

Brandeis University

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Diversity, Pressure, and Divisions on the University of Pennsylvania Campus

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Executive Summary

This report is part of a program of research focusing on Jewish undergraduates and their experiences of antisemitism and anti-Israel hostility on campuses. It is the second in a series of reports on select campuses and focuses on the University of Pennsylvania (Penn), historically, the most welcoming to Jewish students of all Ivy League schools. Based on a survey of both Jewish and non-Jewish students, the study presents a snapshot of the characteristics of Penn undergraduates in the 2015-16 academic year. It explores the intersection of racial, ethnic, and religious identities, gender, and sexual orientation, intergroup interactions, experiences of discrimination, and feelings of safety and belonging on campus in the context of the larger campus climate.

The findings presented are based on a survey administered to a random sample of 2,500 undergraduates drawn from a list of students ages 18 or older provided by the Registrar. The response rate (AAPOR RR2) was 44.7 % with 1,113 eligible undergraduates responding to the survey.

Student Characteristics

Racial/Ethnic identity. The majority of undergraduates are students of color. This figure includes students who described themselves as East Asian (23%), Black (8%), and Hispanic (12%). Forty-five percent of undergraduates at Penn identified as White.

International students. Fifteen percent of Penn undergraduates are international students, but this proportion is higher at the Wharton school, where 24% of students are international. In contrast, the nursing school has no international students.

Religious affiliation. Forty percent of students described themselves as atheist, agnostic, or nothing in particular. Thirty-eight percent of students identified as Christian, and 13% identified as Jewish by religion. An additional 3% of students identified as having no religion but also indicated that they were Jewish “aside from religion.”

Socioeconomic background. Prior to coming to Penn, over 70% of domestic students lived in ZIP codes in the top two quintiles of median income in the United States. In contrast, no Penn students lived in ZIP codes in the lowest quintile of median income.

Political views. Sixty-three percent of Penn students identified their personal political views as liberal. Seventeen percent identified as political conservatives.

Experiences on Campus

Jewish students and antisemitism. About one third of Jewish students agreed at least “somewhat” that there was a hostile atmosphere on campus toward Israel and 13% agreed to the same extent that there was hostile environment toward Jews. Yet, in many ways the findings of this study suggest that antisemitism and anti-Israel sentiment have limited impact on the lives of Jewish students at Penn. Compared to other campus issues, these concerns remain far in the background of campus life at Penn and were rarely mentioned by students as among the most pressing issues on campus. Almost universally, Jewish students felt that they belonged at Penn and were heavily connected to Jewish organizations and Jewish professionals on campus.

Stress and mental health. The issue of near universal concern at Penn was the “pressure cooker” nature of student experiences both inside and outside of the classroom. Close to 90% of respondents identified student mental health among the most pressing issues at Penn. Regardless of their race/ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, or gender, Penn students reported that they experienced intense academic and social pressures to succeed while being forced to maintain the illusion of emotional well-being.

Racial prejudice and discrimination. More than half of Black students agreed that there was a hostile environment toward people of color at Penn. Close to one third of Black students also reported feeling unwelcome in a campus organization or being insulted or harassed in person because of their race.

Gender and sexual orientation. Students were asked whether they had personally experienced discrimination because of their gender or sexual orientation. Responses indicated that LGBTQ students experienced discrimination at a higher rate than heterosexual students and heterosexual women experienced discrimination at a higher rate than heterosexual men. A majority of students agreed that the university took issues of sexual assault and harassment seriously.

Intergroup divisions. Although the Penn undergraduate student body is diverse on many dimensions, students appeared to have only limited personal relationships with dissimilar peers. Whether it is the tendency of undergraduates, especially White and Jewish students, to have friends of their own race/ethnicity, or the concentration of students of upper socio-economic backgrounds in the Wharton school and in Greek life, our findings pinpointed clear social divisions that permeate and influence student life at Penn.

Discourse on contentious issues. Many Penn students described a campus climate, in relation to social and political issues, characterized by reticence and constraint. Nearly half of Penn students disagreed that unpopular opinions can be expressed freely. Politically moderate or conservative students and those with minority viewpoints on controversial issues, such as race relations, felt especially uncomfortable expressing their views. A plurality of students, including Jewish undergraduates, expressed discomfort discussing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and of these, the majority felt that they did not know enough about the topic to enter the conversation.

The admissions process can create a diverse student body on campus but cannot, by itself, achieve the goal of a “bridged” campus, where students not only encounter peers from backgrounds and political orientations different from their own, but also engage productively with one another. Reducing social and attitudinal barriers requires efforts aimed at increasing intergroup interactions and finding shared goals. Our study of Penn suggests that the near universal desire of students for a healthy campus life may provide a fertile common ground for building lines of respectful and productive communication.

Introduction

American colleges and universities have changed dramatically over the past 50 years. They have become more racially and ethnically diverse, with the proportion of students of color on college campuses increasing from less than 10% in 1971 to nearly one third in 2015 (Eagan et al., 2015; Hurtado, 2005; Pryor et al., 2007). They have also become more religiously diverse, with a particularly notable increase in the proportion of students describing their religion as agnostic, atheist, or “none” (Eck, 2001).

However, the presence of a diverse student body on campus does not, by itself, achieve the goal of an integrated campus. Commentators have noted the prevalence of social segregation on campuses along lines of racial and ethnic identity (Bruni, 2015; Tatum, 2003). Of related concern is research highlighting multiple manifestations of racism experienced by students of color on college campuses (Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Museus, Ledesma, & Parker, 2015). Campuses are also sites of explicit and implicit prejudice and discrimination based on religion (Saxe, Sasson, Wright, & Hecht, 2015), sexual orientation (Rankin & Reason, 2005), and social class (Armstrong & Hamilton, 2013; Stuber, 2011).

The present study is part of a larger program of research on the identities of Jewish undergraduates and their experiences of antisemitism and anti-Israel sentiment on campus. Taking a comparative approach, we set out to examine these topics by exploring the intersection of racial, ethnic, and religious identities for all undergraduates, both Jewish and non-Jewish. Examining these realities in context, the study also aimed to understand the unique issues that characterize the discourse and climate on individual campuses.

The first report in this series looked at Brandeis University and found that in the wake of student protests related to racial

inequality, issues of race relations and diversity were first and foremost on the minds of students. Despite the relatively high concentration of Jewish students at Brandeis, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was not considered a pressing issue, although the discourse surrounding the topic was particularly contentious (Saxe et al., 2016).

This report, the second in the series, focuses on the University of Pennsylvania (Penn), an Ivy League school ranked #9 among the best national universities by *US News & World Report* (2015). Compared to other Ivy League schools, Penn has had a unique relationship with the Jewish community that makes it an interesting case study of Jewish students at elite universities. Historically, of all Ivy League schools, Penn was the most welcoming to Jews. While Harvard, Princeton, Yale and the other Ivies changed their admissions systems in the 1920s in order to minimize the number of Jewish students, Penn never put quotas in place and, in fact, admitted a growing number of Jewish students (Bowen, Kurzweil, Tobin, & Pichler, 2005; Farnum, 1990; Karabel, 2006). By 1935, a flourishing Jewish Greek life had developed at Penn (Sanua, 2003), and from the 1940s through the 1960s, Penn had the largest proportion of Jewish students of all the Ivies, at around 40% (Borders, 1967).

This study presents a snapshot of the characteristics of Penn undergraduates in the 2015-16 academic year and explores issues related to their racial/ethnic and religious identities, gender, and sexual orientation in the context of the larger campus climate. In particular, the report examines intergroup relations, experiences of discrimination, attitudes toward contentious issues on campus, and their relationship to student characteristics. Finally, it examines overall feelings of comfort, safety, and belonging at Penn.

Methods

The present survey of Penn students employed a sample frame of undergraduates who were age 18 or older as of April 1, 2016. The Registrar's office provided email addresses for 9,796 enrolled undergraduates who were 18 or older. A simple random sample of 2,500 students was drawn from this frame. The survey was conducted online. Respondents were given a \$10 Amazon.com gift card upon completion of the survey. Email invitations to participate in the survey were initially sent on April 21, 2016 and were followed by two reminders. The survey was closed on May 15, 2016.

The response rate (AAPOR RR2) was 44.7% with 1,113 eligible undergraduates responding to the survey (1,079 complete surveys, 34 partial surveys). Weights were calculated to adjust for differences between the characteristics of respondents and known characteristics of the population, with respect

to gender, Penn school of enrollment (College of Arts and Sciences, Penn Engineering, the School of Nursing or the Wharton School), class year, and international student status. After weights were applied, the sample appeared to be broadly representative of the Penn undergraduate population with respect to race and ethnicity. Details of the coding paradigms for selected variables and the statistical analysis of all outcome measures discussed in this report are provided in Technical Appendices.

Technical Appendix A includes additional methodological details on data collection, sampling, and weighting procedures. Technical Appendix B presents coding paradigms. Technical Appendix C includes tables of frequencies with confidence intervals and significance tests or regression models as appropriate. Technical Appendix D includes the complete survey instrument.

Campus Snapshot

This section of the report describes the characteristics of Penn's undergraduate student body. Penn students are admitted to one of four undergraduate schools: the College of Arts and Sciences, Penn Engineering, the School of Nursing, or the Wharton School (Penn's business school). Because the characteristics of students enrolled at these four schools were different, this snapshot is presented by school.

The distribution of students among the schools is presented in Table 1. The majority (58%) of undergraduates were enrolled in the College of Arts and Sciences. The School of Nursing, the smallest school by enrollment, accounted for 4% of undergraduates.

Table 1. Distribution of students by school

College of Arts and Sciences	58%
Wharton School	16%
Penn Engineering	14%
School of Nursing	4%
Multiple	7%
Total	100%

Table 3. Race/ethnicity by school

	College of Arts and Sciences	Wharton School	Penn Engineering	School of Nursing	Multiple	Total
White	48%	37%	41%	59%	36%	45%
East Asian	21%	28%	26%	19%	31%	23%
Other Asian	7%	10%	13%	2%	18%	9%
Black	9%	12%	5%	7%	4%	8%
Hispanic	12%	12%	11%	10%	7%	12%
Other ethnicity	3%	1%	3%	3%	3%	3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Domestic and International Status

Overall, 15% of Penn students were international. Among the four schools, the Wharton School had the highest concentration of international students (24%), while the School of Nursing had none (Table 2).

Table 2. Percent international students within each school

College of Arts and Sciences	11%
Wharton School	24%
Penn Engineering	18%
School of Nursing	0%
Multiple	31%
Overall	15%

Race/Ethnicity

Table 3 presents the racial/ethnic distribution of students at Penn. Students of color comprised a majority on the Penn campus, with 23% of students describing themselves as East Asian (American or international), 8% as Black and 12% as Hispanic. Forty-five percent of students at Penn were White. The racial/ethnic makeup of the student body varied by school, with the School of Nursing having a majority of White students.

Among students who indicated a religious identity, Christians were the majority (38%), followed by Jews (13%). Because Jewish identity has an ethnic as well as a religious dimension, students were asked if they considered themselves Jewish “aside from religion.” An additional 3% of the student body identified as having no religion but also indicated that they were Jewish “aside from religion,” bringing the proportion of Jewish students at Penn to 16%. Christians were a majority at the School of Nursing, which also had far fewer religiously unaffiliated students than the other schools.

Table 7 presents the specific tradition to which Christian students indicated they belong. Just under half (48%) of Christians at Penn were Catholic, 47% identified as Protestant and the remainder were part of other traditions (e.g., Eastern Orthodox).

Students were asked about the importance of religion in their lives. Overall, nearly half (46%) said that religion was “not at all” important in their lives, a figure that reflects the high proportion of students who did not

identify with a religion. Figure 1 shows that about one half of Penn students who identified with a religion stated that it was at least “somewhat” important in their lives, with Jewish students less likely than students of other religions to say that religion was important.

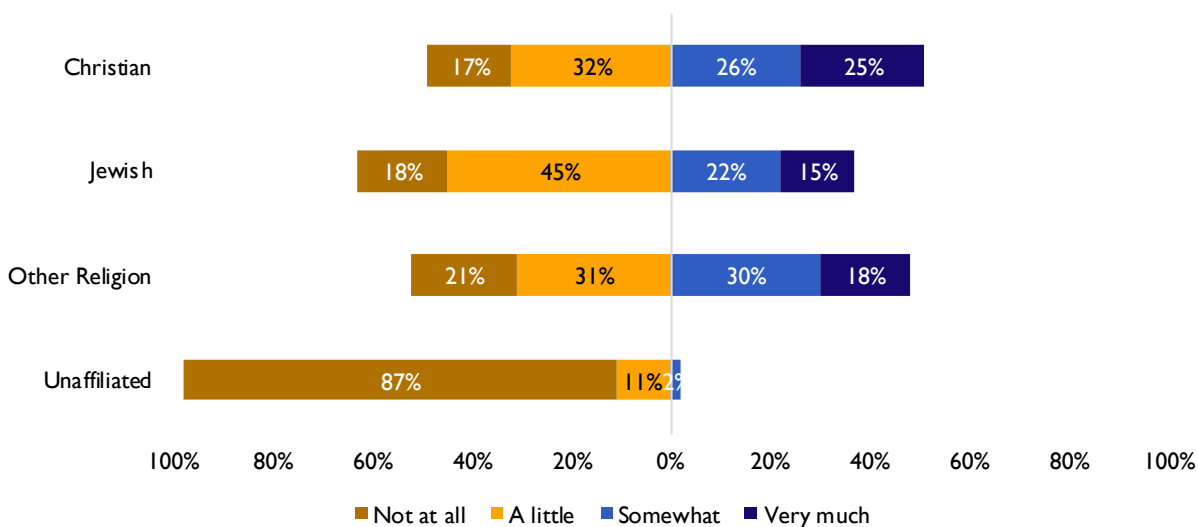
Table 7. Christian tradition (Christian students only)

Roman Catholic	48%
Mainline Protestant	28%
Evangelical Protestant	11%
Black Protestant	8%
Other Christian	5%
Total	100%

Socioeconomic Background

For domestic students, an approximate indicator of socioeconomic background was created using ZIP code at time of application to Penn.¹ Using the median household income of a student’s ZIP code, students were divided

Figure 1. Importance of religion by religious identification



Note: Two-way table of frequencies. See Table C1 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Table 8. Proximal socioeconomic background by school (domestic students only)

	College of Arts and Sciences	Wharton School	Penn Engineering	School of Nursing	Multiple	Total
Lowest quintile	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2nd quintile	6%	5%	2%	9%	0%	5%
3rd quintile	27%	20%	14%	31%	17%	24%
4th quintile	38%	36%	46%	40%	41%	39%
Highest quintile	29%	39%	38%	20%	42%	32%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

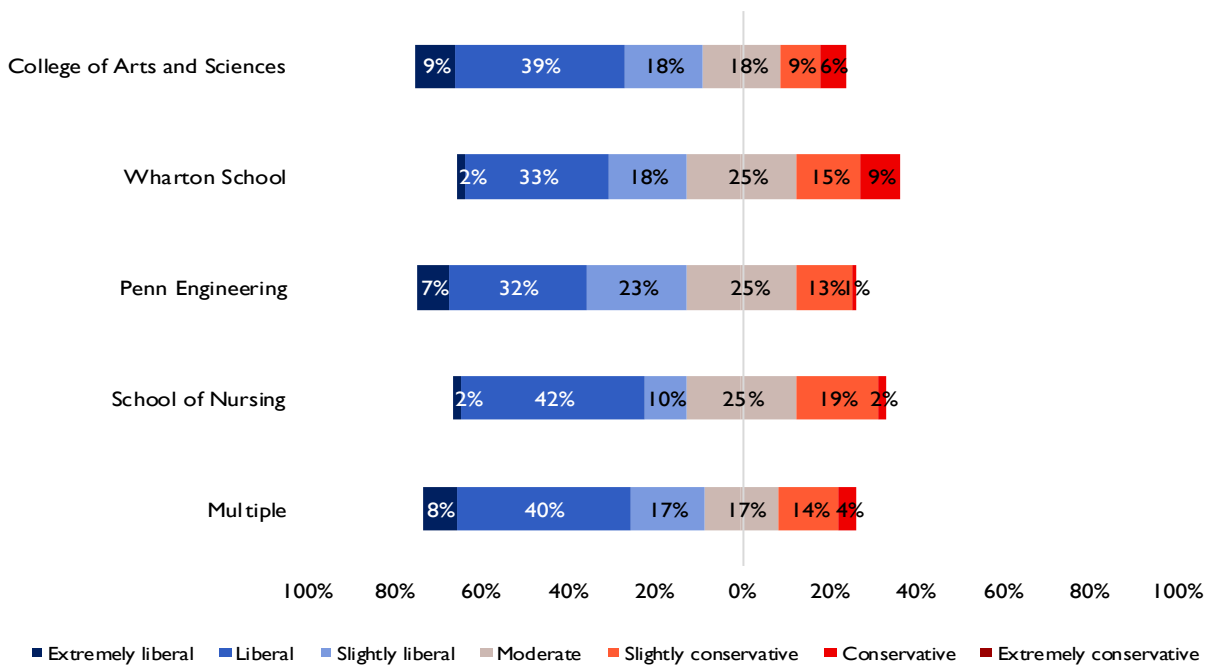
into groups based on 2010 income quintiles. For international students, no such measure of socioeconomic background was available.

