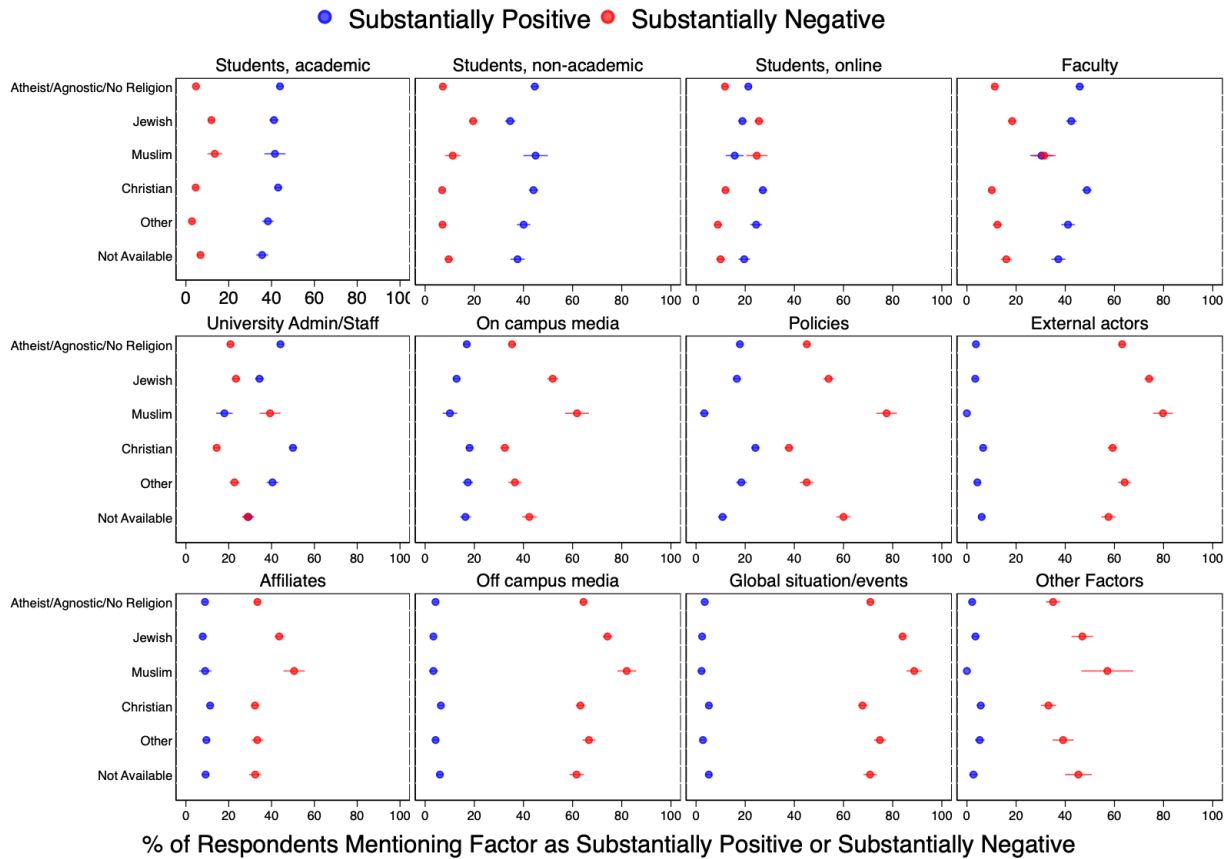
The graph below presents the results but restricting to students only. The results mostly accentuate those presented above. Student online interactions with other students is now factor that is more negative than positive, especially for Muslim and Jewish students. For Jewish students, in-person non-academic interactions with fellow students is viewed equally negatively as positively.

Figure 12: Contributing Factors by Religion — Only Students

% of Respondents Mentioning Factor as Substantially Positive or Substantially Negative
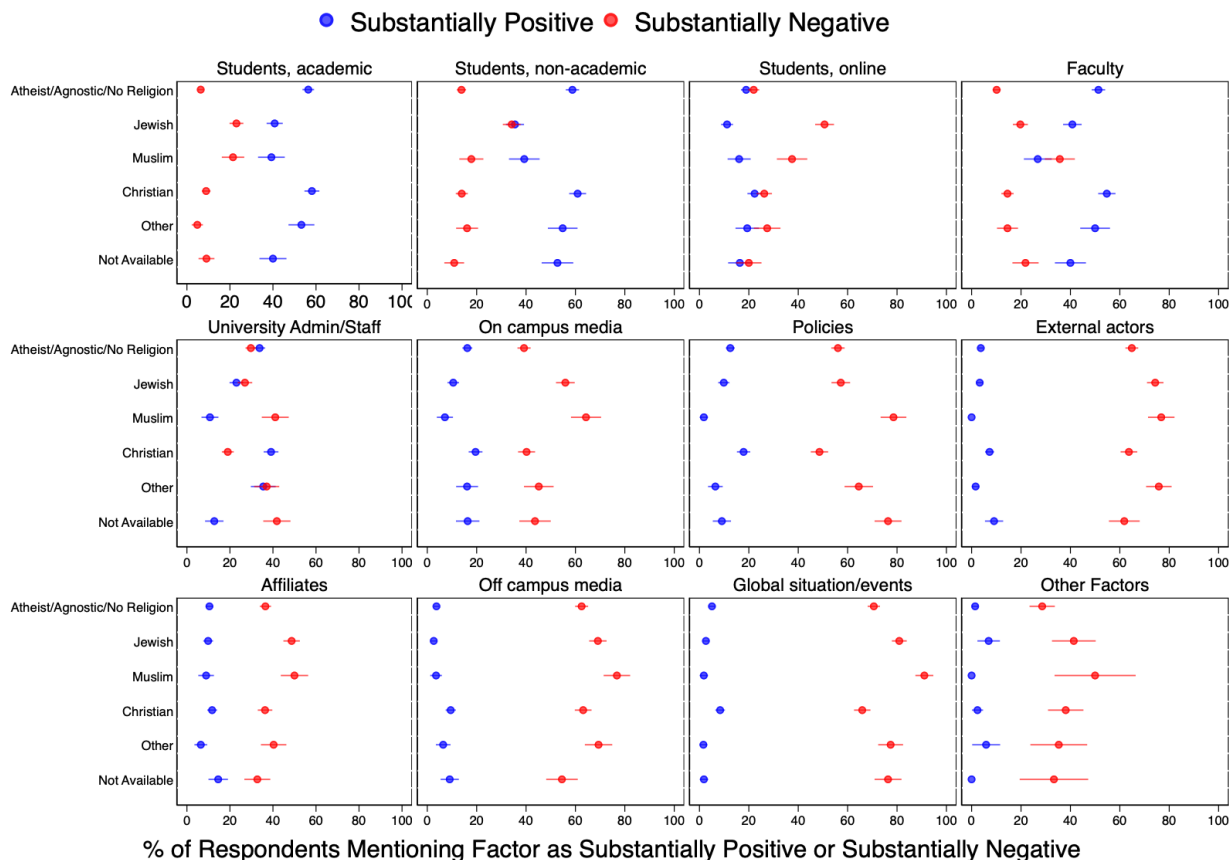
When asked to describe the positive and negative factors that contribute to their sense of belonging at Harvard, Muslim and Jewish respondents echoed similar themes as previously reported. With respect to their experience with other students, Muslim students citing positive stories wrote responses like that they "appreciated getting to know students by visiting encampments (#55, faculty)" and "Harvard students are, as a whole, immensely capable of nuanced interactions and curiosity — in a structured environment, they are willing to learn and discuss difficult ideas (#104, staff)". One respondent wrote (#302, faculty), "Working with students who have been bravely speaking up for justice in Palestine have been an inspiration. I respect them. I learn from them. I appreciate them." A student recounted a story of a dialogue that happened at an event (#1511, faculty): "Even when I was at an event discussing the dismal public health situation in the Occupied Palestinian territories and one of the other attendees called Arabs animals unwilling to make peace, I approached them after class to refute those general claims. We ended up having over an hour-long conversation and exchanged book recommendations and hugs."

Some Jewish respondents had similar positive experiences with other students, writing notes such as, "I have enjoyed lots of peaceful and productive academic discourse in my classes and sections (#349, student)" and that they appreciated "students open to listening and providing different perspectives in a respectful manner. (#1977, student)"

Muslim and Jewish respondents both also wrote about the negative experiences they have had with their peers. Among Muslim respondents, we saw messages such as this (#302, faculty): "I have been dismissed and silenced for speaking out about Palestine. Reactions from my peers have been shocking. Many have stopped speaking to me. Some (not sure how many) have made complaints about me." Another (#1028, student): "Blatant racism was expressed by a small minority of students in my cohort, but massively soured

my entire experience. I spent every Monday of the Fall dreading attending or speaking in class lest I be doxxed by my classmate who sent us emails she received from reporters asking for the names and contact information of Arab/Muslims students who were suspected to be pro-Palestine." Another (#1614, student): "In the days and weeks following October 7th, I noticed several Zionist classmates of mine checking my LinkedIn profile, when they had never looked at it before. This was clearly, to me, an attempt to dox me for any membership in organizations they deemed to be critical of Israel."

For Jewish students, many them pointed to the toxic student environment they witnessed on the social media platform, Sidechat. As one says (#30, student), "Have you seen sidechat? The amount of antisemitism there is unlike anything I've seen before." Another (#35, student): "Sidechat — people say horrible things. Antisemitic, antizionist, just plain hurtful about other students." Jewish students also experienced negative interactions with fellow students in class. As one wrote (#1305, student), "Students in my program make racist and discriminatory jokes about Jews and Christians. It is almost even worse outside of the school environment."

Some Muslim and Jewish students praised interactions with faculty for being kind and supportive. But others had negative comments about faculty. Muslim students wrote responses such as this (#926, student): "Certain members of Harvard faculty feel comfortable calling students `terrorist sympathizers' and are then somehow expected to maintain professional boundaries." Another (#55, faculty): "It has been hard to interact with faculty who are silent on the genocide and our complicity in it, or even worst, justify it." Another (#1146, student): "Harvard faculty have expressed outrageous and dangerous opinions that show clear anti-Arab and anti-Muslim bias." A Jewish respondent (#996, student) wrote that faculty contributed negatively because they showed "no empathy for the effects of October 7th on Jewish students." Another student noted (#1800, student): "My comments in class are always judged through the lens of `the Israeli is speaking'. Also, there have been many cases of anti-Israeli and anti-Jewish bigotry in classroom settings, mostly dismissed by the Professors in a way that would never fly for any other minority group.

Respondents have more lopsidedly negative comments about the Harvard administration and its policies. One Muslim respondent (#1467, student): "Harvard has abdicated any responsibility it has towards its students to conservative donors who now get to even dictate who receives a Harvard degree and who does not. There are no Harvard policies to protect Arab and Muslim students and other students of color." Another (#1749, faculty): "I am deeply disappointed in Harvard's treatment of its students. I'm appalled that the Board was able to interfere in the graduation of students who earned their degrees. I am not annoyed, I am appalled." Another (#121, staff): "I believe Harvard was creating rules and applying rules to stifle the pro-Palestine voice on campus."

Many of the negative comments about the administration and policies point to the influence of donors. Said one respondent (#121, staff), "I believe the pressure of Harvard's donors has reduced Harvard's academic freedom." Another (#1003, staff): "I think Harvard as an institution has really distanced itself as a rigorous, academic institution and has degraded itself in the eyes of the public. Personally, I will be quitting. The environment on campus has just been so toxic and I can't contribute to a university that values money and Zionism over education and its own students." Another (#1003, staff): "Big money donors. The sway they have on administration is shocking."

A Muslim student (#1486, student) pointed to double standards in enforcement of rules: "These policies were not harshly enacted in previous protests like the Occupy movement, but all of a sudden when they protest Israel the policies are used to crack down on Black and Brown students."

A Jewish student (#95, student) thought double standards cut the other way: "Harvard policies are a joke because they are enforced with a massive double standard. If protesters wore KKK regalia and chanted slogans offensive to large numbers of Black students, I doubt they would have been allowed to camp out in

Harvard yard for three weeks and escaped any disciplinary consequences." Another Jewish student (#383, student) wrote: "Hate speech apparently tolerated."

The role of outside actors was a negative contribution for many Muslim and Jewish students. Here are a couple of Muslim respondents: "Doxxing trucks! Airplane banners at Commencement! Zionist CEOs shouldn't be calling for the resignation and expulsion of children and students (#982, staff)." Another: "Doxxing, getting students fired, sending doxxing trucks to their homes, signed letter after signed letter calling Muslim students pedophiles and child-be-headers, etc (#1028, student)."

On the matter of outside actors, Jewish students had similar responses to Muslim students. "People who are not on campus and not actually experiencing what was happening presumed they knew what was happening on campus and injected themselves into campus life in inappropriate and detrimental ways. It made the environment on campus far worse (#742, student)." Another Jewish student: "The Zionists that drove around trucks with images of students labeling them as anti-Semitic were horrible (#1076, student)."

Finally, and not surprisingly, the war in Israel and Gaza itself was a major source of pain for many Muslim and Jewish respondents. As one Muslim respondent put it, "Forced famine. War crimes. Genocide. International organizations and the world's highest courts have been spoken. It's a very dark time in history. We are in a country and an institution that is not only denying these atrocities, we are actively supporting them (#302, faculty)." Another: "I felt like weeping or did weep pretty much ever day the past 8 months on campus and my pain was never once acknowledged by my teachers, administrators, or University leadership (#1614, student)." Another: "I don't like my family being murdered, held hostage, and then blamed for defending themselves (#30, student)."

A Jewish student noted that the pain is felt by everyone: "The ongoing war in Gaza is a disaster for all parties involved. Seeing the suffering of Palestinian noncombatants and Israel's existential security threats makes me feel sad and helpless (#95, student)."

C.   Heterogeneity by Race

We now examine whether there are differences in experiences across individuals' self-declared racial identities. We combine some categories for ease of presentation. The general result across all these questions is MENA community members tend to report the most negative evaluations, followed by Black, and then Asian and Hispanics, with Whites reporting the most positive evaluations.

SAFETY, BELONGING, COMFORT, AND FREE EXPRESSION

Across all the safety and belonging questions respondents who identify as Middle Eastern or North African (MENA) reported the most negative outcomes — 52% of them feel they do not belong at Harvard, 35% and 58% respectively do not feel physically and mentally safe on campus, 59% feel Harvard does not support their well-being, and 55% do not feel comfortable socially with others who hold differing views. MENA identifiers were almost twice as likely to offer negative evaluations as the next group articulating negative experiences — Black or African American students. Hispanic and Asian community members reported slightly more positive experiences than Black community members, and while mental safety is a similar issue for Hispanics as it is for Asians (27% feel mentally unsafe versus 26% for Asians), Asians reported their well-being is slightly less supported (34% versus 30% for Hispanics) and they are less comfortable socializing with others with differing views (37%) than Blacks (33%) and Hispanics (31%).

Figure 13: Safety and Belonging by Race — All Respondents

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.
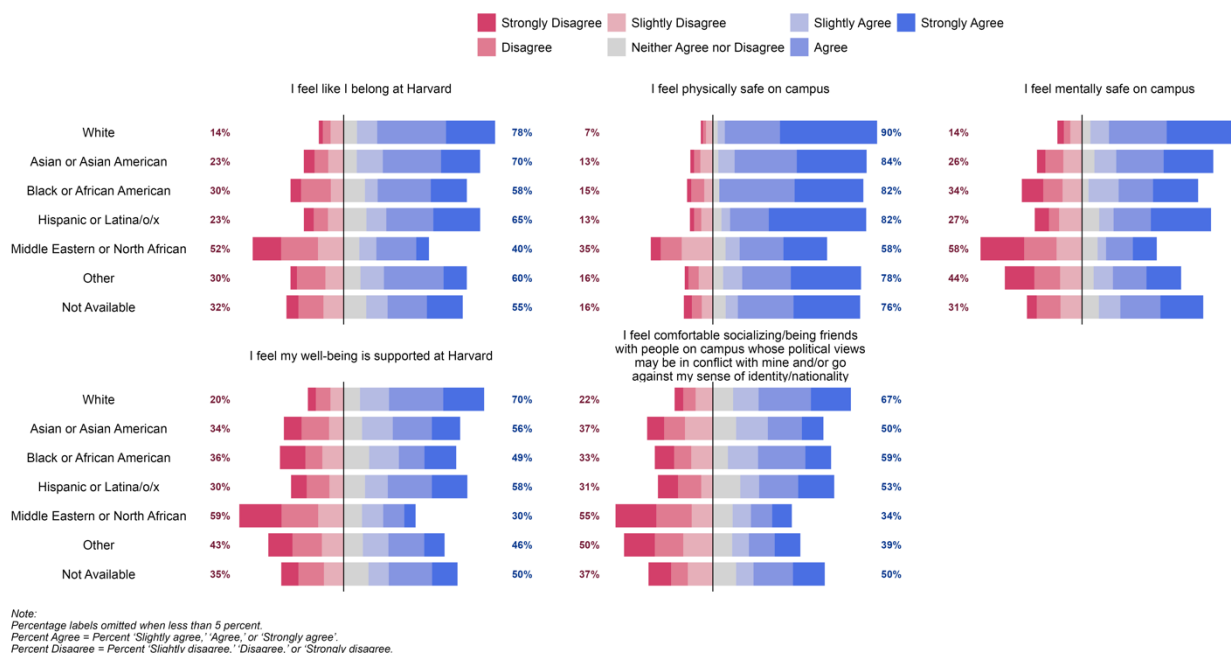
The next figure restricts the responses only to student respondents, where negative evaluations are especially common. Close to three-quarters of students who self-identify as MENA reported they do not feel mentally safe on campus or feel their well-being is supported by Harvard. Black students are typically the next group most likely to have negative experiences — especially in the case of physical safety (21% of Black students report feeling physically unsafe versus 17% for Asian and 16% for Hispanic students). On other items, such as those measuring comfort in socializing with those who hold differing views, Asian and Hispanic students are more likely to respond negatively than Black students.

Figure 14: Safety and Belonging by Race — Only Students

As

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.
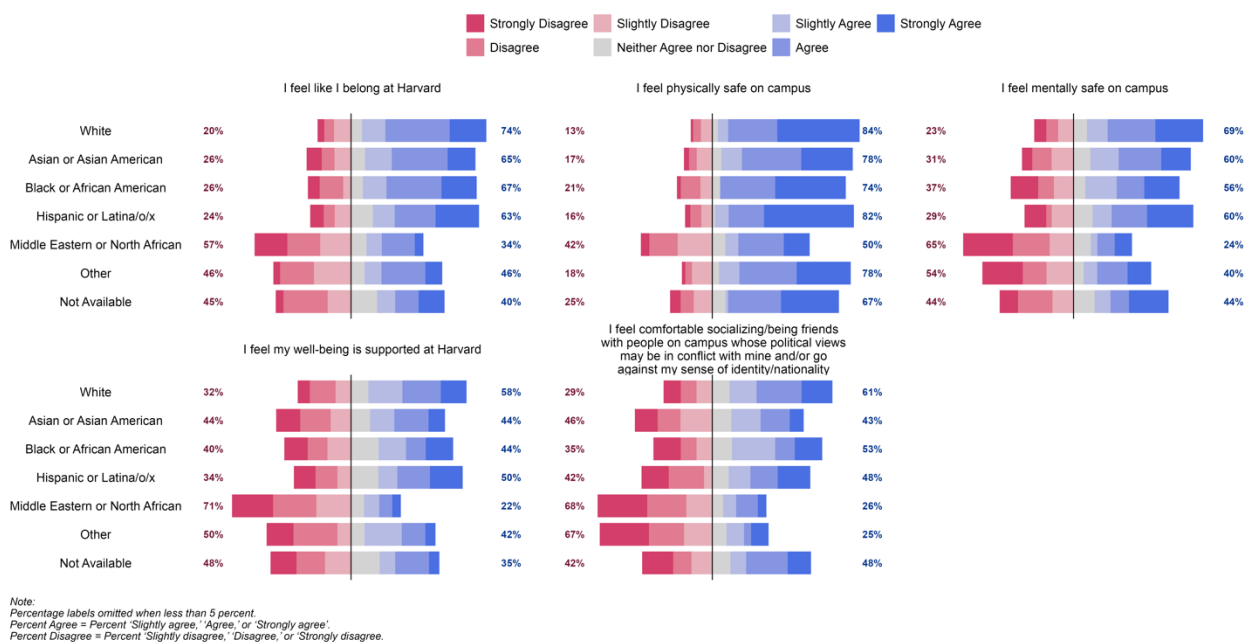
As the figure below shows, we again find the MENA community members reported the highest levels of concerns in being able to express their opinions. About four-fifths of the MENA respondents reported not being comfortable expressing their views, experiencing discrimination and facing professional and academic penalties for expressing their political views. While Black community members are typically the group next most likely to report negative experiences, in this case Asian and Hispanic community members are also close, and even White respondents report fairly high levels of discomfort expressing their views (25 to 40%), facing discrimination (21%), and facing academic or professional penalties (52%) when they do so.

Figure 15: Freedom of Expression by Race — All Respondents

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.'
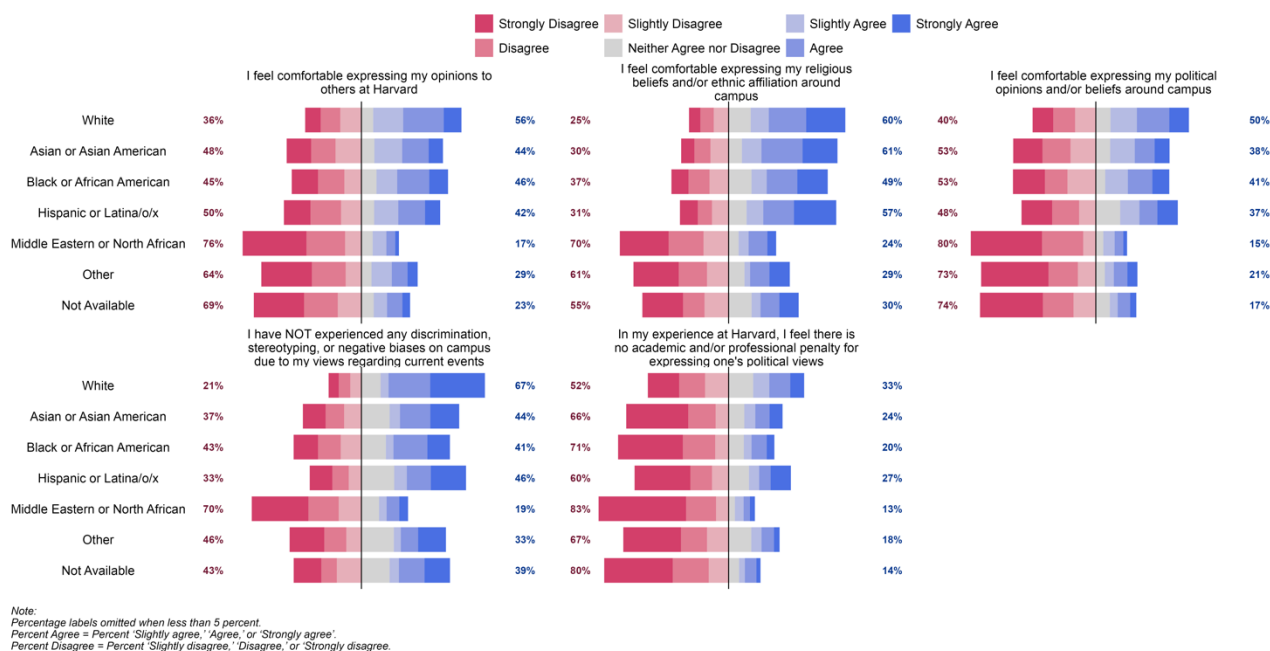
Restricting to students (Figure 16) shows similar patterns with generally more negative evaluations on all the questions. As one example — even for White respondents, close to two-thirds reported there is an academic/professional penalty for expressing their political views; the corresponding number is 86% for MENA students.

Figure 16: Freedom of Expression by Race — Only Students

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.
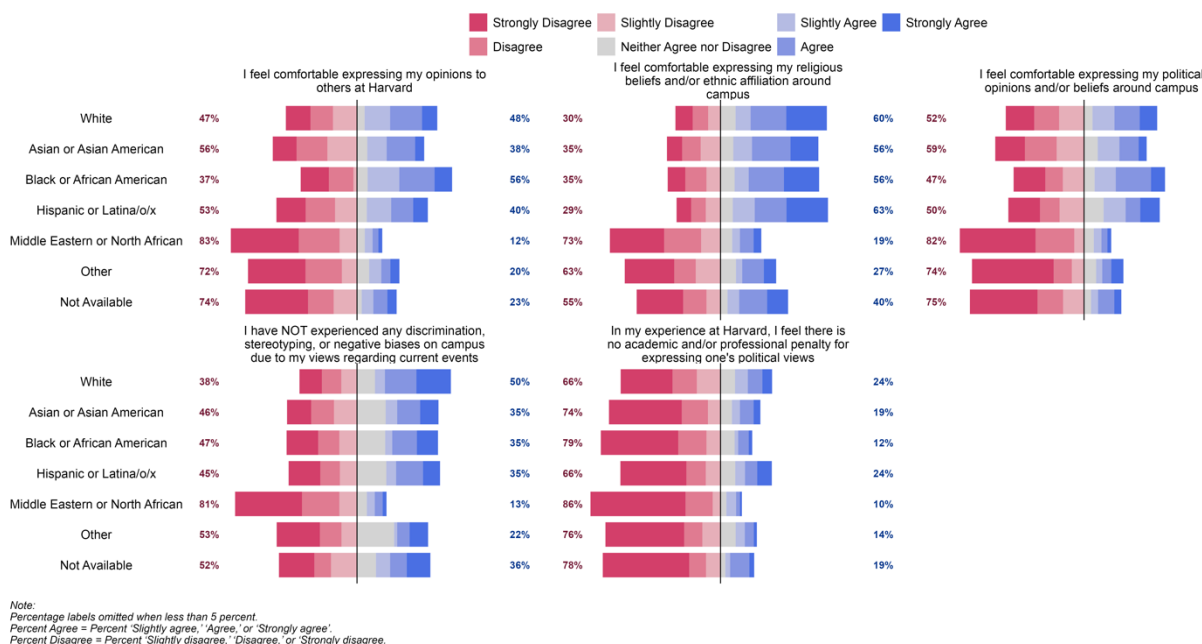
We now explore the open-ended responses by race focusing first on MENA given it is a large outlier. While there is overlap with our examination of religion — with a third of MENA respondents being Muslim and a quarter being Jewish — a reasonable fraction includes Christian, atheist, and others. And while the respondent numbers are not large enough to readily separate by national identity, the Israeli and Palestinian experiences seem especially distinct.

