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FREE UNIVERSITIES

Putting the Academic Freedom Index Into Action

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REPORT
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This report introduces the Academic Freedom Index (AFi), a new time series and near-global dataset on several dimensions of academic freedom. It calls on decision-makers in higher education and foreign policy, university administrations, research funding organizations, advocacy groups, and parliaments to use AFi data to better protect and promote academic freedom. It also includes recommendations for scholars and students.

The AFi aims to inform stakeholders, provide monitoring yardsticks, alter incentive structures, challenge university rankings, facilitate research, and ultimately promote academic freedom. It is the result of a collaborative effort between researchers at Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg (FAU) and the V-Dem Institute, the Scholars at Risk Network, and the Global Public Policy Institute. AFi scores are based on expert assessments by 1,810 scholars around the world which are integrated in a Bayesian measurement model.

Acknowledgments

Katrin Kinzelbach (FAU, previously GPPi) initiated and coordinated the development of AFi in close collaboration with Robert Quinn at the Scholars at Risk Network. Janika Spannagel assumed responsibility for project management at GPPi, with the support of Ilyas Saliba. The realization of the index would not have been possible without the expertise and infrastructure of the V-Dem Institute, including their global network of country experts. In particular, we would like to thank V-Dem's deputy director Anna Lührmann for her readiness to collaborate, her thoughtful advice throughout the project, and for managing the smooth project implementation at V-Dem.

We are indebted to numerous scholars, higher education experts, and index experts who provided input throughout the process of designing the indicators and ultimately interpreting the data. In particular, we would like to thank the AFi advisory board members, notably Sonja Berghoff, Hauke Hartmann, and Michael Ignatieff for their support and commitment – especially when AFi was no more than an idea. Robert Quinn, one of the authors of this report, is also a member of the advisory board. We would further like to thank Alicja Polakiewicz and Daniel Munier for their valuable research assistance and input into this report, Alissa Jones Nelson for her edits, Alexandra Fragstein and the team of TAU Berlin for their graphic design support, Amanda Pridmore for a final proofread, and Katharina Nachbar for the layout and production management.

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The recommendations presented in this publication are solely those of the authors.

Contents

1. Introduction

Academic freedom is fundamental to scientific progress, the pursuit of truth, research collaboration, and quality higher education. Plenty of universities and states have committed to safeguarding academic freedom, yet it remains under attack in many places.

As this report goes to press, the global community is racing to respond to the novel coronavirus Sars-CoV-2. Academics, both inside and outside of universities and in an extraordinarily broad range of disciplines, are playing a vital role in addressing the epidemiological, economic, political, and cultural dimensions of the response to the crisis, as they will in the eventual recovery and restoration of essential functions and services.

At the same time, deliberate interference with the dissemination of data and deliberate distortion of information, delivered to the public and officials alike, appears to have contributed to delayed and disorderly responses. This is especially true in – but not exclusive to – repressive countries. In countries with greater degrees of academic freedom and freedom of expression, researchers and medical experts have been more effectively disseminating reliable information, even in some cases correcting state officials. In sum, the situation demonstrates that academic freedom matters to everyone, and in a situation of crisis, it can literally help to save lives.

The authors offer this report and index in the hope that it will help to defend academic freedom, for the present and the future of society. We can only achieve this goal if we monitor academic freedom carefully and consistently. To this end, new data is needed.

Prior efforts to collect data on academic freedom have been limited in scope and breadth. This paper introduces a brand-new, global time-series dataset based on expert assessments involving 1,810 scholars from around the world, covering the years 1900 to 2019. It includes more than 110,000 observation points, eight indicators, and an aggregate index on academic freedom, based on a Bayesian measurement model. This dataset was developed collaboratively by experts at the Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi), the Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg (FAU), the Scholars at Risk Network, and the V-Dem Institute. The data is publicly available, and V-Dem provides an online tool that can be used to analyze any of the indicators.

The Academic Freedom Index (AFi) provides manifold opportunities for research, but also for policy debates among government officials, parliamentarians, research funders, university administrators, academics, students, and advocates alike. This report aims to inform such debates. After introducing the objectives and the dataset, we provide specific recommendations on how key stakeholders can apply the index to protect and promote academic freedom.

2. Objectives

Inform Stakeholders

The data and knowledge provided by the AFi is relevant to everyone working in or with academic institutions, and it benefits states and the general public, which depend on quality higher education and research. It provides easily accessible, multi-dimensional information on the state of academic freedom around the world and across time.

Provide Monitoring Yardsticks

This new data will inform and foster the development of monitoring mechanisms set up by governments or international organizations to better protect academic freedom. The AFi also helps research funding organizations – public or private – and university administrations to understand the conditions under which researchers and students work and learn in a particular country.

Alter Incentive Structures

By providing global data on respect for and violations of academic freedom, we hope to bring a rights and freedoms perspective into debates on higher education governance and policy. The incentives for respecting academic freedom will grow if international organizations, academic professional organizations, ministries, funders, and universities integrate academic freedom assessments into their review processes. The AFi can influence prospects for the allocation of grants, the establishment of new institutional partnerships, and decisions on reporting standards.

Challenge University Rankings

Academic freedom must be resurrected as a key criterion for academic reputation and quality. AFi country scores can be used to improve established university rankings. At present, leading rankings narrowly define academic excellence and reputation as a function of outputs. As a result, institutions in repressive environments have climbed the reputation ladder and now occupy top ranks. They thereby mislead key stakeholders and make it possible for repressive state and higher education authorities to restrict academic freedom without incurring a reputational loss. If academic freedom levels featured in the calculations of those rankings, this would lower the chances for institutions constrained by such restrictive environments to improve their international reputations and attract academic talent – thereby changing the knowledge economy and offering a new incentive to safeguard academic freedom.

Facilitate Research

We still do not know enough about academic freedom and the factors that sustain or threaten it. The AFi is publicly available and continuously updated, and its data can be freely used by researchers from any field who are interested in issues related to academic freedom. In this way, the AFi contributes to improving our understanding of academic freedom, and consequently the scholarly debate on related issues. We also invite scientific scrutiny of the country experts' coding and hope that more experts will contribute their assessments in the years to come, providing validation, improvements, and additional nuances as applicable.

Promote Academic Freedom

Advocacy and professional organizations promoting academic freedom can use the AFi to empirically ground their demands and inform their advocacy and campaigns.

3. Dataset and Methodology

The new Academic Freedom Index is composed of five expert-coded indicators that capture key elements in the *de facto* realization of academic freedom: (1) freedom to research and teach; (2) freedom of academic exchange and dissemination; (3) institutional autonomy; (4) campus integrity; and (5) freedom of academic and cultural expression. A given issue is assessed by multiple, independent experts for each country in each year based on a pre-defined scale (see Table 1). A total of 1,810 experts – typically academics in the respective country – have so far contributed such assessments. The ratings of individual coders are aggregated into country-year scores for each indicator, and in a second step for the index, using a Bayesian measurement model (see below). Aggregation procedures are fully transparent and all data, including the raw data submitted by individual coders, are publicly available for download.

In the dataset, the index is complemented by some additional, factual indicators, assessing states' *de jure* commitments to academic freedom at (6) constitutional and (7) international levels, as well as (8) whether universities have ever existed in a given country. Table 1 provides an overview of all the indicators. In total, this rich dataset includes more than 110,000 observation points.

Expert Assessments and V-Dem Methodology

Assessing abstract concepts such as "academic freedom" is not a simple task. Existing approaches – including events-based, self-reporting or survey data, as well as legal analyses – all display critical shortcomings when it comes to painting a comprehensive picture of academic freedom violations across time and space. After carefully considering such alternatives and consulting with a range of stakeholders,[1] we decided to use expert assessments as the basis for the AFi, and we chose V-Dem as a partner for its implementation. Among the strengths of the V-Dem approach is full transparency on the number of coders, their individual submissions, and the data aggregation. While the AFi data collection and aggregation follows rigorous scientific procedures, we acknowledge that expert assessments have inherent limitations. For this reason, we welcome continuous and substantiated critical engagement with the AFi data.

The V-Dem project, headquartered at the University of Gothenburg in Sweden, hosts the largest database on democracy in the world, with 450+ indicators. Its innovative statistical methodology takes into account that assessments of complex concepts may vary across coders and cases. For each expert-coded indicator, V-Dem gathers data from multiple, independent coders. The contributing academics come from almost every country around the world, ensuring a diverse set of backgrounds. By accounting for coders' potential biases, diverging coding behaviors and levels of confidence, V-Dem's statistical model produces valid and reliable estimates. The Bayesian measurement model developed by Pemstein et al. relies on item-response theory and provides the respective best estimate of the value for an observation, alongside an estimate of uncertainty for each data point.[2] In sum, V-Dem's established research infrastructure and methodology provides (i) historical data extending back to 1900 for more than 180 countries; (ii) multiple, independent coders for each (non-factual) question; (iii) inter-coder reliability tests, incorporated into a Bayesian measurement model; (iv) confidence bounds for all point estimates associated with non-factual questions; (v) and transparent aggregation procedures; additionally, (vi) all the data – including original coder-level judgments – is freely available for download and online analysis at https://www.v-dem.net/en/analysis/.