No domestic Penn students were in the lowest income quintile—71% were in the top two income quintiles. High-income domestic students were overrepresented in the Wharton School and Penn Engineering (Table 8).

Political Views

The majority of Penn students classified themselves as politically liberal (63%), with 20% claiming to be moderate and 17% conservative. Students at the Wharton School and the School of Nursing were more likely to be politically moderate or conservative than students at other schools (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Political views by school



Note: Two-way table of frequencies. See Table C2 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

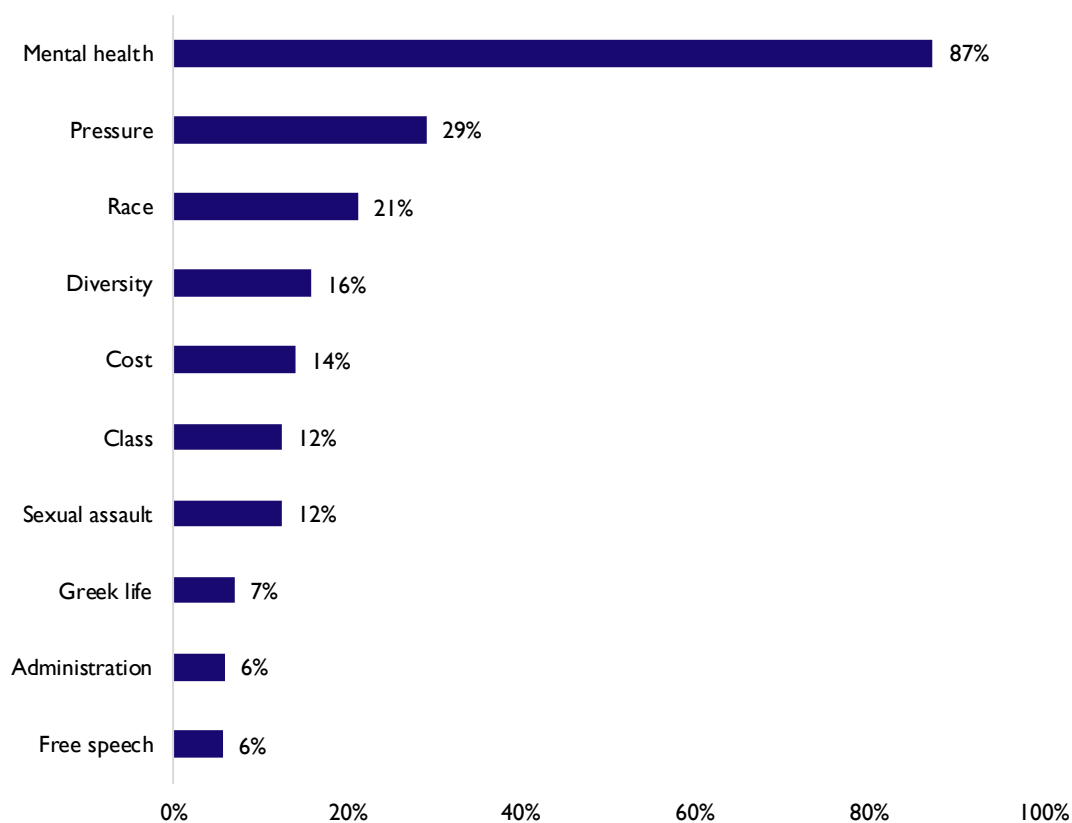
Students Speak

Students were asked to list what they thought were the three most pressing issues at Penn. Virtually all (95%) gave responses. In addition, at the end of the survey, students were asked, “To conclude, is there anything else you would like to add about your experiences or the campus climate at Penn?” One quarter responded to this open-ended question, and many elaborated on the pressing issues listed earlier in the survey. Students’ verbatim responses to the open-ended question at the end of the survey are included throughout the report.

Pressing Issues on Campus

As shown in Figure 3, students described a variety of prominent issues on campus, including racial tensions (21%); diversity, tolerance, and inclusion (16%); the cost of attendance at Penn (14%); social class diversity and sensitivity (12%); and sexual assault (12%). However, by far, the most mentioned pressing issue on campus was student mental health, with the overwhelming majority (87%) of students citing this issue. These students described issues of stress, abuse of drugs and alcohol, suicide, and the need for greater mental health awareness and resources. In a related theme, 29% of students

Figure 3. Most pressing issues at Penn



Note: One-way tables of frequencies. See Table C3 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals.

cited Penn's "hypercompetitive culture" with the academic, professional, and social pressures faced by students as top concerns. Many students who responded to the final question elaborated further on the issues of competition and stress (36%). Several mentioned the "Penn face," described by the *New York Times* as "the practice of acting happy and self-assured even when sad or stressed" (Scelfo, 2015). Many other students wrote about concomitant issues: pressure to have the "right" social circle and extracurricular activities (20%) and the perceived link between academic and social success and wealth and privilege (14%).

The widespread concern with mental health and stress may, to some extent, reflect the timing of the survey launch, less than two weeks after the suicide of a Penn junior. However, students' characterization of Penn as a highly competitive campus environment is not atypical at this or other elite schools. Some observers have argued that intense pressure on students at elite schools to succeed, rather than to learn and grow, has led to high levels of anxiety, depression, and isolation (Deresiewicz, 2014). At Penn, observers note that even social pursuits are tinged with the same ambition that characterizes educational endeavors, serving as a way of accruing status and connections (Robb, 2014). In just over three years, 10 Penn students committed suicide, putting the suicide rate of Penn students at about twice the national average.² In 2014 in response to this situation, Penn President Gutmann announced the formation of the Task Force on Student Psychological Health and Welfare. That task force later reported that "Penn has a highly competitive academic and extracurricular culture that some perceive to demand perfection" (University of Pennsylvania, 2015, p.2). Following the most recent suicide, students renewed their call to highlight the intense academic, professional,

and social pressures they face and demanded more attention to mental health on campus (Simon & McDowell, 2016). Students' open-ended survey responses expressed similar concerns:

If we were able to pick one problem to focus on and fix, it would be mental health. Students are dying because of the culture here. The students here, in general, are deeply competitive (that's how they got in here). They also have incredibly diverse interests and passions (another reason they got in here). However, the culture at Penn accentuates the former and crushes the later. (Freshman male)

What is hostile about the campus culture is almost fully in regards to academic and pre-professional hostility. The environment is competitive, and that is mostly in regards to grades, stress, and the pressure to do as well as (if not better than) your peers. It tends to feel like everyone is racing to keep up with each other. These things are then coupled with an incredible amount of importance placed on money. I come from a low-income background, and that is the space that I have felt the MOST uncomfortable in, not in regards to any of my beliefs. (Junior female)

No one talks about their bad grades, and I only hear about amazing grades and accomplishments, so it adds on a lot of pressure. Sometimes people can be snarky and over-competitive. When you find a friend who is actually willing to help you in a class—with no benefit to themselves—you know you found a real friend. (Junior female)

Mentioning the academic, professional, and social pressures faced by students as one of the most pressing issues at Penn was pervasive and not related to race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion, or school within Penn.³ However, among students who had joined fraternities or sororities, 26% mentioned pressure or mental health concerns, compared to 31% of other students (for more on Greek life at Penn, see page 24).

Race/Ethnicity

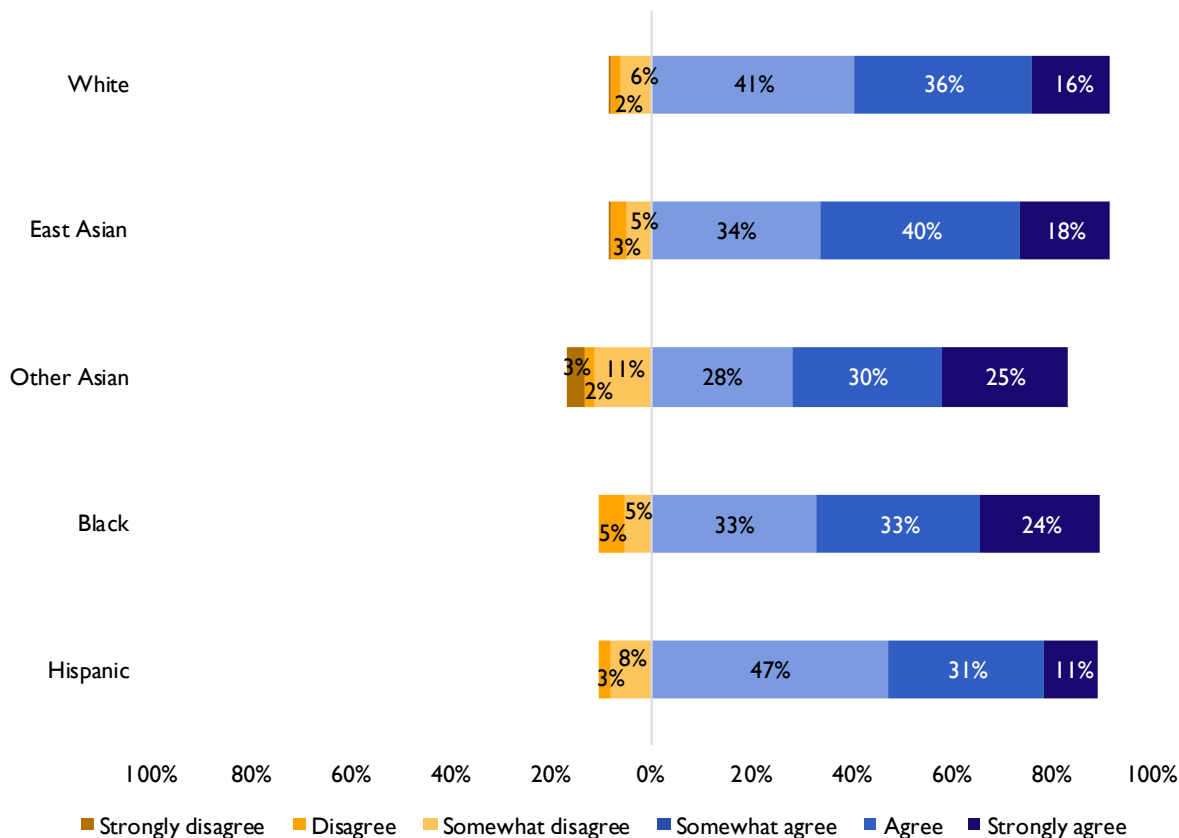
The increase in the proportion of students of color at universities across the United States has resulted in more diverse, but not necessarily more socially cohesive campuses. Social segregation among racial and ethnic groups on campuses is common (Bruni, 2015; Tatum, 2003), and a substantial body of research suggests that students of color, particularly Black students, experience many manifestations of racism on college campuses (Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Museus, et al., 2015). These experiences, highlighted by tensions over police violence and racial inequality on a national scale, sparked student activism at more than 50 campuses during the

2015-16 academic year (Wong & Green, 2016). This section explores the relationships between racial and ethnic groups at Penn, students’ experiences of racial and ethnic discrimination, and students’ views on race relations on campus.

Social Ties across Racial/Ethnic Groups

Overall, 90% of Penn students agreed at least “somewhat” that on campus “ethnic groups stick with their own.” Levels of agreement varied slightly across racial/ethnic groups, with Black students and Asian students the most likely to “strongly” agree (Figure 4).

Figure 4. To what extent do you agree that ethnic groups stick with their own?



Note: Two-way table of frequencies. See Table C5 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Students were also asked what proportion of their close friends at Penn were members of various groups. Table 9 shows that 58% of White students said that most or all of their close friends were White, whereas less than half of students of color said they shared the same race/ethnicity with most or all of their close friends.

Table 9. Most or all close friends at Penn are same race/ethnicity, by race/ethnicity

58% of White students say that most or all of their close friends are White
40% of Asian students say that most or all of their close friends are Asian
23% of Black students say that most or all of their close friends are Black
20% of Hispanic students say that most or all of their close friends are Latino/a

However, because White students were the largest single racial/ethnic group on campus (see Table 3, page 7), White students would be expected to have a greater proportion of White friends due to chance alone. To explore this issue, we adapted an analytic strategy used in the study of social networks that determines the propensity of each group to have mostly or all friends of the same race/ethnicity, accounting for their prevalence in the population (Coleman, 1958). This analysis suggests that White, Asian, Hispanic, and Black students were more likely to form friendships with others of their same group than would be expected based on how frequently they appear in the population. At Penn, this tendency was strongest for White students.⁴ The experience of racial/ethnic insularity at Penn was also mentioned by students in response to an open-ended question at the end of the survey:

I was shocked by the self segregation of racial/ethnic groups and class distinctions at Penn and

how quickly I fell into it. I went to a very diverse and well-integrated high school and was expecting college to be similar in that way, but it really has not been the case for me. (Junior, White female)

Campus Climate for Students of Color

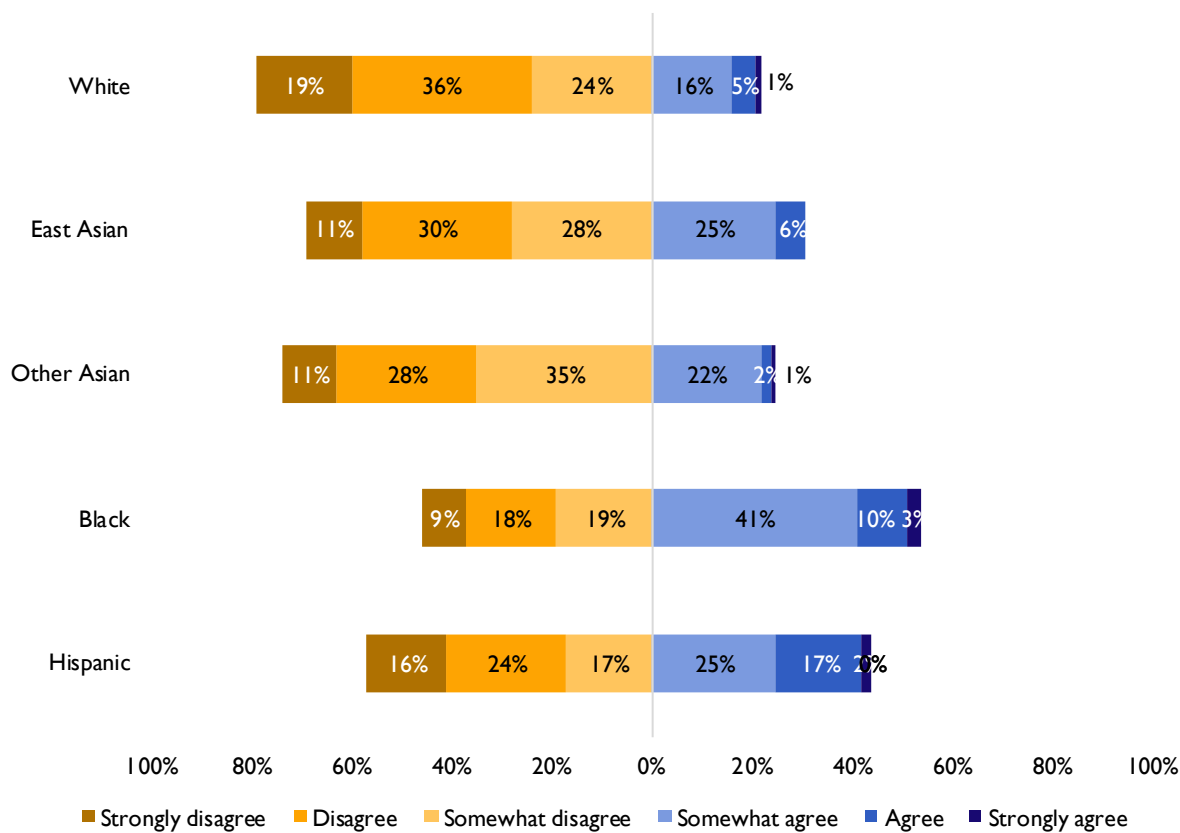
Students were asked to what extent they agreed that there was a hostile environment toward people of color at Penn. More than half (54%) of Black students agreed at least “somewhat” with this statement compared to 43% of Hispanic students, 31% of East Asian students, and 25% of other Asian students (Figure 5). White students were the least likely to agree that there was a hostile environment toward people of color at Penn.