A MENA student notes that "Harvard, like most if not all American universities, is a place where the appearance of difference is tolerated, even welcome, but the reality of difference and the expression of difference is not. Diversity is skin-deep here — diversity of color, appearance, and identity markers is encouraged, but difference of opinion and worldview is suppressed in countless ways. This extends to all realms of thought." (#289, student) A faculty member noted that "As an Arab American who is committed to human rights for everyone, I have isolated and ostracized in the workplace and been silenced and threatened for speaking out." (#302, faculty) Another MENA faculty member reported, "In general, being Arab is hard — people just make a lot of assumptions about you, and you feel professional repercussions. Harvard has never made this easier, and in fact, in the past tried to limit discourse about being Arab or Palestinian. It feels like it has gotten worse this year." (#49, faculty). A staff member notes that "I fear sharing my Arab identity for fear of reprisal" (#1632, staff).

Jewish Israelis reported difficulty navigating campus tensions. As one said (#1174, student): "While I respect other students' privilege and right to make their voice heard and fully believe that Israel's actions deserve criticism, I have felt that a growing portion of the student body increasingly feels that the state where my entire family has lived for generations does not deserve to exist, and that my very existence as an Israeli Jew marks me in some way as morally in the wrong." Another (#44, student): "I have had professors who have found out that I'm Israeli (without even knowing my political beliefs themselves) treat me completely differently in and out of class after they find out. One professor literally cut me off from speaking in the middle of response I was giving in class and asked if anyone else wanted to speak instead of me." Another (#6, postdoc): "I'm Israeli and while I am appalled by the situation in Gaza, I support the

existence of the State of Israel where my family and friends live. This has somehow become a controversial opinion which I cannot state anywhere for the fear of being cancelled."

This is echoed by the Palestinian experience as well. A student noted that "Harvard has made it quite clear that as a Palestinian-American student, I am not welcome here. As someone who started at Harvard in Fall 2023, the things I have experienced this past year will forever shape how I feel at Harvard." The same student goes on to note that "Because of the genocide of my people, my mental health has been terrible this year, which has negatively affected my productivity. However, I am too scared to bring that up to my advisers because I fear that I would face discrimination, rather than support." (#1879, student)

One staff-person (#158, staff) wrote, "In most ways my work days chug along as usual, but there is a pit in my stomach anytime anything having to do with the conflict comes up. What will people say? My team knows I'm Palestinian — I feel all eyes are on me so I have to watch how I act and what I say."

A MENA student (#389, student) perceived double standards that made the year worse, saying, "I feel the University prioritized the concerns/feeling accepted of certain groups while dismissing other groups of students, specifically Arab ones felt ignored."

Black students also reported facing a lack of belonging. An undergraduate student notes that "I chose Harvard because I felt safe and seen when I visited before I enrolled. My first semester, however, showed me that the support only came from the students who looked like me, but to the larger community, we did not really matter. (#327, student)" A Black graduate student remarked that "I have experienced negative biases due to my views on current events and even due to my identity — there's a sort of assumption that solidarity with Gaza is equivalent to antisemitism, or that all Black women inherently carry some sort of antisemitism" (#2253, student). This is echoed by a Black staff member who noted that: "As a woman of color, I don't feel safe expressing my views, especially considering that President Gay was forced out not because she was antisemitic, but because she was a Black woman." (#169, staff). A Black faculty member (#1270, faculty) noted that "While I feel like I belong within certain communities at Harvard, I do not feel a strong sense of belonging to my School or a sense of shared identity with the Harvard administration. Events since the October 7th attacks have contributed to the sense that I do not fully belong at Harvard." The same respondent goes on to note that, "I also question whether the University would offer any support if politicians or other outside actors targeted me due to my work or scholarly positions. While I believe my scholarly positions are independent of my ethnic and religious background, I fear that those factors would also be held against me in this context." (#1270, faculty).

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

We now turn to contributing factors and here, despite the large differences in sense of belonging, safety and ability to speak freely, we do not see large differences in the contributing factors across the different racial groups. The salient difference is that MENA community members rated their online interactions with students, faculty and staff, on campus media and Harvard's policies less favorably than other groups. The results for students are similar but just slightly more accentuated.

Figure 17: Contributing Factors by Race — All Respondents

The figure below now shows the responses restricting to students only.

% of Respondents Mentioning Factor as Substantially Positive or Substantially Negative
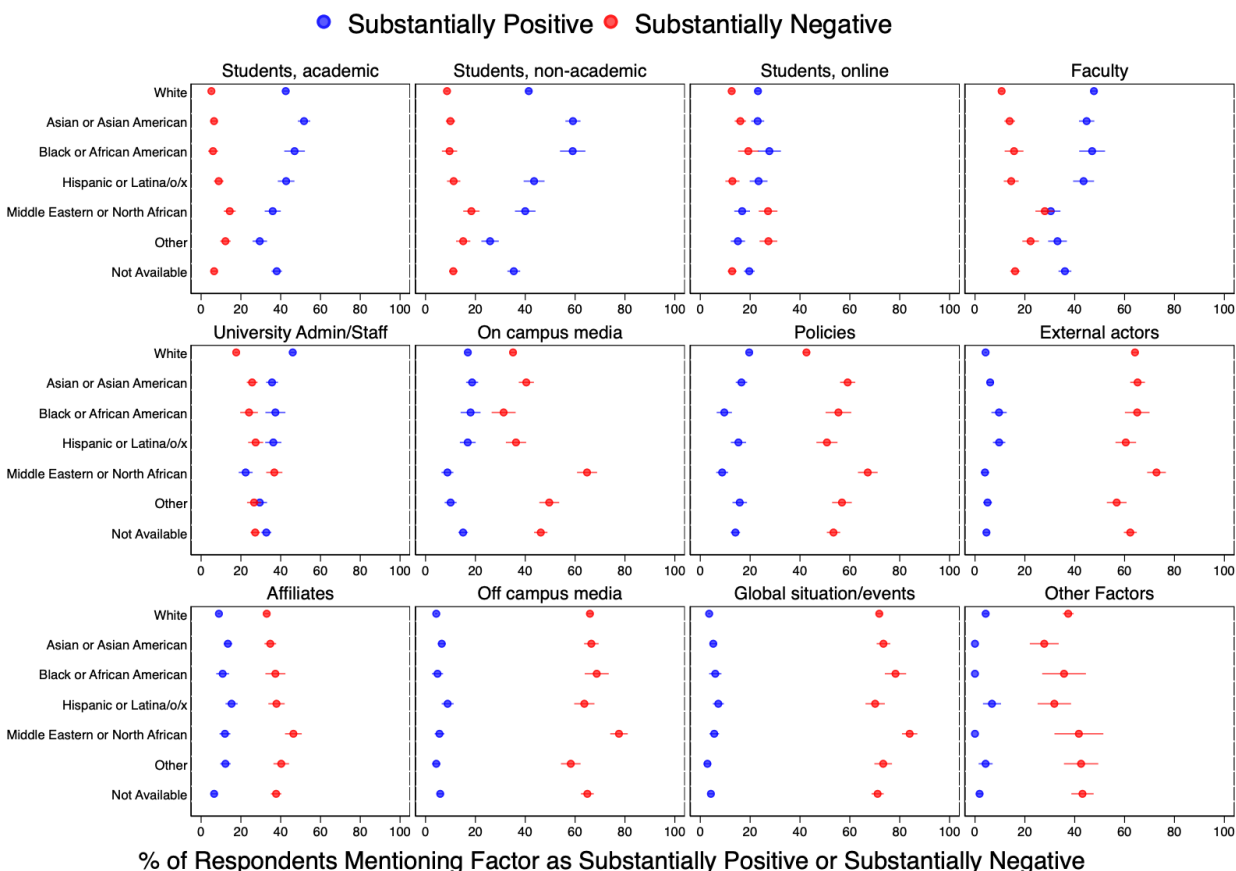
Figure 18: Contributing Factors by Race — Only Students

% of Respondents Mentioning Factor as Substantially Positive or Substantially Negative
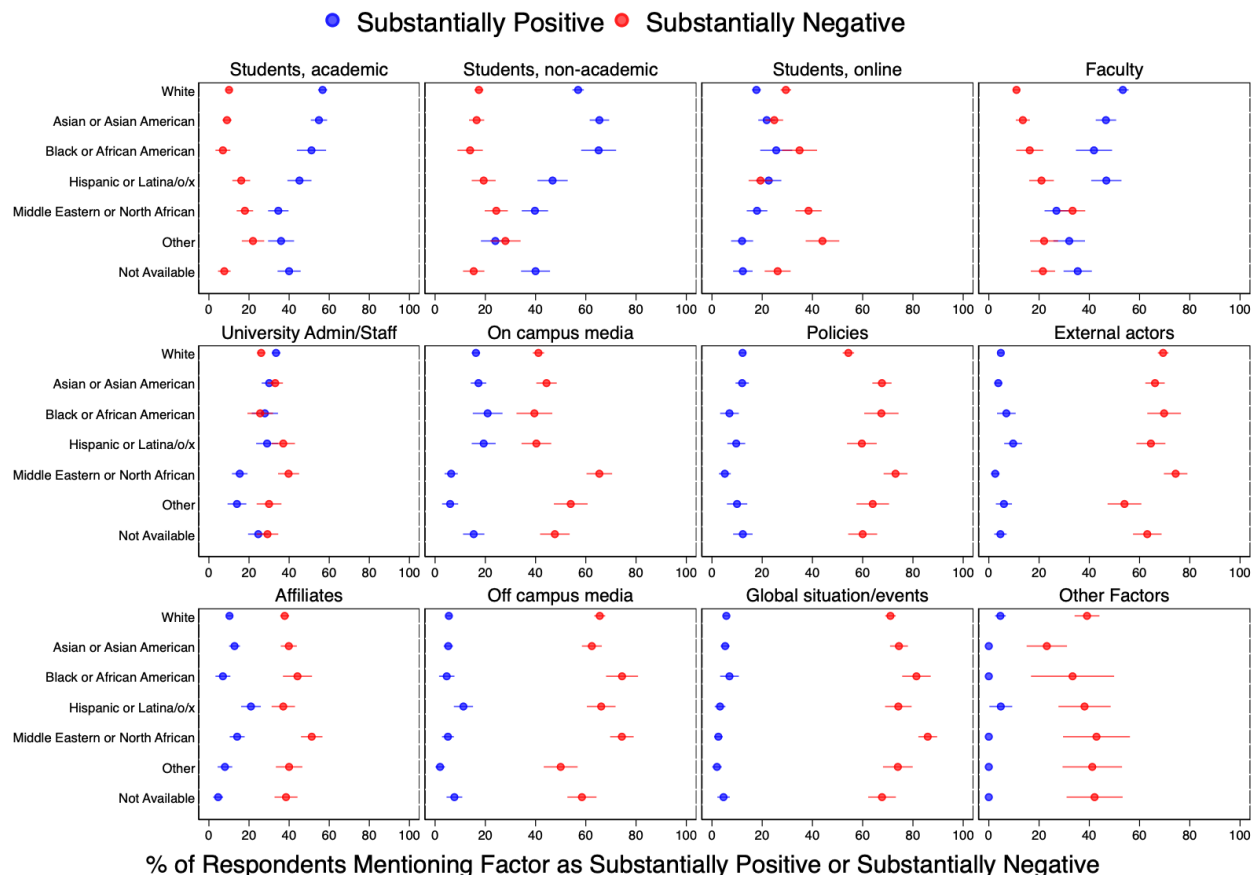
D. Regression Analysis on Religion and Race Heterogeneity

Our previous two sections have shown the there is substantial heterogeneity of impact by religion and race. Notably, Muslim and Jewish respondents as well as MENA respondents show the most negative evaluations. Given that MENA identity overlaps with both Muslim and Jewish, there is a question as to which dimension — race or religion — is more impactful in our results.

Table E1 in Appendix E shows the cross-tabulation of religion and race showing the extent of this overlap in our sample. Notably, the largest two religious categories for MENA respondents are Muslim and Jewish. Conversely, the two largest racial categories for Muslim respondents are MENA and Asian/Asian American. Given there is some overlap, we run multi-variate regression analysis (Appendix C) where for any of our given factors analyzed in the main body of our report (affiliation, religion, race) we show how our results are affected once we also control for other demographic attributes analyzed in the appendix (including gender, sexuality, political ideology, nationality).

Our results show that for the main outcomes our results are largely unaffected with the differences a given group experiencing remaining the same even when we have controlled for a range of other demographic attributes. This can be seen by comparing the odd number columns (results with no controls) with the subsequent even number ones (results with controls). The only case where our results are affected is the differential experience of Muslim and MENA respondents. While these two groups still show the most negative evaluations (within the religion and race categories respectively) even after we introduce other demographic controls, the magnitude of the differences for both are almost halved. Examining further, we find that this is because both Muslims and MENA identity have somewhat additive effects. In other

words, while non-MENA Muslim respondents report substantially negative evaluations, MENA Muslim respondents report even worse (at times twice as much) evaluations. Analogously, while Non-Muslim MENA respondents report large negative evaluations, Muslim MENA respondents have even larger negative evaluations: it is the combination of an individual being both Muslim and MENA that leads to the most negative evaluations. Tables C4a and C4b in the appendix show this further by simultaneously controlling for race and religion. As we can see the largest two (negative) effects are on the Muslim and MENA identities suggesting that both have distinct and separate impact. Moreover, for Tables C4a-b we see that adding more demographic controls (the odd numbered columns) does not affect either the coefficient on Muslim or MENA. This further confirms that our earlier results in Tables C2a-b and C3 a-b where the Muslim and/or MENA coefficients were affected due to controls was primarily driven by the overlap between Muslim and MENA categories.

While the data is somewhat limited to explore even finer sub-groups, we explore this further in Appendix E where we focus on SIX categories (respondent counts given in parenthesis) where we combine religion and race. Notably we separately present our results for the following respondents: (i) MENA Muslims (38); (ii) MENA Jews (36); (iii) MENA Other Religions (51); (iv) Non-MENA Muslims (51); (v) Non-MENA Jews (411); and (vi) non-MENA Other Religions (1710). We should caution though that some of the respondent counts are small and there is likely non-differential distribution of these categories across some of other demographic variables like Harvard affiliation etc. which is why we will also present regression results controlling for these additional demographics as well. Regardless, given the small sample sizes here, in comparing across race and religion categories, we draw suggestive inferences rather than firm conclusions. This is an area that we feel is worth exploring further using additional and more purposely collected data to study these adversely affected communities. That said, Figures E1 and E2 present now a more nuanced picture showing that while MENA Muslims typically express the most negative sentiment, the next most negative group is often MENA Jewish respondents, typically followed by Non-MENA Muslims and MENA respondents who are neither Muslim nor Jewish. Table E3 and E4 show the regression equivalent of these figures for the same six categories (the omitted category is non-MENA Other Religions) and present similar findings highlighting the adverse experiences that those with both MENA and Muslims/Jewish identities report. In the even numbered columns, we control for other demographic changes and while most results are unaffected there is a slight increase in the negative outcomes for non-MENA Jewish respondents likely because there is a higher fraction of faculty & staff than students in this category and we know from our results before that students tend to report worse outcomes than faculty and staff.

V. Respondents' Suggested Recommendations

The survey asked respondents to suggest specific recommendations that would be responsive to the concerns they may have raised in the questionnaire. We first used ChatGPT to help summarize themes in the recommendations suggested by students, faculty, and staff.

Among students, one key theme is about divestment and disclosure. A number of students recommend that the University divests financial interests in companies tied to Israel and/or to industries connected to warfare. Along these lines, students also recommended the University disclose investments in these areas.

A second theme relates to the enforcement of rules. Students would like clarity on rules related to free expression, and they would like for those rules to be enforced consistently in a content-neutral manner.

A third theme relates to claims about antisemitism, anti-Zionism, Islamophobia, anti-Arab bias and other forms of prejudice. Some students would like more education about what these terms mean to the

University. They also want the University to sanction those who behave prejudicially, and they want the University to do so consistently across targeted communities.

A fourth theme is about transparency in University procedures. Students want more information about how decisions are made, including disciplinary decisions and investment decisions. They'd like to know how large donors influence decisions.

A final theme is about inclusiveness. For some, Harvard has failed to be inclusive by hiring "so many antisemitic faculty members (#95, student)". For others, Harvard has failed to be inclusive by tolerating doxxing trucks. Still others feel that Harvard is not inclusive to pro-Palestine activists, who were treated negatively compared to activists of other social movements. And others report that Harvard could be more inclusive to religious students by offering more accommodations around their holiday observances.

Among faculty, the overall themes of recommendations were different. A core theme among faculty respondents was that Harvard should do more to engage students (including graduate students) in respectful dialogue, including on sensitive issues. Relatedly, faculty suggested more community-building and trust-building efforts so that the University feels more like a cohesive community. Faculty also raised several points related to ensuring the University is a place of free expression and not influenced by the interests of donors.

For staff, the theme of community-building also came up. Respondents want to see community-members spending more time together and more in dialogue. Staff also prioritized support for various subcommunities, such as "community members of color, its LGBTQAI+ community members, its community members with disabilities, etc (#83, staff)." Finally, staff members recommended both more transparency in University policies and improved communication across the University.

In addition to the AI-based review of all recommendations, we also read through the recommendations of Muslim and Jewish respondents. Among Muslim students, four key themes emerged.

One theme was around activism. Respondents recommend that students be given latitude to protest without fear of punishment from the University. Respondents recommend the University apologizes to students who were punished during the 2023-24 school year. Respondents call for the University to protect students who have been doxxed and support community-members when they are subjected to media attacks. Some ask for more security around Harvard Yard.

A second theme involves governance. Recommendations include divestment from Israel-related and military-related firms and disclosure of such investments. Respondents also recommend reducing the influence donors have on University policies and academic freedom. Some respondents want students to be more involved in governance around discipline and financial investments.

A third theme relates to education and dialogue. Respondents call for more educational opportunities to learn about the contemporary Middle East and specifically about "Palestine, Palestinian culture, and Palestinian history. (#290, student)" Respondents also want more opportunities for dialogue between Jewish and Palestinian community-members and more dialogue about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

A final theme from Muslim respondents is greater University support to the Muslim community. Recommendations include support for community-members dealing with Islamophobia and support in the form of programming around Ramadan.

Note that we also reviewed recommendation text for respondents by some racial categories, including Black respondents and MENA respondents. Black respondents and MENA respondents who were neither Jewish nor Muslim were largely overlapping with themes from Muslim students in terms of their suggested recommendations.

Among Jewish respondents, some recommendations were similar to those reported above and some were different. Perhaps the most common theme among Jewish respondents relates to protest, free expression, and discrimination. Respondents want Harvard to allow protests but to have clear and consistently applied rules, including clear consequences for the violation of rules. Several respondents mentioned the need for times, places, and manner rules so it is made clear that protests in venues such as classrooms and libraries are prohibited.

Second, Jewish respondents recommend that Harvard arrives at clear definitions of what it considers antisemitism. A number of respondents point to the lack of clarity on what amounts to antisemitism and a lack of understanding in the Harvard community of how antisemitism connects to anti-Zionism.

Third, respondents recommend Harvard adjust its recruitment policies both for students and faculty. For students, respondents recommend recruiting students more committed to learning and less to activism. For faculty, respondents recommend efforts to counterbalance the perceived left-wing orientation of professors. They recommend hiring more faculty who provide balanced perspectives and balanced course offerings.

Also, on the topic of education, respondents specifically recommend more course offerings related to Israel and Judaism across Harvard Schools in which Middle East politics is discussed. Respondents also suggest a research center that studies issues like antisemitism and anti-Arab prejudice together in a single center. On a similar theme, respondents call for more dialogue across difference and more open discussion on campus.

Fourth, respondents offered suggestions for adding offerings for community-members to explore a greater range of topics related to Jewish culture, languages, and religion. This includes the suggestion for creating a space for Jewish anti-Zionist students on campus.

Finally, a large number of Jewish respondents endorsed institutional neutrality as a guiding principle for the University. They also suggested reforming the University's engagement with DEI initiatives and staff. Many Jewish respondents feel that DEI offices are not able to satisfactorily engage with Jews as a minority group. Some would like DEI offices improve their engagement with Jewish community-members. Others would like to see DEI programs wound down.

In summarizing the above recommendations, we seek to emphasize that these recommendations have not been endorsed by two taskforces nor by the authors of this auxiliary report. They simply reflect viewpoints of respondents to the survey.

VI. Conclusion

The results presented in the quantitative analysis shed light on the situation on Harvard's campus in the late Spring of 2024 as experienced by our students, staff, fellows and faculty. While they show sobering results — especially in terms of being able to have free enquiry and open discussions, and the experience of specific subgroups based on their religious and racial identities — they help by focusing on areas that can help heal our community. They also stress the importance of regularly collecting and analyzing data that take the pulse of how our community is feeling with respect to the educational, professional, and social environment. The results also raise several areas where further examination is needed.

Our results show that freedom of expression is one area where the most negative outcomes are perceived, especially for students. The latter is especially noteworthy to the extent we believe that students — who are developing their skills and need breathing room to make mistakes — should be more at ease with self-expression and not face academic, social, and professional risks from doing so.

Separate from the evidence on free expression, the responses from Muslim, Jewish, and MENA student respondents are troubling. Over a half of Muslim student respondents, a quarter of Jewish student respondents and a bit under a half of MENA student respondents do not feel physically safe on campus. A

clear majority Muslim, Jewish and ME students reported that they are not comfortable expressing their religious and ethnic identities on campus. On this measure, these groups appear very different from the other religions and racial groups.

While the taskforces independently will offer recommendations specific to the Jewish/Israeli and Muslim/Arab/Palestinian communities, our primary recommendation in this document is a call for regular and in-depth research into community members and their sense of safety and well-being, with a particular focus on groups that appear to have a harder time expressing themselves and finding safety and comfort at Harvard.

<div align="center">

Appendices included in the Analysis Report from the
Joint Subcommittee on the Harvard-Wide Task Force Survey

</div>

APPENDIX A

A1. Heterogeneity by Age

SAFETY AND BELONGING

<div align="center">

Figure A1a: Safety and Belonging by Age — All Respondents

</div>

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.'
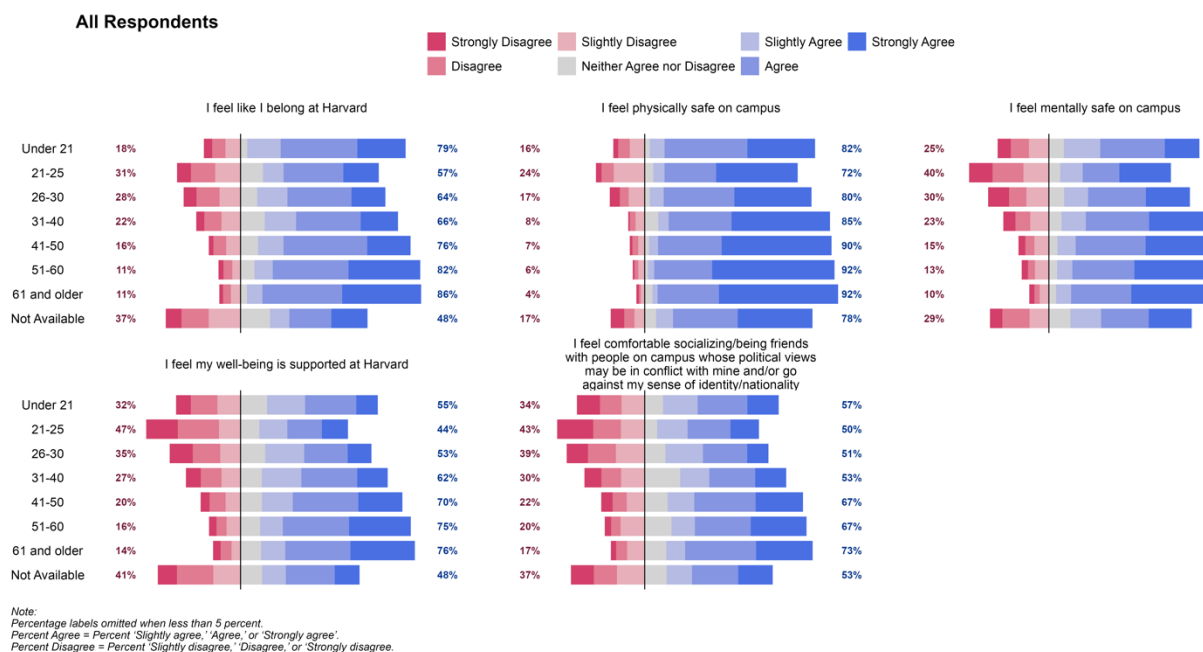
Figure A1b: Safety and Belonging by Age — Only Students

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.
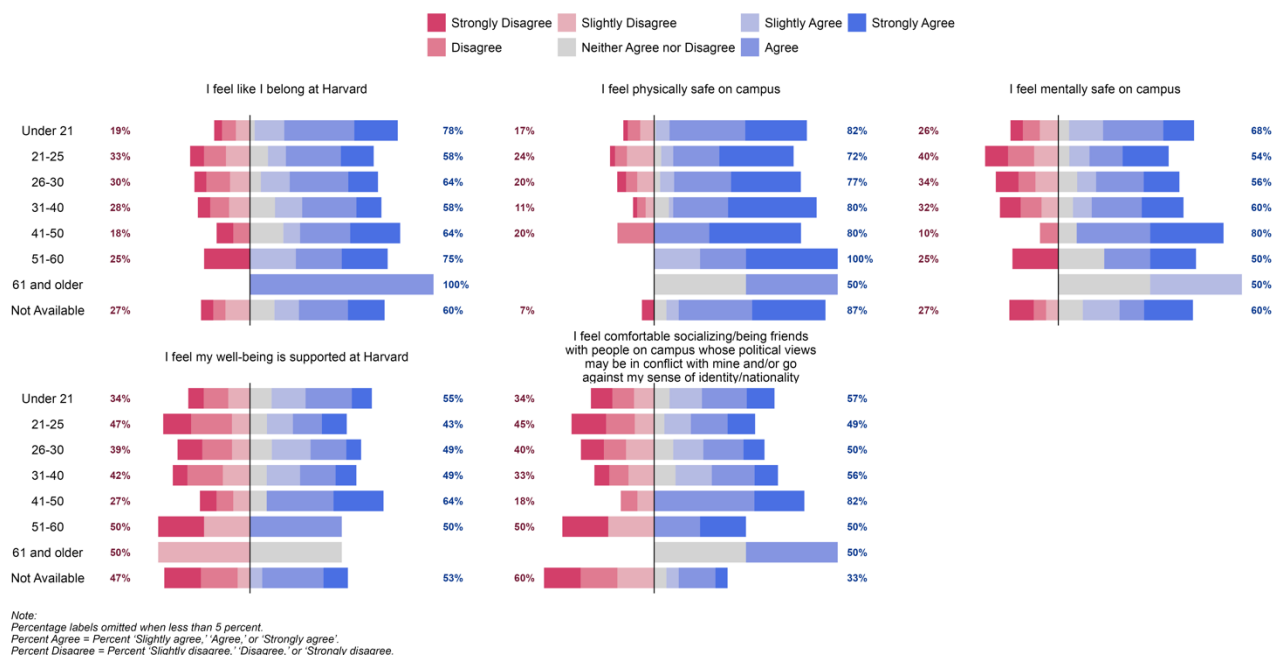
FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Figure A1c: Freedom of Expression by Age — All Respondents