1 See Hoffmann, F. and Kinzelbach, K. 2018. "Forbidden Knowledge." Global Public Policy Institute, available at: https://www.gppi.net/2018/04/20/forbidden-knowledge-measuring-academic-freedom.

2 For detailed insight into the methodology of the expert-coded data and the statistical modeling behind the various estimates, see Pemstein et al. (2019): "The V-Dem measurement model: Latent variable analysis for cross-national and cross-temporal expert-coded data," University of Gothenburg, V-Dem, available at: https://www.v-dem.net/media/filer_public/60/a5/60a52aaf-008c-4d80-82ca-3bca827fbeb9/v-dem_working_paper_2019_21_4.pdf, as well as Coppedge et al. (2020b): "V-Dem Methodology v10," University of Gothenburg, V-Dem, available at: https://www.v-dem.net/en/data/data-version-10/.

Table 1: Indicators of the Academic Freedom Dataset [3]

Indicator	Question and Response Levels	Type of Data	AFi
Freedom to Research and Teach	*To what extent are scholars free to develop and pursue their own research and teaching agendas without interference?* **0: Completely restricted.** When determining their research agenda or teaching curricula, scholars are, across all disciplines, consistently subject to interference or incentivized to self-censor. **1: Severely restricted.** When determining their research agenda or teaching curricula, scholars are, in some disciplines, consistently subject to interference or incentivized to self-censor. **2: Moderately restricted.** When determining their research agenda or teaching curricula, scholars are occasionally subject to interference or incentivized to self-censor. **3: Mostly free.** When determining their research agenda or teaching curricula, scholars are rarely subject to interference or incentivized to self-censor. **4: Fully free.** When determining their research agenda or teaching curricula, scholars are not subject to interference or incentivized to self-censor.	Expert-coded	X
Freedom of Academic Exchange and Dissemination	*To what extent are scholars free to exchange and communicate research ideas and findings?* **0: Completely restricted.** Academic exchange and dissemination is, across all disciplines, consistently subject to censorship, self-censorship, or other restrictions. **1: Severely restricted.** Academic exchange and dissemination is, in some disciplines, consistently subject to censorship, self-censorship, or other restrictions. **2: Moderately restricted.** Academic exchange and dissemination is occasionally subject to censorship, self-censorship, or other restrictions. **3: Mostly free.** Academic exchange and dissemination is rarely subject to censorship, self-censorship, or other restrictions. **4: Fully free.** Academic exchange and dissemination is not subject to censorship, self-censorship, or other restrictions.	Expert-coded	X
Institutional Autonomy	*To what extent do universities exercise institutional autonomy in practice?* **0: No autonomy at all.** Universities do not exercise any degree of institutional autonomy; non-academic actors control decision-making. **1: Minimal autonomy.** Universities exercise only very limited institutional autonomy; non-academic actors interfere extensively with decision-making. **2: Moderate autonomy.** Universities exercise some institutional autonomy; non-academic actors interfere moderately with decision-making. **3: Substantial autonomy.** Universities exercise institutional autonomy to a large extent; non-academic actors have only rare and minimal influence on decision-making. **4: Complete autonomy.** Universities exercise complete institutional autonomy from non-academic actors.	Expert-coded	X

3 More detailed information on these indicators – including the instructions, definitions and clarifications provided to expert coders – can be found in Coppedge, M. et al. (2020a): "V-Dem Codebook v10," University of Gothenburg, V-Dem. Available at: https://www.v-dem.net/en/data/data-version-10/. An in-depth description of the conceptualization of the indicators, coding decisions about the factual data, as well as content and convergent validation of the data can be found in Spannagel, J., Kinzelbach, K. and Saliba, I. (2020): "The Academic Freedom Index and other new indicators relating to academic space: An Introduction," University of Gothenburg, V-Dem. Available at: https://www.v-dem.net/media/filer_public/0d/a3/0da3981c-86ab-4d4f-b809-5bb77f43a0c7/wp_spannagel2020.pdf.

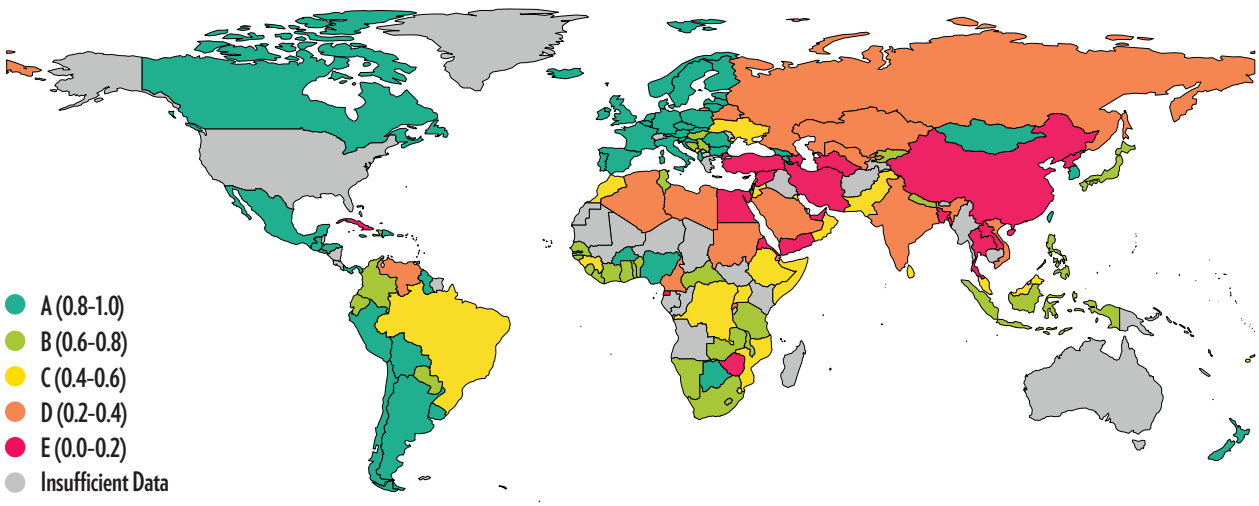
Indicator	Question and Response Levels	Type of Data	AFi
Campus Integrity	*To what extent are campuses free from politically motivated surveillance or security infringements?* **0: Completely restricted.** Campus integrity is fundamentally undermined by extensive surveillance and severe intimidation, including violence or closures. **1: Severely restricted.** Campus integrity is to a large extent undermined by surveillance and intimidation, at times including violence or closures. **2: Moderately restricted.** Campus integrity is challenged by some significant cases of surveillance or intimidation. **3: Mostly free.** Campus integrity is to a large extent respected, with only minor cases of surveillance or intimidation. **4: Fully free.** Campus integrity is comprehensively respected; there are no cases of surveillance or intimidation.	Expert-coded	X
Freedom of Academic and Cultural Expression[4]	*Is there academic freedom and freedom of cultural expression related to political issues?* **0: Not respected by public authorities.** Censorship and intimidation are frequent. Academic activities and cultural expressions are severely restricted or controlled by the government. **1: Weakly respected by public authorities.** Academic freedom and freedom of cultural expression are practiced occasionally, but direct criticism of the government is mostly met with repression. **2: Somewhat respected by public authorities.** Academic freedom and freedom of cultural expression are practiced routinely, but strong criticism of the government is sometimes met with repression. **3: Mostly respected by public authorities.** There are few limitations on academic freedom and freedom of cultural expression, and resulting sanctions tend to be infrequent and soft. **4: Fully respected by public authorities.** There are no restrictions on academic freedom or cultural expression.	Expert-coded	X
Constitutional Protection of Academic Freedom[5]	*Do constitutional provisions for the protection of academic freedom exist?* **0:** No. **1:** Yes. **95:** Constitution suspended. **97:** Other or undetermined. **99:** Missing.	Factual data	
International Legal Commitment to Academic Freedom Under ICESCR[6]	*Is the state party to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) without reservations to Article 15 (right to science)?* **0:** State not a party to ICESCR, or made reservations to Article 15. **1:** State is party to ICESCR without reservations to Article 15, but treaty not yet in force. **2:** ICESCR in force and signed without reservations to Article 15. **3:** ICESCR in force and ratified without reservations to Article 15.	Factual data	
Existence of Universities[7]	*Have universities (ever) existed in this country?* **0:** No **1:** Yes	Factual data	

4 Pre-existing V-Dem indicator.
5 Data collected by the Comparative Constitutions Project, see: https://comparativeconstitutionsproject.org/.
6 Data collected by Janika Spannagel and Alicja Polakiewicz at GPPi.
7 Data collected by Janika Spannagel and Alicja Polakiewicz at GPPi, with support from Brendan Apfeld at the University of Texas. This indicator was used to pre-code the expert-coded dataset.

When comparing countries' AFi scores, it is advisable from a methodological point of view to focus on larger disparities between countries rather than decimal-point differences or ranks, given that there is a certain margin of error attached to each individual score. Such confidence bounds are available in the dataset. For reasons of readability, we decided to not display them in the graphs of this report, but we recommend their consideration in any in-depth analysis of the data. For a global comparison of AFi scores (scaled 0–1), we suggest to group countries, assigning "A" status to all countries with an AFi score of between 1.0 and 0.8, "B" status between 0.8 and 0.6, "C" status between 0.6 and 0.4, "D" status between 0.4 and 0.2, and "E" status between 0.2 and 0.0.