Students were also asked whether they had personally experienced any of ten forms of discrimination *because of their racial/ethnic identity*. Figure 6 shows that students of color were more likely than White students to experience all forms of racial/ethnic discrimination, with the exception of physical attack, which was exceedingly rare. Black students were more likely than other students of color to report some forms of discrimination, including feeling unwelcome in a campus organization (33%) and insult or harassment in person (29%) or in social media (13%).⁵ In an open-ended question at the end of the survey one student described her efforts to avoid experiences of discrimination on campus:

I remain in predominantly Black or minority-based spaces. In a way, this shields me from much of the negative personalities that are present on campus. That being said, the fact that I found it necessary to remain in these spaces to maintain my sense of comfort is in itself alarming. (Freshman, Black female)

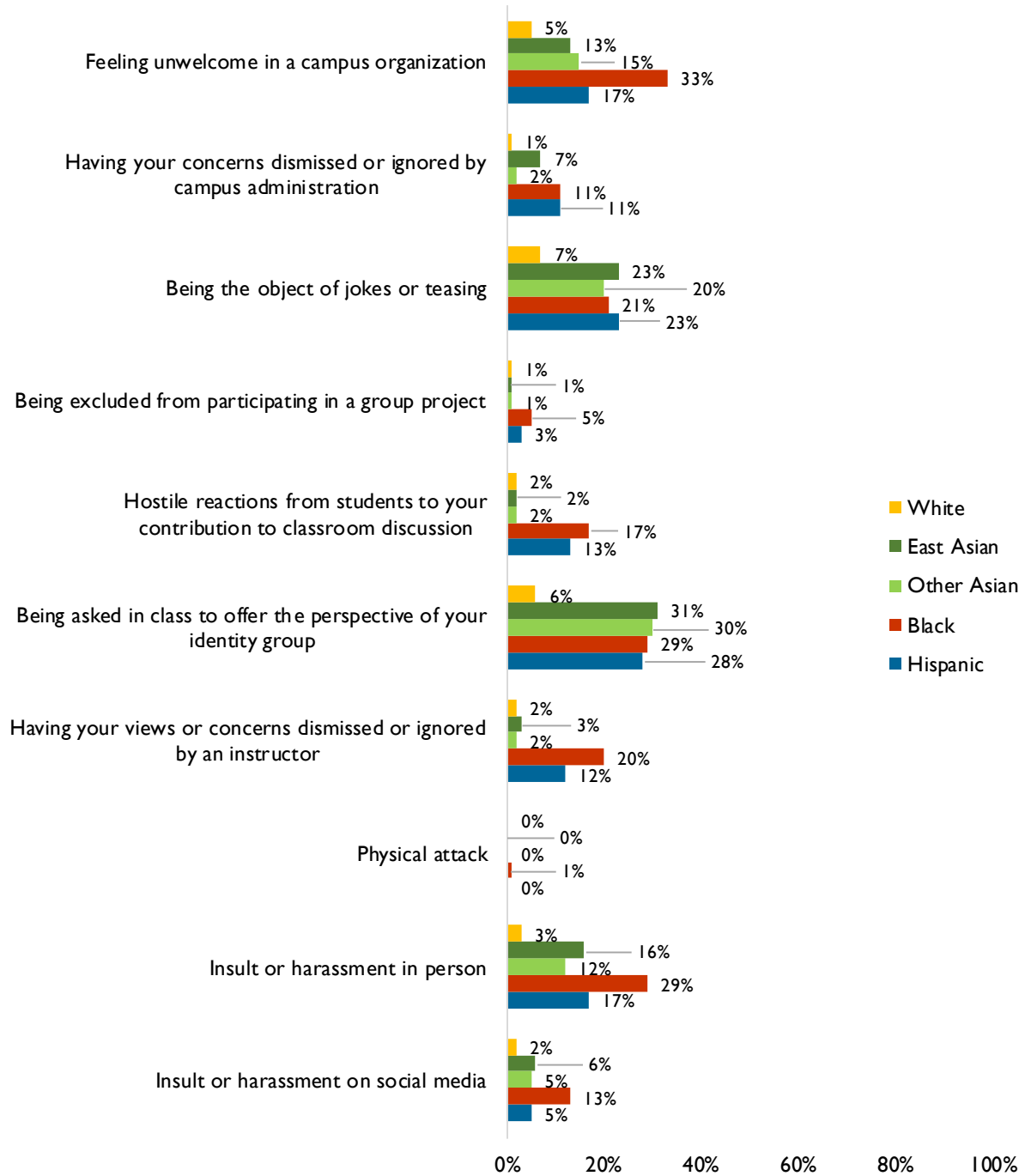
Students were asked about their attitudes toward affirmative action programs and mandatory racial and cultural sensitivity

Figure 5. To what extent do you agree there is a hostile environment toward people of color?



Note: Two-way table of frequencies. See Table C6 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Figure 6. Since coming to Penn have you experienced any of the following because of your racial/ethnic identity?

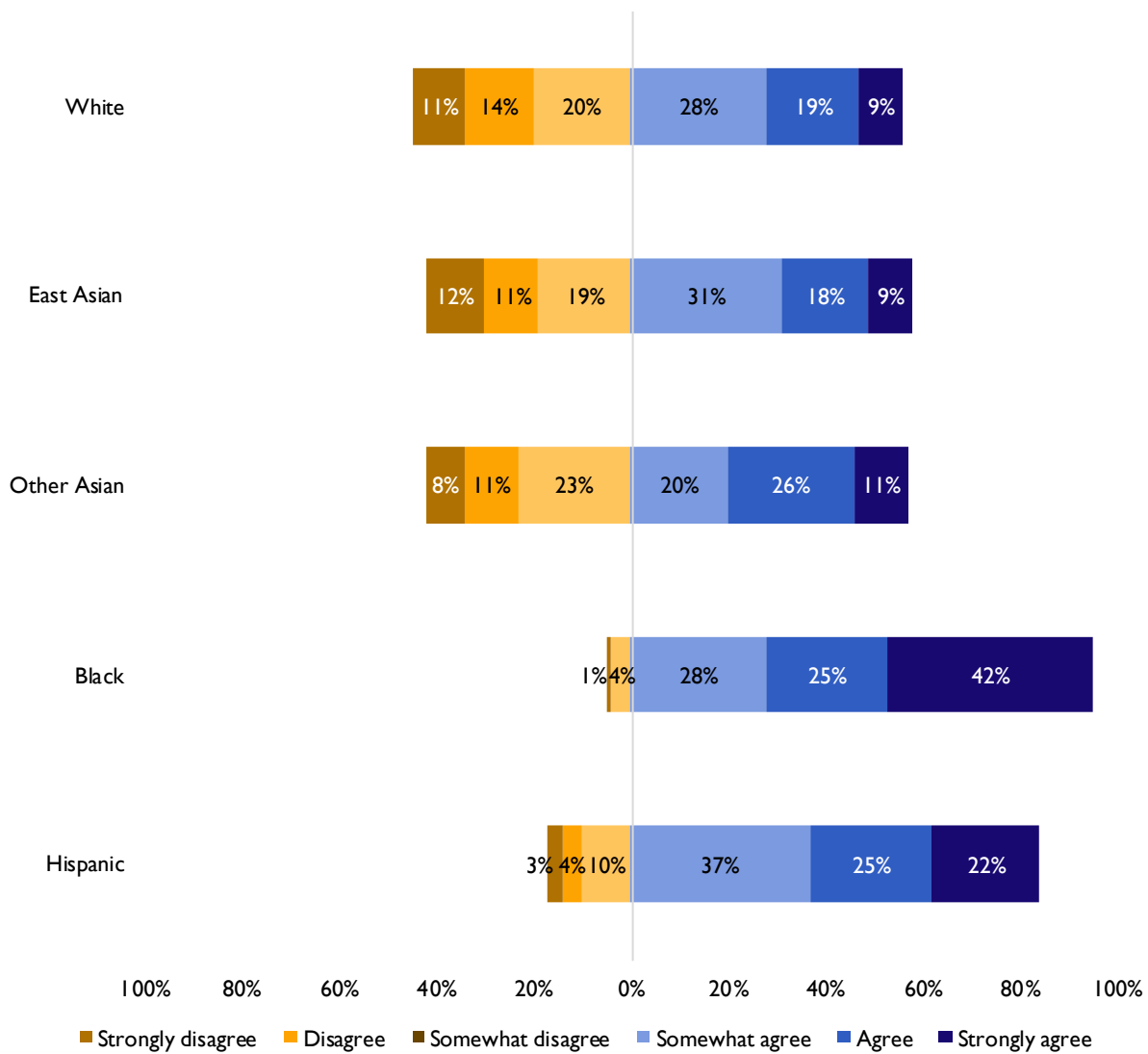


Note: Two-way tables of frequencies. See Table C7 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

training at universities. A large majority of Black students (95%) and Hispanic students (84%) agreed that affirmative action programs were needed to increase the number of minority students on campus (Figure 7). In marked contrast, just over half of White (56%) and East Asian students (58%) expressed

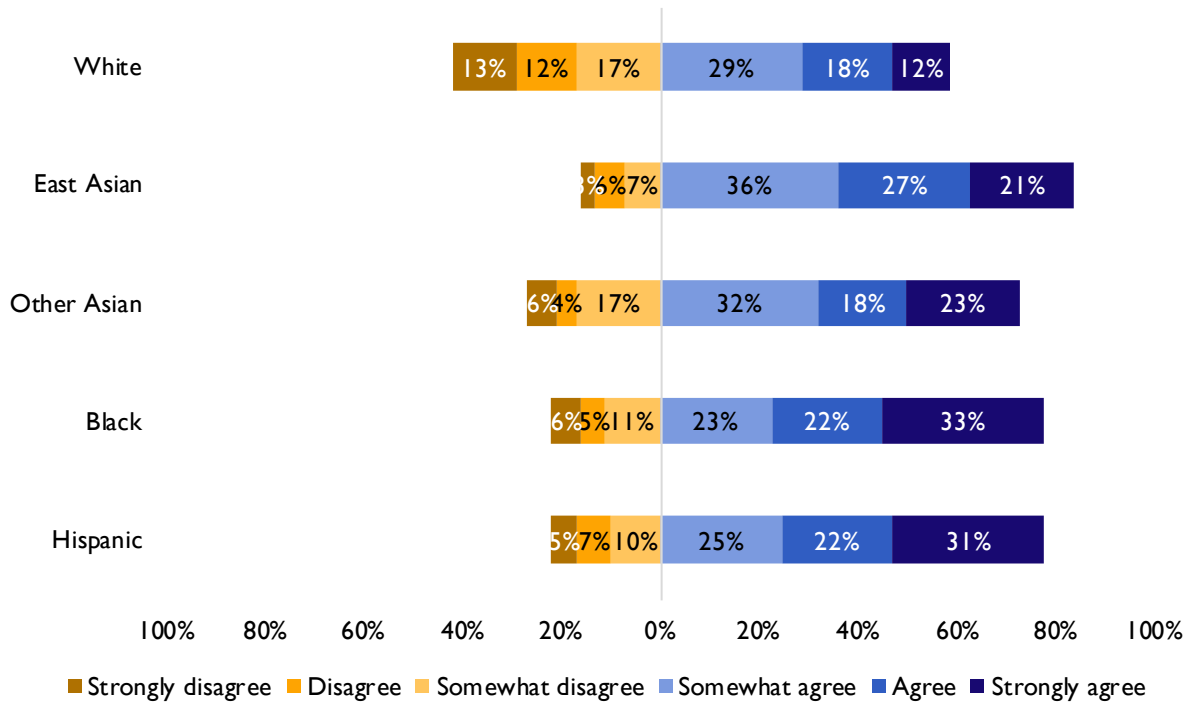
agreement on the need for these programs. Around four-fifths of all students of color, including Asian students, favored mandatory racial and cultural sensitivity training, as did the majority (59%) of White students (Figure 8).

Figure 7. To what extent do you agree that affirmative action programs are needed to increase the number of minority students on campuses?



Note: Two-way table of frequencies. See Table C8 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Figure 8. To what extent do you agree that universities should mandate racial and cultural sensitivity training for students, staff, and faculty?



Note: Two-way table of frequencies. See Table C9 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Discourse about Race Relations

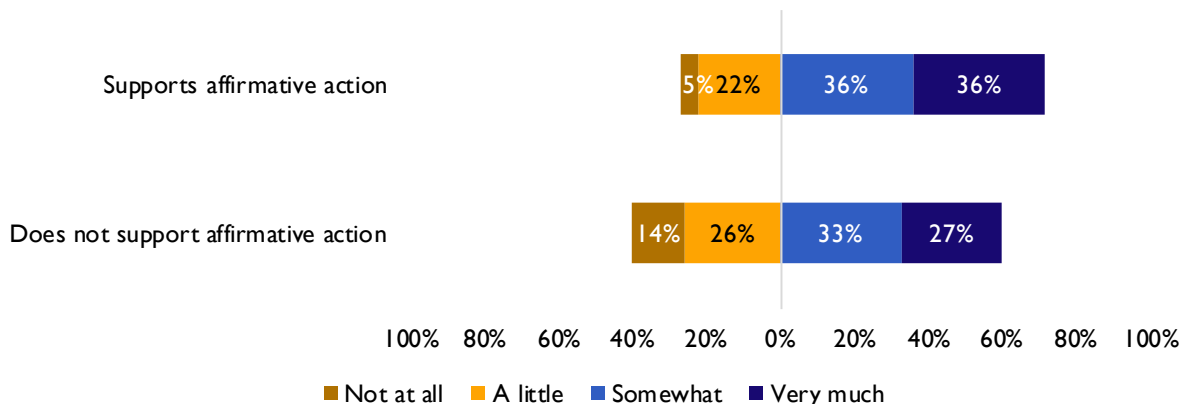
Students were asked to what degree they felt comfortable expressing their opinion about race relations with their peers. The majority (68%) of students indicated they felt at least “somewhat” comfortable. However, the minority of students who disagreed that affirmative action programs are needed on campuses were the most likely to feel “not at all” comfortable expressing their opinion (Figure 9). Black and Hispanic students were the most likely to feel “very much” comfortable expressing their opinions on this topic (Figure 10). One student described the polarized nature of the discourse about race at Penn:

Discourse around race and other minority issues often feels very polarizing, fatalistic, and simplistic.

There feels to be little room for exploratory conversation for fear of being called racist or deemed not a supporter. Disagreement seems to equal you are a bad person. (Senior, White male)

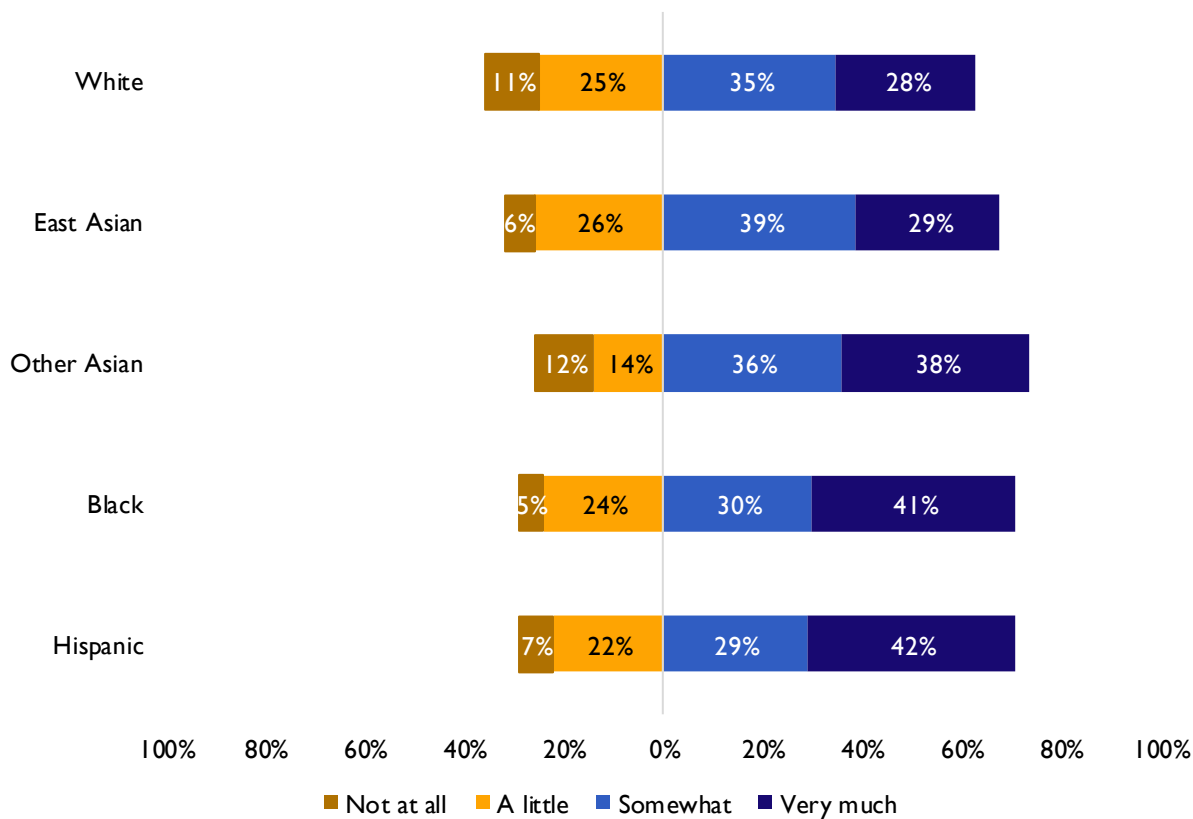
Those students who felt only “a little” or “not at all” comfortable expressing their opinion about race relations with their peers were asked why they felt uncomfortable. For these students, regardless of race/ethnicity, the perceived hostility of the discourse was the most common reason for personal discomfort (Figure 11). For students of color, having a minority opinion was the next most common reason, while for White students, it was feeling that they did not have a part in the discussion.