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.
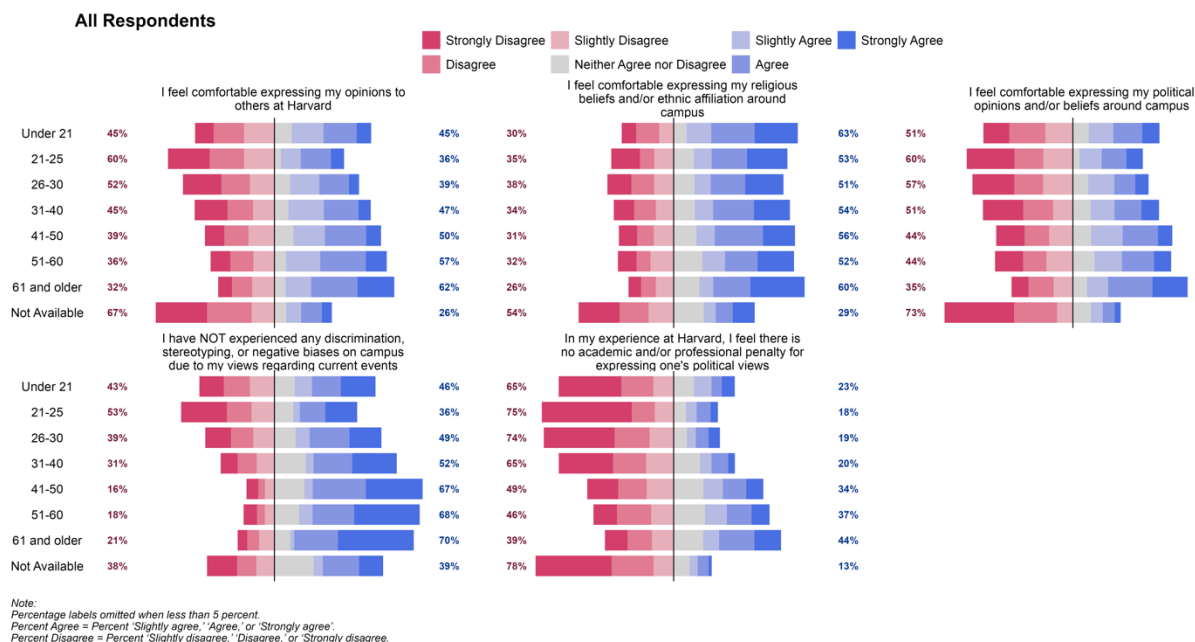
Figure A1d: Freedom of Expression by Age — Only Students

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.'
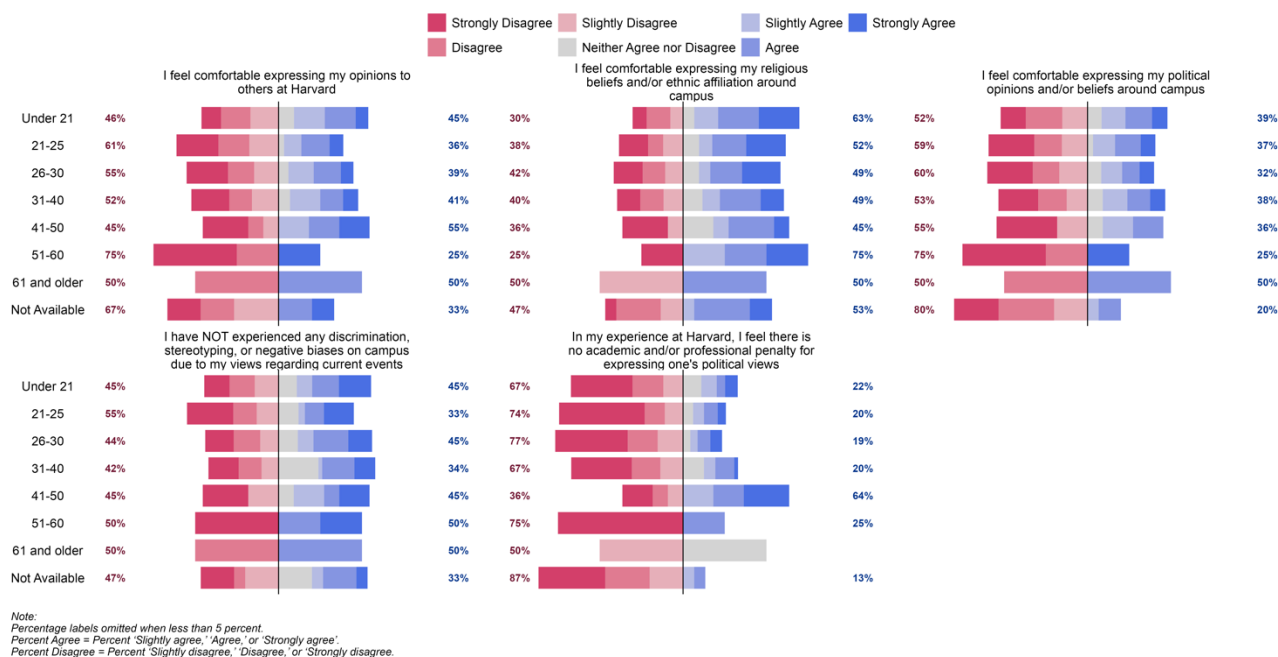
CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

Figure A1e: Contributing Factors by Age — All Respondents

% of Respondents Mentioning Factor as Substantially Positive or Substantially Negative
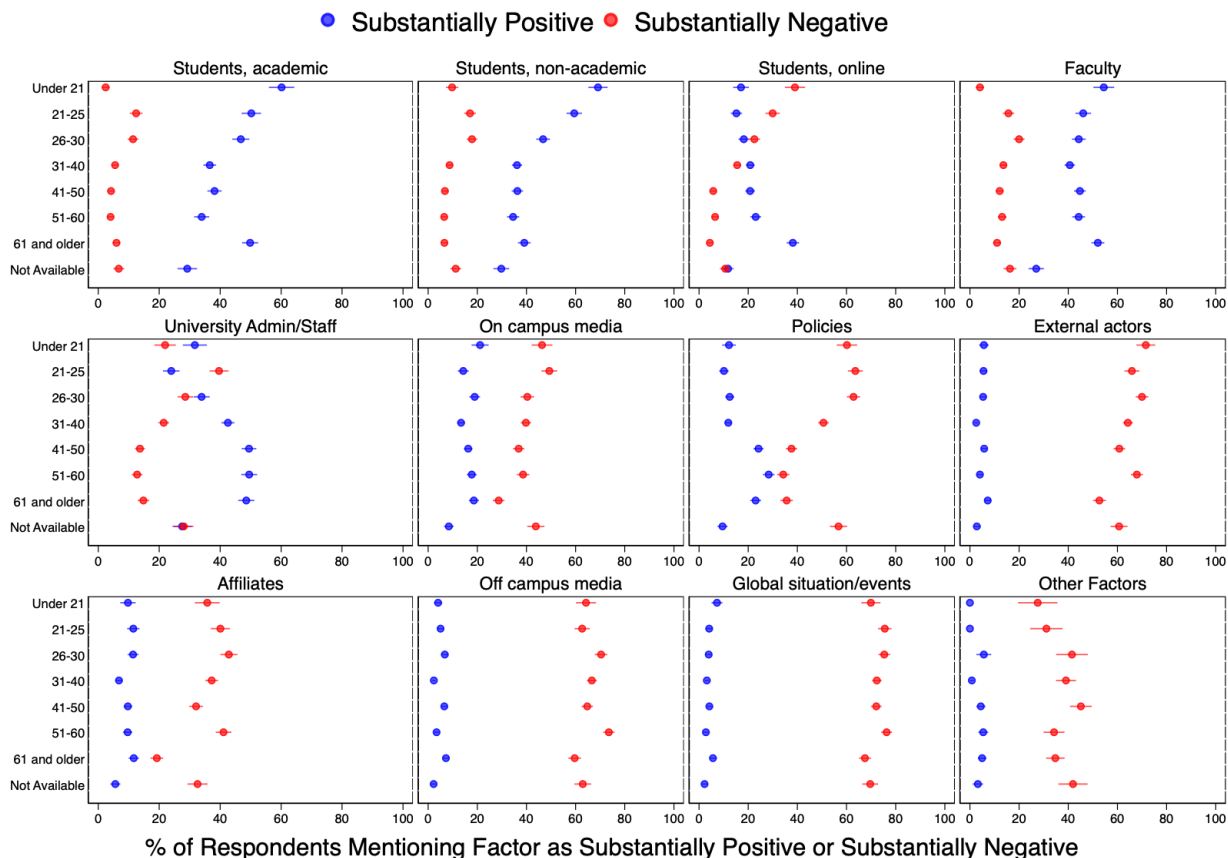
Figure A1f: Contributing Factors by Age — Only Students

% of Respondents Mentioning Factor as Substantially Positive or Substantially Negative
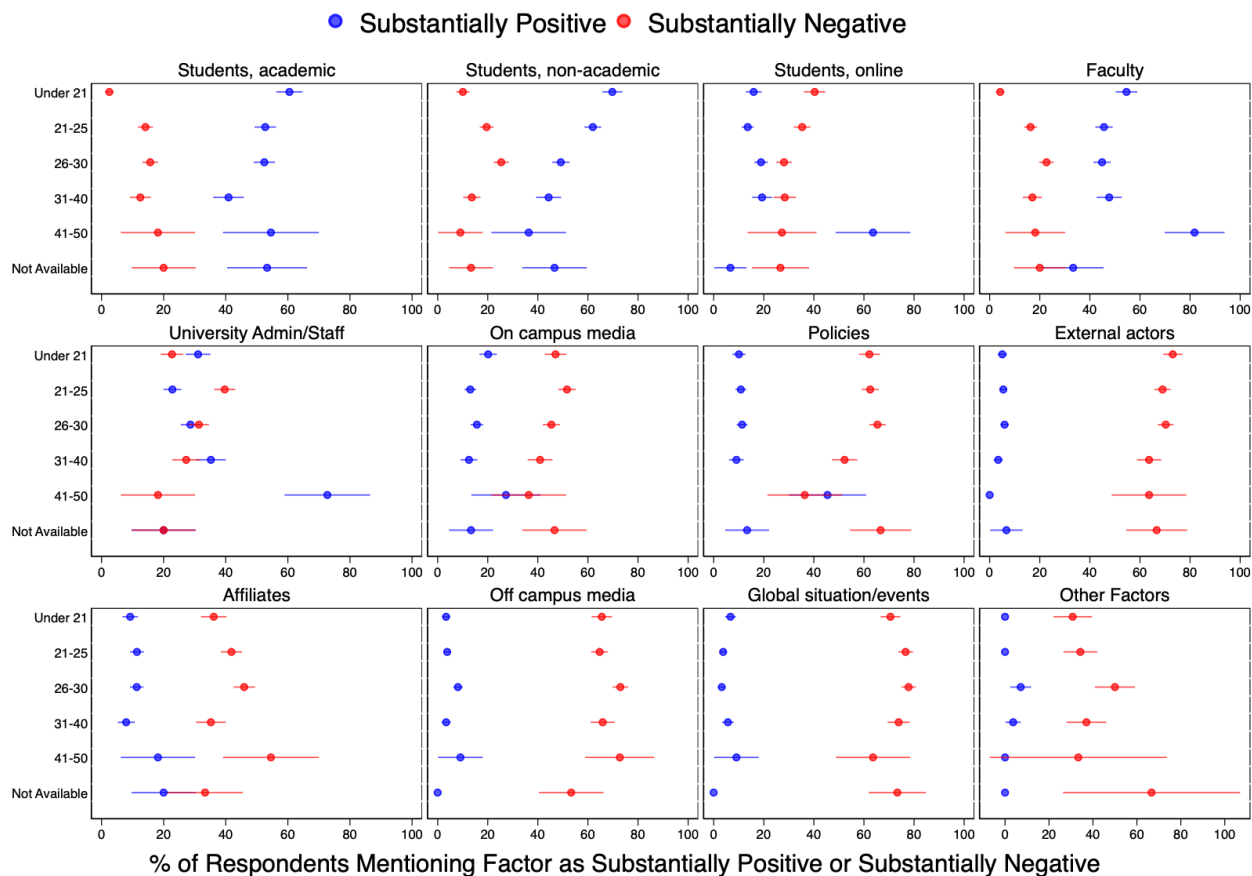
A2. Heterogeneity by Gender

SAFETY AND BELONGING

Figure A2a: Safety and Belonging by Gender — All Respondents

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.
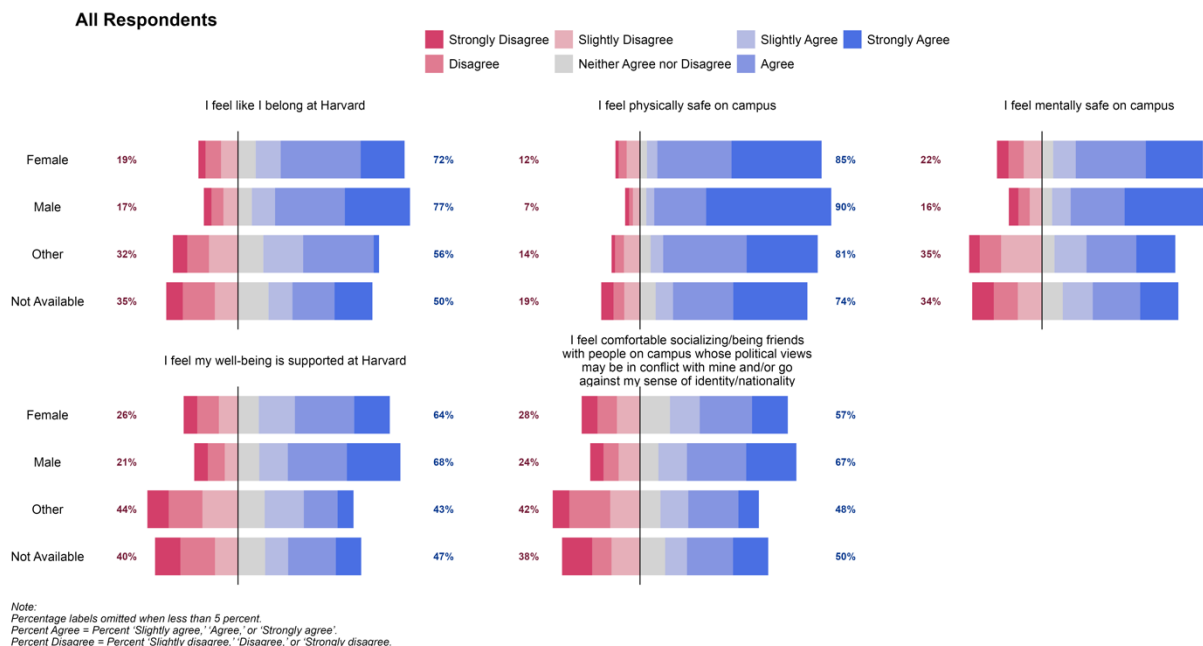
Figure A2b: Safety and Belonging by Gender — Only Students

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.
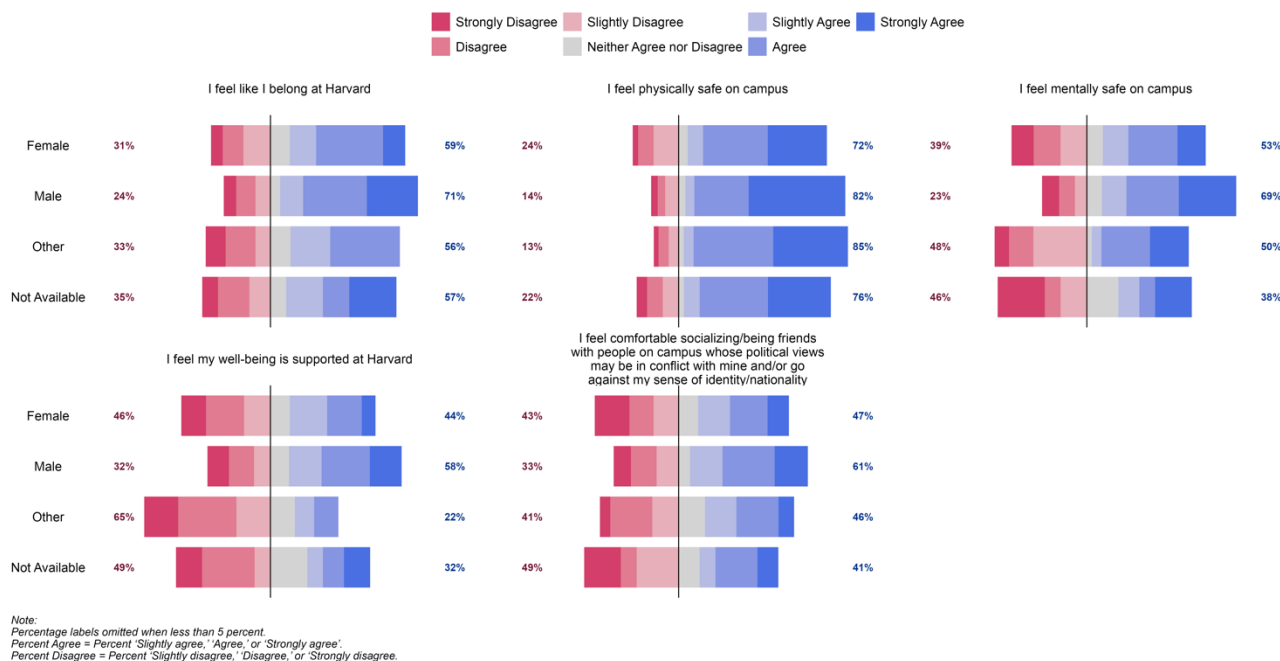
FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Figure A2c: Freedom of Expression by Gender — All Respondents

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.
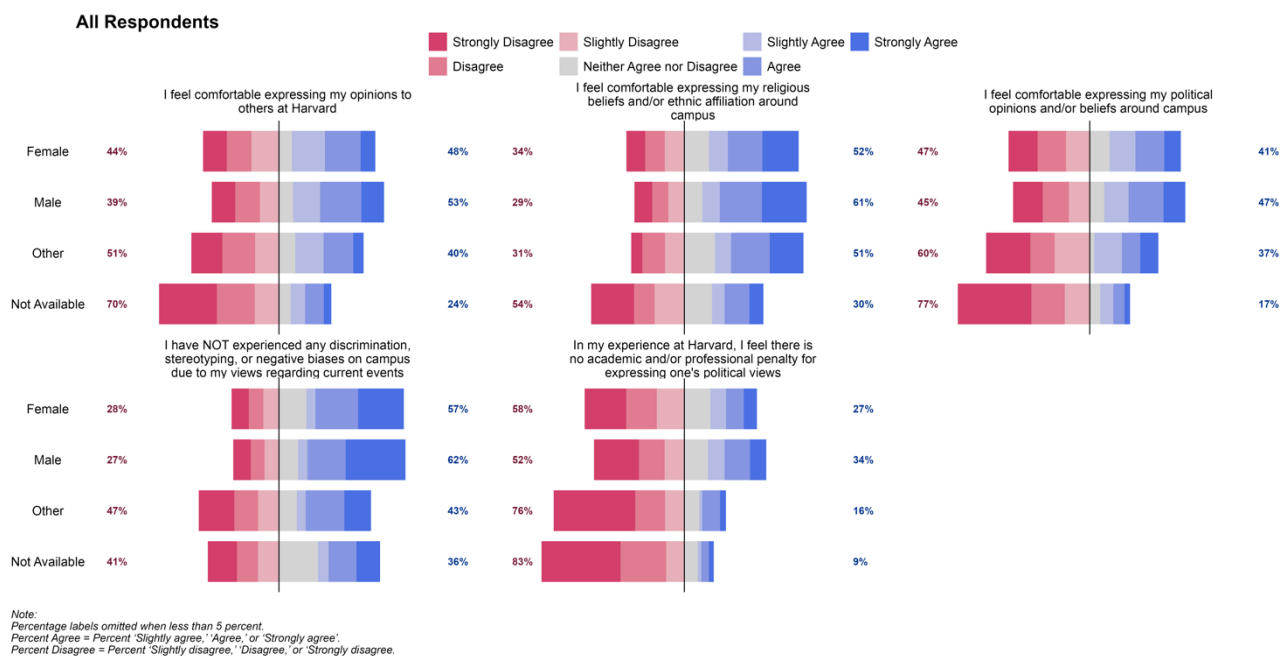
Figure A2d: Freedom of Expression by Gender — Only Students

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.
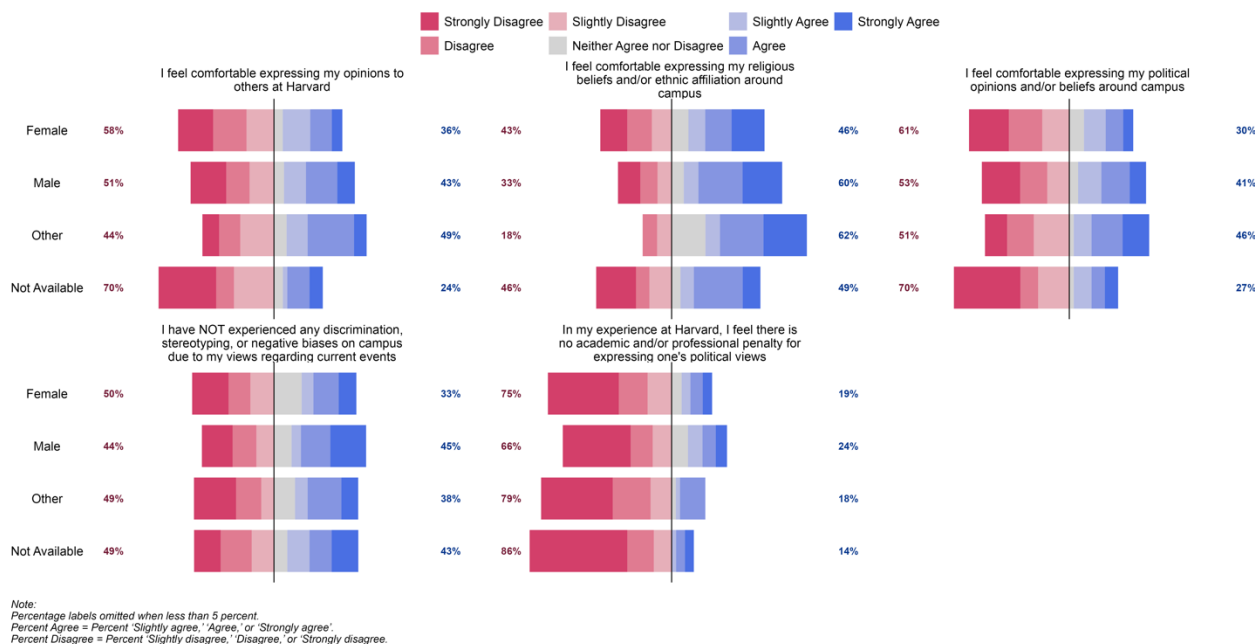
Figure A2e: Contributing Factors by Gender — All Respondents

% of Respondents Mentioning Factor as Substantially Positive or Substantially Negative
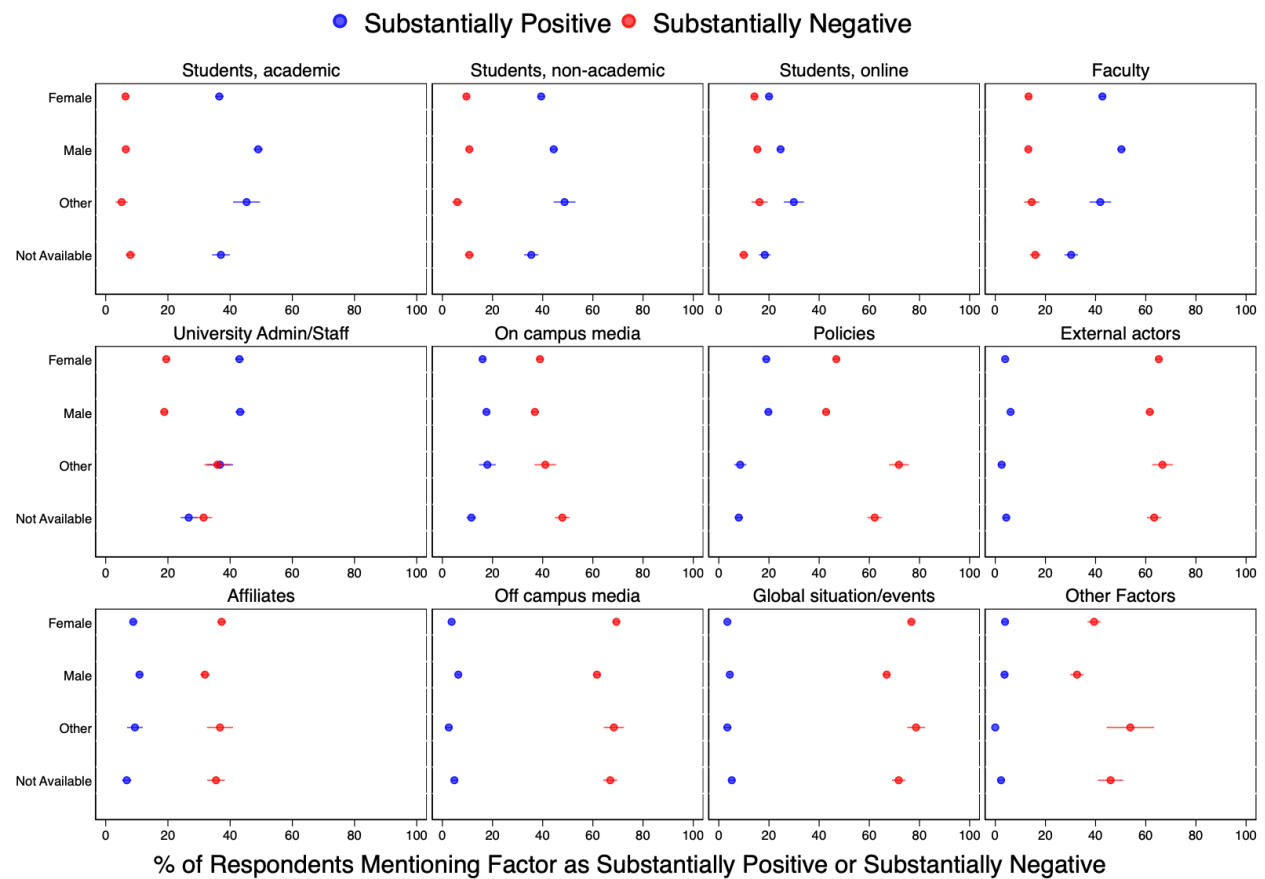
Figure A2f: Contributing Factors by Gender — Only Students