The world map in Figure 1 depicts the 2019 AFi status for each country. A total of 35 countries, depicted in grey on the map, did not meet the minimum coder threshold for 2019. Across the whole published dataset (1900–2019), country-years that did not meet a threshold of at least three coders for a particular indicator were omitted to ensure data quality. The aggregated index score is provided for country-years with at least three indicators meeting that threshold. The missing data will be complemented in the next round of data collection.

Figure 1: Global Levels of Academic Freedom 2019: Status Groups According to the Academic Freedom Index



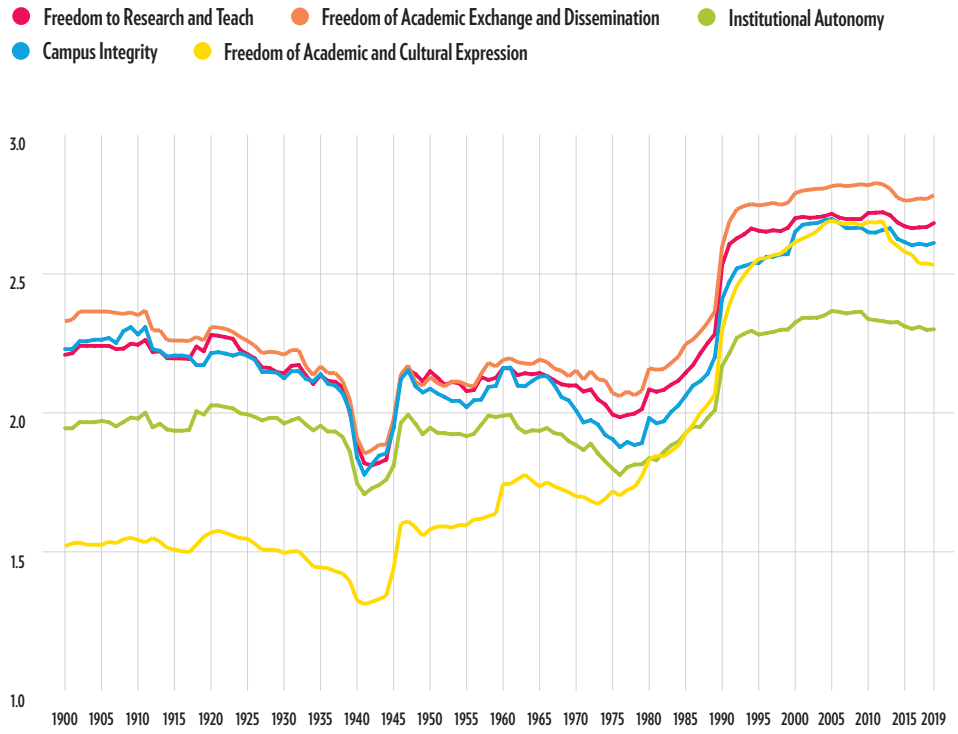
In addition to determining countries' AFi status, this rich data resource also enables the comparison of different indicators. For example, the dataset on constitutional provisions for academic freedom shows that almost one-third of countries with the worst performances in 2019 (a "D" or "E" status, that is AFi < 0.4) have such *de jure* guarantees in place while extensive violations of academic freedom occur in practice.

Lastly, the index and indicators can be compared over time. Figure 2 depicts trends in the global averages of AFi's five constituent indicators from 1900 to 2019. Here, for example, we can see that universities' institutional autonomy generally seems subject

to less extreme fluctuations than the other indicators. Its global average remains at a moderate level today. All the indicators suggest a substantial global drop in levels of academic freedom during World War II and a steep overall increase with the third wave of democratization in the early 1990s. More granular analysis can be done on the basis of individual country graphs, of which we provide some examples in the following sections.

Figure 2: Global Trends in Components of Academic Freedom, 1900-2019

(Note that the full scale is 0–4, truncated here to highlight changes over time. The current global average scores are not at the top of the scale.)

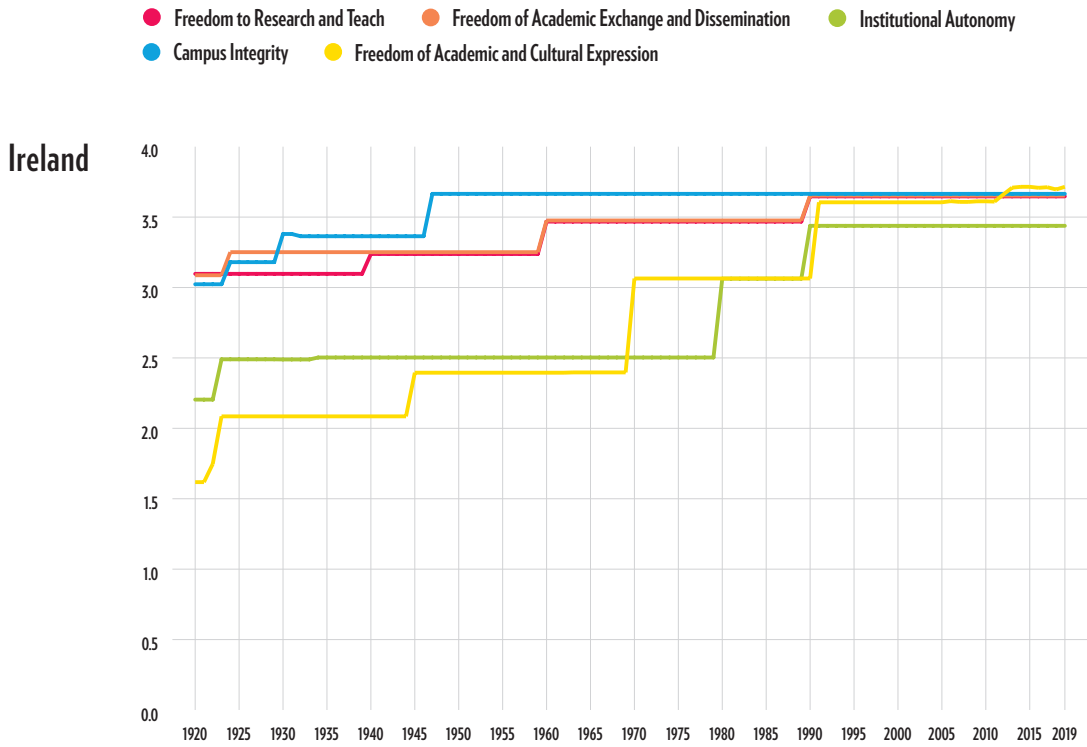


4. Recommendations

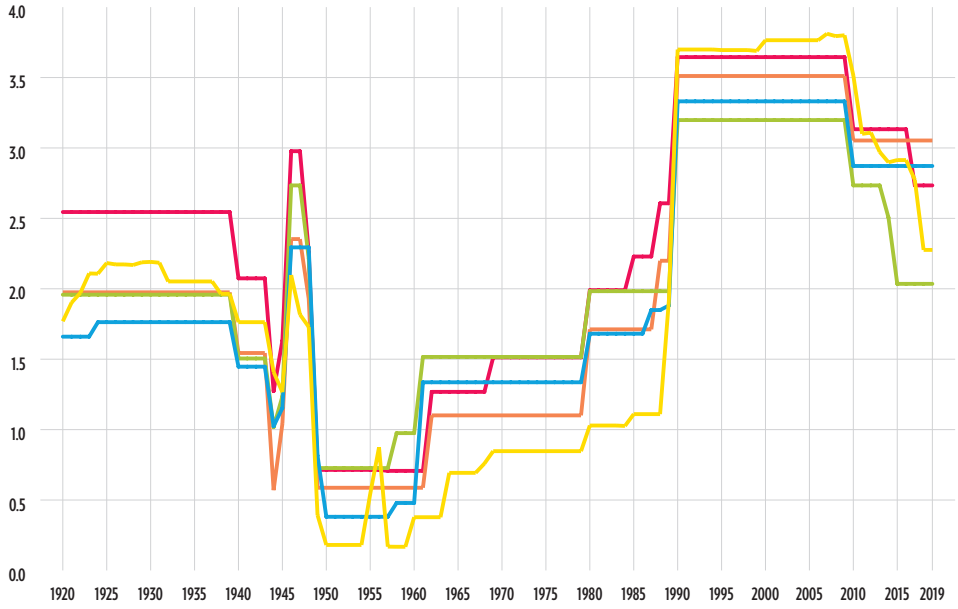
4.1 Higher Education Policy-Makers

Higher education authorities should use AFi data to assess the trajectory of their own work by reviewing AFi indicators over time (see Figure 3 for select country examples). Analyzing their country's overall trend in the light of legislation, reforms, or policy changes can help higher education policy-makers assess the impact of such changes with respect to academic freedom. If evident deteriorations in academic freedom have been tied to specific legal or policy changes in the past, then these should be reassessed, and their reversion should be considered. Conversely, if a positive trend in certain AFi indicators can be linked to a specific policy change, then such policies should be preserved and could even serve as a blueprint for other states.

