Does Intergroup Contact Reduce Affective Polarization? A Natural Experiment

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Abstract

Reducing affective polarization has become a priority in discussions of American democracy. Intergroup contact is a promising and practical remedy, but it rarely occurs without intervention. By taking advantage of first-year random housing assignments, this study examines contact among American undergraduates who naturally interact on campus. The results show that students with ideological outgroup roommates report greater favorability toward outgroup students while showing little ideological change, compared to those with ingroup roommates. They also report a higher percentage of friends and more frequent interactions with ideological outgroups. The findings suggest that contact can contribute to depolarization in real-world settings, and social environments such as universities can bring people with different views together.

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1 Introduction

As affective polarization in the United States has reached a historically high level, reducing it has become a priority for many academics and political practitioners (Mason, 2018; Iyengar et al., 2019; Voelkel et al., 2024). Among a range of potential remedies, intergroup contact stands out as a particularly prominent candidate with a rich theoretical foundation (Allport, 1954; Paluck and Green, 2009; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2013). Recent experimental work in the field presents encouraging evidence of depolarization through contact (Wojcieszak and Warner, 2020; Levendusky and Stecula, 2021; Amsalem et al., 2022; Combs et al., 2023; Blair et al., 2023; Rossiter, 2023; Rossiter and Carlson, 2024). However, whether this effect generalizes beyond specific interventions and outside laboratory environments remains an open question (Kalla and Broockman, 2022; Santoro and Broockman, 2022).

This study examines how intergroup contact relates to depolarization at a university where contact among students from different ideological groups naturally occurs. Higher education is usually associated with positive democratic values, such as civic participation and progressive racial attitudes (Sidanius et al., 2008; Klofstad, 2010). However, research also finds that college students tend to show greater prejudice against ideological outgroups (Henry and Napier, 2017). The value of education stems not only from receiving knowledge from teachers but also from peer interactions among students. From academic performance to personality, peers exert substantial influence on one another's behavior (Sacerdote, 2001; Golsteyn et al., 2021). The physical spaces of schools create rare opportunities for students to socialize with peers from diverse backgrounds, which might not be possible in settings where people self-select their social circles. While existing literature has explored the effects of contact on campus on some political outcomes, such as racial attitudes (Sidanius et al., 2008), civic participation (Klofstad, 2009, 2010), and ideology (Mendelberg et al., 2017; Strother et al., 2021), the relationship between contact and affective polarization is understudied.

To mitigate the selection issue in social contact, this research design takes advantage of

first-year housing assignments on campus. I conducted an original survey on undergraduate students at a medium-sized university in the Northeastern United States in April 2023. At this university, incoming first-year students could either request a friend as their roommate or be randomly paired with a roommate by the residential life office. Conditional on random housing assignments, comparing the feeling thermometers of students with ideological outgroup roommates to those with ideological ingroup roommates tests whether intergroup contact is associated affective polarization in a real-world context. The preregistered sample includes self-identified liberal and conservative students randomly assigned to double rooms, with ideological ingroup and outgroup roommates identified based on students' perceptions of their roommates' ideology. Expanded samples also include moderate roommates and students in triple rooms to increase statistical power while preserving the theoretical focus on intergroup contact.

The results show that students with outgroup roommates display warmer feelings toward ideological outgroup students than those with ingroup roommates. This pattern is consistent across the expanded samples. The difference may reflect greater outgroup favorability among students with outgroup roommtes, lower outgroup favorability among those with ingroup roommates, or both. Because the samples consist mostly of liberal students and a small number of conservative students, the analysis is limited in estimating differences between ideological groups. Furthermore, having an outgroup roommate is not associated with greater ideological change, based on students retrospective reports of their ideology at the start of college and their current ideology. The results suggest that changes in affective feelings toward outgroups may occur without changes in students' own ideology.

As an exploratory analysis, the results also show that students with outgroup roommates report a higher percentage of friends who hold different ideological views and more frequent interactions with ideological outgroups. Changes in other categories, including friends from different racial and ethnic, socioeconomic, and national backgrounds, are small. These findings are consistent with existing research on intergroup contact and cross-group

friendships (Davies et al., 2011; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2013), and suggest that changes in social relationships may be associated with perspective-taking and political attitudes.