Figure 9. At Penn, when talking with your peers, how comfortable do you feel expressing your opinion about race relations in America? (by support for affirmative action)



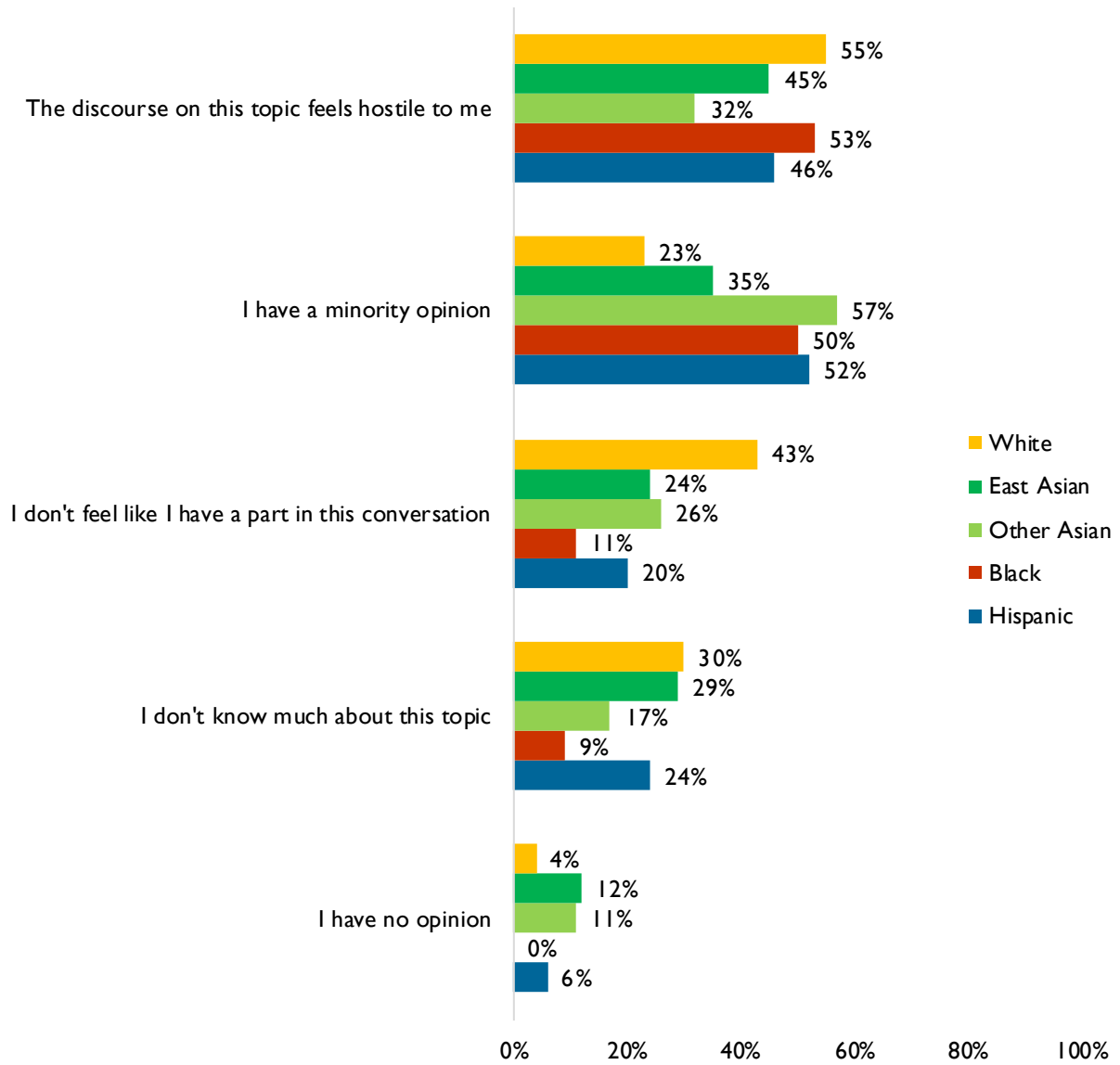
Note: Two-way table of frequencies. See Table C10 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Figure 10. At Penn, when talking with your peers, how comfortable do you feel expressing your opinion about race relations in America? (by race/ethnicity)



Note: Two-way table of frequencies. See Table C11 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Figure 11. Which of the following affect your comfort level in discussing race relations in America with your peers? (“a little” or “not at all” comfortable only)



Note: Two-way tables of frequencies. See Table C12 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Gender and Sexual Orientation

A growing body of research has established that women and LGBTQ students face a challenging climate on college campuses. Both groups, but LGBTQ students in particular, are more likely to be the targets of harassment and discrimination and less likely to feel comfortable with the campus climate (Allan & Madden, 2006; Hall & Sandler, 1982, 1984; Rankin, Weber, Blumenfeld, & Frazer, 2010). Sexual assault on college campuses in the United States has garnered increased attention in recent years. Nationally, more than one fifth of women and about 7% of men are sexually assaulted during college (DiJulio, Norton, Craighill, Clement, & Brodie, M., 2015; Krebs et al., 2016). While the current study was not designed to assess rates of sexual assault and harassment at Penn, it did examine how Penn students perceive the university's response to this problem. Also explored were experiences of discrimination based on gender identity or sexual orientation.

Campus Climate for Women and LGBTQ Students

Students were asked whether they had personally experienced any of ten forms of discrimination *because of their gender or sexual orientation*. Figure 12 shows that in almost all cases LGBTQ students experienced discrimination at a higher rate than heterosexual students, and heterosexual women experienced discrimination at a higher rate than heterosexual men. In response to an

open-ended question, one student described her experience of gender discrimination at Penn:

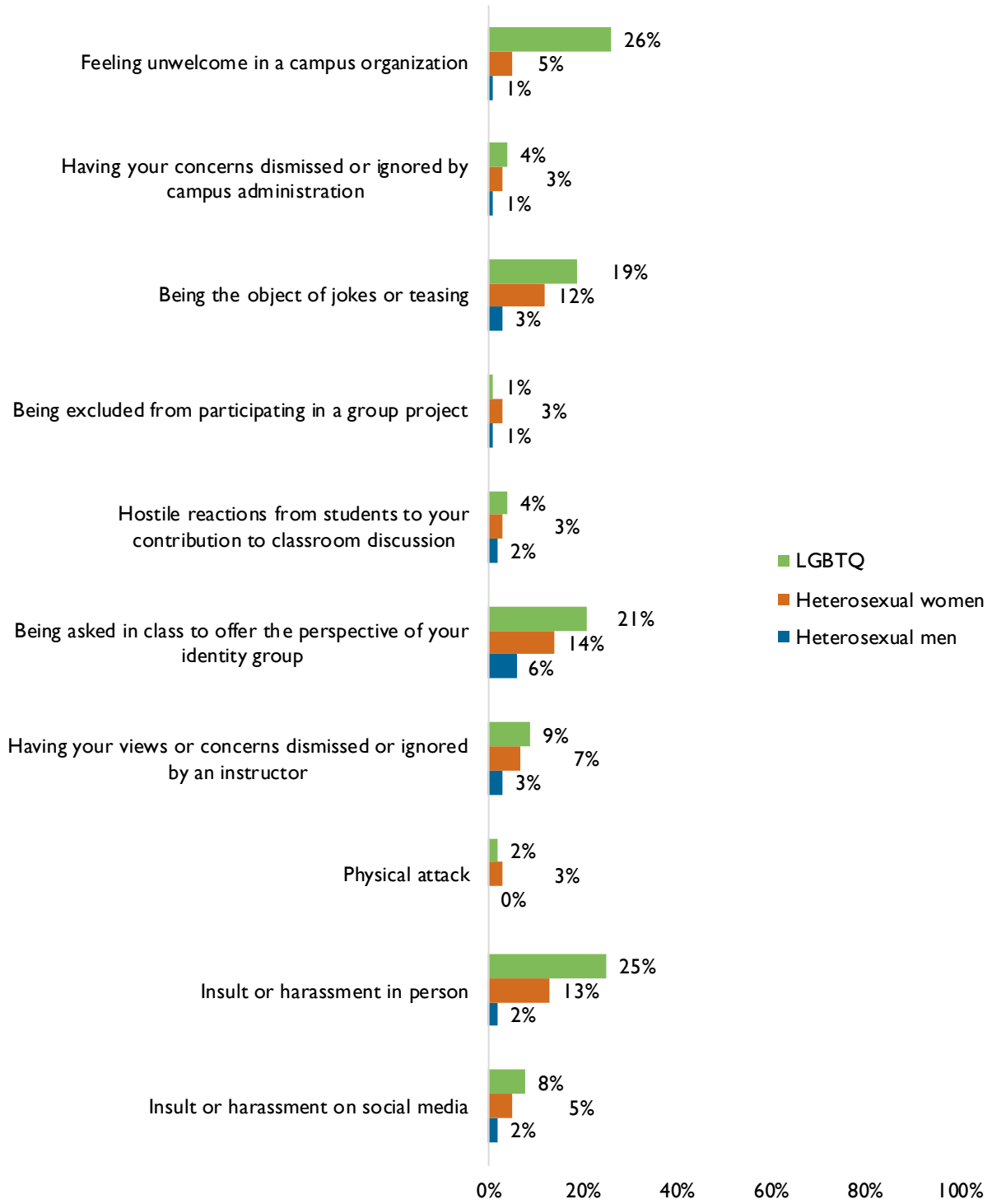
I believe for me the most discriminating parts of Penn came to attack me in the form of gender and mental health discrimination. I am frequently not taken seriously in the Engineering School as a girl or underestimated. (Junior, heterosexual female)

Sexual Assault

In the survey students were asked whether they felt that issues of sexual assault and harassment were taken seriously on campus. Overall, a majority of students (69%) agreed that the university took issues of sexual assault and harassment seriously. However, rates of agreement were higher for heterosexual men than for both heterosexual women and LGBTQ students (Figure 13). In addition, 17% of LGBTQ students, 15% of heterosexual women, and 7% of heterosexual men listed sexual harassment as one of the most pressing issues at Penn (see Figure 3, page 11). One student described her concerns regarding sexual assault at Penn:

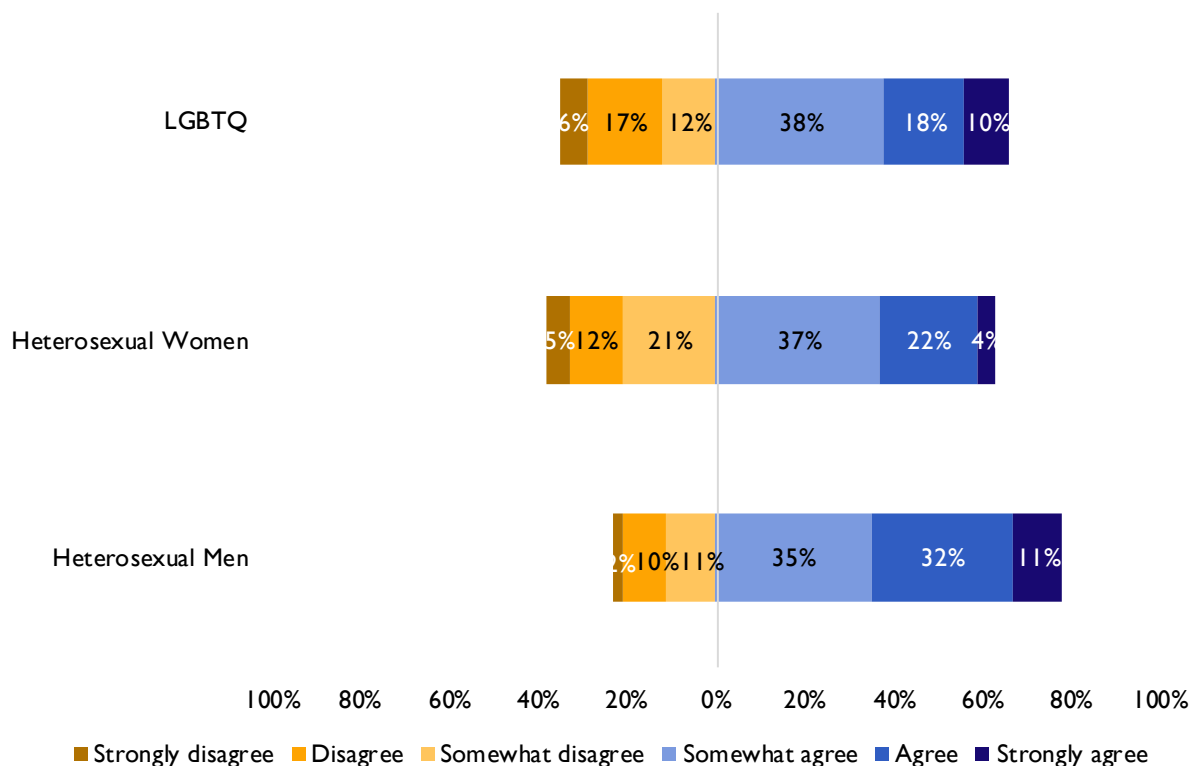
I know far, far too many people on campus who have been assaulted and/or raped and never reported their cases because they felt the school would do nothing or their situation would become worse because of it. They feel this way because it happened to their own friends. (Freshman, bisexual female)

Figure 12. Since coming to Penn have you personally experienced any of the following because of your gender or sexual orientation?



Note: Two-way tables of frequencies. See Table C13 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Figure 13. To what extent do you agree that sexual assault and harassment are taken seriously at Penn?



Note: Two-way table of frequencies. See Table C14 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

The Intersection of Race and Gender

The framework of intersectionality was developed to explore whether individuals who simultaneously belong to multiple groups that are subject to discrimination and oppression experience amplified discrimination due to their membership in these overlapping groups (Collins, 1998; Crenshaw, 1989, 1991). To check whether the concept of intersectionality explains the experiences of Penn students, we explored how many of nine⁶ forms of discrimination students had personally experienced because of their gender and/or

race. The findings indicate that regardless of race, women were more likely than men to experience discrimination. Regardless of gender, students of color in general, and Black students in particular, were more likely than other students to experience discrimination. Although female students of color consequently experienced high rates of discrimination associated with both their race/ethnicity and their gender, their experiences of discrimination were not amplified due to their simultaneous membership in both of these groups.⁷

Greek Life at Penn

Greek life has been an integral part of social life at Penn since 1849 (Cheyney, 1940). Thirty-eight percent of current Penn students reported that they joined a fraternity or sorority since coming to Penn. Men and women reported participation in Greek life at the same rates. However, participation in Greek life was far more common among White students than among students of color (Table 10). It was also more common among Jewish students (62%, versus 33% of other students) and students in the Wharton School (44%, versus 36% of other students).

Table 10: Greek participation by race/ethnicity

White	49%
East Asian	27%
Other Asian	27%
Black	34%
Hispanic	33%
Overall	38%

Greek life is often an area of controversy at institutions of higher education, including Penn. One issue of concern centers on social class stratification. On elite campuses across the country, White students and students from more affluent homes are more likely to participate in Greek life (Walker, Martin, & Hussey, 2015), which in turn leads to less diverse social networks and perpetuates social stratification (Armstrong & Hamilton, 2013; Walker et al., 2015). Evidence for this phenomenon is apparent at Penn, where students with higher socioeconomic backgrounds were more likely to participate in Greek life as compared to students with lower socioeconomic backgrounds (Table 11).⁸

Table 11: Greek participation by proximal socioeconomic background (domestic students only)

Lowest quintile	n/a ^A
2nd quintile	19%
3rd quintile	32%
4th quintile	42%
Highest quintile	39%

^A There were no students at Penn who came from areas that had median incomes in the lowest quintile. See page 10.