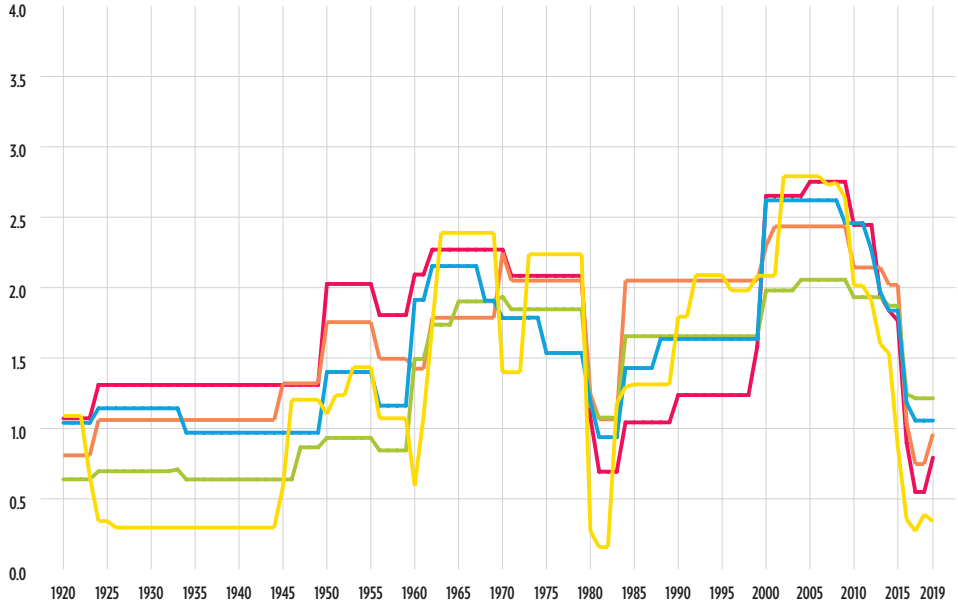
Figure 3: Select Country-Level Trends in Components of Academic Freedom, 1920-2019



Hungary



Turkey



AFi data can provide a basis for international academic freedom monitoring mechanisms. For example, policy-makers in the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) are currently considering setting up a new monitoring mechanism to better protect academic freedom across the EHEA. Any regional effort of this kind should reiterate existing understandings of academic freedom and must be in line with the states' international legal obligations – notably with the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Particular regional notions of academic freedom

are to be avoided, because scholarship takes place in the context of a globalized academic community which shares common standards. AFi data captures the core components of academic freedom and thus provides an assessment tool that is applicable everywhere. But it only provides information in broad strokes. We recommend that new monitoring efforts on academic freedom should include but also complement AFi data by taking a more detailed look at higher education legislation and regulations, as well as – crucially – sub-national variations in the *de facto* realization of academic freedom.[8]

Higher education policy-makers must respond to declining AFi scores. At least three possible avenues for action exist. We discuss these below, using the EHEA as an example:

- First, the EHEA should intensify its information-gathering efforts by ordering a comprehensive assessment of the national higher education sector or sectors in question. Such an assessment should be conducted by independent experts.

- Second, if this comprehensive assessment confirms a downward trend in academic freedom, EHEA experts should be tasked with providing recommendations to the relevant country authorities. If these recommendations do not lead to improvements, EHEA member states should provide assistance by developing twinning programs that are geared toward addressing the shortcomings or violations identified. Sharing best practices and capacity-development measures with relevant authorities or supporting scholar and student unions could be useful cooperative measures with which to reverse a declining trend in academic freedom.

- Lastly, if a government is responsible for ongoing disrespect for academic freedom and proves unwilling to take reasonable steps to improve the situation, the EHEA should employ instruments beyond assistance and expressions of disapproval. If such a mechanism is to be effective, then the toolbox must include sanction measures, such as exclusion from certain funding schemes.

4.2 Foreign Policy-Makers

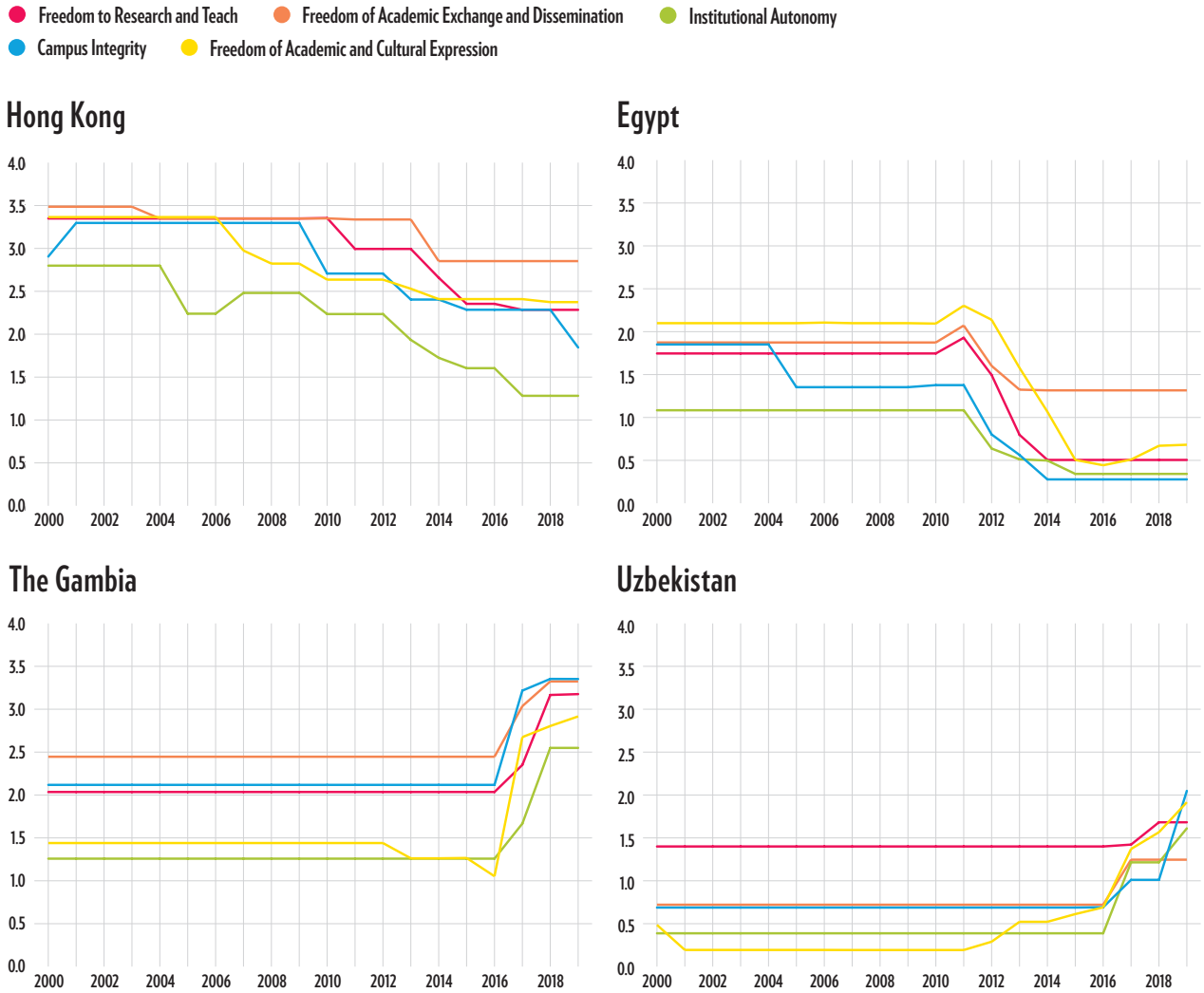
By providing independent, reliable information, the AFi can help diplomats to understand and react to changing levels and violations of academic freedom. Research and higher education are international endeavors that often intersect with foreign policy. Nevertheless, to date, academic freedom issues remain on the fringes of foreign policy discussions, only occasionally making the news cycle when individual academics are imprisoned. Fortunately, attention to this issue is growing in diplomatic circles. The AFi provides the necessary information for evidence-based diplomatic efforts on behalf of academic freedom. A better-informed diplomatic service can more

8 To address these shortcomings, we have pursued a parallel, more qualitative research agenda on academic freedom, entailing the development of case-study guidelines for comparable, in-depth assessments. Three case studies that follow these newly developed guidelines will be soon available online at: https://www.gppi.net/academicfreedom.

meaningfully contribute to protecting and enhancing academic freedom. AFi data will hopefully encourage and assist foreign policy institutions in prioritizing academic freedom and developing new strategies and instruments to safeguard it worldwide.