This study contributes to a growing line of research on affective polarization. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first study that examines intergroup contact and depolarization on a college campus. The feasibility of intergroup contact in schools and other social settings, such as workplaces, makes large-scale interventions practical (Druckman and Levy, 2022), echoing the suggestion in *What Universities Owe Democracy* by Ronald J. Daniels, President of Johns Hopkins University, and his co-authors, who advocate for random housing assignments at universities to promote intergroup contact (Daniels et al., 2021).

2 Theory

Recent experimental work provides evidence that intergroup contact can reduce affective polarization in experimental settings (Wojcieszak and Warner, 2020; Levendusky and Stecula, 2021; Amsalem et al., 2022; Combs et al., 2023; Blair et al., 2023; Voelkel et al., 2024). One strand of literature focuses on the political aspect of perspective-taking, such as the exchange of political opinion (Rossiter, 2023; Rossiter and Carlson, 2024). Research shows that contact can bridge the misperception gap by helping individuals to learn outgroup's perspectives and rationales (Mutz, 2006; Mernyk et al., 2022). Another strand of literature emphasizes the humanization or individuation of outgroup members. Knowing individual members at a personal level tend to reduce stereotyping and mitigate the tendency to perceive outgroup members as more extreme than they actually are (Levendusky and Stecula, 2021; Druckman et al., 2022). However, how well these findings translate into real-world settings where contact naturally occurs remain understudied.

Real-world contact can be incidental and unstructured, unlike laboratory or survey experiments with specific instructions. Peer interactions may be inadvertent or passive, and conversations may not involve explicit exchanges of political information (Minozzi et al.,

2020). Moreover, polarization may deter contact. (Shafranek, 2021) shows that individuals would rather avoid interactions with those who are ideologically different.

The social aspect of contact may facilitate perspective-taking in the real world, particularly in environments where new friendships are formed. Cross-group friendships are a durable mechanism in intergroup contact theory (Davies et al., 2011; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2013). Forming friendships with individuals who hold different political views not only directly promotes perspective-taking but also introduces opportunities to meet friends of friends who are ideologically different (Christakis and Fowler, 2011; Sinclair, 2012; Carlson and Settle, 2022). Breaking down social group boundaries creates a virtuous cycle, which reinforces positive attitude change from initial contact.

3 Research Design

Isolating the effect of contact is challenging because who people interact with depends on a person's preexisting social network and personal traits. To mitigate the selection issue, this study focuses on contact at schools, which are rare places where interactions outside individuals' existing social circles occur. In particular, universities with random housing assignments offer an opportunity to promote repeated and prolonged interaction for at least one year in a shared living environment.

Participants are recruited at a medium-sized university in the Northeastern United States.[1] At this university, living on campus is mandatory for first-year students, and incoming students can either request a specific roommate or be assigned one randomly by the residential life office.[2] In collaboration with the administration, the online survey invitation was delivered to undergraduate students' university email inboxes. The response rate was

[1]The name of the university is replaced by "The University" in the enclosed survey instruments.

[2]In the latter case, the staff hand match students based on self-reported gender identity and nonsmoker status. Staff do not collect information on individuals' nationality, religion, socioeconomic background, sexual orientation. While hand matching is not an ideal method of randomization, it is unlikely to introduce systematic bias based on the limited information that the residential life office collects.

21%. Students who completed the survey automatically entered into a raffle, valued between $10 and $200. The final sample entering the analysis is restricted to students with U.S. citizenship.[3]

To measure ideological favorability, respondents were asked to indicate their levels of favorable opinion toward liberal-leaning students and conservative-leaning students on a 0-100 point scale feeling thermometer (unfavorable to favorable) in 10-point intervals. Outgroup favorability is defined as liberal students' favorability toward conservative-leaning students, and conservative students' favorability toward liberal-leaning students.

Political ideology was measured on a 7-point scale (very liberal to very conservative). Students reported their current ideology at the time of the survey and retrospectively reported their ideology at the start of college and their perceived first-year roommates' ideology. Although students' perceived roommate ideology may differ from their roommates self-perceived ideology, it is a relevant measure because individuals rarely observe others' true ideology and instead rely on their perceptions.