Several students described the impact of Greek life on the Penn campus climate:

The times I have felt most uncomfortable are when I have gone to frat parties and it is mainly White people. (Sophomore, Hispanic female)

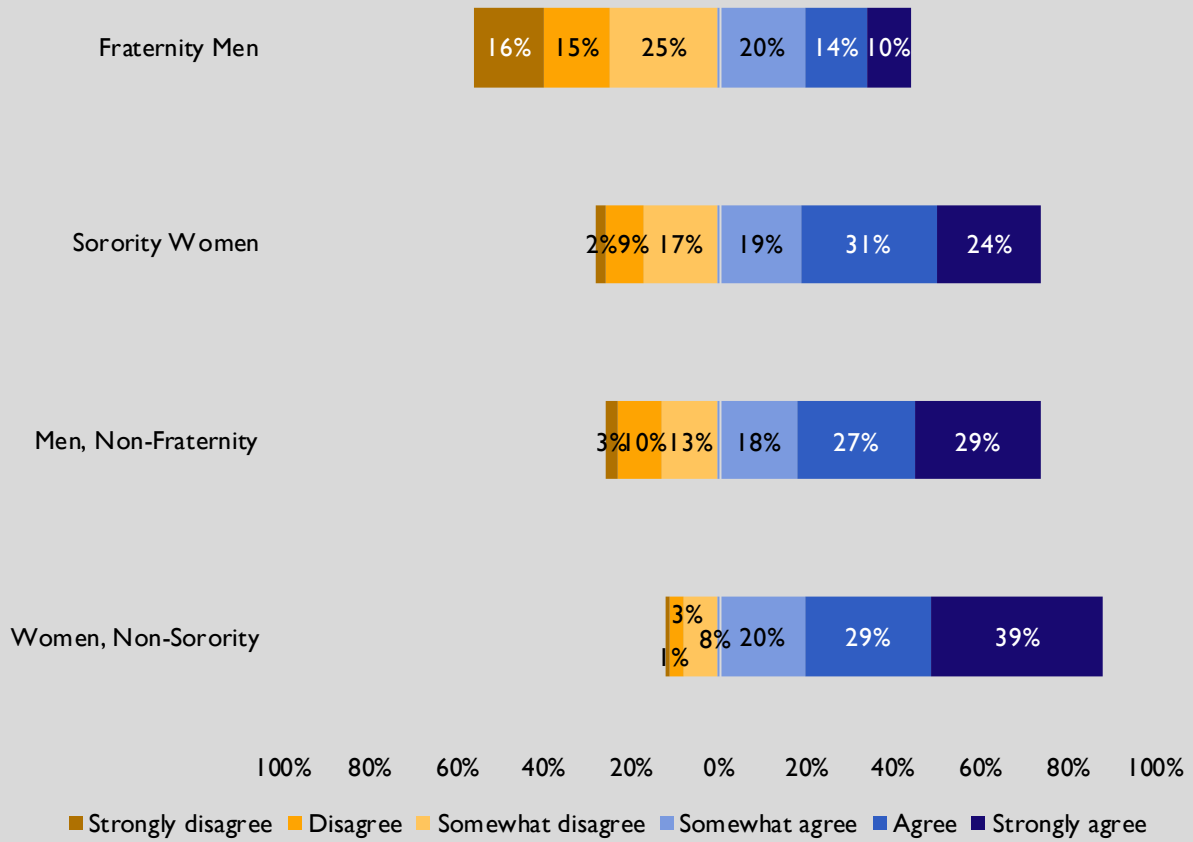
A lot of what contributes to the hostility of the campus climate is wealth discrepancies, especially socially. It's all about who you know, where you're from, and how much your parents make. This is perpetuated by the Greek life on campus and is nearly impossible to transcend. (Sophomore, White female)

The other area of controversy related to Greek life surrounds student safety: three fraternities and sororities at Penn disbanded or voluntarily revoked their charters in recent years, following serious infractions related to hazing, alcohol, and unregistered parties (Feiner, 2015). At least one of these fraternities has since joined a group of underground fraternities that operate outside of the auspices of the Office of Student Affairs and observe questionable safety standards (McDowell, 2015; Westerholm, 2013). This “notorious underground frat scene” was largely responsible for Penn’s ranking as #1 on *Playboy’s* annual “Top 10 Party Schools” list in 2014 (Linshi, 2014).

Seven percent of students felt that Greek life was one of the most pressing issues at Penn (see Figure 3, page 11). Their specific concerns included hazing, sexual assault, the relationship between the Penn administration and the Greek organizations, and “anti-Greek sentiment” on campus.

Elsewhere in the survey, all students were asked to what extent they agreed with the statement “universities should have a zero tolerance policy against hazing for all campus organizations.” Responses revealed a deep cleavage among students over this issue. Men involved in Greek life were more likely to disagree with the statement; other students, including women involved in Greek life and men and women who were not involved, were more likely to agree (Figure 14). On the other hand, there were no differences between students involved in Greek life and other students regarding whether they felt that issues of sexual assault and harassment were taken seriously at Penn.

Figure 14. Agreement with zero-tolerance policy against hazing



Note: Two-way table of frequencies. See Table C19 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Religion

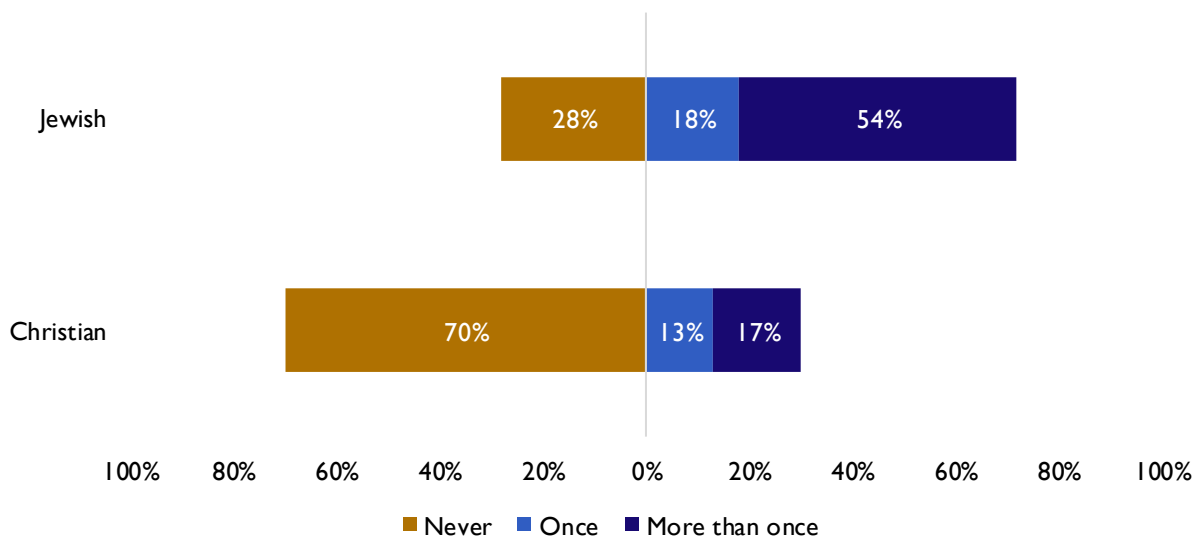
Increasing religious diversity on college campuses has been marked by a notable increase in the proportion of students describing their religion as agnostic, atheist, or “none” (Eck, 2001). These religious “nones” comprised almost 30% of American college freshman in 2015 (Eagan et al., 2015). Despite the decrease in religious affiliation overall, college campuses continue to offer students opportunities for religious engagement through interactions with campus clergy, multiple places for worship, and various religiously affiliated clubs and organizations. This section explores the role religion plays in the lives of Penn students, their involvement in religiously affiliated activities, and the relationships between students of different religions on campus. This section also

describes experiences of religious discrimination and discusses the experiences of Jewish students at Penn as a minority religious group on campus.

Campus Religious Life

Compared to Christian students, Jewish students were more heavily involved in campus religious life. Seventy-two percent of Jewish students had had a conversation with a Hillel or Chabad rabbi, whereas only 30% of Christian students had had a conversation with a Penn chaplain/clergy person of their religion (Figure 15). In addition, 68% of Jewish students had been at least “a little” involved in at least one campus Jewish group, whereas only 33% of Christian students had

Figure 15. Since coming to Penn, have you had a conversation with a Penn chaplain/clergy person of your religion/Hillel or Chabad rabbi?



Note: One-way tables of frequencies. See Table C20 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals.

been at least “a little” involved in campus Christian groups. This discrepancy may be related to the large number of Jewish groups on campus, including Hillel, Chabad, and Maimonides/MEOR. Nearly one third (32%) of Jewish students at Penn had been at least “a little” involved in more than one of these Jewish groups.

Social Ties across Religious Groups

Twenty-six percent of Christian students stated that most or all of their close friends at Penn were Christian, and 37% of Jewish students stated that most or all of their close friends at Penn were Jewish. Accounting for the relative prevalence of these groups in the student population, Jews at Penn had a greater propensity to be mostly friends with one another than did Christian students, and a greater propensity to be mostly friends with one another than would be expected by chance alone. Christian students were less likely to be mostly friends with one another than would be expected by chance alone.⁹

Campus Climate for Religious Tolerance

Students were asked to what extent they agreed that there is tolerance toward all religious groups at Penn. About three-quarters agreed at least “somewhat” with this statement (Table 12), and there were no differences in responses to this question by religious group.

Penn students were asked whether they had personally experienced any of ten forms of discrimination *because of their religion*. Figure 16 shows the prevalence of various forms of religious discrimination. Students who did not

Table 12. To what extent do you agree there is tolerance toward all religious groups?

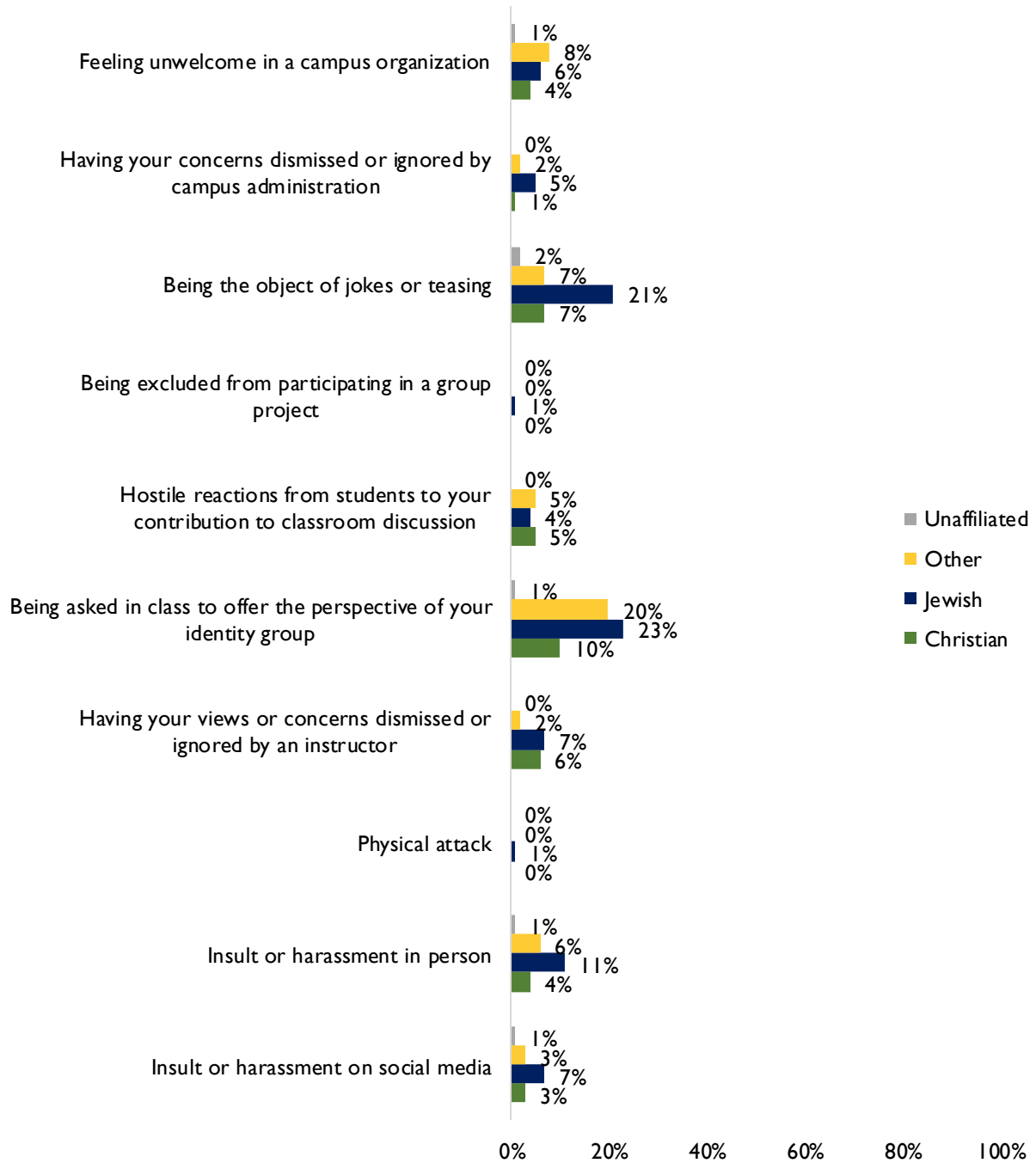
Strongly disagree	4%
Disagree	9%
Somewhat disagree	15%
Somewhat agree	35%
Agree	30%
Strongly agree	8%
Total	100%

identify with a religion experienced virtually no discrimination based on religion. Among students who did identify with a religion, Jewish students were more likely than others to report having been asked in class to offer the perspective of their group, having been the object of jokes or teasing, experiencing insult or harassment both in social media and in person, and having had their concerns dismissed or ignored by campus administration.

Jewish students were asked whether they had personally heard anyone on the Penn campus make various kinds of antisemitic statements. The most commonly heard antisemitic statement was that “Jews have too much power in the United States,” which half of Jewish students reported hearing, followed by accusations that “Israelis behave ‘like Nazis’ toward the Palestinians” (Figure 17).

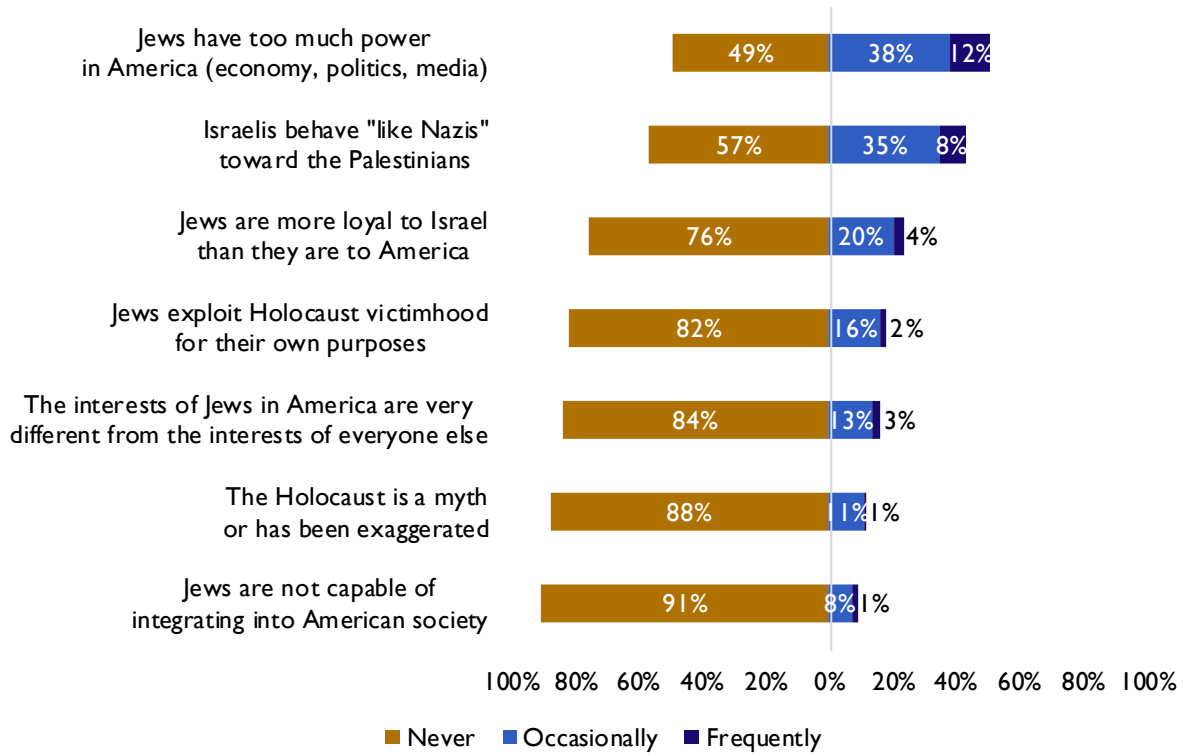
All students were asked to what extent they agreed that the environment toward Jews at Penn was hostile. The vast majority of students disagreed, although Jewish students were more likely than other students to agree, with 13% agreeing at least “somewhat” (Figure 18).

Figure 16. Since coming to Penn, have you personally experienced any of the following on campus because of your religion?