% of Respondents Mentioning Factor as Substantially Positive or Substantially Negative

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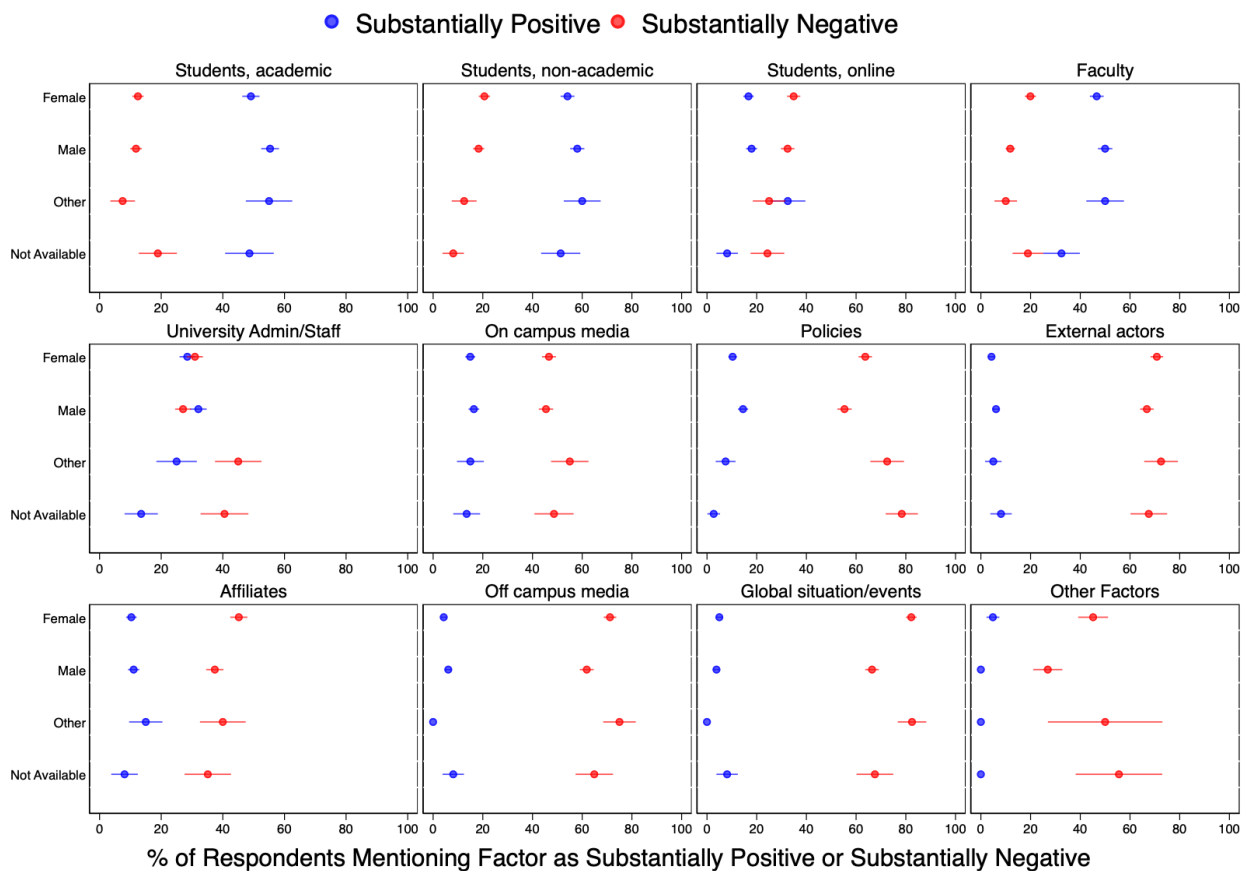
A3. Heterogeneity by US/Non-US

SAFETY AND BELONGING

Figure A3a: Safety and Belonging by US/Non-US — All Respondents

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.'

Figure A3b: Safety and Belonging by US/Non-US — Students Only

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.'
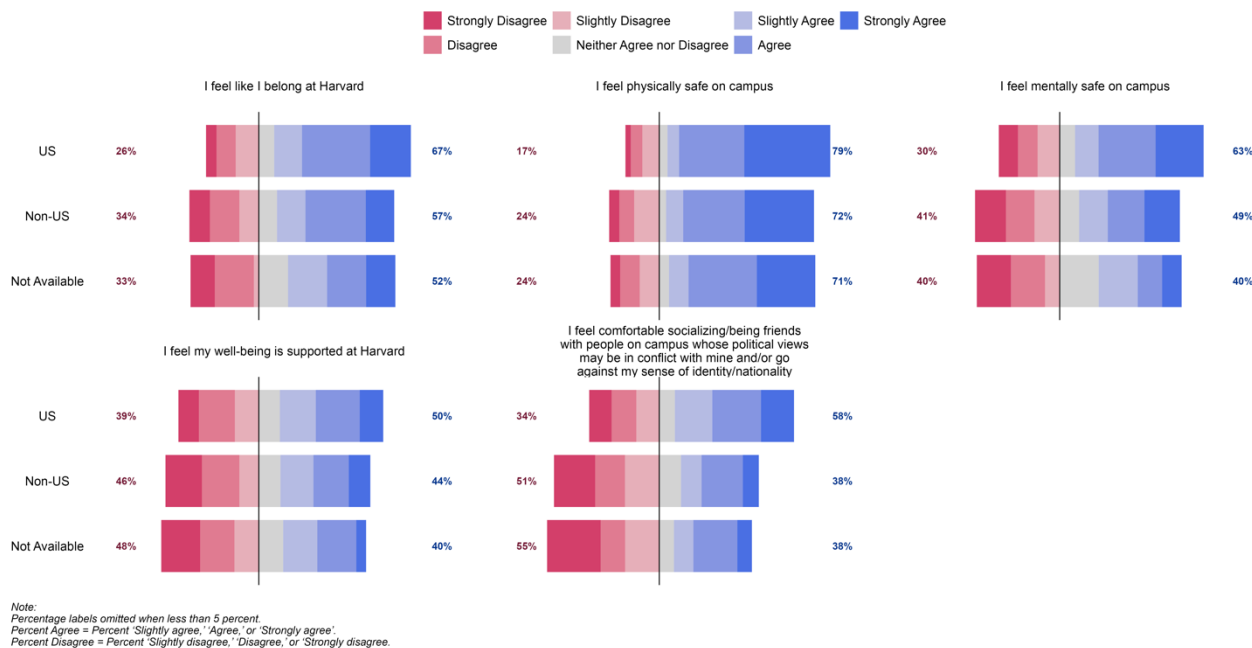
FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Figure A3c: Freedom of Expression by US/Non-US — All Respondents

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree'.
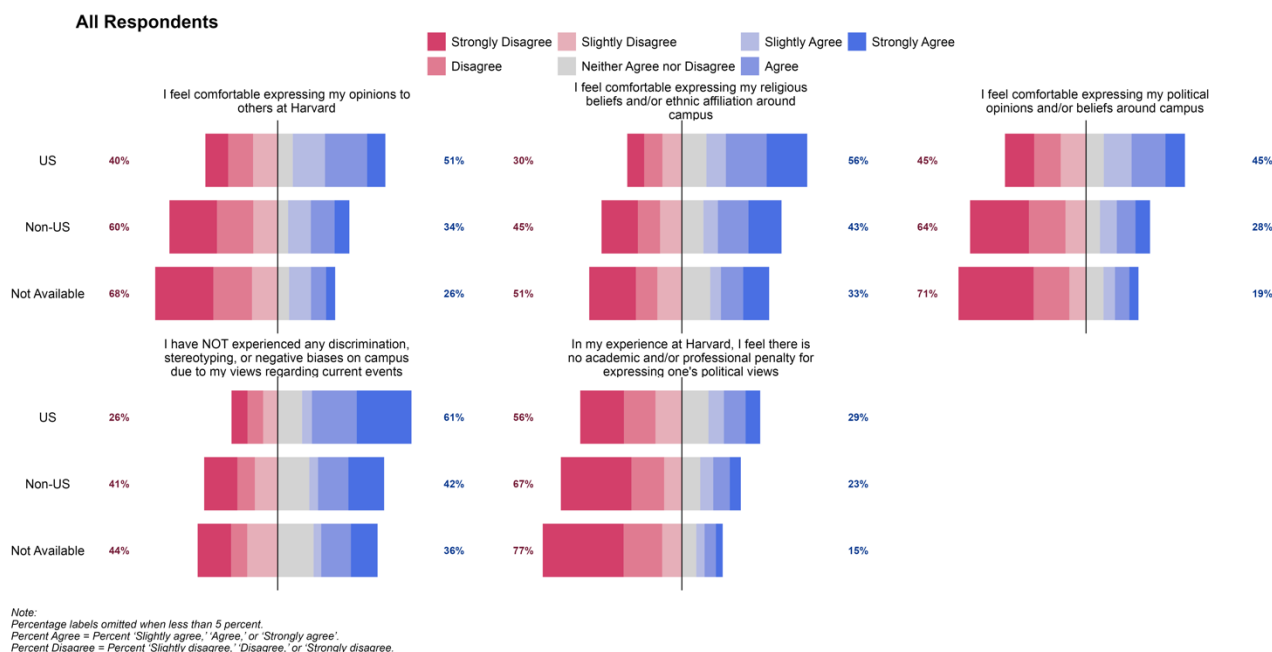
Figure A3d: Freedom of Expression by US/Non-US — Only Students

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree'.
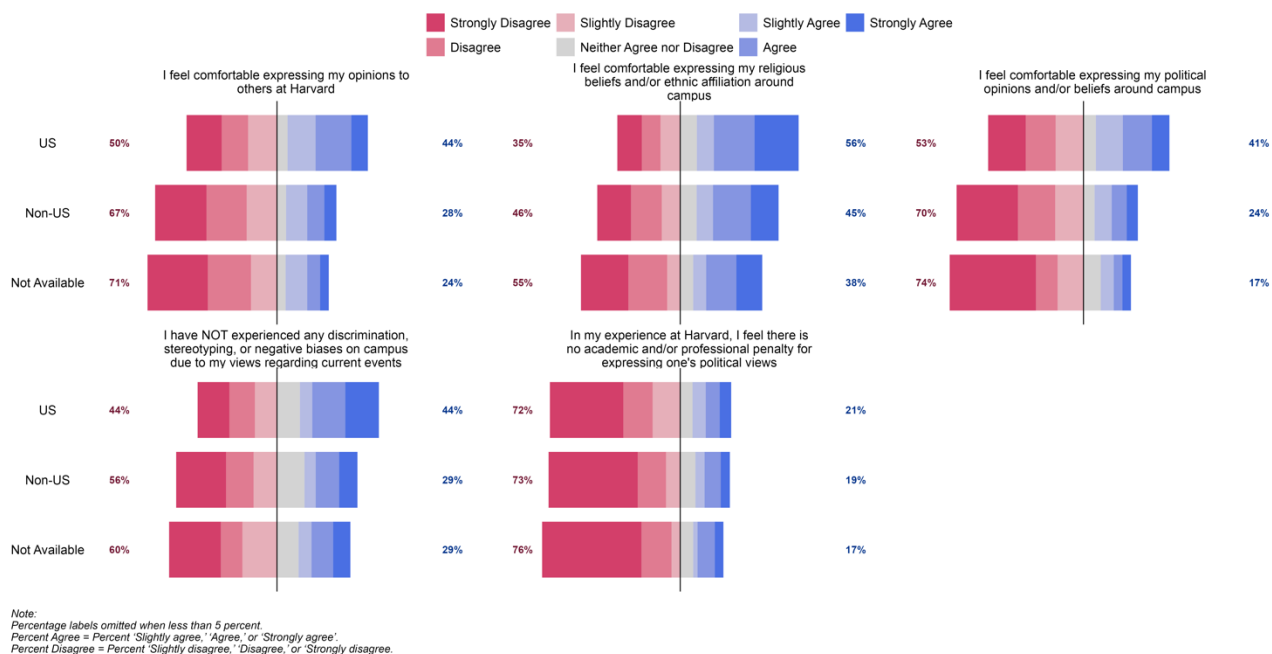
Figure A3e: Contributing Factors by US/Non-US — All Respondents

% of Respondents Mentioning Factor as Substantially Positive or Substantially Negative

Figure A3f: Contributing Factors by US/Non-US — Only Students

% of Respondents Mentioning Factor as Substantially Positive or Substantially Negative

A4. Heterogeneity by Ideology

SAFETY AND BELONGING

Figure A4a: Safety and Belonging by Ideology — All Respondents

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.'

Figure A4b: Safety and Belonging by Ideology — Only Students

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.'

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Figure A4c: Freedom of Expression by Ideology — All Respondents

All Respondents

Legend: Strongly Disagree · Disagree · Slightly Disagree · Neither Agree nor Disagree · Slightly Agree · Agree · Strongly Agree

I feel comfortable expressing my opinions to others at Harvard

Ideology	% Disagree	% Agree
Very liberal	38%	53%
Liberal	35%	58%
Slightly liberal	43%	48%
Moderate	53%	36%
Conservative	69%	27%
Other	59%	35%
Not Available	63%	29%

I feel comfortable expressing my religious beliefs and/or ethnic affiliation around campus

Ideology	% Disagree	% Agree
Very liberal	26%	59%
Liberal	26%	63%
Slightly liberal	34%	53%
Moderate	47%	40%
Conservative	54%	37%
Other	35%	49%
Not Available	50%	32%

I feel comfortable expressing my political opinions and/or beliefs around campus

Ideology	% Disagree	% Agree
Very liberal	43%	48%
Liberal	37%	53%
Slightly liberal	46%	42%
Moderate	63%	25%
Conservative	80%	17%
Other	67%	29%
Not Available	69%	22%

I have NOT experienced any discrimination, stereotyping, or negative biases on campus due to my views regarding current events

Ideology	% Disagree	% Agree
Very liberal	26%	62%
Liberal	25%	64%
Slightly liberal	22%	63%
Moderate	33%	45%
Conservative	34%	45%
Other	46%	37%
Not Available	42%	40%

In my experience at Harvard, I feel there is no academic and/or professional penalty for expressing one's political views

Ideology	% Disagree	% Agree
Very liberal	60%	26%
Liberal	51%	35%
Slightly liberal	50%	32%
Moderate	61%	24%
Conservative	65%	22%
Other	77%	12%
Not Available	77%	15%

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.'

Figure A4d: Freedom of Expression by Ideology — Only Students

Legend: Strongly Disagree · Disagree · Slightly Disagree · Neither Agree nor Disagree · Slightly Agree · Agree · Strongly Agree

I feel comfortable expressing my opinions to others at Harvard

Ideology	% Disagree	% Agree
Very liberal	40%	54%
Liberal	47%	49%
Slightly liberal	60%	36%
Moderate	65%	26%
Conservative	79%	17%
Other	66%	26%
Not Available	74%	22%

I feel comfortable expressing my religious beliefs and/or ethnic affiliation around campus

Ideology	% Disagree	% Agree
Very liberal	30%	58%
Liberal	29%	61%
Slightly liberal	41%	51%
Moderate	52%	36%
Conservative	51%	45%
Other	40%	54%
Not Available	59%	34%

I feel comfortable expressing my political opinions and/or beliefs around campus

Ideology	% Disagree	% Agree
Very liberal	43%	50%
Liberal	46%	47%
Slightly liberal	61%	30%
Moderate	71%	21%
Conservative	85%	9%
Other	72%	26%
Not Available	80%	15%

I have NOT experienced any discrimination, stereotyping, or negative biases on campus due to my views regarding current events

Ideology	% Disagree	% Agree
Very liberal	43%	47%
Liberal	44%	45%
Slightly liberal	38%	45%
Moderate	56%	23%
Conservative	51%	30%
Other	60%	28%
Not Available	57%	30%

In my experience at Harvard, I feel there is no academic and/or professional penalty for expressing one's political views

Ideology	% Disagree	% Agree
Very liberal	73%	22%
Liberal	68%	25%
Slightly liberal	67%	26%
Moderate	68%	18%
Conservative	74%	17%
Other	80%	11%
Not Available	89%	9%

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.'

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

Figure A4e: Contributing Factors by Ideology — All Respondents

% of Respondents Mentioning Factor as Substantially Positive or Substantially Negative

Figure A4f: Contributing Factors by Ideology — Only Students

% of Respondents Mentioning Factor as Substantially Positive or Substantially Negative

A5. Heterogeneity by School[72]

SAFETY AND BELONGING

Figure A5a: Safety and Belonging by School — All Respondents

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.
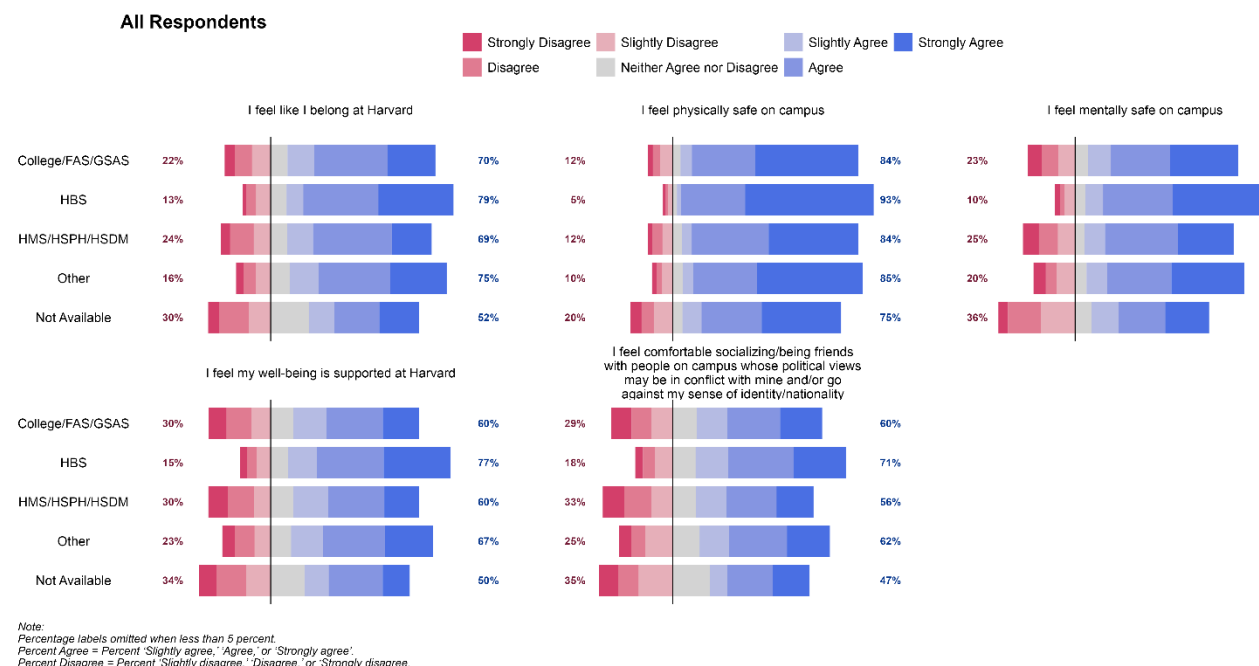
[72] For presentational simplicity, we group similar Schools together and include Schools with the fewest observations in the "Other" category. Counts for each category are as follows: College/FAS/GSAS (FAS — 639; College — 367; GSAS — 260); HBS (303); HMS/HSPH/HSDM (HMS — 195; HSPH — 175; HSDM — 5); Other (Central Administration — 130; HKS — 116; Harvard Division of Continuing Education including the Extension School — 110; SEAS — 82; HDS — 61; HLS — 59; GSD — 56; HGSE — 55; Harvard Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study — 13; Other — 16); Not Available (164).

Figure A5b: Safety and Belonging by School — Only Students

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.
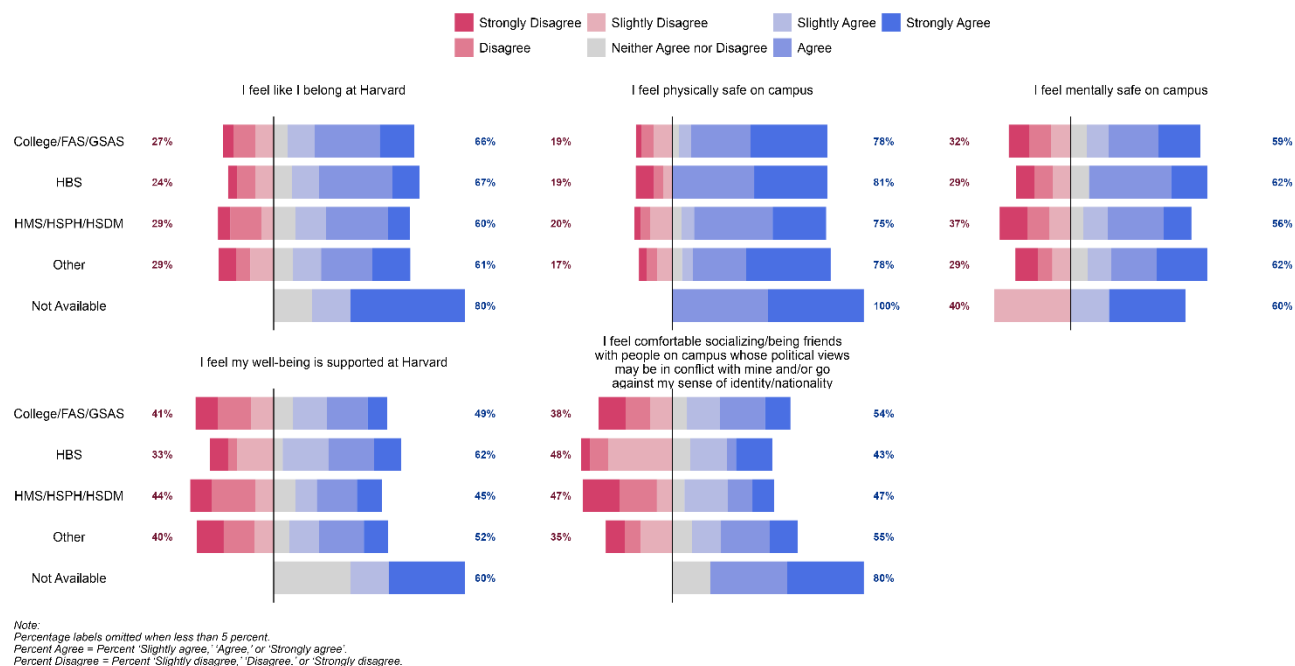
FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Figure A5c: Freedom of Expression by School — All Respondents

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.
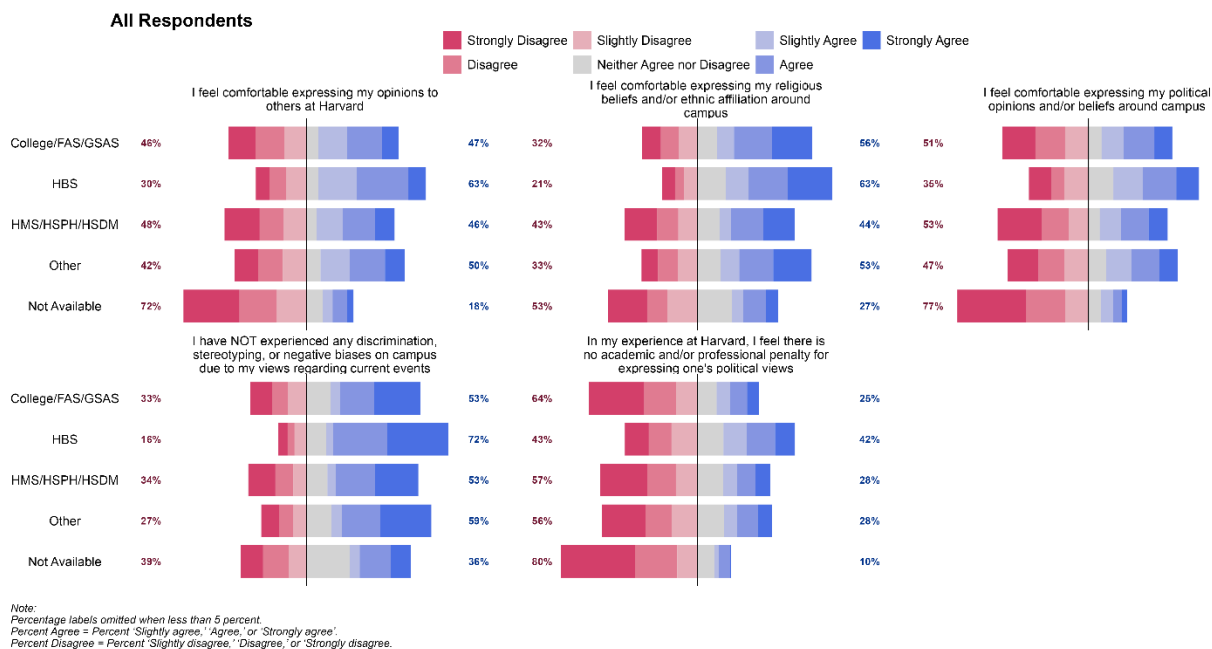
Figure A5d: Freedom of Expression by School — Only Students
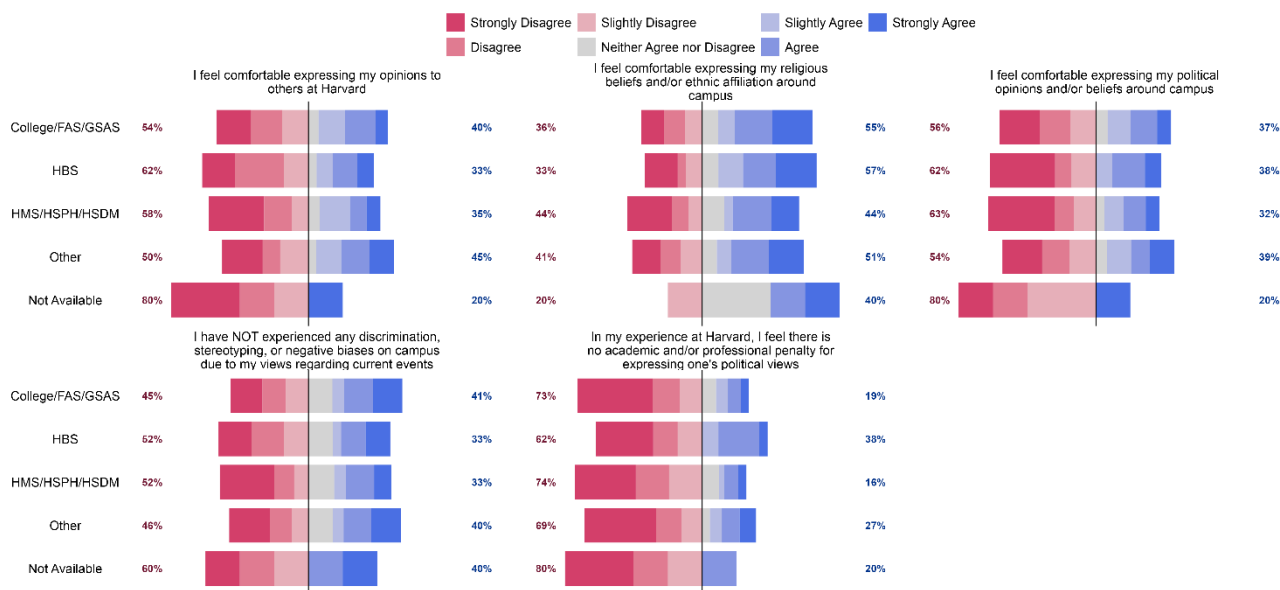
Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree'.