Because randomization is at the level of housing assignment, while roommate ideology is based on students' perceptions, a potential threat to inference is that a student disliked their roommate and projected their personal relationship onto their perception of the roommate's ideology, and as a result believed that their roommate was more politically extreme. Existing research suggests a limited role of negative or positive projection in perceptions of ideology (Amira, 2018). In the sample, only 11% of students reported not getting along well with their roommates, and this measure was not correlated with perceived roommate ideology.

Table A.3 reports the distribution of students' self-reported ideology at the start of college and their perceived roommates' ideology in the full sample, including students who received random and nonrandom housing assignments. Figure A.1 shows the average favorability score toward conservative students and liberal students, broken down by respondents' ideology. The patterns show that students across ideology groups tend to report warmer feelings

[3]Green card holders and international students were excluded from the analysis.

toward ingroup members relative to outgroup members. Compared to liberal students' unfavorable rating of conservative students, conservative students' show higher and closer to neutral favorability around 50 points toward liberal students.

In my pre-analysis plan, the scope of the outgroup was defined as ideologically opposing roommates in double rooms, including liberal students with conservative roommates and conservative students with liberal roommates. Given the small number of conservative students on campus, an expanded sample includes moderate roommates as part of the outgroup to increase statistical power while preserving the theoretical focus on intergroup contact. Moderate students, however, are not part of the sample. Another expanded sample also includes students in triple rooms to further increase statistical power. When a student had more than one roommate, they were asked to choose the roommate they interacted more frequently. A fourth sample combines both extensions by including moderate roommates and students in triple rooms. Table A.2 summarizes the samples sizes. The preregistered sample includes 113 students, with 10 in the treatment group, and the expanded samples increase the number of treated students to 23, 19, and 37, respectively. The analysis reports estimates across the four samples.

The estimators are the differences in means between students with outgroup roommates and students with ingroup roommates. The main estimating equation is

$$Y_{ic} = \alpha + \beta_1 OutgroupRoommate_i + \gamma X_i + \lambda_c + \epsilon_{ic} \tag{1}$$

where Y_ic is the outcome variable; $OutgroupRoommate_i$ is an indicator that equals 1 if respondent i and their roommate have misaligned political ideologies, and 0 otherwise; X_i is a vector of covariates that include gender, race, first-generation student indicator, second-generation immigrant indicator, household income, and first-year housing characteristics; λ_c is cohort fixed effects; ϵ_{ic} is the error term, and β_1 is the quantity of interest.

4 Results

4.1 Ideological Favorability

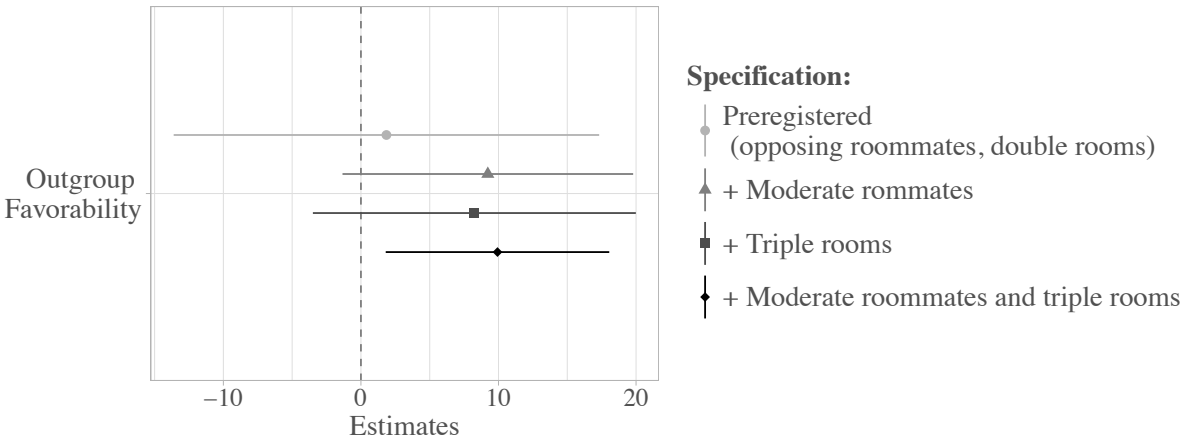
Figure 1 shows that students with ideological outgroup roommates report greater favorability toward outgroup students than those with ingroup roommates. While the estimate is imprecise in preregistered sample, which includes ideologically opposing roommates in double rooms, precision improves as the sample expands to include moderate roommates, triple rooms, or both, with consistent coefficients. Table B.1 reports the full regression results. The results are robust to coding missing values on the outgroup favorability as the midpoint, which is the default value on Qualtrics if respondents answered this question but did not move the slider (Figure B.1).[4] An 8-point increase in favorability is comparable to rewinding the level of affective polarization of the American public from 2016 to 2012.[5] Because the comparison is between students with ideological outgroup and ingroup roommates, the difference in outgroup favorability may reflect greater warmth among students with outgroup roommates, lower warmth among students with ingroup roommates, or both.