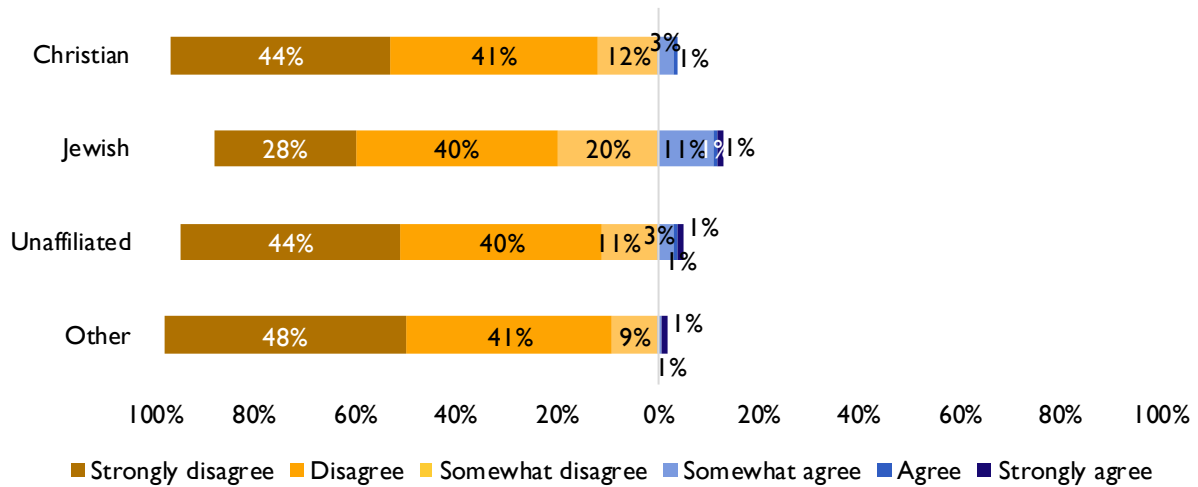
Note: Two-way table of frequencies. See Table C21 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Figure 17. Since coming to Penn, how often, if at all, have you PERSONALLY heard anyone on campus suggest that...? (Jewish students only)¹⁰



Note: One-way tables of frequencies. See Table C22 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals.

Figure 18. To what extent do you agree that there is a hostile environment toward Jews?



Note: Two-way table of frequencies. See Table C23 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Several students described the atmosphere at Penn with regard to Jewish students:

I believe that in general, Penn is a welcoming environment for Jewish students, and that my friends associated with Jewish organizations are welcoming and interested in engaging peers in their discussions. (Senior, Jewish female)

I think I am more comfortable as a female Jew on a college campus than any female or any Jew has ever been. I am very lucky to live in the time and place I do. (Senior, Jewish female)

There is a very strong bias toward Judaism and Jewish interest at Penn. No other religious group is as celebrated and accommodated. (Senior, Christian female)

About one quarter (24%) of students at least “somewhat” agreed that the environment toward Muslims on the Penn campus was hostile (Table 13). There were no differences between religious groups over the extent to which they perceived a hostile environment toward Muslims at Penn, although there were not enough Muslim students to produce reliable estimates for that group.

One student described her experience as a Muslim student at Penn:

People mistake my religion for having ties to violence because they don't take the time to learn or talk about what it means to be Muslim, and they are afraid to ask questions or feel uncomfortable doing so. (Muslim female)

Table 13. To what extent do you agree that there is a hostile environment toward Muslims?

Strongly disagree	15%
Disagree	35%
Somewhat disagree	27%
Somewhat agree	18%
Agree	5%
Strongly agree	2%
Total	100%

Israel, the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, and BDS

Fears about a rise of anti-Israel sentiment and activity on campus in recent years have been exacerbated by the 2014 Gaza war, the 2015 debate about the Iran nuclear agreement, and the rise of the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement. The BDS campaign attempts to increase economic and political pressure on Israel to comply with the stated goals of the movement, in particular, a withdrawal from the territories captured by Israel in 1967. The movement employs various tactics including encouraging student government resolutions proposing divestment from Israel, boycotts of Israeli academics and academic institutions, and campaigns to discontinue the sale or use of Israeli products on campuses. It is estimated that there are now Israel divestment groups at hundreds of colleges and universities (Medina & Lewin, 2015).

This section examines the views of Penn students on Israel, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the BDS movement, and the nature of the discourse on these issues on campus. Because Jewish identity has an ethnic as well as a religious dimension, analyses in this section consider Jewish students as an ethnic group alongside non-Jewish students who identified as Hispanic, Black, Asian, or White. For these purposes, Jewish students include both the 13% of students who considered themselves Jewish by religion *and* the 3% who considered themselves atheists, agnostics, or no religion but also indicated that they were Jewish “aside from religion.”

Campus Climate toward Israel

Israel and issues related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict did not seem to animate the general discourse on the Penn campus in the 2015-16 academic year. Less than 2% of

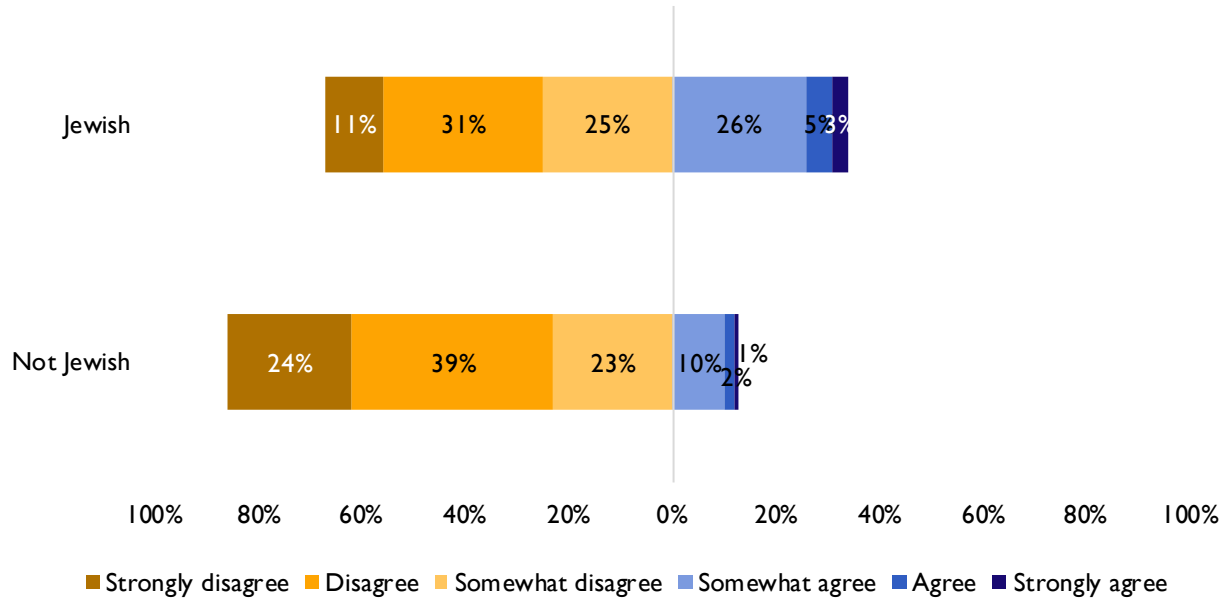
students (N=17) listed the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the BDS movement, or anything related to Israel as one of the most pressing issues on the Penn campus (see Figure 3, page 11). When asked directly about the campus climate toward Israel, 16% of students agreed at least “a little” that the environment toward Israel at Penn was hostile. Jewish students were far more likely to agree with this statement: one third of Jewish students agreed at least somewhat, compared to just 13% of non-Jewish students (Figure 19).

The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and BDS

Students were asked whether they had heard Penn students, professors, or the member of the administration make hostile remarks toward Israel or Arab countries. Non-Jewish students reported hearing roughly equal levels of hostility toward both Israel and Arab countries, with most of the hostile remarks coming from students (Figure 20). Compared to non-Jewish students, Jewish students reported hearing higher levels of hostility toward both Israel and Arab countries. Fourteen percent of Jewish students reported hearing hostile remarks toward Israel by members of the faculty or the administration.

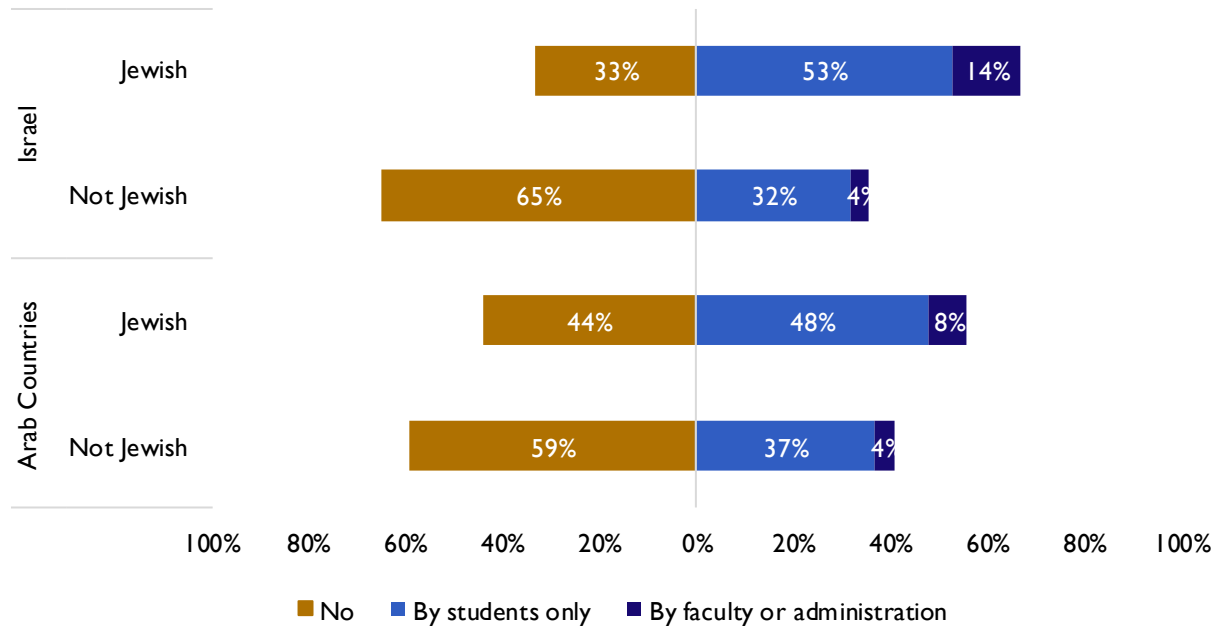
Students were also asked to what extent they agreed that universities should boycott Israeli academic institutions and scholars. Only 2% of Jewish students expressed any agreement with this position, while three quarters said they “strongly disagree” (Figure 21). Among non-Jewish students, 10% expressed any agreement that Israeli academic institutions and scholars should be boycotted.

Figure 19. To what extent do you agree that there is a hostile environment toward Israel?



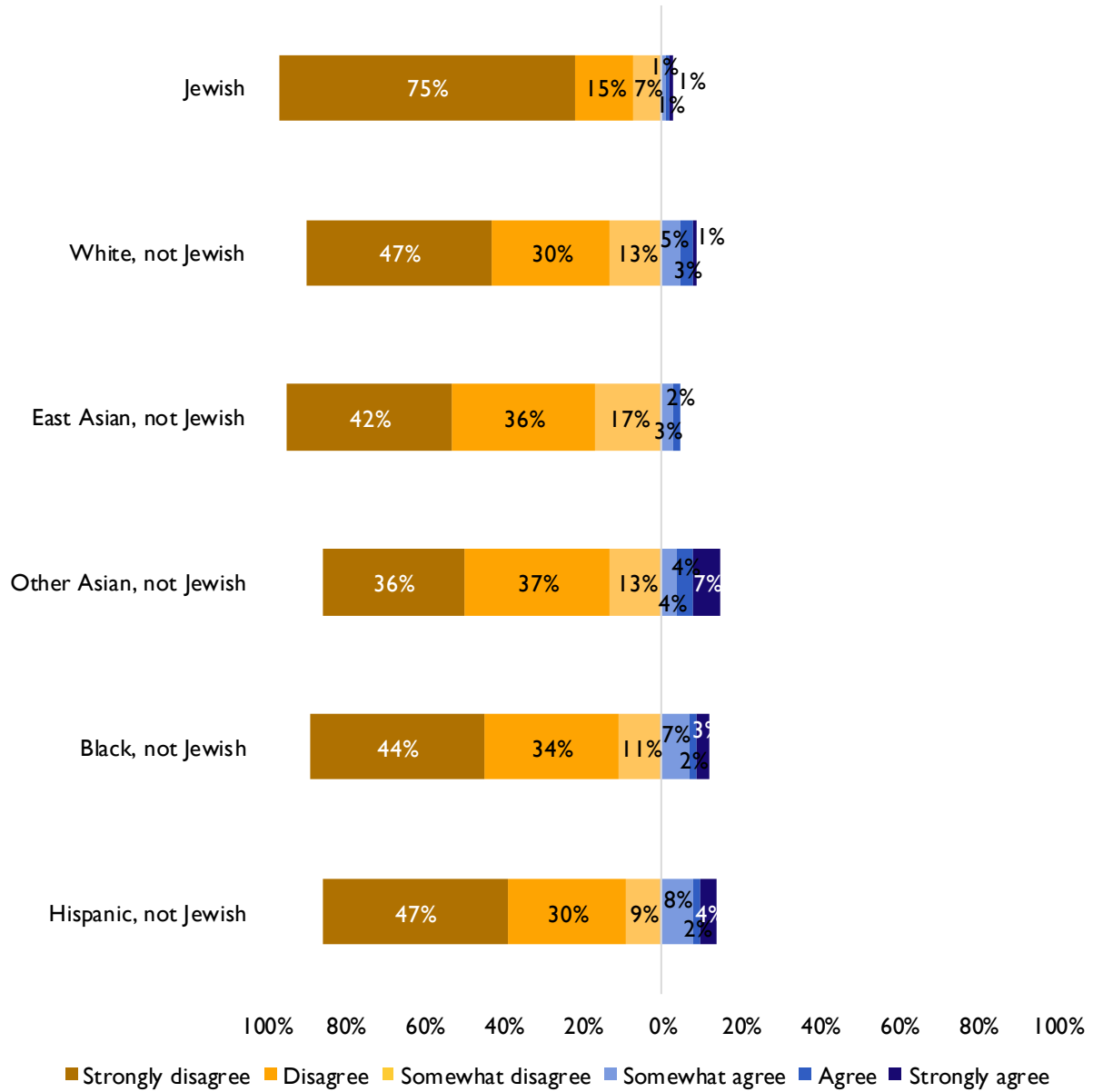
Note: Two-way table of frequencies. See Table C24 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Figure 20. Heard hostile remarks toward Israel or Arab countries by Jewish status



Note: Two-way tables of frequencies. See Table C25 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Figure 21. To what extent do you agree that universities should boycott Israeli academic institutions and scholars?



Note: Two-way table of frequencies. See Table C26 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Jewish students were also asked how often, if at all, they felt blamed for the actions of the Israeli government. Seventeen percent of Jewish students at Penn felt that they were blamed at least “occasionally” for the actions of the Israeli government (Table 14).

Table 14. How often, if at all, do you feel that people at Penn accuse or blame you for anything done by the Israeli government BECAUSE you are Jewish? (Jewish students only)

Never	84%
Occasionally	14%
Frequently	3%
Total	100%

Discourse and Knowledge

Students were asked how comfortable they felt expressing their opinions about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict when talking with their peers. Jewish students felt significantly more comfortable than other students (Figure 22). However, 46% of all students (41% of Jews and 56% of non-Jews) felt only “a little” or “not at all” comfortable.

The 46% of students who expressed discomfort discussing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict were asked why they felt uncomfortable expressing their opinions. The most common response among both Jewish and non-Jewish students was that they did not know much about the conflict (Figure 23). This stands in stark contrast to the issue of discussing race relations on campus, where the biggest barrier to free expression was the hostility of the discourse (see Figure 11, page 20).