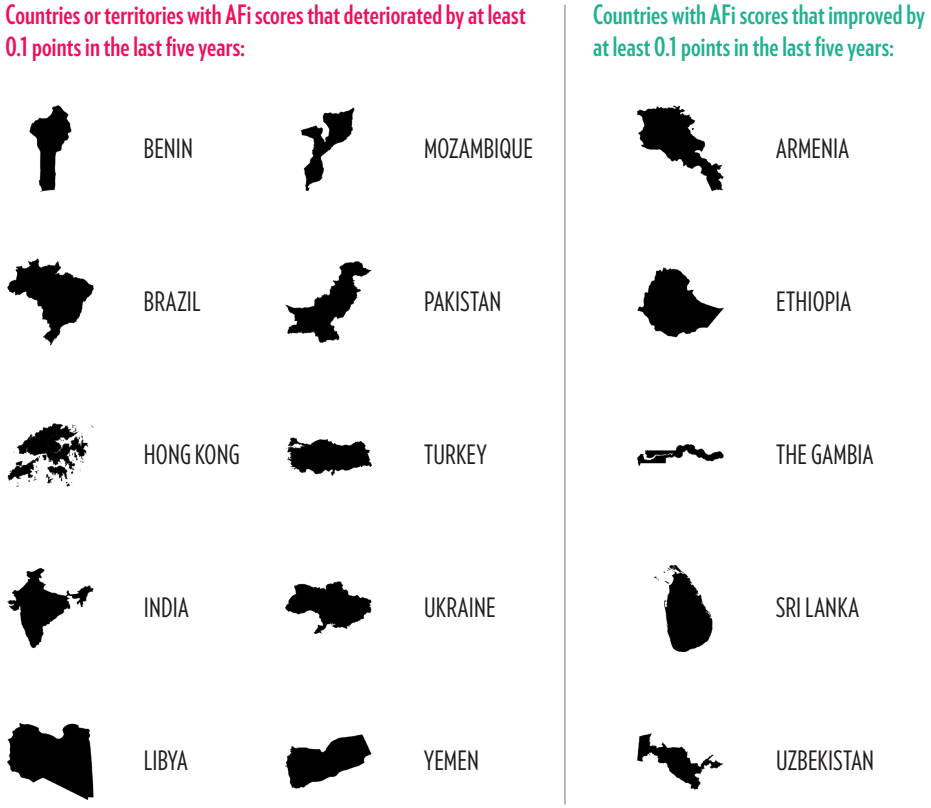
Diplomats may also use relative changes in AFi data over time to evaluate states' adherence to their respective commitments. These include domestic laws and international commitments, whether in treaties, multinational parliamentary bodies, or statements of principle. At a minimum, AFi indicators and data can provide a framework for the routine evaluation of and inter-state dialogue on adherence to such academic freedom commitments. In the best case, diplomats may use the data to encourage states to enact policy reforms aimed at increasing respect for academic freedom, with progress evaluated in future iterations of the index (see Figures 4 and 5 for examples of recent deteriorations and improvements).

Figure 4: Select Trends in Components of Academic Freedom, 2000-2019



The AFi scores, in combination with other available information on academic freedom, should be included in embassy monitoring and reporting. Restrictions on academic freedom are often one element in wider patterns of repression. Embassy reports on repressive practices that do not pay attention to the conditions in universities are incomplete. At the same time, universities can be islands of freedom amid repression, and as such, they warrant special attention. The AFi data provides a solid basis for diplomatic monitoring efforts, especially when combined with other available data, such as the incident reporting captured by Scholars at Risk's Academic Freedom Monitoring Project,[9] among others. Embassies should build on this foundation and engage in more detailed, qualitative analysis, also noting variations between institutions within a particular country.

Figure 5: Countries With Recent Deteriorations or Improvements in Academic Freedom



9 Event-based data collected by the Academic Freedom Monitoring Project is available at: https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/academic-freedom-monitoring-project-index/. For a more detailed discussion of the methodology, see: https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/methodology-of-the-academic-freedom-monitoring-project/.

Diplomatic representatives at the United Nations could use AFi data to report on their countries' record on academic freedom. For example, academic freedom is protected under international human rights law, grounded in the right to education (ICESCR Art. 13), the right to science (ICESCR Art. 15), and the right to freedom of expression (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, ICCPR Art. 19), among other provisions. When submitting regular implementation reports to the UN, states can lead by example and report on academic freedom under the above-mentioned articles, drawing on AFi data to document their achievements.

Moreover, **diplomats can refer to AFi data when making recommendations to other states in multilateral fora.** In cases where states demonstrate a gross lack of adherence to their academic freedom commitments, coupled with an unwillingness to engage in dialogue or reform, AFi data can support diplomatic action aimed at containing or even reversing any erosion of academic freedom. For example, AFi data may be cited to identify norm-violating behavior in debates during the UN's Universal Periodic Review, or in submissions to the UNESCO Committee on Conventions and Recommendations. Conversely, in cases where states demonstrate considerable improvement in the realization of academic freedom, this should also be noted in multilateral fora.

Finally, **if states restrict scholars' travel, arrest them, violently assault them, or otherwise target them with repressive measures, diplomats and government representatives should express concerns over these violations and raise them bilaterally with the host government.** In the same spirit, embassies should provide fast-track visas for at-risk scholars. In countries with low AFi scores, embassies should proactively distribute information on available scholarships for persecuted academics. However, such forms of open, targeted repression are only the tip of the iceberg. Diplomatic attention to violations of academic freedom must begin much earlier. Crucially, **AFi data can help detect softer forms of repression in the university sector – long before individual academics fear for their lives.**

4.3 The UN System

Out of 193 UN member states, 170 have ratified the ICESCR, and not a single one has filed a reservation on the right to science.

Article 15 (3) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) states that the "States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to respect the freedom indispensable for scientific research and creative activity." Out of 193 UN member states, 170 have ratified the ICESCR, and not a single one has filed a reservation on the right to science. This means that a very large majority of states around the world have made a legally binding commitment to uphold academic freedom and have accepted UN monitoring as well as peer review by other states.

The UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) and UN member states should use AFi data to review state compliance with Article 15 (3) ICESCR. States should also refer to CESCR's forthcoming general comment on Article 15, which spells out state obligations under the right to science in detail.

The ICESCR monitoring procedure relies on self-reporting by states. In the past, states have repeatedly under-reported on academic freedom, providing information on the *de jure* rather than the *de facto* situation, if they have reported at all. **State reports on the implementation of the right to science should use AFi data to provide information on *de facto* compliance with the state's academic freedom obligations.**

If a state party does not sufficiently report on academic freedom, the CESCR should base its assessment on AFi data as well as available shadow reports by non-governmental experts. Where discrepancies are evident, the CESCR should seek further information from the state. We further recommend that, in the event that a state under-reports on academic freedom or provides a strictly *de jure* perspective, or when self-reporting and the AFi paint vastly different pictures, the committee should consider a country visit.

AFi data covers all the core dimensions of academic freedom, and UNESCO should use this data as a basis for the new monitoring efforts currently under development. UNESCO is in the process of designing a new reporting mechanism as a follow-up to the Recommendation on Science and Scientific Researchers (last updated in 2017). This reporting mechanism is intended to feed into the Universal Periodical Review (UPR) process at the UN Human Rights Council in Geneva. Initial drafts published by UNESCO suggest that its reporting requirements on academic freedom might fall short of existing, legally binding obligations under Article 15 (3) ICESCR. Presumably this is because some states have an interest in renegotiating existing understandings of academic freedom for the purpose of undermining them. Such backsliding should be prevented. The AFi can also help UNESCO identify which countries should be monitored more closely or receive more attention – for example, if a downward trend in academic freedom is evident in the AFi (see, for example, the countries listed in Figure 5). This also applies to UNESCO's Recommendation Concerning the Status of Higher Education Teaching Personnel (adopted in 1997).

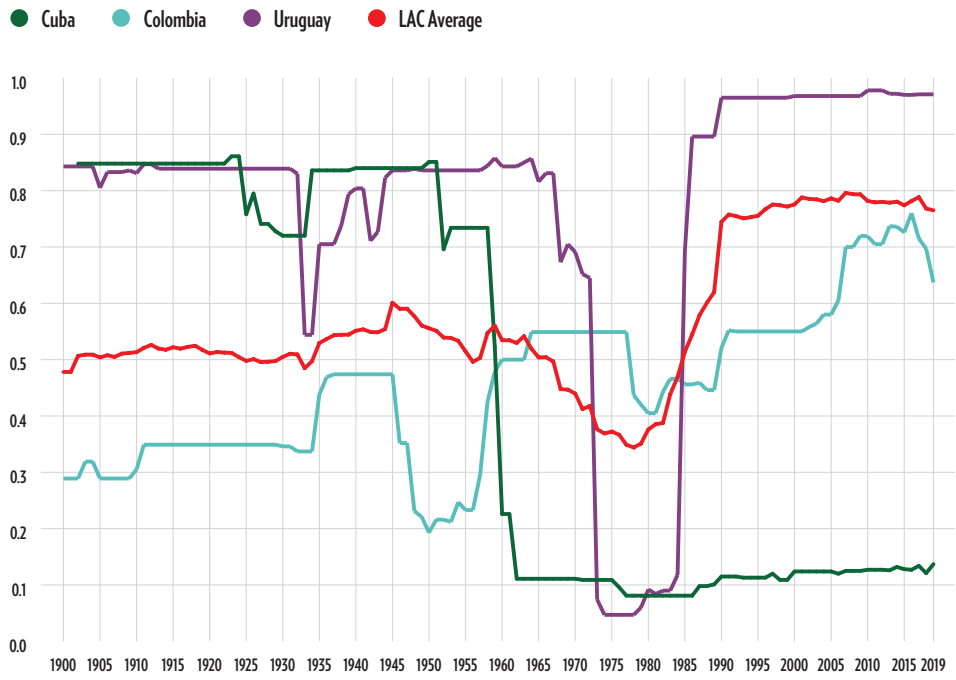
4.4 Parliaments

The AFi can help national parliaments improve the quality and competitiveness of higher education in their countries. Academic freedom is essential to top-quality teaching and research, which are themselves essential to national competitiveness in a global knowledge economy. Without security and autonomy, higher education institutions' ability to guide and support quality research and teaching is compromised. AFi data can be used to identify possible threats to these important pre-conditions. It can also help national and multi-national parliamentary bodies to identify relative increases or decreases in respect for academic freedom among state partners in international higher education collaborations and provide a framework for regular evaluation, dialogue, and reform.