Existing research suggests that intergroup contact can improve outgroup evaluations across ideological groups (Wojcieszak and Warner, 2020; Rossiter and Carlson, 2024). Table B.3 reports separate estimates for liberal and conservative students. While the direction of the coefficients is positive and consistent, the estimates are imprecise, particularly for conservative students. The analysis lacks statistical power to estimate differences across ideological groups, and similarly, given the limited sample size, the results are inconclusive regarding whether the relationship varies by roommate relationship, measured by interaction frequency and how well roommates get along (Table B.4).

[4] Table A.1 shows that around 10% of favorability responses were missing. It is possible that these respondents answered this question but did not move the slider if their answers were the default value, which was set at 50 (midpoint) and recorded as missing on Qualtrics, because few of them skipped the multiple choice questions immediate before and after.

[5] According to ANES, outgroup favorability dropped from 40.1 in 2012 to 32.4 in 2016 on a 0-100 point scale. https://electionstudies.org/data-tools/anes-guide/anes-guide.html?chart=affective_polarization_idelogues

Figure 1: Outgroup Roommates and Outgroup Favorability



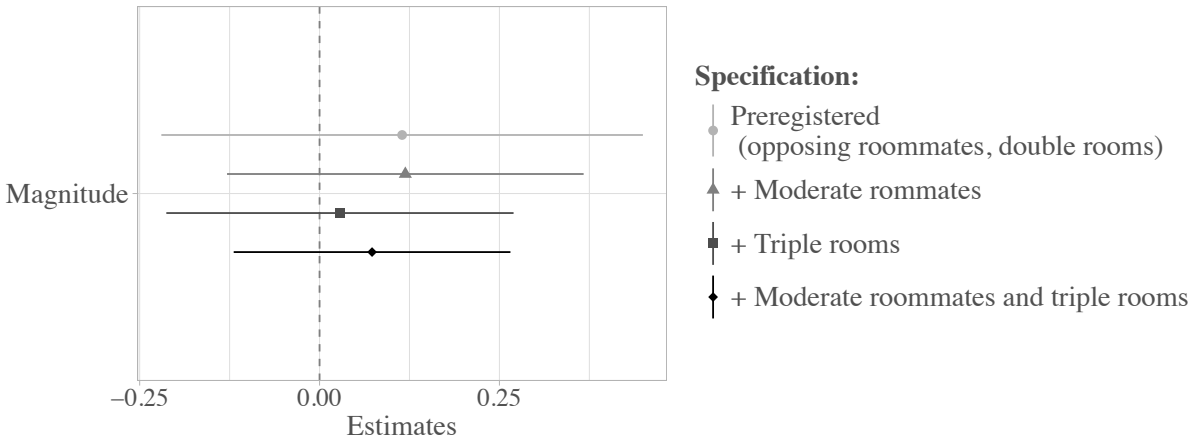
Note: Lines are 95% percent confidence intervals.

4.2 Ideological Change

Next, the analysis examines whether having a outgroup roommate is associated with ideological change, measured by the absolute difference between students reported ideology at the time of the survey and their retrospectively reported ideology at the start of college. This measure is nonnegative, and a positive value reflects movement in either liberal or conservative direction. As shown in Figure 2, little evidence suggests that having an outgroup roommate is associated with changes in student's ideology. This patterns is consistent across each sample, and the full regression results are in Table B.2. The findings suggest that warmer feelings toward outgroups may not be accompanied by ideological change.