One student described her feelings regarding the discourse about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict at Penn:

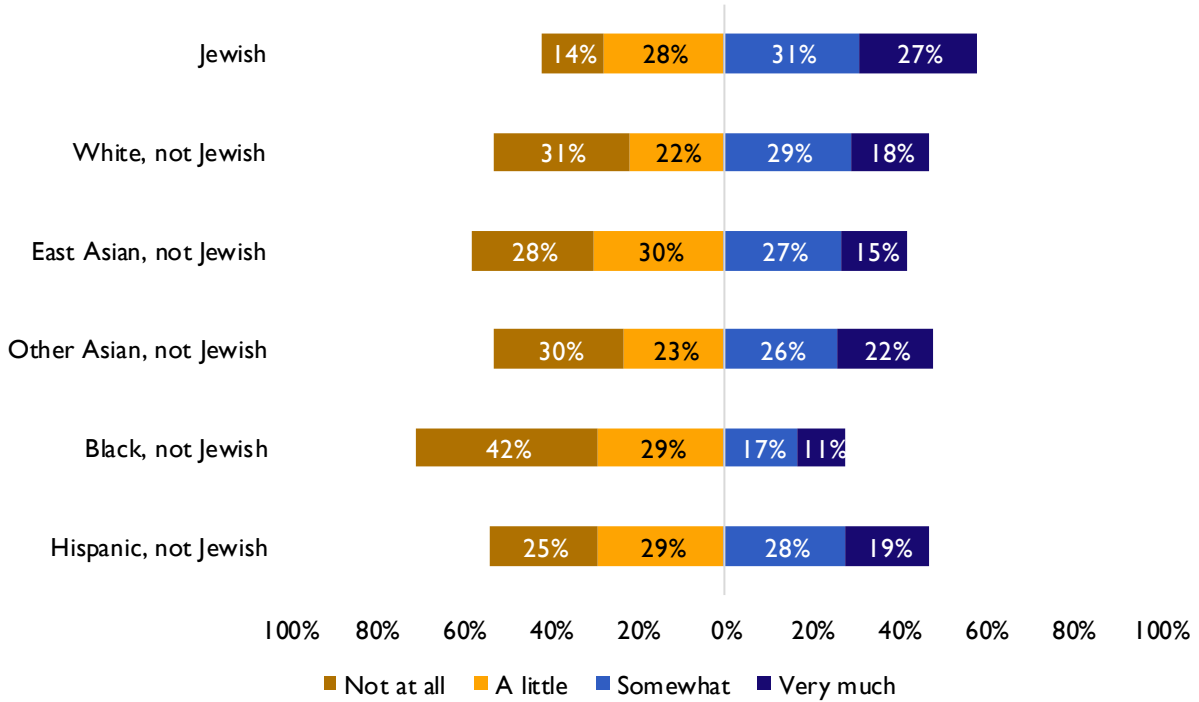
I am neither Israeli nor Palestinian, and thus I do not feel 100% comfortable voicing my opinion on something that I am so distanced from and do not know that much about, particularly in a setting like Penn that is more heavily Jewish than I am used to. (Sophomore, religiously unaffiliated female)

The primary reason for reticence in discussing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was different for Jewish students. Among Jewish students, a substantial portion (42%) was deterred from discussion on this topic by the negative tenor of the discourse. Student comments suggest that the source of at least some of the perceived hostility in these discussions is internal to the Jewish campus community.

I believe that it is difficult to express an opinion that does not line up with those of the Jewish student groups on campus, and that that stifles conversation about current issues. (Senior, Jewish female)

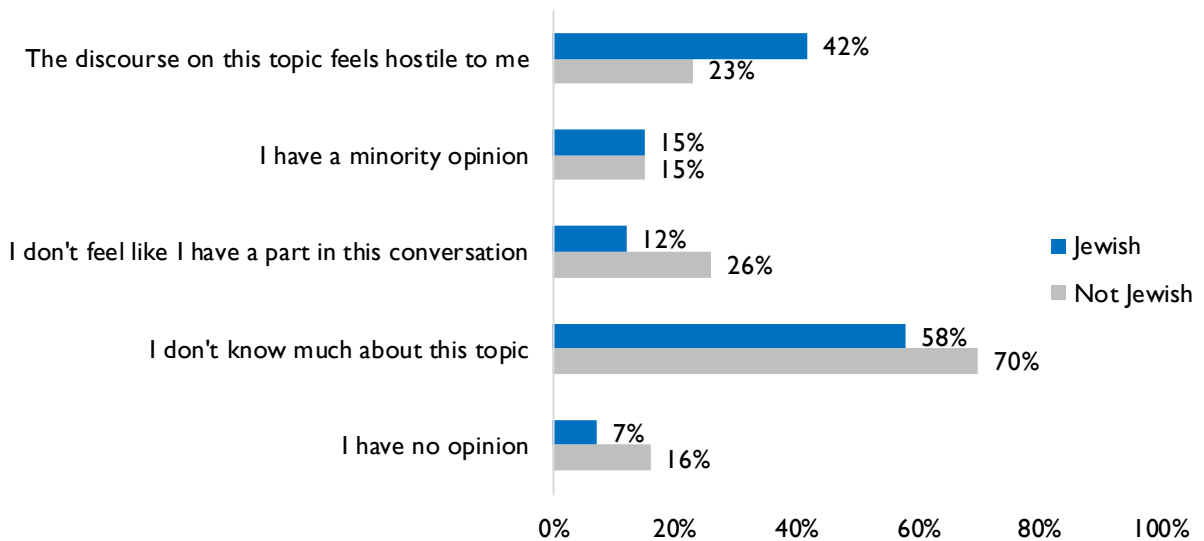
I think that there is a false sense of complete support for Israel put forward by many Jewish groups on campus. I would love to have real debate about Israeli-Palestinian issues and engage more with Jewish groups on campus, but the way the issue is presented (there is only one valid POV which is blindly pro-Israel) makes me totally disinterested. (Junior, Jewish male)

Figure 22. At Penn, when talking with your peers, how comfortable do you feel expressing your opinion about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?



Note: Two-way table of frequencies. See Table C27 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Figure 23. Which of the following affect your comfort level in discussing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with your peers? (“a little” or “not at all” comfortable only)



Note: Two-way tables of frequencies. See Table C28 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Penn offers more than 30 courses specifically focusing on Israel, the Middle East, Hebrew, or Arabic (Koren & Fishman, 2015). Overall, 15% of Penn students had taken at least one of these courses. Jewish students were the most likely to have taken such courses, with 24% having done so (Table 15). Having taken courses was associated with greater comfort in expressing opinions about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Table 15. Taken any course(s) specifically focusing on Israel, the Middle East, Hebrew, or Arabic

Jewish	24%
White, not Jewish	16%
East Asian, not Jewish	6%
Other Asian, not Jewish	17%
Black, not Jewish	13%
Hispanic, not Jewish	20%
Overall	15%

Contentious Issues and Open Discourse

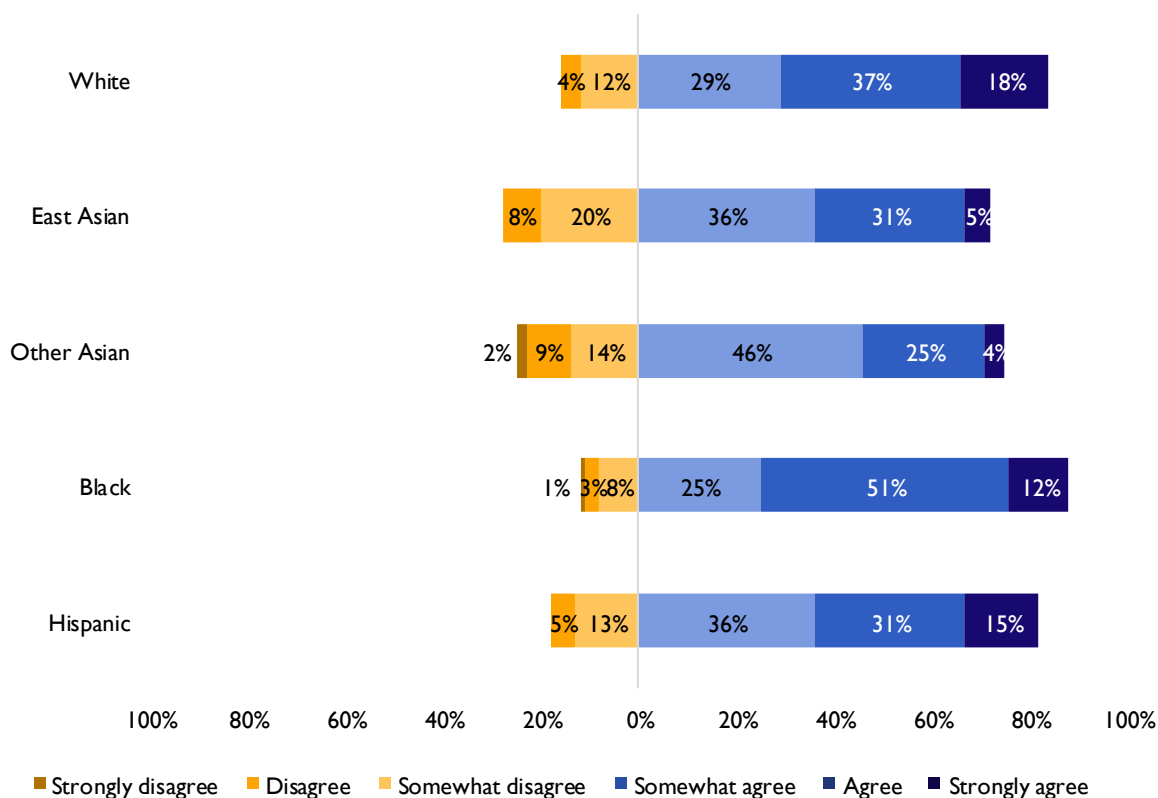
The campus climate for discourse surrounding contentious issues including race relations, LGBTQ rights, climate change, and immigration has, itself, become a subject of debate, with some arguing that campuses are stifling free speech by discouraging the expression of diverse and unpopular views and promoting a single political perspective (Ehrlich & Colby, 2004). Others have argued that a climate of political correctness on campus is creating a generation of students who lack the ability to engage in critical discourse about contentious issues (Lukianoff & Haidt, 2015). This section explores students’ perspectives on campus activism at

Penn as well as their views on free expression and the use of “trigger warnings.”

Campus Activism

Most students (80%) agreed at least “somewhat” that there was “a lot of political activism” at Penn. Students at the Wharton School and the School of Nursing were slightly less likely to agree, and Christian students were slightly more likely to agree. The biggest differences in perceptions of political activism were along racial/ethnic lines, with Asian students far less likely to agree than White students (Figure 24).

Figure 24. To what extent do you agree that at Penn there is a lot of political activism?



Note: Two-way table of frequencies. See Table C29 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Free Expression

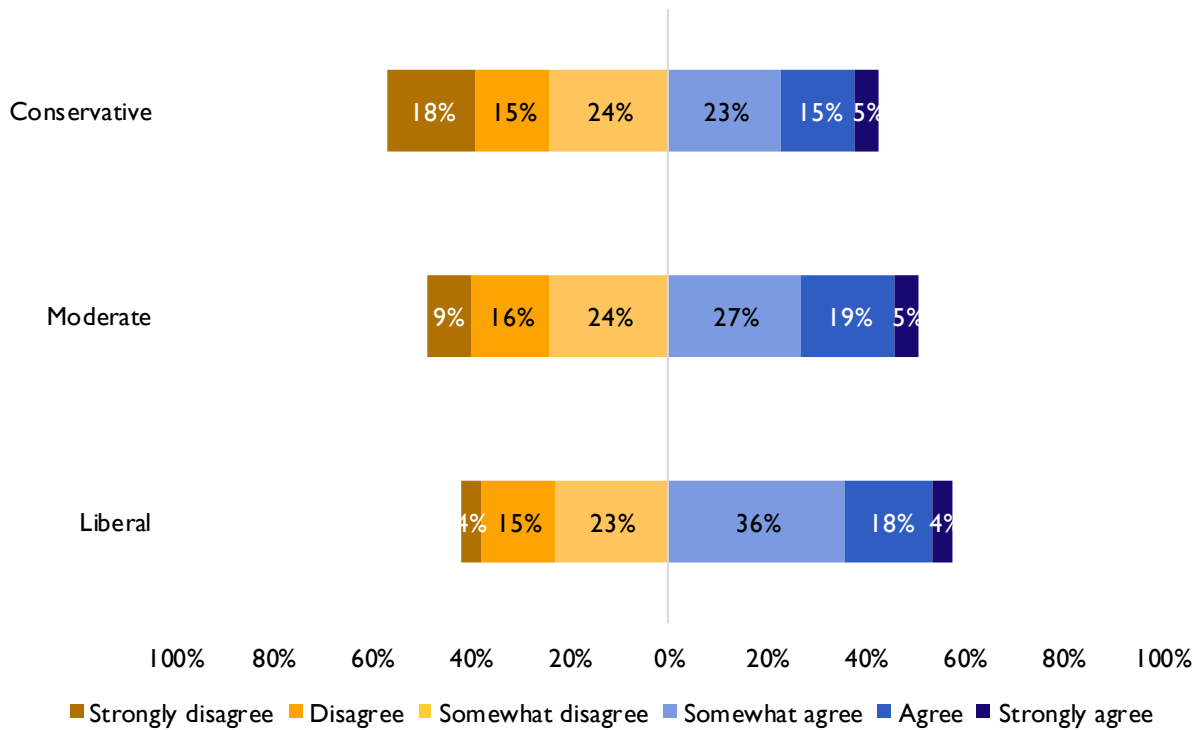
Students were asked to what extent they agreed that unpopular opinions could be expressed freely at Penn. Nearly half (46%) disagreed at least “somewhat” with this statement. Students with liberal political views were more likely than moderates and conservatives to feel that unpopular options could be expressed freely (Figure 25). This sentiment was echoed by several students in response to an open-ended question:

Penn is a great school, but it is painfully politically correct. You can't say anything around here without someone getting offended. (Freshman, politically conservative male)

While I think Penn is better than many other places, I believe freedom of expression is a significant issue here. Mob rule can decide what things are and are not okay for people to say or think. This approach chokes open intellectual discourse and is incredibly dangerous. College is a not a place to feel 'safe,' it is a place to have your ideas challenged and your mind expanded. (Freshman, politically moderate male)

I feel that I have a moderated version of the majority, liberal opinion but expressing it will get me shouted down. Many activists have no interest in data, only in feelings. (Senior, politically liberal male)

Figure 25. To what extent do you agree that at Penn unpopular opinions can be expressed freely?



Note: Two-way table of frequencies. See Table C30 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Trigger Warnings

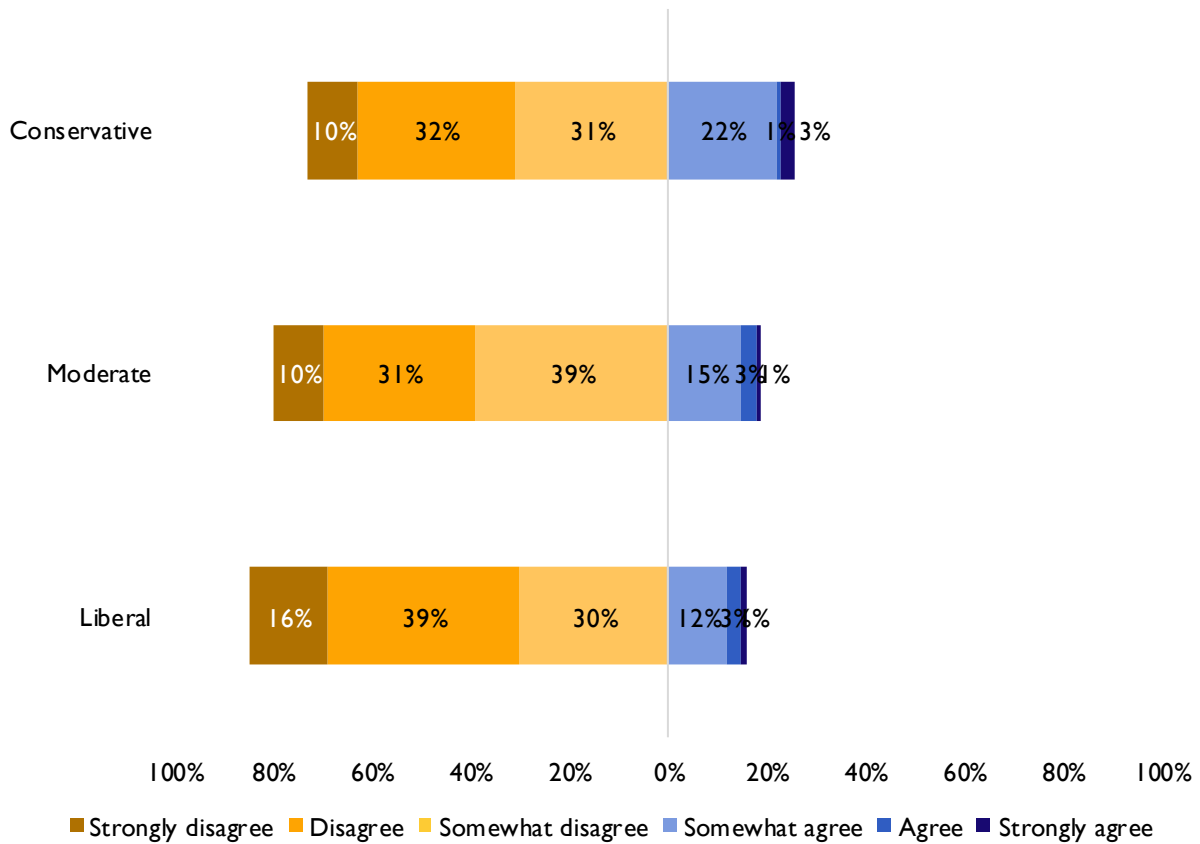
Trigger warnings are meant to alert individuals to upcoming content (usually written or visual material) that may cause psychological discomfort or set off the effects of previous trauma. They originated in online communities (Manne, 2015) but have since come into use in college classrooms. Students were asked to what extent they felt that Penn professors made excessive use of trigger warnings. Overall, 18% of all students agreed at least “somewhat” that trigger warnings were overused. Politically

conservative students were more likely than other students to agree that trigger warnings were overused (Figure 26).