National parliaments should begin with a self-evaluation by reviewing their state's scores across all indicators. If significant deficiencies or decreases are evident, national parliaments should undertake inquiries into the cause or causes (e.g., reviewing existing laws and policies, studying state or non-state pressures on academic freedom) and develop appropriate policy remedies. Conversely, if the data shows significant strengths or increases in academic freedom, national parliaments should identify the earlier changes in conditions or policies which led to these increases and continue to support those conditions or policies, or encourage their replication elsewhere.

National parliaments can also **compare their state's performance with that of other states.** Comparing relative changes over time among academic peer states may help to identify policy weaknesses and areas for improvement. Additionally, comparisons with academically more advanced states may also help to identify opportunities for improvement across the various indicators (see Figure 6 as an example of intra-regional comparisons on the AFi).

Figure 6: Latin America & Caribbean (LAC): Regional & Select Country-Level Trends in Academic Freedom (AFi), 1900-2019
(Note that the AFi is scaled from 0 to 1.)



Parliaments can also use the AFi to promote academic freedom across borders. **The European Parliament (EP) should encourage the use of AFi data to improve respect for academic freedom across the European Union and beyond.** The EP has repeatedly supported activities promoting academic freedom and might encourage the use of AFi indicators when fostering constructive dialogue on the issue or encouraging

higher education reforms, monitoring progress, and insisting on adherence to shared commitments over time. Such efforts could be particularly valuable across the EHEA, which includes EU and non-EU member states. The EP should also use AFi data to support its 2018 recommendation urging the "defense of academic freedom in the EU's external action."[10] The EP might consult with national higher education decision-makers, human rights experts, and scholars and students both inside and outside of the EU on issues relating to academic freedom and the quality of higher education. It can encourage support for academic freedom through funding research, efforts to protect and promote academic freedom, public awareness campaigns or educational materials, events and discussions, and programs supporting at-risk scholars.

Other multinational parliamentary bodies (e.g., the Pan-African Parliament) may also consider the above uses of AFi data when promoting both member and non-member states' adherence to their academic freedom commitments.

4.5 Advocacy Groups

Advocacy groups may use AFi data to challenge states to meet their international and domestic legal and policy commitments to respect and promote academic freedom. Academic freedom is protected under international human rights law, regional human rights systems, and in the constitutions, basic laws, or national higher education laws of most states. AFi data can help advocacy groups challenge all states, demanding that those with poor records on academic freedom improve adherence to their own commitments, and urging those with strong records to exert a positive influence on poorly performing states via bilateral and multilateral systems. Advocacy groups could assert their concerns and recommendations through the UN's treaty bodies and special procedures, the Universal Periodic Review process, the UNESCO Committee on Conventions and Recommendations, regional human rights bodies (e.g., the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights), or the higher education policy teams of the OECD or the World Bank, among others.

Regular iterations of the index will help advocacy groups demonstrate trends (both positive and negative) and evaluate the effectiveness of enacted policy reforms. As noted above, AFi data is based on multiple expert assessments of individual countries across many years. This supports comparisons of changes over time within each state covered, as well as comparisons of relative changes over time across countries. Since the data will be updated annually, the AFi will provide the best available data on changes in academic freedom – both improvements and regressions – and will support advocacy group activities beyond the immediate and the short-term, with a view toward long-term, deep, sustainable improvements.

10 European Parliament. (2018): Document no. P8_TA(2018)0483. Available at: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-8-2018-0483_EN.html.

By demonstrating relative changes in academic freedom over time, AFi data can help to support the link between academic freedom and quality higher education and research. This link is difficult to prove, but AFi data can be used to illustrate patterns and trends where greater levels of academic freedom correspond to better quality, reputation, and competitiveness in higher education.

AFi scores can help advocacy groups to push university leaders and administrators whose institutions are engaged in international higher education activities to understand the conditions in the various countries in which they are involved. The annually updated country scores in AFi data enable advocacy groups to engage with university leaders and administrators regularly to evaluate the risks to their institutions, staff, and students. Advocacy groups should explain to administrators that considering the AFi when evaluating their activities, policies, and contingency planning is a quality-management and risk-mitigation strategy. In this regard, advocacy groups may especially want to point to the indicators on freedom to research and teach (1), exchange and dissemination (2), and campus integrity (4), low scores on which might suggest heightened risks for staff or students engaged in activities overseas.

Toward all of these ends, advocacy groups should use AFi data to shape dialogue, combat misinformation, and mobilize support for policy recommendations aimed at increasing protection for scholars, students, institutions, and academic freedom overall. They should review those AFi results and recommendations relevant to their own organizational priorities and activities. They should consider incorporating AFi results into their regular or ad-hoc reporting on national and international human rights conditions. All advocacy groups interested in academic freedom should regularly promote its importance to the quality of higher education, to democratic society, and to the protection and strengthening of human rights. They should demand that states meet their obligations by refraining from violations of academic freedom, preventing violations by others, and carrying out prompt, thorough, and transparent investigations of such violations to hold the perpetrators accountable.

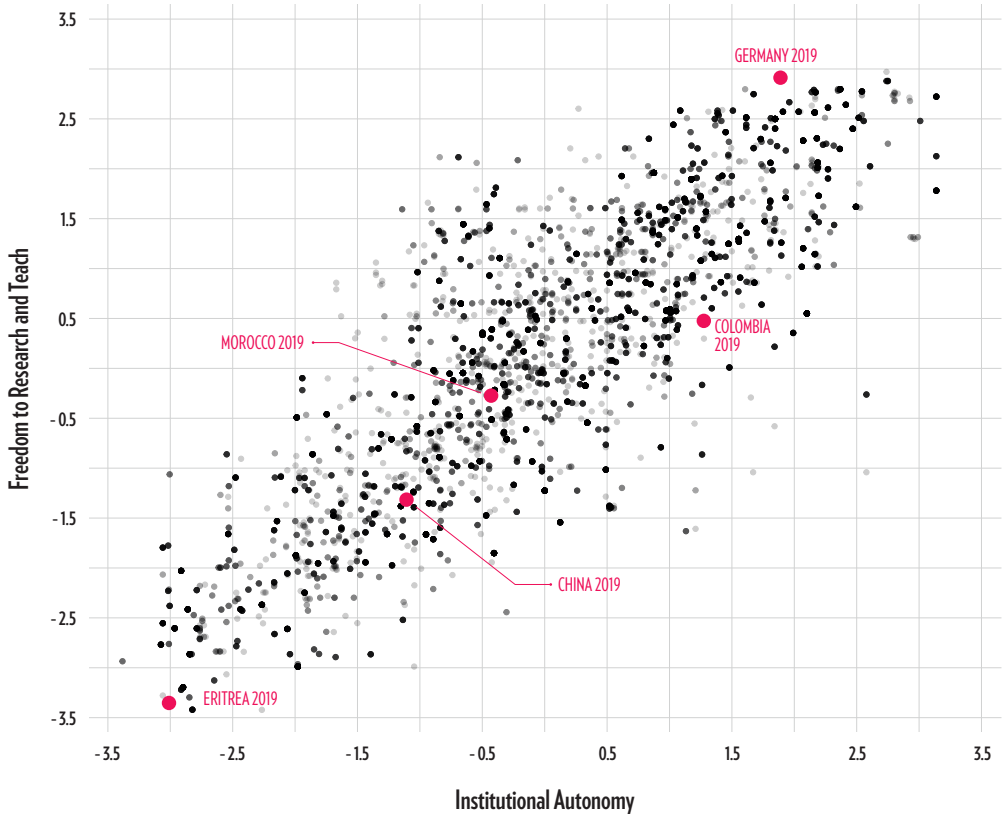
4.6 University Leaders and Administrators

The AFi is important for university leaders and administrators because it provides the first near-global coverage and historical comparison of country-level respect for several dimensions of academic freedom.

University leaders may use AFi data domestically when advocating for material and policy support for their institutions and their national higher education system. Crucially, university leaders should insist on institutional autonomy. AFi data illustrates that countries which respect universities' autonomy also tend to have high levels of freedom to research and teach (see Figure 7 on the next page).

In places where academic freedom is generally well respected, university leaders and administrators may use recent changes or comparisons with other states to support appeals for resources or policies to maintain or enhance competitiveness, creating a virtuous cycle. Comparing relative changes over time among academic peer states (as determined by type of higher education system, numbers of institutions or students, or level of investment in higher education, etc.) may help to identify policy weaknesses and support reform proposals. Similar comparisons with academically more advanced states may help to identify opportunities for improvement and to leverage competitive appetites among state officials or other key stakeholders, who would see increasing levels of respect for academic freedom across the various indicators as a means to improving the state's position relative to its peers.