Figure A5e: Contributing Factors by School — All Respondents

% of Respondents Mentioning Factor as Substantially Positive or Substantially Negative
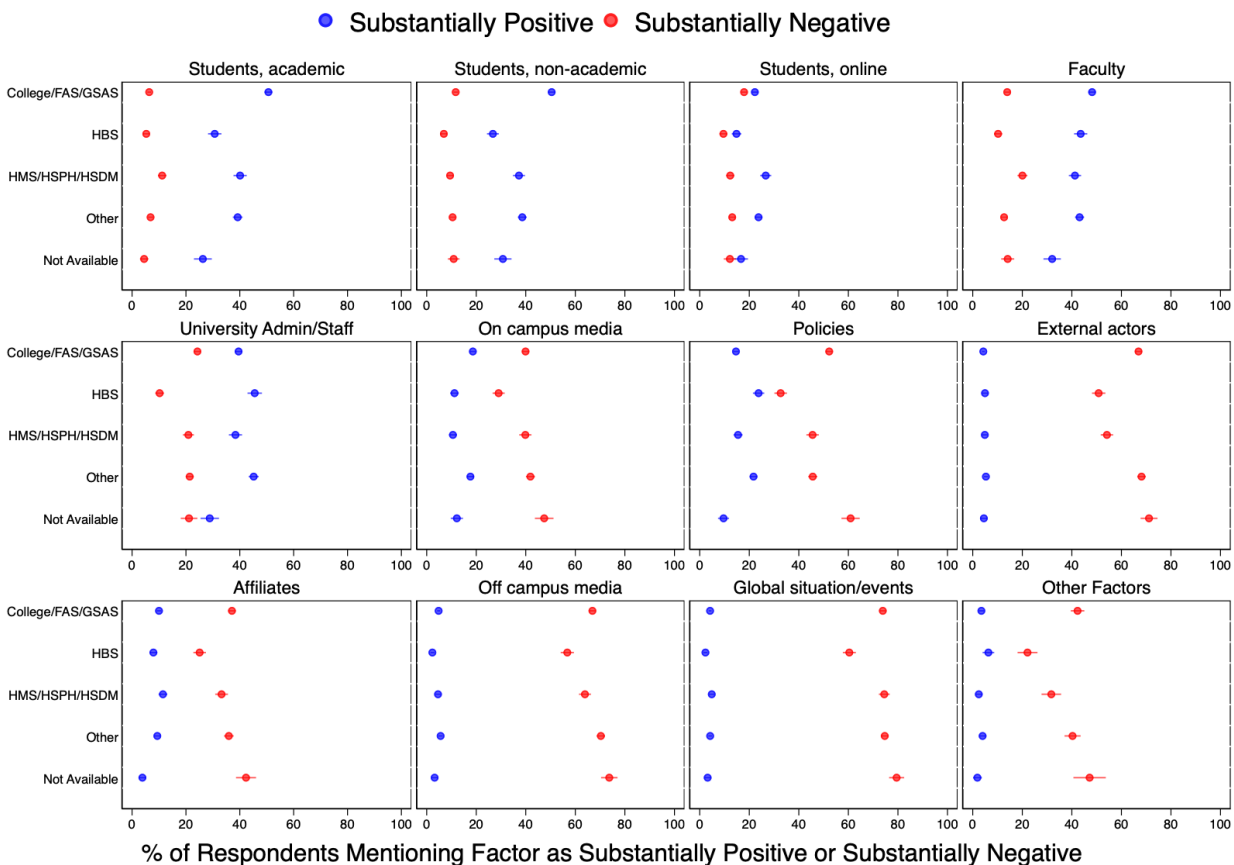
Figure A5f: Contributing Factors by School — Only Students

% of Respondents Mentioning Factor as Substantially Positive or Substantially Negative
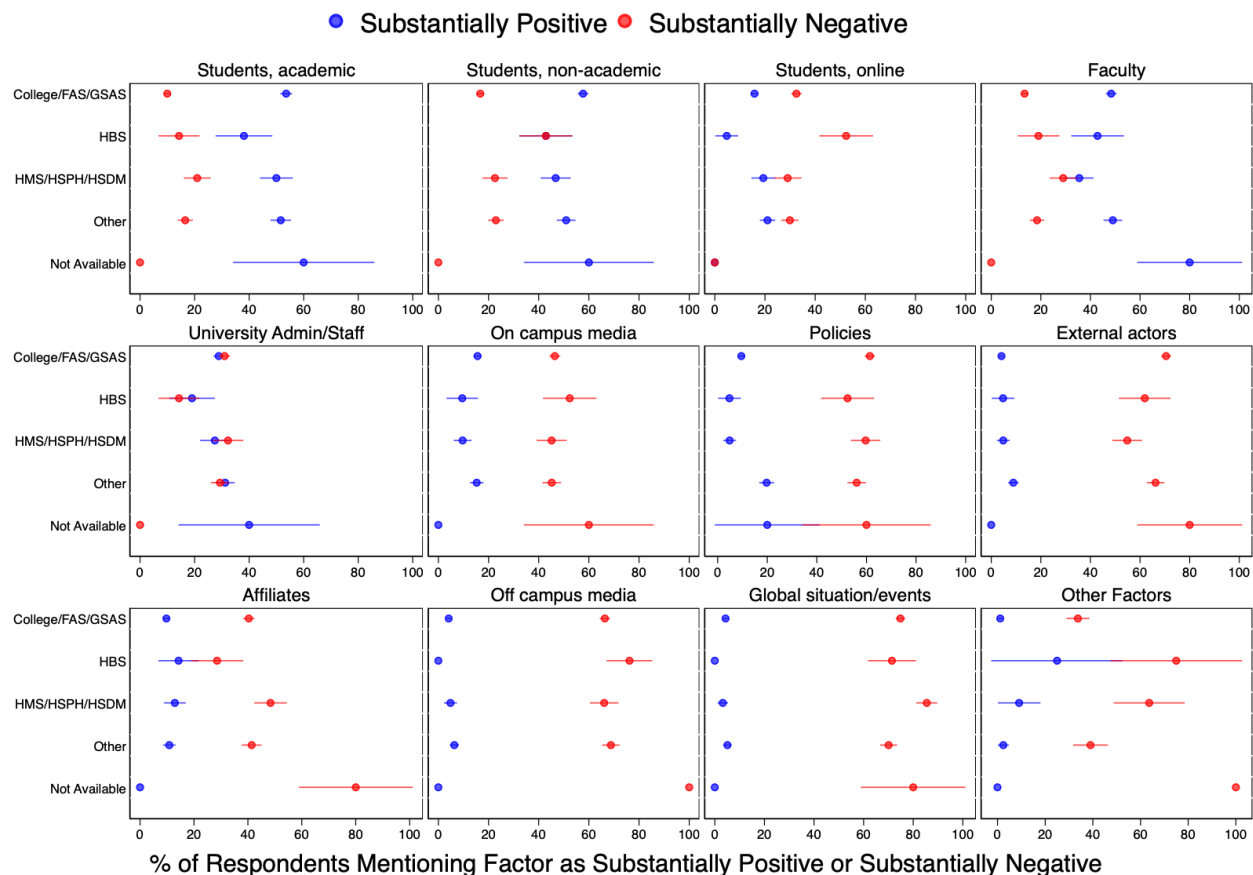
A6. Heterogeneity by Sexual Orientation

SAFETY AND BELONGING

Figure A6a: Safety and Belonging by Sexuality — All Respondents

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.'
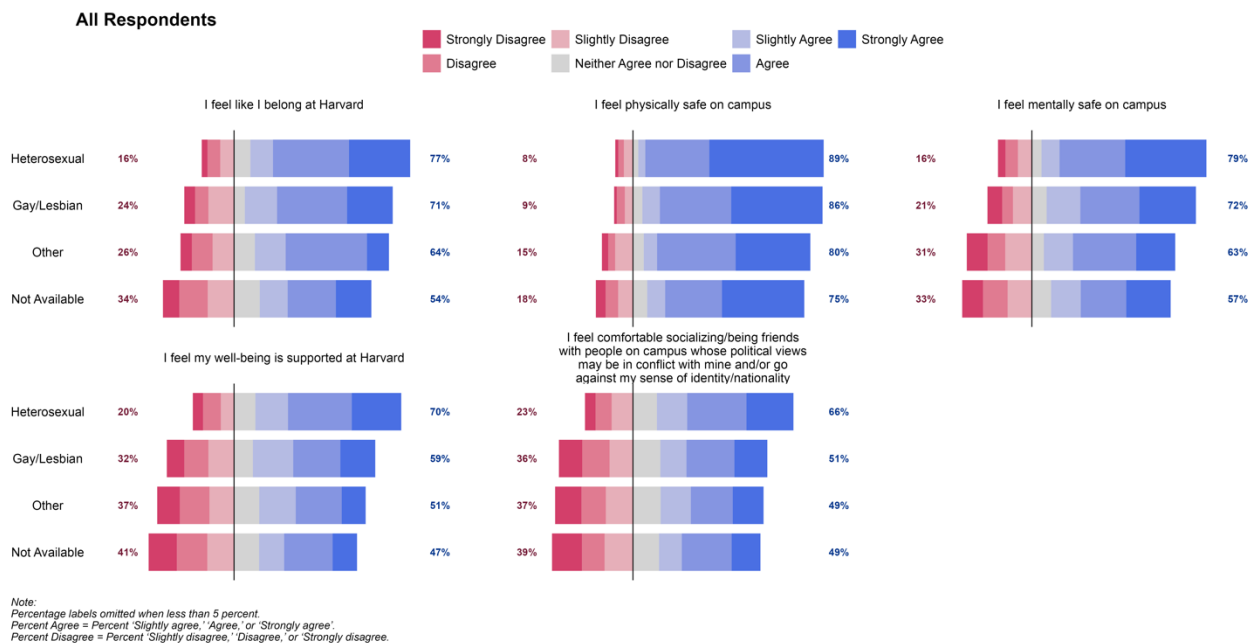
Figure A6b: Safety and Belonging by Sexuality — Only Students

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.'
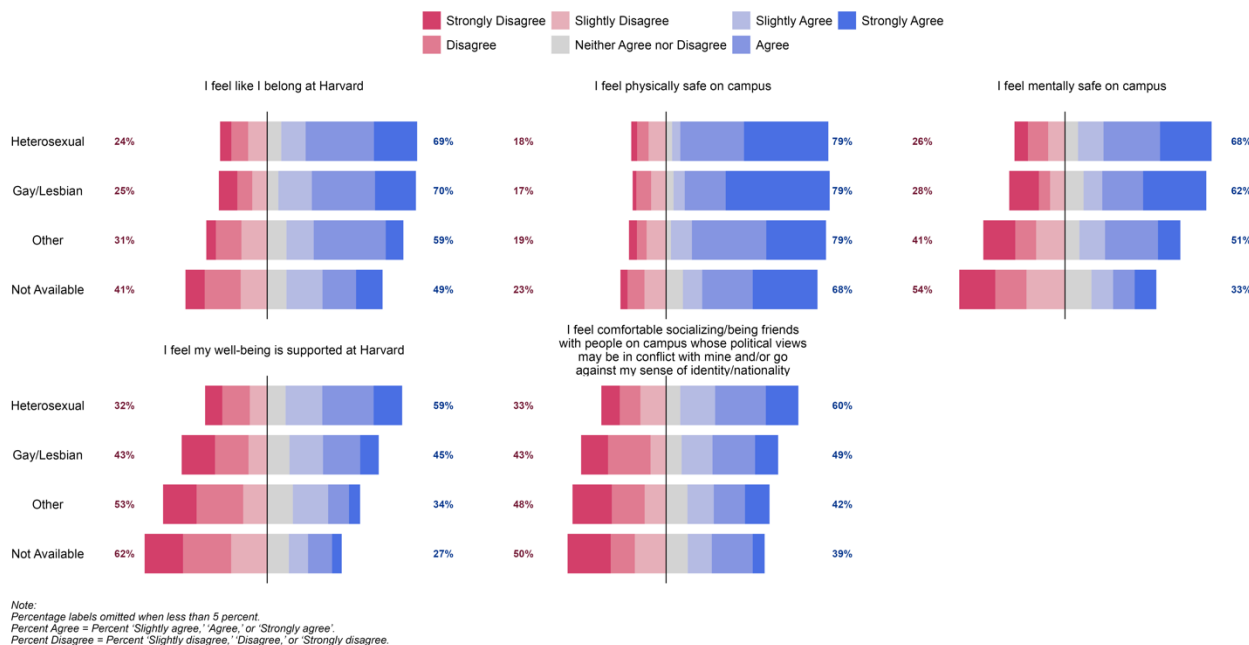
FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Figure A6c: Freedom of Expression by Sexuality — All Respondents

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.
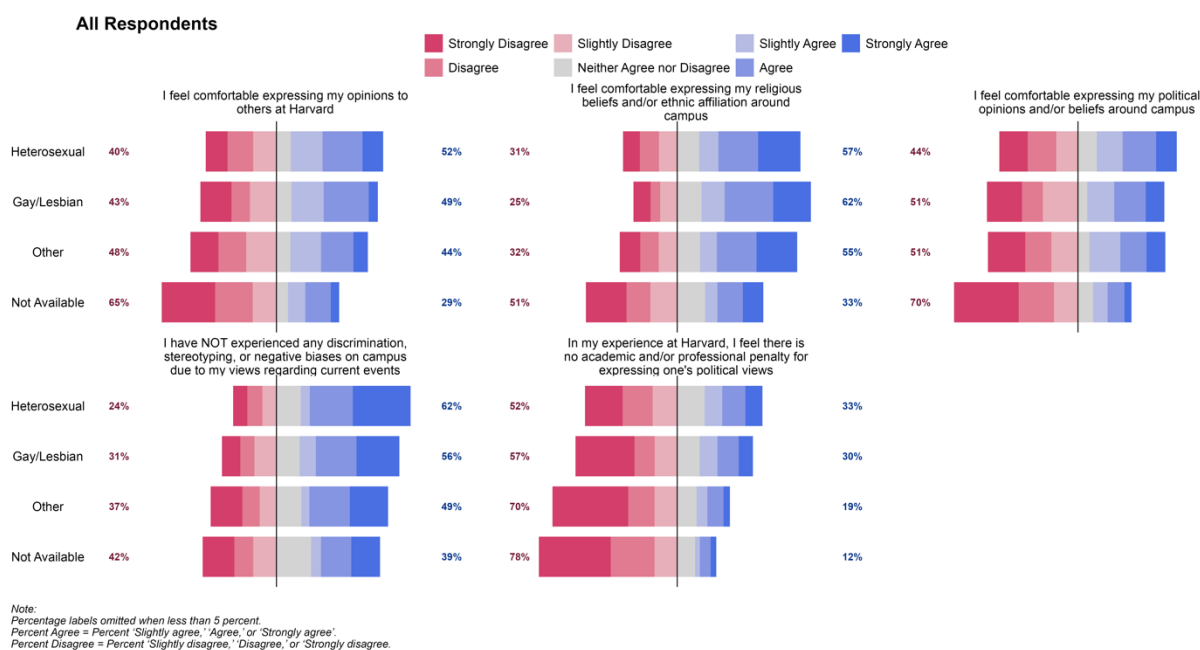
Figure A6d: Freedom of Expression by Sexuality — Only Students

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.
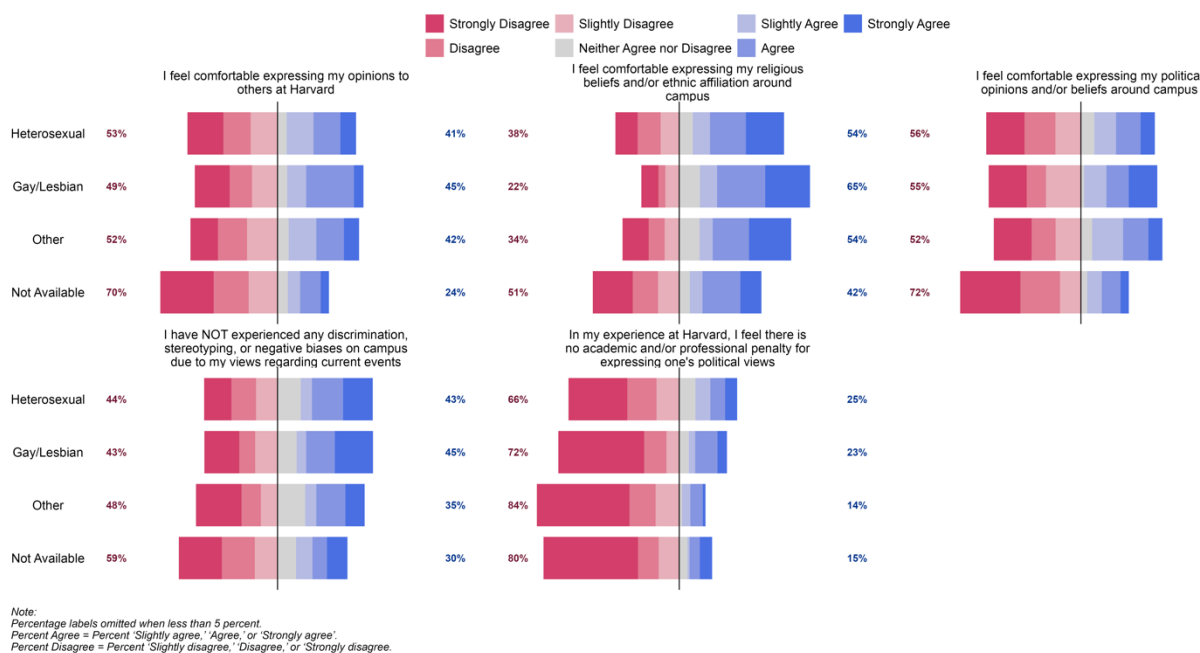
Figure A6e: Contributing Factors by Sexuality — All Respondents

% of Respondents Mentioning Factor as Substantially Positive or Substantially Negative
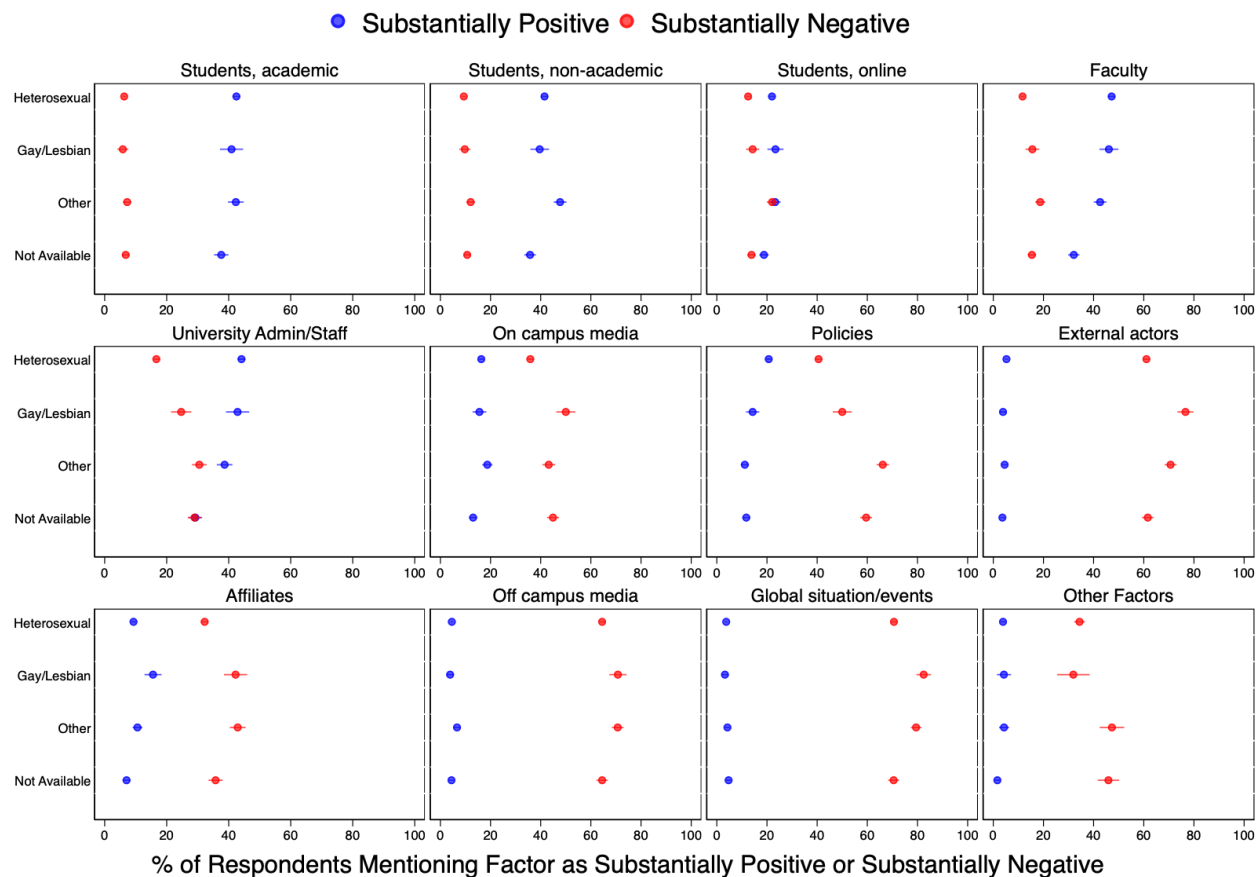
Figure A6f: Contributing Factors by Sexuality — Students Only

% of Respondents Mentioning Factor as Substantially Positive or Substantially Negative
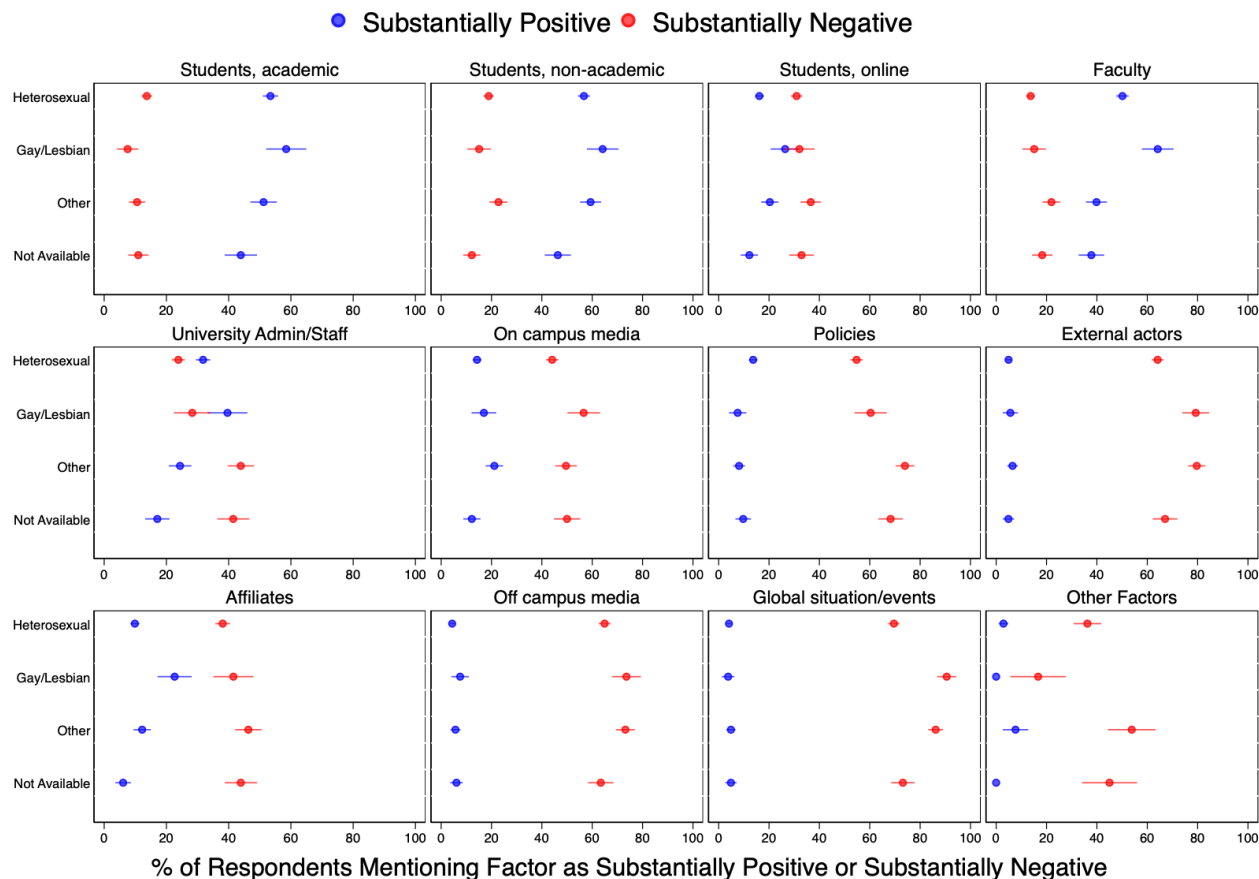
APPENDIX B: CHANGES OVER TIME

B1. Change in Experience Over Time (Overall)

Figure B1: Change in Experience — All Respondents
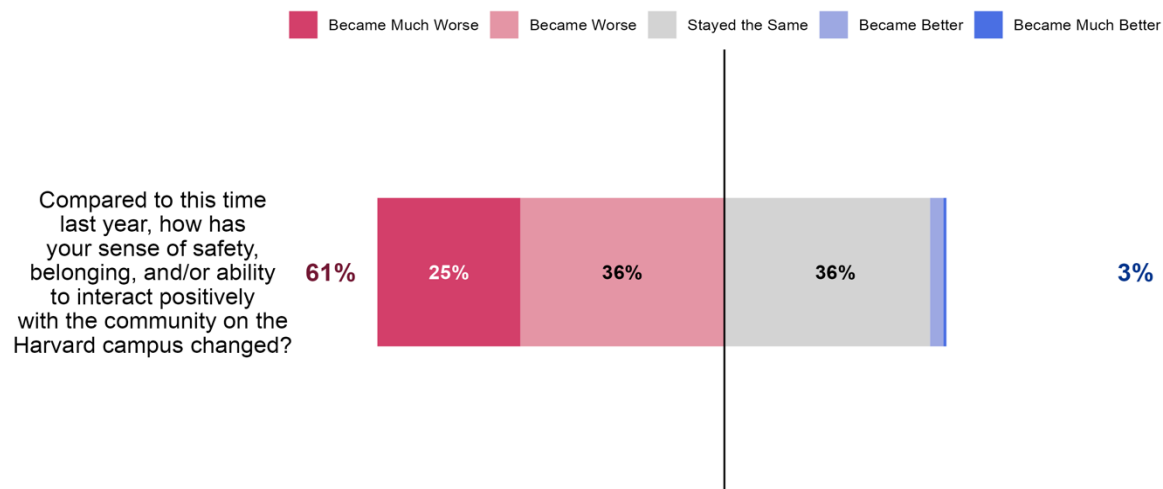
Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Those who reported not being on campus last year are omitted.
Percent Worse = Percent 'Worse' or 'Much worse'.
Percent Better = Percent 'Better' or 'Much better'.