One student described her feelings regarding the use of trigger warnings at Penn:

Penn is not for the thin-skinned, and I'm not sure that that's a bad thing... We don't need to be coddled, we don't need hand holding and trigger warnings. We need compassion and honesty. And the respect to listen to opinions we disagree with.
(Junior, politically moderate female)

Figure 26. To what extent do professors at Penn make excessive use of trigger warnings?



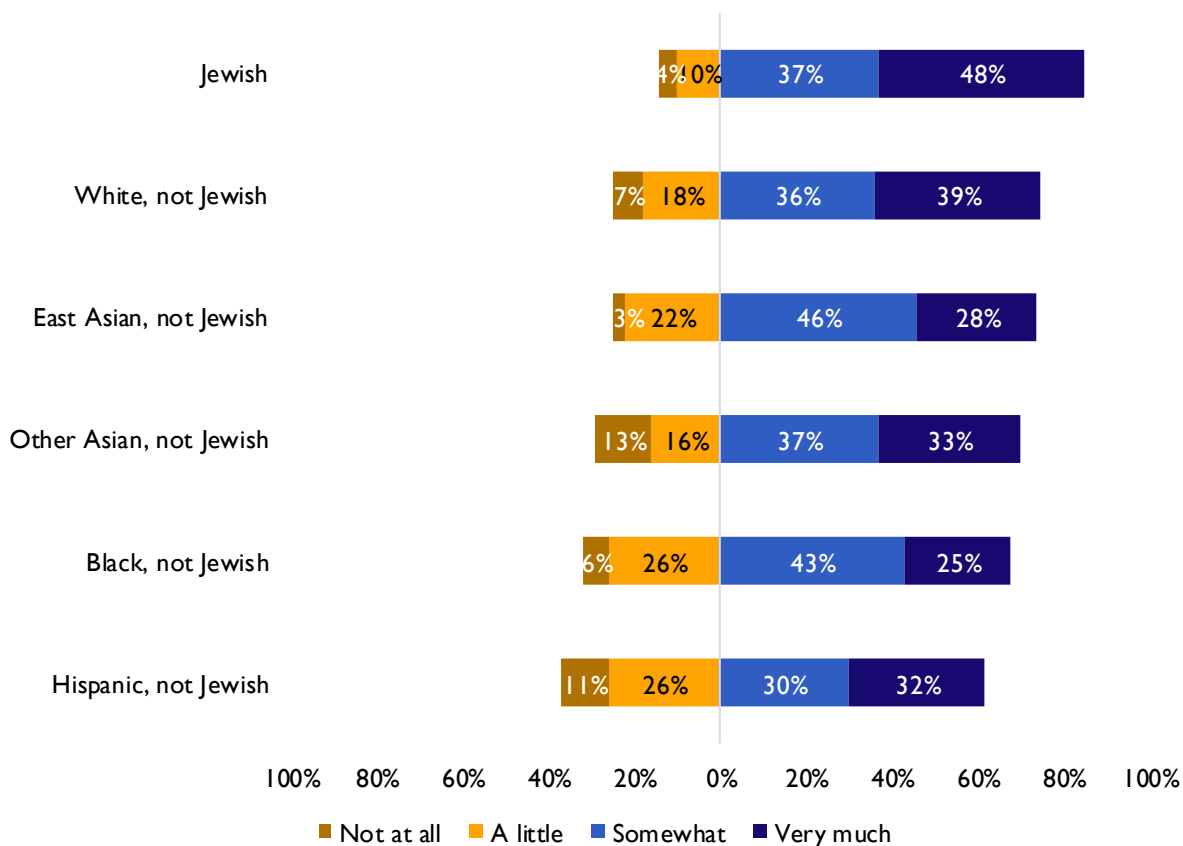
Note: Two-way table of frequencies. See Table C31 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Comfort, Safety, and Belonging

Students were asked to what extent they felt comfortable, safe, and a sense of belonging at Penn. Responses to all three measures were highly correlated and showed the same patterns: Heterosexual men, Jewish students and students in the Wharton school felt higher levels of comfort, safety, and belonging, while heterosexual women, LGBTQ students, and students of color felt lower levels. Feelings of comfort, safety, and belonging were not related to either proximal socioeconomic background or participation in Greek life, after controlling for school, race/

ethnicity, and gender and sexual orientation.¹¹ Figure 27 shows that nearly half (48%) of Jewish students felt “very much” that they belonged at Penn, compared to only 25% of Black students and 28% of East Asian students. Figure 28 shows that 43% of heterosexual men felt “very much” that they belonged, compared to only 33% of heterosexual women and 22% of LGBTQ students. Figure 29 shows that 45% of Wharton students felt “very much” that they belonged, whereas only about one third of other students felt the same.

Figure 27. At Penn, overall, to what extent do you feel that you belong? (by race/ethnicity)



Note: Two-way table of frequencies. See Table C34 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Several students described their impressions of campus inclusivity at Penn:

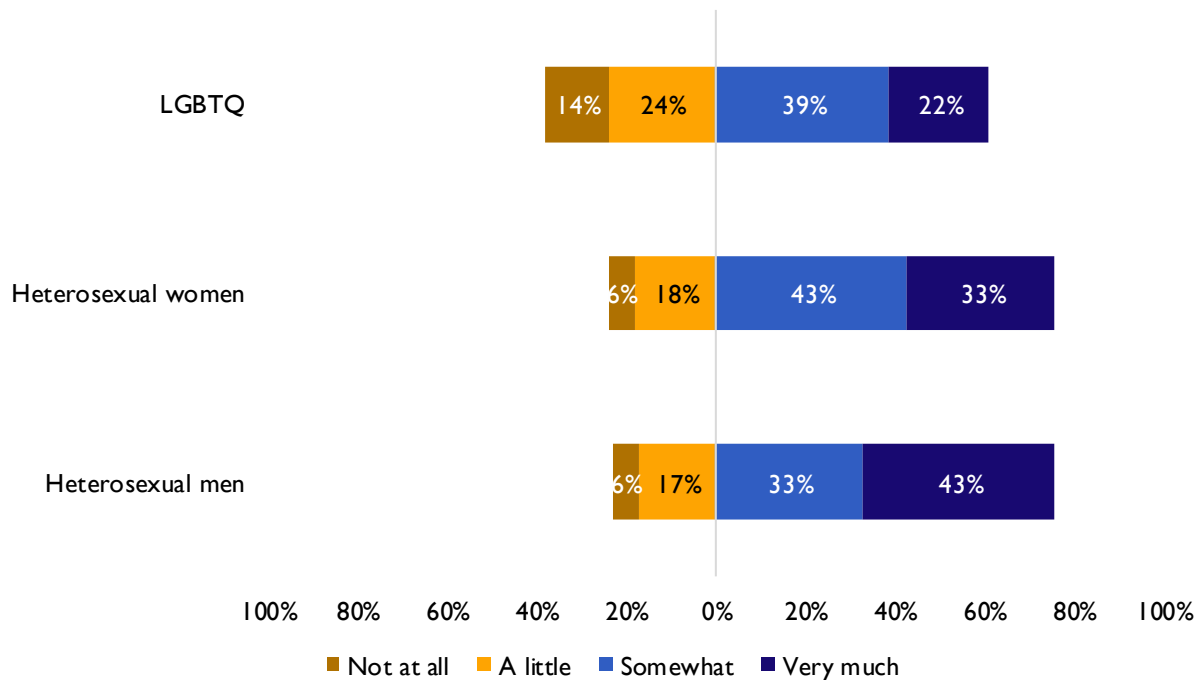
I love the academic climate at Penn, but much can be done towards improving race relations and creating a greater environment of inclusivity. We need more minority students and staff and for minority groups on campus to do a better job of making everyone feel welcome. (Sophomore, Hispanic female)

The climate is best suited for people from urban, relatively apolitical, affluent backgrounds who are career-oriented and very self-motivated toward particular careers. It is alienating for most people

who do not fit that model, including students who would prefer to experiment with diverse interests and those who value learning over success. (Junior, White Jewish male)

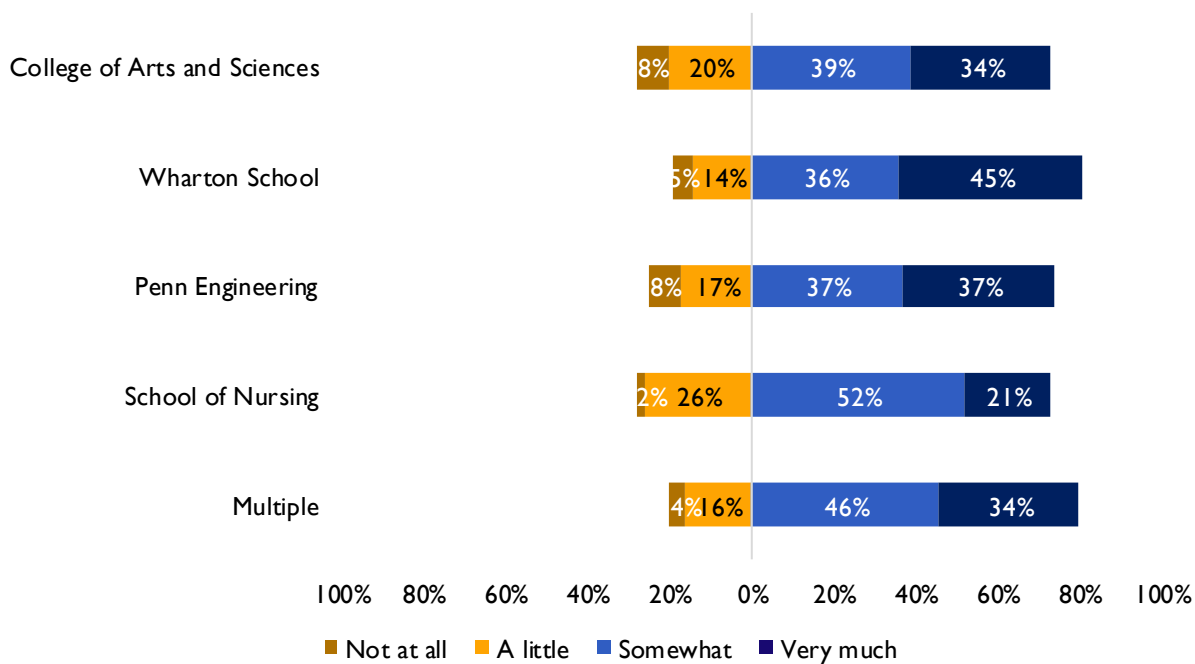
Biggest note about campus climate is that it is a diverse array of cliques. Frat vs. non-frat, Wharton vs. college, on-campus vs. off-campus, Asian vs. White and perhaps most importantly rich vs. poor. These are all factors that very quickly encourage students to self-select in to homogeneous groups with almost no interaction amongst each other. (Senior, South Asian male)

Figure 28. At Penn, overall, to what extent do you feel that you belong? (by gender and sexual orientation)



Note: Two-way table of frequencies. See Table C35 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Figure 29. At Penn, overall, to what extent do you feel that you belong? (by school)



Note: Two-way table of frequencies. See Table C36 in Technical Appendix C for 95% confidence intervals and significance tests.

Discussion

This report is part of a larger program of research on Jewish students' experiences of antisemitism and anti-Israel sentiment on campuses. To simultaneously place these issues in both a broader and more particular context, we surveyed Jewish and non-Jewish students on individual campuses, including Penn. In particular, we explored the intersection of racial, ethnic, and religious identities for all undergraduates as well as intergroup interactions, experiences of discrimination, and feelings of safety and belonging on campus.

With respect to the initial goals of the study, we found that about one third of Jewish students agreed at least "somewhat," that there is a hostile atmosphere on campus toward Israel and 13% agreed to the same extent that Penn has a hostile environment toward Jews. Yet, in many ways the findings of this study suggest that antisemitism and anti-Israel sentiment have limited impact on the lives of Jewish students at Penn. Compared to other campus issues, these concerns remain far in the background of campus life at Penn, and were rarely mentioned by students as among the most pressing issues on campus. Almost universally, Jewish students felt that they belonged at Penn and were heavily connected to Jewish organizations and Jewish professionals on campus.

The issue of near universal concern on the Penn campus is the "pressure cooker" nature of student life both inside and outside of the classroom. Regardless of their race/ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, or gender, Penn students told us that they experienced intense academic and social pressures to succeed while maintaining the illusion of emotional well-being. This aspect of Penn's informal ethos,

described as the "Penn face," insinuates itself into all aspects of undergraduate life, all too often with tragic consequences. Although it was largely beyond the scope of this study, the issue of campus mental health at Penn clearly requires more detailed examination.

The intertwined issues of race, diversity, and social class also appear as key concerns for students at Penn. Although the Penn undergraduate student body is diverse on many dimensions, students appear to have only limited personal relationships with dissimilar peers. Whether it is the tendency of undergraduates, especially White and Jewish students, to have friends of their own race/ethnicity, or the concentration of students of upper socio-economic backgrounds in the Wharton school and in Greek life, our findings point to clear social divisions that permeate and influence student life at Penn. Perhaps as a result of these social divisions, students of color and Black students in particular, were far more likely to experience personal discrimination than were Jewish or other White students. Black students were also more likely to feel that there is a hostile environment toward people of color at Penn.

In 1967, the Admissions Policy for the Undergraduate Schools of the University of Pennsylvania stated, "a major part of the total educational experience of a university student is found in the interchange of ideas with other students."¹² Our findings suggest that for many students the current campus climate, in relation to difficult or contentious social and political issues, is characterized by reticence and constraint. Nearly half of Penn students disagreed that unpopular opinions can be expressed freely. Politically moderate or conservative students, and those with minority viewpoints on controversial issues, such as

race relations, felt especially uncomfortable expressing their views. A plurality of students, including Jewish undergraduates, expressed discomfort discussing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In large part, this is because they felt that they did not know enough about the topic to enter the conversation, or were put off by the hostility that characterizes this discourse, especially within the Jewish campus community.

Recent commentators have pointed out that the admissions process can create a diverse student body on campus but cannot, by itself, achieve the goal of a “bridged” campus where students not only encounter peers from backgrounds and political orientations different from their own, but also engage

productively with one another (Shaiko, 2013). An extensive body of social psychological research indicates that intergroup distancing and social tensions can be ameliorated through productive social contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). In particular, the optimal conditions for reduction of social and attitudinal barriers necessitate intergroup interactions characterized by equal status, the support of local authorities, and the presence of salient common goals that require cooperative effort to achieve (Allport, 1954; Gaertner et al., 1990). Our study of Penn suggests that the near universal desire of students for a healthy campus life may provide a fertile common ground for building lines of respectful and productive communication.

Notes

¹ Seven percent of domestic students did not provide their ZIP code at time of application. Skipping this question is not significantly related to race/ethnicity.

² The annual suicide rate among college and university students in the United States is 6.6 per 100,000 students (Schwartz, 2011). Penn has a student body of just under 25,000, and an average suicide rate would result in about five suicides over a three-year period.

³ See Table C4 in Technical Appendix C for results of logistic regression model.

⁴ See Technical Appendix B for a detailed discussion of this analysis.

⁵ Exceptions are being asked in class to offer the perspective of your identity group, having your concerns dismissed or ignored by campus administration and being the object of jokes or teasing, which were not more common among Black students than among other students of color.

⁶ “Physical attack” was not included this scale because it did not scale highly with the other items (the factor loading for this item was only .23). See Table C15 in Technical Appendix C for results of factor analysis. The remaining nine items scaled together with an alpha of .75.

⁷ Interaction terms between race/ethnicity and gender were not significant. See Table C16 in Technical Appendix C for results of negative binomial regression model on index of experiences of discrimination due to race or gender. These basic results were also confirmed by a series of binary logistic regression models run on each type of discrimination experience, which can be found in Table C17 in Technical Appendix C.

⁸ This relationship holds even when controlling for other factors, such as race/ethnicity, school, religion and gender/sexual orientation. See Table C18 in Technical Appendix C for results of logistic regression model.

⁹ See Technical Appendix B for a detailed discussion of this analysis.

¹⁰ Includes students who identify as atheist, agnostic, or nothing in particular, but also Jewish “aside from religion.”

¹¹ See Table C32 in Technical Appendix C for results of an OLS regression model on an index created from the sum of standardized responses from these three items. See also Table C33 in Technical Appendix C for the results of ordered logistic regression models run on each item separately.

¹² Admissions Policy for the Undergraduate Schools of the University of Pennsylvania. (1967). University of Pennsylvania Archives. Retrieved from <http://www.archives.upenn.edu/primdocs/upa/upa4/upa4b183mcgill.pdf>

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