Figure 7: Distribution of all Country-Years (1900–2019) Between Institutional Autonomy and Freedom to Research and Teach (n=10,158, using raw values from V-Dem model)



AFi indicators provide university leaders and administrators with data and a framework for analyzing the conditions of academic freedom in other countries, whether before entering into new partnerships or activities, or as part of an established program. AFi data puts university leaders, administrators, and their institutions on notice when they are engaged in activities in places where academic

freedom is not respected. They should therefore consider AFi data when evaluating their international activities, including satellite campuses, as well as any related communication to staff and students, program policies, insurance, and contingency planning. In this regard, university leaders and administrators may wish to pay special attention to the indicators on freedom to research and teach (1), exchange and dissemination (2), and campus integrity (4), because low rankings on these indicators might suggest heightened risks for staff or students engaged in activities overseas. Aspects to consider when collaborating with institutions in repressive environments go beyond the freedom indispensable for the envisaged research endeavor. There may also be a potential risk of being used to legitimate a repressive state or higher education actor. Furthermore, repressive actors might make attempts to erode academic freedom across borders and beyond the specific collaboration in question – for example, by implicitly or explicitly requesting that the partner institution censor politically sensitive research or teaching content.

University leaders and administrators may wish to use the AFi in developing a culture of respect for academic freedom and proactive practices to promote research safety, for example by putting academic freedom concerns on the program at university conferences, workshops, and leadership meetings. Moreover, the AFi can be used as a reference when universities want to ensure that students or staff going on research trips or taking up fellowships abroad are aware of the situation in their destination country and are well informed and prepared. If a researcher is planning a research stay in a country that has recently scored very low on indicators of freedom to research and teach (1), exchange and dissemination (2), and campus integrity (4), their university could ask them to prepare a risk analysis and risk mitigation strategy as well as demand specific safety training, as appropriate. For such countries, universities should also set up a crisis management procedure for handling attacks, detentions, disappearances, and other risks.

University leaders and administrators may wish to consider AFi scores in evaluations of new and existing international higher education partnerships. To this end, they could also establish a university body to monitor allegations of pressures on academic freedom on their campuses and in their international partnerships, and also make reports about those pressures available for public review. They should consider AFi data when reviewing insurance policies and contingency planning.

4.7 Funding Organizations

AFi indicators provide organizations that fund international academic collaboration and scholarly exchange with a framework and data for monitoring the conditions of academic freedom in other countries, whether prior to setting up new partnerships or activities, or as part of ongoing programs. AFi data can serve to put such organizations on notice when they are engaged in activities in places where academic freedom is not respected or is deteriorating. They should therefore consider AFi data when evaluating not only their activities and programs, but also their insurance policies and contingency planning. In this regard, funders (as appropriate

to the program) should pay special attention to the indicators on freedom to research and teach (1), exchange and dissemination (2), and campus integrity (4), because low performance on these indicators might suggest heightened risks for staff or students engaged in activities overseas.

Funding organizations should strive to establish principles and procedures that recognize their own responsibility for academic freedom, similar to do-no-harm approaches in development cooperation. Based on AFi data, funders could establish new procedures for reviewing funding applications. Notably, they could adopt AFi data as a traffic-light style warning system to automatically trigger certain requirements for ethical approval or specific preparatory trainings (e.g., in digital or communication security). Applicants could be required to submit a risk mitigation strategy as part of any application to undertake research in or with academic institutions located in countries with a status of C, D, or E, where academic freedom is not guaranteed (see the status group country lists in Table 2). Funders should also consider AFi scores as a factor when designing calls for teaching and research-related activities abroad.

Organizations funding academic exchanges and international mobility could use AFi data to assess whether their grantees need special training, preparation, or support when going on a research trip or beginning a collaboration in another country. AFi data can help to identify the general baseline of restrictions on academics in a specific country context. If a researcher or a student plans to leave for a country that scores very low on the AFi, then funding organizations bear additional responsibility to prepare their grantees for the more restrictive and potentially even repressive environment they will face. In such cases, funders should make resources available to ensure that outgoing researchers or students receive relevant preparatory training, including in data security, risk mitigation, or even hostile environment awareness, as needed. Funding organizations should also set up a crisis management procedure for handling attacks, detentions, disappearances, and other risks.

Moreover, **funders could make comprehensive risk assessments and written risk mitigation plans a necessary condition for funding trips to countries that score low on the AFi.** Just as ethics committee approval is necessary for research projects that involve human or animal subjects, such risk assessments and mitigation strategies should be obligatory for researchers venturing into places in which academic freedom is routinely violated.

Funding organizations should also consider financially supporting research on academic freedom in countries that score low on the AFi. Such research would seek to better understand both state and non-state pressures on academic freedom and autonomy within a national context, identify case-study examples that demonstrate these pressures, and propose policies, laws, and other measures to strengthen academic freedom.

Table 2: List of all Assessed Countries and Territories by Status Group With Their Academic Freedom Index Scores (Scaled From 0 to 1) for 2019

A Status (0.8-1.0)	AFi
Albania	0.848
Argentina	0.909
Armenia	0.840
Austria	0.947
Belgium	0.941
Bolivia	0.876
Botswana	0.850
Bulgaria	0.831
Burkina Faso	0.880
Canada	0.940
Cape Verde	0.828
Chile	0.933
Comoros	0.800
Croatia	0.837
Czech Republic	0.934
Denmark	0.921
Dominican Republic	0.823
El Salvador	0.863
Estonia	0.957
Finland	0.936
France	0.846
Georgia	0.831
Germany	0.960
Guatemala	0.829
Guyana	0.802
Honduras	0.847
Iceland	0.922
Ireland	0.935
Israel	0.939
Italy	0.944
Jamaica	0.926
Latvia	0.964
Lithuania	0.912
Malta	0.869
Mexico	0.888
Mongolia	0.883
Netherlands	0.931
New Zealand	0.908
Nigeria	0.847
Norway	0.919
Panama	0.878
Peru	0.917
Poland	0.898
Portugal	0.971
Romania	0.832
Slovakia	0.939
Slovenia	0.921
South Korea	0.802
Spain	0.942
Sweden	0.947
Taiwan	0.900
The Gambia	0.807
Trinidad and Tobago	0.863
United Kingdom	0.934
Uruguay	0.971
Vanuatu	0.848

B Status (0.6-0.8)	AFi
Benin	0.756
Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.729
Central African Republic	0.669
Colombia	0.637
Ecuador	0.792
Ghana	0.758
Guinea-Bissau	0.695
Haiti	0.652
Hungary	0.662
Indonesia	0.794
Ivory Coast	0.627
Japan	0.736
Kyrgyzstan	0.675
Lebanon	0.622
Lesotho	0.644
Liberia	0.758
Malawi	0.737
Mauritius	0.727
Namibia	0.636
Nepal	0.729
Paraguay	0.781
Philippines	0.655
Sao Tome and Principe	0.737
Senegal	0.788
Serbia	0.747
Sierra Leone	0.757
Somaliland	0.692
South Africa	0.702
Tanzania	0.638
Timor-Leste	0.729
Togo	0.774
Tunisia	0.727
Zambia	0.705

C Status (0.4-0.6)	AFi
Brazil	0.466
Dem. Rep. of the Congo	0.455
Ethiopia	0.440
Fiji	0.476
Guinea	0.492
Hong Kong	0.442
Jordan	0.470
Kuwait	0.477
Malaysia	0.582
Montenegro	0.508
Morocco	0.464
Mozambique	0.421
Oman	0.522
Pakistan	0.554
Palestine/West Bank	0.573
Singapore	0.411
Somalia	0.436
Sri Lanka	0.506
Swaziland	0.599
Uganda	0.401
Ukraine	0.422

D Status (0.2-0.4)	AFi
Algeria	0.357
Belarus	0.225
Cameroon	0.361
Djibouti	0.308
India	0.352
Kazakhstan	0.302
Libya	0.238
Palestine/Gaza	0.371
Russia	0.364
Rwanda	0.223
Saudi Arabia	0.278
Sudan	0.228
Uzbekistan	0.305
Venezuela	0.276
Vietnam	0.379
Zanzibar	0.318

E Status (0.0-0.2)	AFi
Azerbaijan	0.086
Bahrain	0.039
Bangladesh	0.195
China	0.101
Cuba	0.137
Egypt	0.050
Equatorial Guinea	0.063
Eritrea	0.015
Iran	0.116
Laos	0.043
North Korea	0.011
Syria	0.089
Thailand	0.191
Turkey	0.097
Turkmenistan	0.043
United Arab Emirates	0.103
Yemen	0.139
Zimbabwe	0.107

Note: For a list of countries not yet included in the AFi due to insufficient coder numbers, please refer to Table 3 on page 29.

4.8 University Rankings

Academic freedom is not acknowledged in any of the influential university rankings. As a reference point for scholars, university administrators, and governments, datasets such as the ShanghaiRanking, the Times Higher Education World University Ranking, the QS World University Ranking, or U-Multirank are in a unique position to improve academic freedom by altering incentive structures for students, scholars, universities, and governments.

The university rankings' individual methodologies vary widely, and there are important scholarly debates about the soundness of their respective approaches. None of them is directly comparable to the methodology chosen for the AFi index (see above). Irrespective of the chosen method, **university rankings should include the respect for academic freedom in their assessments.** Academic freedom is an important factor in making universities more attractive places for students and scholars. If a certain country scores badly on the AFi, then all universities in that country should be subject to a reduction of their score in a ranking.