B2. Change in Experience Over Time (By Affiliation, Religion, Race)

Figure B2: Change in Experience by Affiliation, Religion, Race — All Respondents
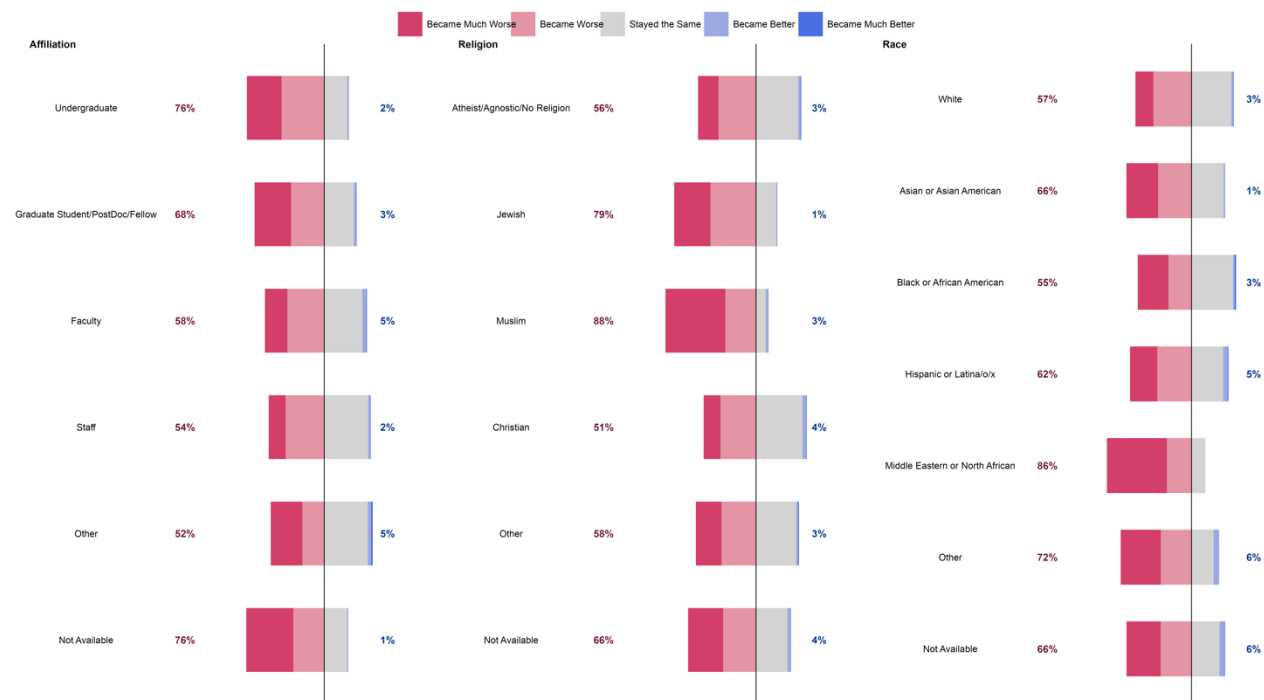
Legend: Became Much Worse | Became Worse | Stayed the Same | Became Better | Became Much Better

Affiliation

	Worse		Better
Undergraduate	76%		2%
Graduate Student/PostDoc/Fellow	68%		3%
Faculty	58%		5%
Staff	54%		2%
Other	52%		5%
Not Available	76%		1%

Religion

	Worse		Better
Atheist/Agnostic/No Religion	56%		3%
Jewish	79%		1%
Muslim	88%		3%
Christian	51%		4%
Other	58%		3%
Not Available	66%		4%

Race

	Worse		Better
White	57%		3%
Asian or Asian American	66%		1%
Black or African American	55%		3%
Hispanic or Latina/o/x	62%		5%
Middle Eastern or North African	86%		
Other	72%		6%
Not Available	66%		6%

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Those who reported not being on campus last year are omitted.
Percent Worse = Percent 'Worse' or 'Much worse'.
Percent Better = Percent 'Better' or 'Much better'.

B3. Change in Experience Over Time (By Age, Gender, US/Non-US)

Figure B3: Change in Experience by Age, Gender, US/Non-US — All Respondents
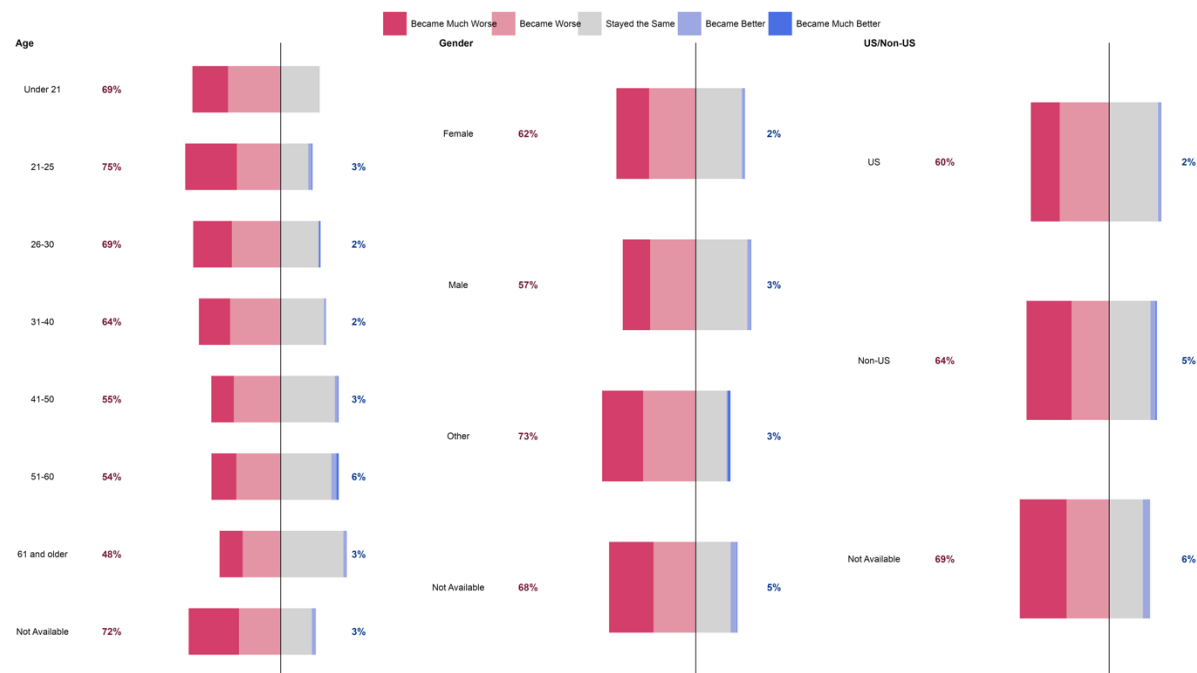
Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Those who reported not being on campus last year are omitted.
Percent Worse = Percent 'Worse' or 'Much worse'.
Percent Better = Percent 'Better' or 'Much better'.

B4. Change in Experience Over Time (By Ideology, School, Sexual Orientation)

Figure B4: Change in Experience by Ideology, School, Sexual Orientation — All Respondents
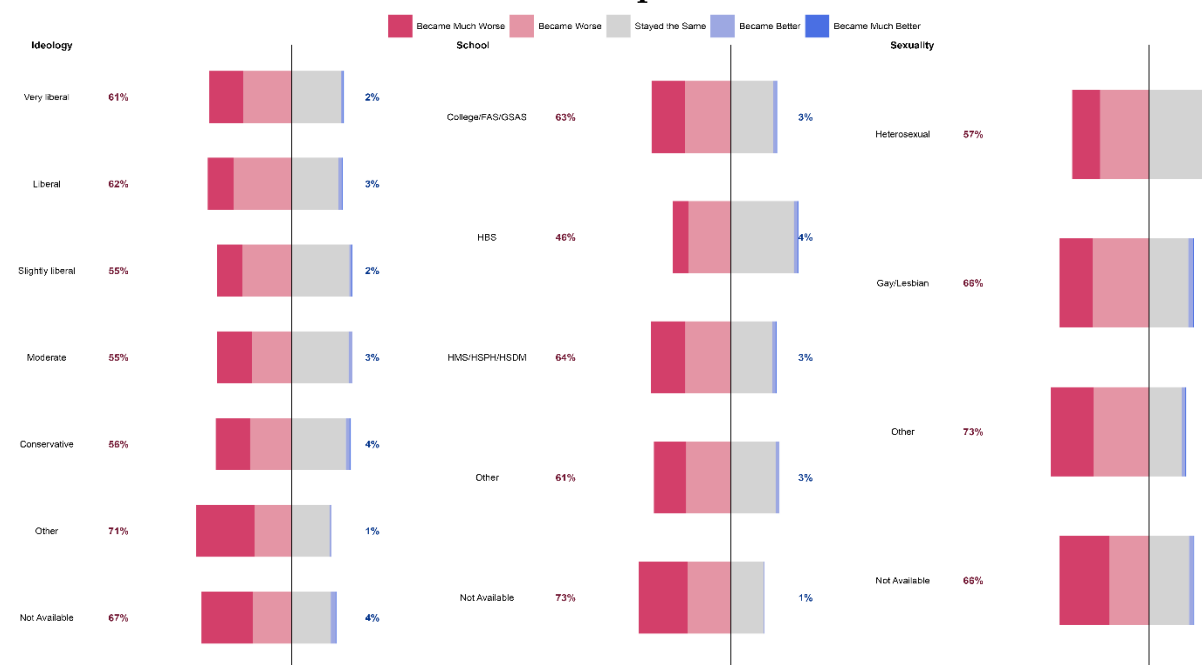
Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Those who reported not being on campus last year are omitted.
Percent Worse = Percent 'Worse' or 'Much worse'.
Percent Better = Percent 'Better' or 'Much better'.

APPENDIX C — REGRESSION ANALYSIS

C1. Regressions — Safety and Belonging Freedom of Expression (By Affiliation)

Table C1a: Safety and Belonging by Affiliation — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Belonging		Physical Safety		Mental Safety		Well-being Supported		Comfort Socializing	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Undergrad	-0.4369***	-0.2619*	-0.7499***	-0.6032***	-1.1280***	-0.9123***	-0.9140***	-0.6744***	-0.9311***	-0.7519***
	(0.1438)	(0.1391)	(0.1270)	(0.1211)	(0.1507)	(0.1446)	(0.1533)	(0.1493)	(0.1578)	(0.1541)
Grad/PostDoc/Fellow	-0.7200***	-0.4697***	-0.7169***	-0.5424***	-1.0903***	-0.8074***	-0.8837***	-0.5953***	-1.0124***	-0.7362***
	(0.1132)	(0.1106)	(0.0968)	(0.0927)	(0.1203)	(0.1116)	(0.1218)	(0.1160)	(0.1223)	(0.1196)
Staff	-0.0087	-0.0205	-0.2013***	-0.2145***	-0.2039**	-0.2081**	0.1900*	0.2142**	-0.3640***	-0.4128***
	(0.0929)	(0.0960)	(0.0707)	(0.0752)	(0.0933)	(0.0932)	(0.1011)	(0.1017)	(0.0996)	(0.1031)
Other	-0.5001**	-0.4341*	-0.5420***	-0.5128***	-0.7434***	-0.6515***	-0.4991*	-0.3889	-0.4918*	-0.4378*
	(0.2468)	(0.2309)	(0.2093)	(0.1917)	(0.2705)	(0.2351)	(0.2716)	(0.2501)	(0.2632)	(0.2356)
N	2280	2280	2269	2269	2266	2266	2280	2280	2245	2245
R-Squared	0.0401	0.1842	0.0470	0.1869	0.0682	0.2555	0.0699	0.2153	0.0399	0.1709
Mean Omitted	5.4412	5.4412	6.3361	6.3361	5.7875	5.7875	5.0513	5.0513	5.2342	5.2342
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is Faculty. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide affiliation are included as a dummy but not shown in the table.

Table C1b: Freedom of Expression by Affiliation — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Opinions		Comfortable Expressing Religion/Ethnicity		Political Beliefs		No Discrimination Expressing Views		No Professional Penalty Expressing Political Views	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Undergrad	-0.5365***	-0.4485***	-1.3310***	-1.0812***	-0.0639	-0.0497	-0.3943**	-0.3104**	-0.9695***	-0.7631***
	(0.1598)	(0.1565)	(0.1701)	(0.1637)	(0.1674)	(0.1609)	(0.1663)	(0.1575)	(0.1561)	(0.1594)
Grad/PostDoc/Fellow	-0.7510***	-0.5467***	-1.0918***	-0.8137***	-0.5789***	-0.4603***	-0.6854***	-0.5144***	-0.8293***	-0.6144***
	(0.1316)	(0.1253)	(0.1359)	(0.1300)	(0.1397)	(0.1306)	(0.1353)	(0.1284)	(0.1285)	(0.1268)
Staff	-0.0710	-0.2110*	0.1758	0.0542	-0.1865	-0.4136***	-0.0807	-0.2488**	0.0070	0.0126
	(0.1118)	(0.1083)	(0.1119)	(0.1094)	(0.1153)	(0.1140)	(0.1180)	(0.1133)	(0.1131)	(0.1128)
Other	0.1744	0.1801	-0.5343*	-0.4580*	-0.3635	-0.3816	0.3171	0.3139	-0.3393	-0.2509
	(0.2691)	(0.2500)	(0.2906)	(0.2522)	(0.2764)	(0.2336)	(0.2806)	(0.2416)	(0.2786)	(0.2619)
N	2281	2281	2250	2250	2235	2235	2265	2265	2260	2260
R-Squared	0.0400	0.2009	0.0911	0.2695	0.0302	0.2204	0.0368	0.2302	0.0511	0.1654
Mean Omitted	4.2520	4.2520	5.1164	5.1164	4.7726	4.7726	3.9917	3.9917	3.5514	3.5514
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Table C1c: Contributing Factors by Affiliation — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Students Academic		Students Non-Academic		Students Online		Faculty		Admin/ Staff		On-Campus Media	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Undergrad	-0.0804	-0.0942*	0.0498	-0.0187	-0.5283***	-0.5750***	0.0580	0.0878	-0.3357***	-0.3048***	-0.1022*	-0.1129*
	(0.0494)	(0.0509)	(0.0541)	(0.0554)	(0.0511)	(0.0515)	(0.0521)	(0.0537)	(0.0587)	(0.0591)	(0.0566)	(0.0580)
Grad/PostDoc/Fellow	-0.2284***	-0.2207***	-0.1761***	-0.2025***	-0.2819***	-0.2829***	-0.1299***	-0.0835*	-0.2171***	-0.1634***	-0.1003**	-0.0729
	(0.0419)	(0.0426)	(0.0429)	(0.0428)	(0.0386)	(0.0386)	(0.0466)	(0.0471)	(0.0472)	(0.0476)	(0.0441)	(0.0447)
Staff	-0.3512***	-0.3734***	-0.1899***	-0.2494***	-0.1236***	-0.1651***	-0.1051***	-0.1244***	0.0691*	0.0636	-0.0153	-0.0473
	(0.0322)	(0.0344)	(0.0324)	(0.0342)	(0.0308)	(0.0322)	(0.0389)	(0.0408)	(0.0407)	(0.0422)	(0.0387)	(0.0399)
Other	-0.2574***	-0.2688***	-0.1947**	-0.2252***	-0.0867	-0.1148	-0.0582	-0.0629	-0.1728*	-0.1499	0.1743*	0.1573*
	(0.0801)	(0.0786)	(0.0829)	(0.0769)	(0.0757)	(0.0724)	(0.0903)	(0.0876)	(0.1004)	(0.0950)	(0.0892)	(0.0828)
N	2333	2333	2342	2342	2324	2324	2377	2377	2344	2344	2358	2358
R-Squared	0.0565	0.0922	0.0244	0.0751	0.0671	0.1074	0.0101	0.0544	0.0382	0.1019	0.0065	0.0548
Mean Omitted	0.5618	0.5618	0.4300	0.4300	0.2485	0.2485	0.3670	0.3670	0.2610	0.2610	-0.1888	-0.1888
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is faculty. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide affiliation are included as a dummy but not shown in the table. If respondent said the factor was both positive and negative, they are included multiple times.

Table C1d: Contributing Factors by Affiliation — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Policies		External Actors		Affiliates		Off-Campus Media		Global Events		Other Factors	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Undergrad	-0.2872***	-0.2154***	-0.1152**	-0.1015**	-0.1298***	-0.1337***	0.0232	0.0439	0.0196	0.0438	-0.0625	-0.0413
	(0.0543)	(0.0557)	(0.0450)	(0.0465)	(0.0482)	(0.0503)	(0.0442)	(0.0460)	(0.0441)	(0.0458)	(0.0440)	(0.1001)
Grad/PostDoc/Fellow	-0.1861***	-0.1110**	-0.0318	-0.0251	-0.0831**	-0.0776*	0.0627*	0.0805**	0.0217	0.0386	0.1077	0.1341
	(0.0454)	(0.0458)	(0.0378)	(0.0386)	(0.0387)	(0.0397)	(0.0379)	(0.0390)	(0.0353)	(0.0361)	(0.0933)	(0.0981)
Staff	0.0981**	0.1209***	-0.0150	-0.0005	-0.0813**	-0.0859**	0.0252	0.0505	0.0049	0.0213	0.1563**	0.1122
	(0.0417)	(0.0426)	(0.0333)	(0.0340)	(0.0326)	(0.0343)	(0.0323)	(0.0340)	(0.0304)	(0.0317)	(0.0710)	(0.0690)
Other	-0.0543	-0.0198	-0.0073	0.0084	0.0382	0.0443	0.0400	0.0552	-0.0439	-0.0291	0.6875**	0.6989**
	(0.1005)	(0.0942)	(0.0754)	(0.0722)	(0.0880)	(0.0849)	(0.0775)	(0.0745)	(0.0667)	(0.0652)	(0.3488)	(0.3509)
N	2350	2350	2322	2322	2331	2331	2334	2334	2340	2340	282	282
R-Squared	0.0381	0.1194	0.0031	0.0469	0.0058	0.0293	0.0013	0.0369	0.0005	0.0457	0.0486	0.1593
Omitted Mean	-0.2500	-0.2500	-0.5515	-0.5515	-0.1811	-0.1811	-0.6283	-0.6283	-0.6767	-0.6767	-0.9375	-0.9375
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is faculty. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide affiliation are included as a dummy but not shown in the table. If respondent said the factor was both positive and negative, they are included multiple times.

C2. Regressions — Safety and Belonging And Freedom of Expression (By Religion)

Table C2a: Safety and Belonging by Religion — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Belonging		Physical Safety		Mental Safety		Well-being Supported		Comfort Socializing	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Atheist	-0.1476*	-0.0966	0.0221	0.0108	-0.0036	0.0526	-0.2350***	-0.1182	-0.2911***	-0.1579*
	(0.0802)	(0.0772)	(0.0627)	(0.0624)	(0.0818)	(0.0766)	(0.0856)	(0.0805)	(0.0919)	(0.0894)
Muslim	-1.6975***	-0.8268***	-1.8109***	-1.1759***	-2.2487***	-1.2513***	-1.9842***	-1.0307***	-1.7750***	-0.8675***
	(0.2310)	(0.2466)	(0.2256)	(0.2335)	(0.2359)	(0.2426)	(0.2222)	(0.2383)	(0.2248)	(0.2353)
Jewish	-0.5541***	-0.5498***	-0.6023***	-0.6196***	-0.8153***	-0.7542***	-0.7961***	-0.7246***	-0.7537***	-0.7607***
	(0.1006)	(0.0977)	(0.0882)	(0.0864)	(0.1083)	(0.1001)	(0.1060)	(0.1009)	(0.1121)	(0.1105)
Other	-0.2925**	-0.1663	-0.2182**	-0.1378	-0.3901***	-0.2281**	-0.2765**	-0.1327	-0.3039**	-0.0650
	(0.1149)	(0.1134)	(0.0953)	(0.0960)	(0.1221)	(0.1158)	(0.1258)	(0.1218)	(0.1264)	(0.1192)
N	2280	2280	2269	2269	2266	2266	2280	2280	2245	2245
R-Squared	0.0675	0.1838	0.0929	0.1837	0.0964	0.2541	0.0717	0.2134	0.0478	0.1682
Mean Omitted	5.5719	5.5719	6.3141	6.3141	5.7177	5.7177	5.3125	5.3125	5.2241	5.2241
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is Christians. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide religion are included as a dummy but not shown in the table.

Table C2b: Freedom of Expression by Religion — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Comfortable Expressing Opinions		Religion/Ethnicity		Political Beliefs		No Discrimination Expressing Views		No Professional Penalty Expressing Political Views	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Atheist	0.1865*	0.0570	0.2901***	0.2956***	0.3572***	0.1606*	0.3479***	0.1540	-0.1233	-0.0760
	(0.0963)	(0.0914)	(0.0982)	(0.0913)	(0.0962)	(0.0942)	(0.1002)	(0.0958)	(0.0992)	(0.0979)
Muslim	-1.6329***	-0.7384***	-2.3412***	-1.0327***	-1.7821***	-1.1033***	-1.7386***	-0.9105***	-1.7779***	-0.9981***
	(0.2053)	(0.2237)	(0.2192)	(0.2411)	(0.2260)	(0.2515)	(0.1670)	(0.1910)	(0.1516)	(0.1763)
Jewish	-0.6752***	-0.7320***	-0.8597***	-0.8515***	-1.1244***	-1.1536***	-0.6827***	-0.7823***	-0.3425***	-0.3194***
	(0.1140)	(0.1062)	(0.1223)	(0.1128)	(0.1201)	(0.1157)	(0.1161)	(0.1071)	(0.1136)	(0.1122)
Other	-0.2734**	-0.1580	-0.1854	-0.0586	-0.2627**	-0.1809	-0.4187***	-0.3101**	-0.2258*	-0.1049
	(0.1297)	(0.1251)	(0.1403)	(0.1315)	(0.1335)	(0.1330)	(0.1281)	(0.1245)	(0.1326)	(0.1279)
N	2281	2281	2250	2250	2235	2235	2265	2265	2260	2260
R-Squared	0.0653	0.1994	0.1018	0.2678	0.1084	0.2185	0.0877	0.2289	0.0520	0.1641
Mean Omitted	4.2640	4.2640	5.1164	5.1164	4.8410	4.8410	4.0051	4.0051	3.5990	3.5990
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is Christians. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide religion are included as a dummy but not shown in the table.

Table C2c: Contributing Factors by Religion — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Students Academic		Students Non-Academic		Students Online		Faculty		Admin/ Staff		On-Campus Media	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Atheist	0.0290	-0.0038	0.0485	0.0132	-0.0203	-0.0258	-0.0129	-0.0215	-0.0883**	-0.0623*	-0.0036	-0.0168
	(0.0284)	(0.0287)	(0.0303)	(0.0315)	(0.0296)	(0.0297)	(0.0329)	(0.0344)	(0.0364)	(0.0369)	(0.0342)	(0.0354)
Muslim	-0.0930	-0.0876	-0.0003	-0.0199	-0.2119***	-0.0852	-0.3604***	-0.2582***	-0.5225***	-0.2985***	-0.3370***	-0.2004**
	(0.0720)	(0.0786)	(0.0721)	(0.0801)	(0.0678)	(0.0733)	(0.0815)	(0.0872)	(0.0787)	(0.0872)	(0.0734)	(0.0807)
Jewish	-0.0823**	-0.1226***	-0.1913***	-0.2079***	-0.1919***	-0.1861***	-0.1245***	-0.1351***	-0.2138***	-0.1946***	-0.2233***	-0.2254***
	(0.0359)	(0.0353)	(0.0390)	(0.0400)	(0.0376)	(0.0364)	(0.0406)	(0.0416)	(0.0427)	(0.0433)	(0.0403)	(0.0418)
Other	-0.0076	0.0249	0.0059	0.0161	0.0556	0.0426	-0.0573	-0.0197	-0.1139**	-0.0925*	-0.0014	0.0201
	(0.0359)	(0.0354)	(0.0404)	(0.0412)	(0.0381)	(0.0377)	(0.0442)	(0.0453)	(0.0497)	(0.0498)	(0.0475)	(0.0481)
N	2333	2333	2342	2342	2324	2324	2377	2377	2344	2344	2358	2358
R-Squared	0.0063	0.0902	0.0180	0.0711	0.0202	0.1045	0.0155	0.0538	0.0314	0.1009	0.0219	0.0541
Mean Omitted	0.3787	0.3787	0.3618	0.3618	0.1495	0.1495	0.3712	0.3712	0.3493	0.3493	-0.1400	-0.1400
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is Christians. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide religion are included as a dummy but not shown in the table. If respondent said the factor was both positive and negative, they are included multiple times.