Using the QS World University Ranking as an example, such a correction could look like this: Universities in the QS Ranking receive a total score between 0 and 100. Using the following formula, one can correct a university's position in the ranking, assuming that we attribute a weight of 20:80 to the AFi compared to the combined weight of the conventional indicators that currently determine the score:

Corrected Score = Score * (0.8 + 0.2*AFi)

This penalizes universities in the same country in an equivalent way, though proportionately to their current score.[11]

In the most recent QS Ranking, Peking University and the University of Tokyo share rank 22, with an overall score of 84.3 each. Using the above formula, the corrected score for the University of Tokyo would be 79.8, given Japan's AFi score of 0.736. Peking University would be downgraded to a corrected score of 69.1, given China's AFi of 0.101. The two base scores being equal, these corrected scores better reflect the respective universities' academic excellence.

This suggestion is merely illustrative. Each university ranking is constructed differently, and there is no one-size-fits-all solution. The optimal approach to

11 A more intuitive approach might be to include the AFi *ex ante* as an indicator factoring into the calculation of the total score alongside the other indicators. However, in such a model – depending on their current score – some universities would be penalized, while some would benefit from the same AFi score. Such an outcome would be undesirable, especially because very low-ranking universities would be upgraded even with a low AFi score. The *ex post* approach – using a dynamic penalty that is applied after the calculation of the current score – prevents such a distortion.

incorporating the AFi will need to be designed in partnership with the respective ranking institutions. By including respect for academic freedom in their assessment methodologies, university rankings would create strong incentives for university rectors and governments who value and act on these prestigious rankings to take steps to strengthen academic freedom. Universities that want to be ranked could also be asked to file a written commitment to academic freedom as a precondition for being assessed.

If ranking organizations continue to ignore academic freedom in their assessments, they should at least make the reasons for this choice explicit. Ranking companies should also urge their patrons – primarily higher education decision-makers, scholars, and students – to refer to the AFi when making policy decisions or selecting a university at which to study or work.

4.9 Academic Community

Professional associations, researchers, and students are at the forefront of the fight for academic freedom. Ultimately, they are the first to suffer the consequences of restrictions on and violations of academic freedom, followed by all who are deprived of the scientific, cultural, and economic benefits made possible by academic freedom.

The AFi can inform individual students and researchers in their decisions about where to apply for academic jobs, study, or spend a semester abroad. In particular, the indicators on the freedom to research and teach (1), exchange and dissemination (2), and campus integrity (4) should inform such decisions. The point here is not to discourage academic exchange and mobility, but to make sure that scholars and students review information on academic freedom and prepare themselves as necessary. Restrictions on academic freedom might vary substantially within a country and between institutions, and consulting the AFi cannot replace collecting specific information about the prospective host or partner institution.

Furthermore, **researchers and graduate students should consult a specific country's AFi scores before planning a fieldwork trip or an excursion, as well as when evaluating a potential or ongoing research cooperation.** Researchers should check both the AFi score and the separate indicators to get a sense of the situation in the country where their prospective partner institution is located. Academic cooperation can succeed even under difficult circumstances, but researchers must understand and manage the risks. Decisions should be made in line with the applicable ethical review procedures.

For a researcher who takes his or her research environment seriously, it is often not enough to abide by the regulations and ethical provisions of one's home institution. If individual researchers or graduate students plan to undertake fieldwork-based research in a country in which academic freedom is severely restricted and violations of scholars' rights and academic institutions occur regularly, a risk assessment as well as appropriate risk mitigation measures (including specific preparation for such

difficult work conditions) should be undertaken. **The AFi can help researchers and graduate students to assess the level of academic freedom before embarking on fieldwork.** If the destination country's AFi scores are low in general – and with regard to the indicators on freedom to research and teach (1), dissemination and exchange (2), and campus integrity (4) in particular – then a more comprehensive risk analysis and the implementation of risk mitigation strategies is appropriate. In environments in which researchers might be perceived as unwanted foreign intruders, data and communication safety can be as vital to researchers' and their interlocutors' physical safety as other protective measures.[12]

Moreover, **professional associations or unions can use AFi data as a reference point for a particular country's academic freedom status.** Many such associations already have academic freedom committees that could use AFi data to inform statements or advocacy efforts in individual cases for at-risk colleagues. They might also want to focus fact-finding efforts on countries that score low on the AFi, trying to identify at-risk colleagues who might not have personal contacts abroad who would raise their case with the relevant committees. Higher education unions and associations could also disseminate and incorporate AFi data into their organizing, advocacy, and lobbying activities.

Researchers can use AFi data to answer research questions related to academic freedom and violations thereof. The dataset currently includes five expert-coded indicators, one index, three factual datasets, and more than 110,000 observation points – a unique, rich source of data on academic freedom that will continue to grow in forthcoming annual rounds of updates.

In addition, **AFi data can also be used to start a debate on academic freedom at one's home institution.** AFi results could be distributed to interested colleagues or relevant committees, sparking a discussion of the data as well as of ways to address academic freedom concerns at home and abroad. Even if AFi scores are the best available data for studying shifting levels of academic freedom across countries and time, expert assessments are not flawless. Scholarly debate and scrutiny of the data is highly desirable. For example, we have reason to believe that recent worrisome developments may be overly reflected in the data. Brazil and India, which display the most dramatic AFi declines in the last five years (see Figure 5 above), are cases in point. While there is evidence of a deteriorating condition for academics in both countries,[13] the extent of the AFi score's decline seems somewhat disproportional in comparison to earlier periods in the countries' history, as well as in comparison to other countries over the same period. In this context, it is important to reiterate that AFi coders are typically academics who work in the country that they assess. Their concerns and fears

12 For a more detailed discussion of risk assessments and how researchers can develop risk mitigation strategies, see Grimm, J. et al. (2020): *Safer Field Research in the Social Sciences: A Guide to Human and Digital Security in Hostile Environments*, SAGE.

13 On Brazil see Hübner Mendes, C. et al. (forthcoming): "Academic freedom in Brazil," draft on file with the authors, soon available at: https://www.gppi.net/academicfreedom; on India see SAR (2019): *Free to Think: Report of the Scholars at Risk Academic Freedom Monitoring Project*, available at: https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Scholars-at-Risk-Free-to-Think-2019.pdf.

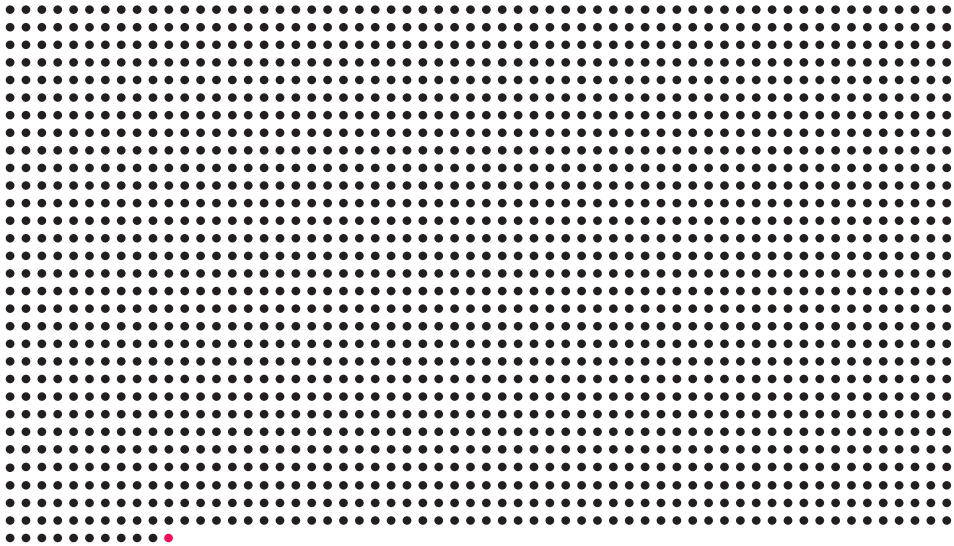
are reflected in the data. We believe that this intrinsic feature of expert-coded data must be openly discussed. Recent deteriorating trends should be read as important warning signs that depict the current climate among academics in the country. However, we also encourage substantiated, scholarly debate on the data, as well as additional expert assessments in future rounds of data collection that allow for a retrospect evaluation of the situation.

The AFi was built based on assessments provided by 1,810 coders around the world. If the AFi is to continue and improve, this effort requires even higher numbers of committed experts. **Scholars with country-specific knowledge on academic freedom should contribute their expertise to the collaborative AFi coding effort.**

Table 3: List of Countries Not Yet Included in AFi Due to Insufficient Coder Numbers

Afghanistan	Costa Rica	Madagascar	Republic of the Congo
Angola	Cyprus	Maldives	Seychelles
Australia	Gabon	Mali	Solomon Islands
Barbados	Greece	Mauritania	South Sudan
Bhutan	Iraq	Moldova	Suriname
Burma/Myanmar	Kenya	Nicaragua	Switzerland
Burundi	Kosovo	Niger	Tajikistan
Cambodia	Luxembourg	Papua New Guinea	United States of America
Chad	Macedonia	Qatar	

1,810 coders around the world contributed to make the Academic Freedom Index a reality. Join them and help monitor academic freedom worldwide.



Sign up as a new coder by filling out the expert call at https://sv.surveymonkey.com/r/7BPSZTQ. If you have any questions, please get in touch at academicfreedom@gppi.net.

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