Table C2d: Contributing Factors by Religion — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Policies		External Actors		Affiliates		Off-Campus Media		Global Events		Other Factors	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Atheist	-0.0779**	-0.0135	-0.0714**	-0.0404	-0.0358	-0.0233	-0.0293	-0.0131	-0.0570**	-0.0389	-0.1308*	-0.1325
	(0.0367)	(0.0369)	(0.0293)	(0.0304)	(0.0303)	(0.0320)	(0.0293)	(0.0304)	(0.0269)	(0.0276)	(0.0773)	(0.0822)
Muslim	-0.5472***	-0.3494***	-0.2696***	-0.2899***	-0.2067***	-0.1992**	-0.2125***	-0.2221***	-0.2364***	-0.2433***	-0.2519***	-0.0933
	(0.0602)	(0.0733)	(0.0492)	(0.0579)	(0.0707)	(0.0798)	(0.0564)	(0.0611)	(0.0488)	(0.0552)	(0.0613)	(0.0861)
Jewish	-0.1731***	-0.1439***	-0.1801***	-0.1662***	-0.1537***	-0.1497***	-0.1395***	-0.1359***	-0.2087***	-0.2053***	-0.1051	-0.1201
	(0.0431)	(0.0441)	(0.0327)	(0.0337)	(0.0359)	(0.0373)	(0.0331)	(0.0348)	(0.0292)	(0.0311)	(0.0922)	(0.1011)
Other	-0.0395	0.0045	-0.0595	-0.0346	-0.0165	0.0040	-0.0514	-0.0309	-0.0966***	-0.0680*	0.0221	0.0174
	(0.0502)	(0.0489)	(0.0380)	(0.0382)	(0.0407)	(0.0421)	(0.0390)	(0.0394)	(0.0349)	(0.0353)	(0.1037)	(0.1142)
N	2350	2350	2322	2322	2331	2331	2334	2334	2340	2340	282	282
R-Squared	0.0302	0.1165	0.0188	0.0467	0.0110	0.0293	0.0123	0.0369	0.0234	0.0455	0.0196	0.1570
Mean Omitted	-0.1324	-0.1324	-0.5174	-0.5174	-0.2039	-0.2039	-0.5517	-0.5517	-0.6036	-0.6036	-0.7105	-0.7105
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is Christians. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide religion are included as a dummy but not shown in the table. If respondent said the factor was both positive and negative, they are included multiple times.

C3. Regressions — Safety and Belonging And Freedom of Expression (By Race)

Table C3a: Safety and Belonging by Race — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Belonging		Physical Safety		Mental Safety		Well-being Supported		Comfort Socializing	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Asian	-0.3845***	-0.1055	-0.3849***	-0.0865	-0.5439***	-0.1499	-0.6645***	-0.2290*	-0.7516***	-0.4552***
	(0.1271)	(0.1254)	(0.1062)	(0.1018)	(0.1339)	(0.1282)	(0.1398)	(0.1358)	(0.1325)	(0.1348)
Black	-0.6767***	-0.6309***	-0.3615**	-0.2441	-0.8736***	-0.6781***	-0.7377***	-0.5782***	-0.4050*	-0.3787*
	(0.2200)	(0.2143)	(0.1823)	(0.1666)	(0.2340)	(0.2171)	(0.2282)	(0.2142)	(0.2189)	(0.2153)
Hispanic	-0.3000	-0.2297	-0.1541	-0.0899	-0.3902**	-0.2630	-0.3002*	-0.1795	-0.3790*	-0.2909
	(0.1701)	(0.1620)	(0.1480)	(0.1381)	(0.1832)	(0.1673)	(0.1809)	(0.1670)	(0.1952)	(0.1816)
MENA	-1.6959***	-1.1092***	-1.4183***	-0.7554***	-2.0344***	-1.2152***	-1.7506***	-0.9769***	-1.4714***	-0.8422***
	(0.1854)	(0.1964)	(0.1819)	(0.1840)	(0.1995)	(0.2033)	(0.1803)	(0.1898)	(0.1905)	(0.1931)
Other	-0.6653***	-0.3465**	-0.4943***	-0.2344*	-1.3270***	-0.9418***	-0.9406***	-0.5668***	-1.1034***	-0.8505***
	(0.1621)	(0.1544)	(0.1493)	(0.1376)	(0.1916)	(0.1807)	(0.1739)	(0.1665)	(0.1830)	(0.1745)
N	2280	2280	2269	2269	2266	2266	2280	2280	2245	2245
R-Squared	0.0807	0.1740	0.0701	0.1822	0.1112	0.2482	0.0768	0.2123	0.0662	0.1658
Mean Omitted	5.5000	5.5000	6.2087	6.2087	5.6484	5.6484	5.0992	5.0992	5.0327	5.0327
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is White. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide race are included as a dummy but not shown in the table.

Table C3b: Freedom of Expression by Race — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Comfortable Expressing Opinions		Comfortable Expressing Religion/Ethnicity		Political Beliefs		No Discrimination Expressing Views		No Professional Penalty Expressing Political Views	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Asian	-0.4655***	-0.2434*	-0.9356***	-0.4753***	-0.0505	-0.0400	-0.4664***	-0.2414*	-0.6518***	-0.2589*
	(0.1414)	(0.1457)	(0.1482)	(0.1435)	(0.1416)	(0.1422)	(0.1428)	(0.1424)	(0.1475)	(0.1489)
Black	-0.2727	-0.2863	-1.0160***	-0.7614***	-0.4077*	-0.5537**	-0.3119	-0.3037	-0.8200***	-0.6095***
	(0.2279)	(0.2292)	(0.2409)	(0.2374)	(0.2248)	(0.2202)	(0.2289)	(0.2257)	(0.2213)	(0.2223)
Hispanic	-0.4393**	-0.3518*	-0.6400***	-0.4687***	0.0106	-0.0253	-0.2502	-0.1556	-0.2609	-0.1161
	(0.1898)	(0.1801)	(0.1954)	(0.1815)	(0.1968)	(0.1839)	(0.1924)	(0.1798)	(0.2003)	(0.1945)
MENA	-1.8183***	-1.2244***	-2.3441***	-1.4262***	-1.8407***	-1.2543***	-1.7541***	-1.0962***	-1.4046***	-0.8008***
	(0.1616)	(0.1757)	(0.1799)	(0.1913)	(0.1783)	(0.1877)	(0.1575)	(0.1722)	(0.1617)	(0.1800)
Other	-1.1848***	-0.7820***	-1.2735***	-0.7973***	-1.4176***	-0.9659***	-1.3507***	-0.8892***	-0.6807***	-0.4010**
	(0.1782)	(0.1716)	(0.1972)	(0.1830)	(0.1879)	(0.1868)	(0.1756)	(0.1661)	(0.1661)	(0.1599)
N	2281	2281	2250	2250	2235	2235	2265	2265	2260	2260
R-Squared	0.1080	0.1951	0.1244	0.2606	0.1072	0.2166	0.1096	0.2244	0.0717	0.1632
Mean Omitted	4.3679	4.3679	5.2200	5.2200	4.8604	4.8604	4.1509	4.1509	3.5538	3.5538
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is White. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide race are included as a dummy but not shown in the table.

Table C3c: Contributing Factors by Race — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Students Academic		Students Non-Academic		Students Online		Faculty		Admin/ Staff		On-Campus Media	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Asian	0.0869**	0.0399	0.1641***	0.1085**	-0.0308	0.0654	-0.0473	-0.0470	-0.1725***	-0.0389	-0.0198	0.0101
	(0.0425)	(0.0442)	(0.0452)	(0.0474)	(0.0425)	(0.0436)	(0.0474)	(0.0504)	(0.0537)	(0.0558)	(0.0508)	(0.0529)
Black	0.0498	-0.0030	0.1832**	0.1053	-0.0057	0.0513	-0.0254	-0.0705	-0.1177	-0.0496	0.0740	0.0546
	(0.0668)	(0.0649)	(0.0742)	(0.0733)	(0.0752)	(0.0732)	(0.0784)	(0.0787)	(0.0852)	(0.0852)	(0.0754)	(0.0775)
Hispanic	-0.0187	-0.0318	0.0071	-0.0156	0.0226	0.0639	-0.0364	-0.0573	-0.1540**	-0.1191*	0.0179	0.0161
	(0.0569)	(0.0565)	(0.0599)	(0.0592)	(0.0544)	(0.0533)	(0.0646)	(0.0644)	(0.0730)	(0.0699)	(0.0637)	(0.0645)
MENA	-0.1412**	-0.1190*	-0.0946	-0.0649	-0.1913***	-0.0491	-0.3080***	-0.2071***	-0.3981***	-0.1999***	-0.3440***	-0.2163***
	(0.0602)	(0.0646)	(0.0647)	(0.0675)	(0.0583)	(0.0610)	(0.0676)	(0.0706)	(0.0690)	(0.0746)	(0.0585)	(0.0636)
Other	-0.1798***	-0.1561***	-0.2000***	-0.1395**	-0.2131***	-0.1758***	-0.2193***	-0.1498**	-0.2155***	-0.1266**	-0.1797***	-0.1084*
	(0.0539)	(0.0536)	(0.0545)	(0.0543)	(0.0551)	(0.0550)	(0.0628)	(0.0632)	(0.0654)	(0.0645)	(0.0563)	(0.0563)
N	2333	2333	2342	2342	2324	2324	2377	2377	2344	2344	2358	2358
R-Squared	0.0117	0.0892	0.0184	0.0731	0.0129	0.1053	0.0196	0.0500	0.0294	0.0999	0.0190	0.0516
Mean Omitted	0.3656	0.3656	0.3187	0.3187	0.1036	0.1036	0.3561	0.3561	0.2772	0.2772	-0.1751	-0.1751
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is White. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide race are included as a dummy but not shown in the table. If respondent said the factor was both positive and negative, they are included multiple times.

Table C3d: Contributing Factors by Race — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Policies		External Actors		Affiliates		Off-Campus Media		Global Events		Other Factors	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Asian	-0.1886***	-0.0501	0.0135	0.0243	0.0338	0.0383	0.0245	0.0252	0.0009	-0.0039	-0.2115***	-0.2506**
	(0.0530)	(0.0532)	(0.0418)	(0.0439)	(0.0451)	(0.0466)	(0.0422)	(0.0448)	(0.0394)	(0.0414)	(0.0473)	(0.1069)
Black	-0.1987***	-0.1329*	0.0399	0.0425	-0.0273	-0.0306	-0.0316	-0.0544	-0.0322	-0.0636	-0.2285***	-0.1890**
	(0.0755)	(0.0757)	(0.0729)	(0.0724)	(0.0721)	(0.0722)	(0.0643)	(0.0643)	(0.0632)	(0.0610)	(0.0507)	(0.0866)
Hispanic	-0.0953	-0.0760	0.0899	0.0764	0.0234	0.0113	0.0815	0.0501	0.0765	0.0513	0.1694	0.1146
	(0.0680)	(0.0664)	(0.0602)	(0.0582)	(0.0624)	(0.0631)	(0.0587)	(0.0586)	(0.0554)	(0.0548)	(0.1896)	(0.1880)
MENA	-0.3344***	-0.1221*	-0.0940*	-0.0179	-0.0904	-0.0292	-0.0891*	-0.0255	-0.0919*	-0.0254	-0.2264***	-0.1262
	(0.0604)	(0.0676)	(0.0502)	(0.0574)	(0.0603)	(0.0670)	(0.0516)	(0.0563)	(0.0493)	(0.0552)	(0.0488)	(0.0789)
Other	-0.1444**	-0.0596	0.0789	0.1149**	-0.0290	-0.0038	0.0727	0.1032**	-0.0350	0.0031	-0.0212	-0.0156
	(0.0638)	(0.0642)	(0.0516)	(0.0522)	(0.0570)	(0.0576)	(0.0506)	(0.0509)	(0.0454)	(0.0449)	(0.1309)	(0.1516)
N	2350	2350	2322	2322	2331	2331	2334	2334	2340	2340	282	282
R-Squared	0.0217	0.1177	0.0040	0.0466	0.0032	0.0288	0.0035	0.0368	0.0030	0.0455	0.0273	0.1579
Mean Omitted	-0.2218	-0.2218	-0.5917	-0.5917	-0.2358	-0.2358	-0.6029	-0.6029	-0.6671	-0.6671	-0.7946	-0.7946
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is White. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide race are included as a dummy but not shown in the table. If respondent said the factor was both positive and negative, they are included multiple times.

C4. Regressions — Safety and Belonging And Freedom of Expression (By Religion and Race)

Table C4a: Safety and Belonging by Race and Religion — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Belonging		Physical Safety		Mental Safety		Well-being Supported		Comfort Socializing	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Atheist	-0.1632**	-0.0819	0.0191	0.0213	-0.0170	0.0678	-0.2399***	-0.1079	-0.2862***	-0.1441
	(0.0779)	(0.0779)	(0.0619)	(0.0627)	(0.0786)	(0.0768)	(0.0837)	(0.0806)	(0.0903)	(0.0895)
Muslim	-1.0864***	-0.9896***	-1.3532***	-1.2726***	-1.5359***	-1.3968***	-1.2980***	-1.1284***	-1.1524***	-0.9957***
	(0.2464)	(0.2446)	(0.2388)	(0.2320)	(0.2506)	(0.2423)	(0.2409)	(0.2370)	(0.2438)	(0.2321)
Jewish	-0.4905***	-0.5272***	-0.5536***	-0.6049***	-0.7026***	-0.7325***	-0.7336***	-0.7098***	-0.6729***	-0.7414***
	(0.0995)	(0.0984)	(0.0875)	(0.0865)	(0.1040)	(0.1007)	(0.1048)	(0.1012)	(0.1111)	(0.1102)
Other	-0.2528**	-0.1694	-0.1841*	-0.1385	-0.3161***	-0.2296**	-0.2064*	-0.1329	-0.2137*	-0.0651
	(0.1107)	(0.1136)	(0.0949)	(0.0965)	(0.1187)	(0.1161)	(0.1231)	(0.1215)	(0.1241)	(0.1207)
Asian	-0.2582**	-0.1218	-0.2566**	-0.1158	-0.3953***	-0.1763	-0.5508***	-0.2575*	-0.6678***	-0.4917***
	(0.1283)	(0.1251)	(0.1016)	(0.1017)	(0.1311)	(0.1273)	(0.1429)	(0.1351)	(0.1356)	(0.1350)
Black	-0.6625***	-0.6213***	-0.3170*	-0.2263	-0.8340***	-0.6621***	-0.7562***	-0.5618***	-0.4444**	-0.3586*
	(0.2212)	(0.2142)	(0.1759)	(0.1679)	(0.2312)	(0.2181)	(0.2299)	(0.2148)	(0.2228)	(0.2135)
Hispanic	-0.3452**	-0.2107	-0.2163	-0.0568	-0.4634**	-0.2336	-0.3723**	-0.1465	-0.4438**	-0.2516
	(0.1660)	(0.1613)	(0.1431)	(0.1380)	(0.1805)	(0.1673)	(0.1789)	(0.1667)	(0.1915)	(0.1813)
MENA	-1.3427***	-1.1148***	-0.9581***	-0.7656***	-1.5122***	-1.2244***	-1.3274***	-0.9872***	-1.1248***	-0.8547***
	(0.1963)	(0.1963)	(0.1861)	(0.1830)	(0.2056)	(0.2029)	(0.1900)	(0.1897)	(0.2019)	(0.1923)
Other	-0.5676***	-0.3451**	-0.3686**	-0.2286	-1.1607***	-0.9372***	-0.8013***	-0.5619***	-0.9800***	-0.8447***
	(0.1587)	(0.1546)	(0.1436)	(0.1391)	(0.1873)	(0.1823)	(0.1694)	(0.1677)	(0.1802)	(0.1758)
N	2280	2280	2269	2269	2266	2266	2280	2280	2245	2245
R-Squared	0.1077	0.1731	0.1185	0.1782	0.1561	0.2461	0.1123	0.2100	0.0889	0.1622
Mean Omitted	5.4317	5.4317	6.1873	6.1873	5.5929	5.5929	5.0638	5.0638	4.9926	4.9926
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is White or Christian. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide religion or race are included as a dummy but not shown in the table.

Table C4b: Freedom of Expression by Race and Religion — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Comfortable Expressing Opinions		Comfortable Expressing Religion/Ethnicity		Political Beliefs		No Discrimination Expressing Views		No Professional Penalty Expressing Political Views	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Atheist	0.1750*	0.0716	0.2757***	0.3162***	0.3338***	0.1730*	0.3368***	0.1687*	-0.1380	-0.0657
	(0.0928)	(0.0917)	(0.0938)	(0.0920)	(0.0937)	(0.0947)	(0.0973)	(0.0962)	(0.0972)	(0.0979)
Muslim	-0.9531***	-0.8805***	-1.3877***	-1.2107***	-1.2252***	-1.2236***	-1.1272***	-1.0548***	-1.2124***	-1.0826***
	(0.2165)	(0.2209)	(0.2435)	(0.2411)	(0.2463)	(0.2500)	(0.1871)	(0.1879)	(0.1795)	(0.1774)
Jewish	-0.5482***	-0.7110***	-0.7946***	-0.8238***	-0.9613***	-1.1353***	-0.5385***	-0.7612***	-0.3008***	-0.3059***
	(0.1111)	(0.1068)	(0.1189)	(0.1139)	(0.1192)	(0.1163)	(0.1126)	(0.1073)	(0.1127)	(0.1122)
Other	-0.1846	-0.1585	-0.0764	-0.0573	-0.2097	-0.1817	-0.3319***	-0.3112**	-0.1584	-0.1035
	(0.1255)	(0.1258)	(0.1357)	(0.1322)	(0.1297)	(0.1336)	(0.1252)	(0.1254)	(0.1307)	(0.1283)
Asian	-0.4064***	-0.2726*	-0.8508***	-0.5074***	-0.0297	-0.0720	-0.3597**	-0.2696*	-0.4922***	-0.2842*
	(0.1443)	(0.1452)	(0.1479)	(0.1430)	(0.1380)	(0.1418)	(0.1425)	(0.1421)	(0.1510)	(0.1485)
Black	-0.2529	-0.2696	-0.9796***	-0.7430***	-0.4100*	-0.5360**	-0.2439	-0.2873	-0.7689***	-0.5957***
	(0.2263)	(0.2295)	(0.2384)	(0.2398)	(0.2207)	(0.2216)	(0.2281)	(0.2257)	(0.2231)	(0.2217)
Hispanic	-0.5012***	-0.3184*	-0.7339***	-0.4315**	-0.0997	0.0103	-0.3124*	-0.1244	-0.2927	-0.0875
	(0.1859)	(0.1813)	(0.1904)	(0.1811)	(0.1871)	(0.1846)	(0.1861)	(0.1801)	(0.1985)	(0.1949)
MENA	-1.4670***	-1.2348***	-1.8118***	-1.4373***	-1.3532***	-1.2658***	-1.3209***	-1.1061***	-1.0307***	-0.8100***
	(0.1728)	(0.1754)	(0.1940)	(0.1908)	(0.1850)	(0.1878)	(0.1689)	(0.1717)	(0.1766)	(0.1795)
Other	-1.0373***	-0.7773***	-1.0612***	-0.7907***	-1.1621***	-0.9611***	-1.1761***	-0.8845***	-0.6295***	-0.3966**
	(0.1767)	(0.1729)	(0.1914)	(0.1846)	(0.1884)	(0.1879)	(0.1712)	(0.1671)	(0.1671)	(0.1609)
N	2281	2281	2250	2250	2235	2235	2265	2265	2260	2260
R-Squared	0.1302	0.1930	0.1712	0.2581	0.1642	0.2142	0.1453	0.2225	0.0872	0.1616
Mean Omitted	4.2770	4.2770	5.1113	5.1113	4.7871	4.7871	4.0594	4.0594	3.4945	3.4945
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is White or Christian. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). Those that refused to provide religion or race are included as a dummy but not shown in the table.

C5. Regressions — Change in Experience (By Affiliation, Religion, Race)

Table C5: Change in Experience by Affiliation, Religion, Race — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Change in Experience since Last Year					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Undergrad	-0.2210***	-0.1685***				
	(0.0657)	(0.0645)				
Grad/PostDoc/Fellow	-0.1977***	-0.1179**				
	(0.0539)	(0.0534)				
Staff	0.1278***	0.1010**				
	(0.0446)	(0.0457)				
Other	-0.0391	-0.0246				
	(0.1123)	(0.1017)				
Atheist			-0.0317	0.0078		
			(0.0407)	(0.0411)		
Muslim			-0.7086***	-0.4145***		
			(0.0821)	(0.0910)		
Jewish			-0.3970***	-0.3681***		
			(0.0453)	(0.0456)		
Other			-0.0814	-0.0277		
			(0.0541)	(0.0537)		
Asian					-0.1661***	-0.0692
					(0.0613)	(0.0612)
Black					-0.0903	-0.1011
					(0.1077)	(0.1020)
Hispanic					-0.1447*	-0.1243*
					(0.0772)	(0.0748)
MENA					-0.6236***	-0.4022***
					(0.0749)	(0.0794)
Other					-0.3738***	-0.2606***
					(0.0722)	(0.0698)
N	2074	2074	2074	2074	2074	2074
R-Squared	0.0369	0.1416	0.0610	0.1411	0.0543	0.1395
Mean Omitted	-0.8994	-0.8994	-0.7556	-0.7556	-0.8161	-0.8161
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is Christian in the first two columns, White in columns 3 and 4, and Faculty in columns 5 and 6. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: race, sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US). If respondent said they experienced both negative and positive changes, they are included multiple times.

APPENDIX D: REPRESENTATIVENESS OF SAMPLE

Table D: Representativeness — All Respondents

Summary Statistics	Count (Pulse) 20595	Percent (Pulse) 100.00	Count (TF) 2295	Percent (TF) 100.00
Affiliation				
Students	9405	45.67	608	26.49
Faculty	2084	10.12	489	21.31
Staff	9106	44.21	898	39.13
Religion				
Agnostic/Atheist/No Religious Affiliation	8036	39.13	875	38.13
Christian	5464	26.61	592	25.80
Jewish	1398	6.81	447	19.48
Muslim	369	1.80	89	3.88
Other	3088	15.04	282	12.29
Not Available	2180	10.62	258	11.24
Race				
White	12068	58.60	1508	65.71
Asian	2867	13.92	230	10.02
Black	1188	5.80	83	3.62
Hispanic	1162	5.64	124	5.40
MENA	288	1.40	125	*5.45*
Other	1770	8.59	139	6.06
Prefer not to answer	1252	6.10	314	13.68

Note: Some categories do not sum to 100% since some respondents provided multiple responses to the same question.

APPENDIX E: HETEROGENEITY BY RACE AND RELIGION

Table E1: Religion And Race of Respondents

Religion/ Race	White	Asian or Asian American	Black or African American	Hispanic or Latina/o/x	Middle-Eastern or North African	Other	Not Available	Total
Atheist/ Agnostic/ No Religious Affiliation	663	102	24	53	32	41	52	875
Jewish	340	10	4	15	36	61	35	447
Muslim	8	34	8	2	38	2	8	89
Christian	448	37	38	54	16	29	39	592
Other	178	47	12	19	11	25	26	282
Not Available	55	20	6	6	10	8	171	258
Total	1508	230	83	124	125	139	314	

Note: Categories do not sum to 2295 since some respondents reported multiple religions/races.

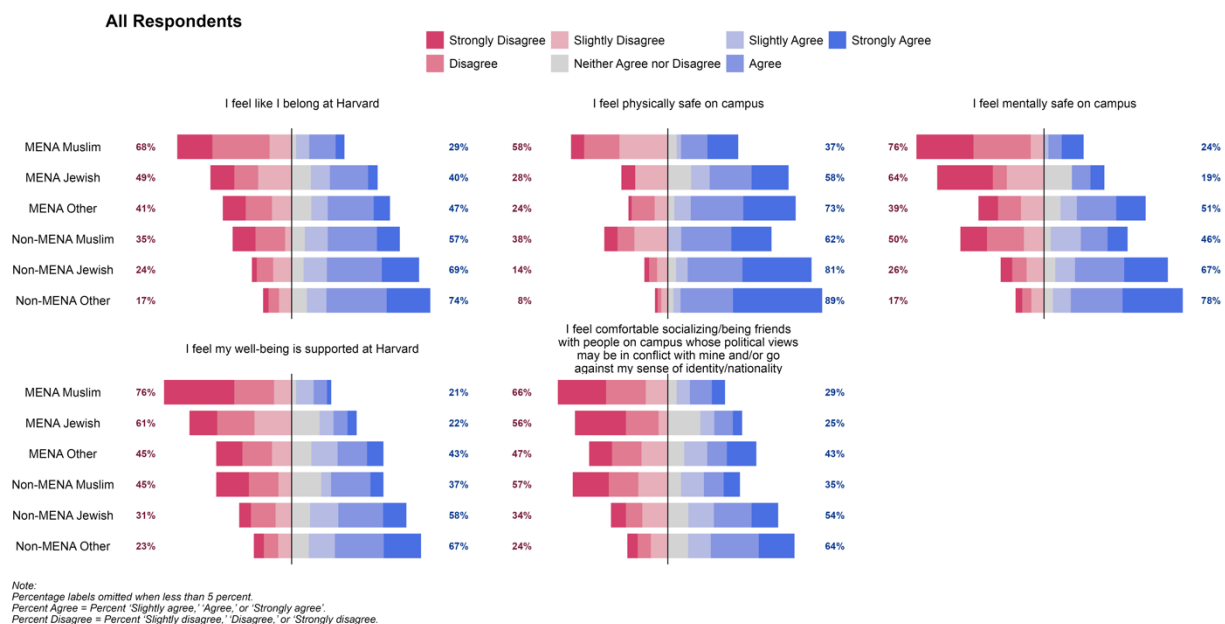**Figure E1: Safety and Belonging by Race and Religion — All Respondents**

All Respondents

Legend: Strongly Disagree | Slightly Disagree | Slightly Agree | Strongly Agree
Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Agree

I feel like I belong at Harvard

	Disagree	Agree
MENA Muslim	68%	29%
MENA Jewish	49%	40%
MENA Other	41%	47%
Non-MENA Muslim	35%	57%
Non-MENA Jewish	24%	69%
Non-MENA Other	17%	74%

I feel physically safe on campus

	Disagree	Agree
MENA Muslim	58%	37%
MENA Jewish	28%	58%
MENA Other	24%	73%
Non-MENA Muslim	38%	62%
Non-MENA Jewish	14%	81%
Non-MENA Other	8%	89%

I feel mentally safe on campus

	Disagree	Agree
MENA Muslim	76%	24%
MENA Jewish	64%	19%
MENA Other	39%	51%
Non-MENA Muslim	50%	46%
Non-MENA Jewish	26%	67%
Non-MENA Other	17%	78%

I feel my well-being is supported at Harvard

	Disagree	Agree
MENA Muslim	76%	21%
MENA Jewish	61%	22%
MENA Other	45%	43%
Non-MENA Muslim	45%	37%
Non-MENA Jewish	31%	58%
Non-MENA Other	23%	67%

I feel comfortable socializing/being friends with people on campus whose political views may be in conflict with mine and/or go against my sense of identity/nationality

	Disagree	Agree
MENA Muslim	66%	29%
MENA Jewish	56%	25%
MENA Other	47%	43%
Non-MENA Muslim	57%	35%
Non-MENA Jewish	34%	54%
Non-MENA Other	24%	64%

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.

Figure E2: Freedom of Expression by Race and Religion — All Respondents

All Respondents

Legend: Strongly Disagree | Slightly Disagree | Slightly Agree | Strongly Agree
Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Agree

I feel comfortable expressing my opinions to others at Harvard

	Disagree	Agree
MENA Muslim	82%	13%
MENA Jewish	81%	3%
MENA Other	69%	29%
Non-MENA Muslim	69%	25%
Non-MENA Jewish	52%	42%
Non-MENA Other	41%	51%

I feel comfortable expressing my religious beliefs and/or ethnic affiliation around campus

	Disagree	Agree
MENA Muslim	79%	18%
MENA Jewish	83%	8%
MENA Other	53%	39%
Non-MENA Muslim	67%	27%
Non-MENA Jewish	52%	41%
Non-MENA Other	26%	59%

I feel comfortable expressing my political opinions and/or beliefs around campus

	Disagree	Agree
MENA Muslim	89%	8%
MENA Jewish	89%	3%
MENA Other	67%	29%
Non-MENA Muslim	84%	10%
Non-MENA Jewish	58%	35%
Non-MENA Other	45%	45%

I have NOT experienced any discrimination, stereotyping, or negative biases on campus due to my views regarding current events

	Disagree	Agree
MENA Muslim	79%	13%
MENA Jewish	74%	11%
MENA Other	61%	27%
Non-MENA Muslim	65%	18%
Non-MENA Jewish	38%	48%
Non-MENA Other	23%	62%

In my experience at Harvard, I feel there is no academic and/or professional penalty for expressing one's political views

	Disagree	Agree
MENA Muslim	92%	5%
MENA Jewish	75%	17%
MENA Other	82%	16%
Non-MENA Muslim	92%	4%
Non-MENA Jewish	60%	26%
Non-MENA Other	56%	29%

Note:
Percentage labels omitted when less than 5 percent.
Percent Agree = Percent 'Slightly agree,' 'Agree,' or 'Strongly agree'.
Percent Disagree = Percent 'Slightly disagree,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree.
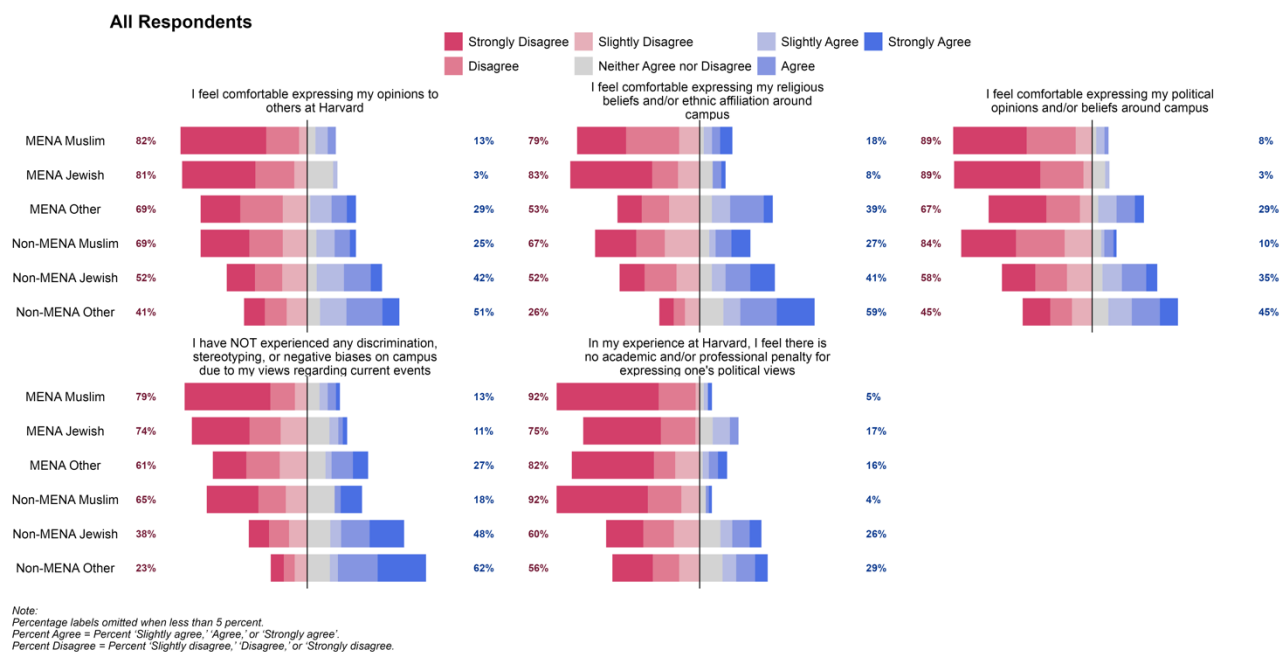
Table E2: Safety and Belonging by Race and Religion — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Belonging		Physical Safety		Mental Safety		Well-being Supported		Comfort Socializing	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
MENA Muslim	-2.2203***	-1.9605***	-2.1933***	-1.9496***	-2.7163***	-2.3450***	-2.4809***	-2.0360***	-1.8027***	-1.4314***
	(0.3183)	(0.2924)	(0.3327)	(0.3114)	(0.3504)	(0.3188)	(0.2962)	(0.2867)	(0.3359)	(0.3254)
MENA Jewish	-1.4970***	-1.4403***	-1.3073***	-1.2657***	-2.4224***	-2.3230***	-1.7309***	-1.5164***	-1.7968***	-1.7101***
	(0.3224)	(0.3336)	(0.3077)	(0.3130)	(0.3327)	(0.3396)	(0.2908)	(0.3090)	(0.3293)	(0.3294)
MENA Other	-1.2276***	-1.1157***	-0.8858***	-0.7728***	-1.1724***	-1.0157***	-1.1182***	-0.9194***	-0.9275***	-0.6926***
	(0.2850)	(0.2744)	(0.2608)	(0.2508)	(0.2925)	(0.2799)	(0.2826)	(0.2651)	(0.2940)	(0.2605)
Non-MENA Muslim	-0.9825***	-0.9270***	-1.3641***	-1.2709***	-1.6661***	-1.5500***	-1.2180***	-1.0377***	-1.4006***	-1.2357***
	(0.2957)	(0.3053)	(0.2885)	(0.2851)	(0.2933)	(0.2956)	(0.2872)	(0.2892)	(0.2829)	(0.2659)
Non-MENA Jewish	-0.2497***	-0.4258***	-0.4147***	-0.5583***	-0.4901***	-0.6860***	-0.4553***	-0.6073***	-0.4359***	-0.6476***
	(0.0956)	(0.0925)	(0.0870)	(0.0832)	(0.1040)	(0.0985)	(0.1030)	(0.0971)	(0.1049)	(0.1038)
N	2280	2280	2269	2269	2266	2266	2280	2280	2245	2245
R-Squared	0.0518	0.1593	0.0729	0.1682	0.0853	0.2215	0.0578	0.1951	0.0467	0.1451
Mean Omitted	5.3225	5.3225	6.1379	6.1379	5.5030	5.5030	4.9782	4.9782	4.9054	4.9054
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is Non-Middle-Eastern Non-Muslim or non-Jewish. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US).

Table E3: Freedom of Expression by Race and Religion — All Respondents

Dependent Variable	Opinions		Comfortable Expressing Religion/Ethnicity		Political Beliefs		No Discrimination Expressing Views		No Professional Penalty Expressing Political Views	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
MENA Muslim	-2.0941***	-1.7647***	-2.8425***	-2.2321***	-2.1620***	-2.0328***	-1.9735***	-1.6409***	-1.6899***	-1.3557***
	(0.2545)	(0.2430)	(0.2803)	(0.2991)	(0.3052)	(0.3062)	(0.2100)	(0.2239)	(0.2079)	(0.2031)
MENA Jewish	-2.1190***	-2.1712***	-2.5124***	-2.2815***	-2.6547***	-2.8200***	-2.1708***	-2.2831***	-1.0715***	-0.9988***
	(0.2081)	(0.2089)	(0.2739)	(0.2796)	(0.2715)	(0.2571)	(0.1845)	(0.1913)	(0.2779)	(0.2888)
MENA Other	-1.1076***	-0.9897***	-1.6738***	-1.4746***	-1.0877***	-1.1174***	-1.0189***	-0.9487***	-1.0078***	-0.9516***
	(0.2735)	(0.2634)	(0.2857)	(0.2653)	(0.2753)	(0.2705)	(0.2919)	(0.2788)	(0.2643)	(0.2604)
Non-MENA Muslim	-1.2268***	-1.1265***	-2.0000***	-1.7341***	-1.5304***	-1.5833***	-1.5688***	-1.4821***	-1.5347***	-1.4315***
	(0.2647)	(0.2902)	(0.2892)	(0.2907)	(0.2965)	(0.3119)	(0.2143)	(0.2204)	(0.1844)	(0.1926)
Non-MENA Jewish	-0.4595***	-0.7036***	-0.6802***	-0.8619***	-0.9475***	-1.1628***	-0.4769***	-0.7601***	-0.0645	-0.2230**
	(0.1088)	(0.1028)	(0.1158)	(0.1105)	(0.1157)	(0.1114)	(0.1105)	(0.1024)	(0.1078)	(0.1071)
N	2281	2281	2250	2250	2235	2235	2265	2265	2260	2260
R-Squared	0.0497	0.1745	0.0883	0.2292	0.0797	0.1906	0.0509	0.2012	0.0329	0.1519
Mean Omitted	4.1456	4.1456	5.0251	5.0251	4.7926	4.7926	3.9198	3.9198	3.3212	3.3212
Controls?	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y

Notes: * 0.10 ** 0.05 *** 0.01. Omitted category is Non-Middle-Eastern Non-Muslim or non-Jewish. Results are shown both with and without controls. Controls are dummies for all values of our demographic categories: sexuality, affiliation, gender, political ideology, nationality (dummy US/Non-US).

Table E4: Religion and Affiliation of Respondents

Religion/Affiliation	Student	Fellow/Post-Doc	Faculty	Staff	Other	Not Available	Total
Atheist/Agnostic/No Religious affiliation	245 (28%)	51 (6%)	167 (19%)	370 (42%)	22 (3%)	20 (2%)	875
Jewish	130 (29%)	23 (5%)	138 (31%)	127 (28%)	17 (4%)	12 (3%)	447
Muslim	49 (55%)	7 (8%)	11 (12%)	18 (20%)	2 (2%)	2 (2%)	89
Christian	151 (26%)	28 (5%)	112 (19%)	269 (45%)	20 (3%)	12 (2%)	592
Other	49 (17%)	13 (5%)	49 (17%)	150 (53%)	10 (4%)	11 (4%)	282
Not Available	44 (17%)	11 (4%)	53 (21%)	79 (31%)	5 (2%)	66 (26%)	258

Table E5: Religion and Affiliation of Respondents (MENA Only)

Religion/Affiliation	Student	Fellow/Post-Doc	Faculty	Staff	Other	Not Available	Total
Atheist/ Agnostic/No Religious affiliation	16 (50%)	2 (6%)	4 (13%)	10 (31%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	32
Jewish	20 (56%)	4 (11%)	7 (19%)	4 (11%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)	36
Muslim	25 (66%)	4 (11%)	4 (11%)	4 (11%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)	38
Christian	5 (31%)	2 (13%)	0 (0%)	8 (50%)	1 (6%)	0 (0%)	16
Other	4 (36%)	0 (0%)	2 (18%)	5 (45%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	11
Not Available	4 (40%)	1 (10%)	2 (20%)	2 (20%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)	10

APPENDIX F: PRE-ANALYSIS PLAN AND SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Phase I Community Survey: Pre-Analysis Plan

The goal of this pre-analysis plan is to specify, before any data collection or analysis, the approach that will be taken in analyzing the results of this survey. The survey will be distributed and administered online beginning in May 2024. The survey is open to all members of the Harvard community, including undergraduate and graduate students, faculty members, staff, and Harvard affiliates more broadly. It is only open to these members and their anonymity will be preserved. The survey exercise represents Phase I of longer term data gathering and analysis exercise. This phase will focus on getting the views of those members of the community who are currently more engaged and responsive to sharing their views. The subsequent phase will endeavor to also reach out to a wider Harvard-wide audience.

BACKGROUND

This survey is the first phase of a data collection effort aiming to provide a sense of the experiences and views of the Harvard community members, especially those most affected by and engaged in the events of the past several months. Note that this survey is not intended as a public opinion survey, but rather aims to offer insights into (i) how the community is feeling, particularly regarding their sense of belonging amidst recent events spanning the past several months, including those that may have led to antisemitic, anti-Israeli and anti-Arab, anti-Muslim, and anti-Palestinian biases and related concerns; (ii) what factors may be especially relevant in generating these experiences and biases; and (iii) what recommendations the community members may have in helping lessen some of the adverse experiences and biases faced. The survey, while focused on those who are more inclined to respond currently, will provide a systematic analysis of these issues and will also subsequently help inform the design and questions of a more representative survey that we hope to launch in the fall with the Harvard-wide community.

SURVEY ADMINISTRATION

Instrument

The survey includes four distinct sections:

1. Experiences of belonging, safety, and engagement at Harvard
2. Positive and negative factors influencing experiences
3. Recommendations to address concerns

4.   Demographics

Each of these sections will include close-ended/multiple choice questions and open-ended questions that allow participants to elaborate on their experiences and suggestions.

Sample

The survey will be posted on a Harvard website and disseminated to Harvard affiliates through various means such as targeted emails, and word of mouth reminders. To take the survey, participants will be required to login using their HarvardKey credentials. This verification allows us to avoid duplication of survey responses by the same person and to avoid the inclusion of individuals outside of Harvard.

Note that since completing the survey is not mandatory, as well as the fact that the survey will be publicized to community members in varying ways, the sample might not be proportionally representative of the overall Harvard population; instead, it might represent the views of those individuals in the Harvard community who are more inclined and willing to share their opinions.

Confidentiality

Responses to the survey are confidential and anonymous. As soon as participants submit their survey responses, their personal credentials will be immediately separated from their answers and deleted. Survey administrators and research team members will not have access to respondents' identifying information. The research team will also mask/redact any potentially identifying information from text submitted in response to the open-ended items. Accordingly, respondents will never be identified in published results.

Incentives

We are not offering any gifts or monetary incentives to finish the survey at this time. Affiliates will be asked to take the survey voluntarily to shed light on their experiences and feedback.

Timeline for Administration and Communication Plan

The survey will be launched in May by placing them on the websites of both task-forces. Links will be shared with community members using various formal and informal fora.

REPORTING OF RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Analysis

The survey collects both open-ended and multiple-choice questions that will be analyzed and published in ways that both complement each other but also acknowledge differences due to elicitation methods.

1. <u>Multiple choice/close-ended questions:</u> we will tabulate and report the number and percentage of each answer selected on these questions. The idea will be to provide a sense of the average and variation in the responses.

2. <u>Open-ended questions:</u> to protect confidentiality, we will not fully share all open-ended answers and comments received. Instead, we will synthesize the answers to these questions and select parts of comments (while minimizing any risk of jeopardizing anonymity) to highlight in public communications. If specific feedback or recommendations are repeatedly highlighted by different respondents in open-ended fields, we will highlight this in our synthesis. While the open-ended questions are typically associated with specific close-ended questions, we acknowledge that respondents may cover multiple themes in one long text response and may not always make the distinction of keeping their open-responses separate and specific to the close-ended question they are adjacent to or even the given open-ended question prompt. Therefore, in our analysis we will compile all the open-ended responses together so they can be appropriately analyzed based on their content and not just location, and as appropriate, use their placement in the survey to interpret the context if not clear from the response itself.

Points of Disaggregation

We will report the variable tabulations separately for the different sub-groups and demographics. In doing so, we will make sure not to combine any groups in a way that may reveal respondents' identity. Sub-groups we are considering include:

- Harvard affiliation
- Harvard School
- Age
- National identity
- Race/ethnicity identity
- Religious views
- Gender
- Sexual orientation
- Political views

Representativeness and Weighting Strategy

Since this survey is not administered through a University-wide dissemination, it is not intended to provide a representative view. Instead, it is meant to share the views of those individuals who are currently more engaged and willing to share their opinions. That said, we will share the response numbers (overall and by various sub-groups) to be able to give a sense of coverage across various groups. Moreover, we hope that by comparing these sub-groups to those in the subsequent Harvard-wide Pulse survey in the Fall semester, we will be able to determine whether a weighting scheme (if any) is appropriate to best present the results. We will not weigh the results unless we have evidence it is needed and will note instances of where it is used in reports.

Deliverables

The main deliverable of the report will be a public key findings report with infographics for the wider Harvard and public community. The report will include descriptive statistics and detailed analysis with inferential statistics. The analysis will also be utilized to inform the design and administration of the Harvard-wide 2024 Pulse Survey anticipated to be launched in the Fall of 2024.

Proposed Timeline for Survey Analysis

We anticipate the survey will run for the month of May 2024 till June 2024. Analysis will be carried out over the summer with a plan to have an interim findings report by mid-summer and a final analysis by end summer 2024.

APPENDIX: SURVEY INSTRUMENT

PTF Survey 2024

This survey is being conducted by the two Presidential Task Forces set up in response to concerns regarding anti-Arab, anti-Muslim, and Antisemitic biases faced by members of the Harvard community. The survey solicits views on our community members' well-being, experiences, and recommendations. It complements the listening sessions conducted over the past few months. The data gathered will document (i) how the community is feeling regarding their sense of belonging, safety, and ability to engage positively; (ii) what factors may be especially relevant in generating community experiences; and (iii) specific

recommendations for improvement. The last survey section gives you the option to self-identify along several attributes to enable a more informative analysis that preserves anonymity. We anticipate the fixed response part of the survey taking 5-10 minutes. We allow for and especially encourage open-ended responses as they provide valuable nuance and specificity. Survey responses will be kept anonymous and participation in the survey is voluntary. The data collected will be analyzed according to a pre-specified analysis plan publicly available here. To take the survey in Spanish, Portuguese, Mandarin, or Haitian Creole, please visit this link.

I. Experience

Thank you for beginning the survey! Your responses on each page are saved when you click the right arrow on the bottom. This allows you to re-login at a later time to complete the survey. However, no further changes will be possible once you submit the survey. Upon submission, response data is de-linked from your login credentials to ensure anonymity.

For the following statements, please rate how strongly you agree or disagree.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	Prefer not to answer
I feel like I belong at Harvard	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
I feel physically safe on campus	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
I feel mentally safe on campus	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
I feel my well-being is supported at Harvard	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
I feel comfortable expressing my opinions to others at Harvard	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
I have NOT experienced any discrimination, stereotyping, or negative biases on campus due to my views regarding current events	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
I feel comfortable expressing my religious beliefs and/or ethnic affiliation around campus	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O

I feel comfortable expressing my political opinions and/or beliefs around campus	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel comfortable socializing/being friends with people on campus whose political views may be in conflict with mine and/or go against my sense of identity/nationality	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
In my experience at Harvard, I feel there is no academic and/or professional penalty for expressing one's political views	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Please describe in more detail below recent and/or salient experience(s) — positive and/or negative — that can shed further light and/or nuance on your responses above:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Compared to this time last year, how has your sense of safety, belonging, and/or ability to interact positively with the community on the Harvard campus changed? Please elaborate using the open text-box and select multiple choices if you experienced both positive and negative changes.

☐ Became much worse this year. Please specify how / why: _____

☐ Became worse this year. Please specify how / why: _____

☐ Remained more or less the same this year. Please specify how / why: _____

☐ Became better this year. Please specify how / why: _____

☐ Became much better this year. Please specify how / why: _____

☐ Check if you were not on campus last year

II. Factors (positive and negative)

For each of the factors below, indicate whether they have contributed substantially positively and/or negatively to your sense of safety, belonging, and/or ability to interact with the community on campus. Note that the same factor could affect you positively or negatively. If a factor is not salient please select "Not substantial /No Opinion". Please also provide details on each substantial factor using the text boxes that appear at the end of the page based on your selections.

	Substantially positive	Substantially negative	Not substantial / no opinion
(1) In-person interactions with Harvard students in academic settings (e.g. classroom, lab, etc.)	◯	◯	◯
(2) In-person interactions with Harvard students in non-academic settings (e.g. extracurricular activity, event, or social gathering)	◯	◯	◯
(3) Online interactions with Harvard students	◯	◯	◯
(4) In-person or online interactions with Harvard faculty	◯	◯	◯
(5) In-person or online interactions with Harvard administration/staff	◯	◯	◯
(6) On campus media coverage (print/social)	◯	◯	◯
(7) Harvard University and School policies	◯	◯	◯
(8) External actors' presence/influence on campus life and climate	◯	◯	◯
(9) In-person or online interactions with individuals not affiliated with Harvard	◯	◯	◯
(10) Off campus media coverage (print/social)	◯	◯	◯
(11) Global situation/events	◯	◯	◯

We now list each of the factors that you selected as affecting you substantially positively or negatively. Please provide details/specific examples on how you were affected for each by responding separately to the specific open text boxes below:

Positive: (1) In-person interactions with Harvard students in academic settings (e.g. classroom, lab, etc.)

_____

Negative: (1) In-person interactions with Harvard students in academic settings (e.g. classroom, lab, etc.)

_____

Positive: (2) In-person interactions with Harvard students in non-academic settings (e.g. extracurricular activity, event, or social gathering)

_____

Negative: (2) In-person interactions with Harvard students in non-academic settings (e.g. extracurricular activity, event, or social gathering)

_____

Positive: (3) Online interactions with Harvard students

_____

Negative: (3) Online interactions with Harvard students

_____

Positive: (4) In-person or online interactions with Harvard faculty

_____

Negative: (4) In-person or online interactions with Harvard faculty

_____

Positive: (5) In-person or online interactions with Harvard administration/staff

_____

Negative: (5) In-person or online interactions with Harvard administration/staff

_____

Positive: (6) On campus media coverage (print/social)

_____

Negative: (6) On campus media coverage (print/social)

_____

Positive: (7) Harvard University and School policies

_____

Negative: (7) Harvard University and School policies

_____

Positive: (8) External actors' presence/influence on campus life and climate

_____

Negative: (8) External actors' presence/influence on campus life and climate

_____

Positive: (9) In-person or online interactions with individuals not affiliated with Harvard

_____

Negative: (9) In-person or online interactions with individuals not affiliated with Harvard

_____

Positive: (10) Off campus media coverage (print/social)

_____

Negative: (10) Off campus media coverage (print/social)

_____

Positive: (11) Global situation/events

_____

Negative: (11) Global situation/events

_____

Positive: (12) Other Factor

_____

Negative: (12) Other Factor

_____

III: Recommendations

Please list up to five specific recommendations to help address some of the concerns that you have raised.

Recommendation 1:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Recommendation 2:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Recommendation 3:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Recommendation 4:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Recommendation 5:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Please share anything else that you feel is important to highlight regarding our campus community and current climate.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

IV. Demographics

Please share how you self-identify along the attributes below. Doing so will allow the analysis to be separately tabulated by these identities and provide a more informative examination. Under a given category you can also choose "Other" and specify an identity that is not included in the list. You can also select multiple identities in each category. Be assured that we will not combine these categories in ways that could risk revealing a specific respondent. That said, for each category you can choose "Prefer not to answer" if you prefer not to disclose a specific identity.

Which of the following best describes your current primary affiliation with Harvard?

☐ Undergraduate Student

☐ Graduate or Professional Student

☐ Staff

☐ Tenured or Tenure-Track Faculty

☐ Non-Ladder Faculty

☐ Fellow / Researcher

☐ Postdoctoral Fellow

☐ Other _____

☐ Prefer not to answer

Which Harvard Schools or Units are you affiliated with? (select all that apply)

☐ Harvard Business School (HBS)

☐ Harvard College

☐ Harvard Divinity School (HDS)

☐ Harvard Division of Continuing Education (including the Extension School)

☐ Harvard Faculty of Arts and Sciences (FAS)

☐ Harvard Kennedy School (HKS)

☐ Harvard Kenneth C. Griffin Graduate School of Arts and Sciences (GSAS)

☐ Harvard Graduate School of Design (GSD)

☐ Harvard Graduate School of Education (HGSE)

☐ Harvard John A. Paulson School of Engineering and Applied Sciences (SEAS)

☐ Harvard Law School (HLS)

☐ Harvard Medical School (HMS)

☐ Harvard Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study

☐ Harvard School of Dental Medicine (HSDM)

☐ Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health (HSPH)

☐ Central Administration

☐ Other _____

☐ Prefer not to answer

Which age group best describes you?

☐ Under 21

☐ 21-25

☐ 26-30

☐ 31-40

☐ 41-50

☐ 51-60

☐ 61 and older

☐ Prefer not to answer

Which nationality identity best describes you? If you have multiple nationalities, please press command/control and select all that apply.

[drop-down list of countries with Prefer not to Answer option included]

Which racial/ethnic identity best describes you? (select all that apply)

☐ American Indian or Alaska Native

☐ Asian or Asian American

☐ Black or African American

☐ Hispanic or Latina/o/x

☐ Middle Eastern or North African

☐ Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander

☐ White

☐ Prefer to self-identify _____

☐ Prefer not to answer

Which best describes your religious identity? Please select all that apply and specify the branch, sect, or denomination you follow in the corresponding box below, if applicable.

☐ Buddhism. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Christianity. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Hinduism. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Islam. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Judaism. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Taoism. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Folk religions. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Shinto. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Sikhism. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Bahテ。ハシテュ Faith. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Jainism. Please specify branch, sect, or denomination if applicable: _____

☐ Spiritual

☐ Agnostic

☐ No religion

☐ Atheist

☐ Prefer to self-identify _____

☐ Prefer not to answer

Which best describes your gender identity? (select all that apply)

☐ Gender nonconforming

☐ Genderqueer

☐ Man

☐ Nonbinary

☐ Questioning

☐ Transgender

☐ Woman

☐ Prefer to self-identify _____

☐ Prefer not to answer

Which best describes your sexual orientation? (select all that apply)

☐ Bisexual

☐ Gay

☐ Lesbian

☐ Heterosexual

☐ Queer

☐ Pansexual

☐ Asexual

☐ Prefer to self-identify _____

☐ Prefer not to answer

Which of the following best describes your political views?

☐ Very conservative

☐ Conservative

☐ Slightly conservative

☐ Moderate, middle of the road

☐ Slightly liberal

☐ Liberal

☐ Very liberal

☐ Apolitical

☐ Prefer to self-identify _____

☐ Prefer not to answer

End of survey check
You have reached the end of the survey. If you are ready to submit your final responses, please proceed by clicking the "Submit" button on the right below. Note that once you submit the survey, you will not be able to retake it or to edit your submitted responses.