To complement ideological change, which measures magnitude but not direction, the analysis also constructs changes in ideological extremity. This measure calculates the change in absolute distance from the ideological midpoint between students' ideology at the start of college and at the time of the survey, so a positive value indicates movement toward ideological extremity in either direction, and a negative value indicates movement toward moderate. Figure 2 shows that the estimates are small, which is consistent with the pattern that the majority of students' ideologies have been stable, with over two thirds of them

Figure 2: Outgroup Roommates and Changes in Ideological Change



Note: Lines are 95% percent confidence intervals.

reporting no change between the start of college and the time of the survey. These measures, however, are retrospective and should be interpreted with caution.

4.3 Social Connections

Studying affective polarization in this natural setting provides an opportunity to investigate social outcomes that take time to develop and are difficult to capture within a short span of survey experiments. As an exploratory analysis, outcomes on social connections are outside the pre-analysis plan, and the goal is to further examine the downstream implications of intergroup contact.

Figure B.3 shows the estimated differences in friendship composition and interaction frequency between students with outgroup roommates and ingroup roommates. Compared to the latter, students with outgroup roommates report a higher percentage of friends with different political ideologies, defined as friends with more conservative views for liberal students and more liberal views for conservative students (Figure B.3a). The estimates are consistent and statistically significant across samples. By contrast, differences in the percentages of friends from different races and ethnicities, socioeconomic backgrounds, or

countries, are small.

The results for interaction frequency present a similar pattern. As shown in Figure B.3b, students with outgroup roommates report interacting more frequently with ideological outgroup friends than students with ingroup roommates. The differences in interaction frequency with friends from different races and ethnicities, socioeconomic status, or countries are small and do not reach statistical significance. The findings are consistent with research on intergroup contact and cross-group friendships (Davies et al., 2011; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2013), and suggest that social connections may be associated with affective polarization.

5 Conclusion

Schools are social environments that provide both teacher-student interactions and peer-to-peer interactions. The physical spaces on campuses provide an ideal setting for fostering contact across groups. Universities, in particular, have the privilege of attracting talent from diverse backgrounds, irrespective to ideology, race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, and socioeconomic status. They should lead in innovating mindful infrastructure and institutional designs that facilitate intergroup contact (Daniels et al., 2021). Cross-group interactions are not only about communicating information, but they may also lead to the diversification of social connections (Sidanius et al., 2008).

Future research can investigate whether the relationship between contact and depolarization extends to other campuses, particularly those with a higher concentration of students who hold conservative views. Tracking whether depolarization persists after students graduate and move on to workplaces would contribute to our understanding of the longer-term implications. Research can also examine the social dynamics of intergroup contact on campus by exploring how such interactions affect students' behavior, such as participation in extracurricular activities, the use of social media, patterns of news consumption, and changes in social circles.

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Online Appendix

A Descriptive Statistics

Table A.1: Summary Statistics

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Median	Max
Ideology (start of college)	392	−1.49	1.37	−3	−2	3
Ideology (now)	392	−1.57	1.36	−3	−2	3
Roommate's ideology	392	−1.38	1.38	−3	−2	3
Outgroup roommate	392	0.27	0.44	0	0	1
Random housing assignment	392	0.52	0.50	0	1	1
Favorability of conservatives	345	33.68	21.34	0	30	100
Favorability of liberals	356	71.18	19.67	0	70	100
Friends: conservatives	343	16.50	14.77	0	10	100
Friends: liberals	390	79.10	21.22	0	80	100
Friends: different races	390	50.26	24.25	0	50	100
Friends: different SES	387	49.95	22.79	10	50	100
Friends: different countries	366	25.27	20.19	0	20	100
Interaction: conservatives	387	2.15	1.37	0	2	4
Interaction: liberals	387	3.23	1.11	0	4	4
Interaction: different races	389	3.79	0.49	1	4	4
Interaction: different SES	388	3.61	0.76	0	4	4
Interaction: different countries	388	3.28	0.85	0	3	4
Cohort	392	2.27	1.12	1	2	4
Male	392	0.30	0.46	0	0	1
White	392	0.59	0.49	0	1	1
First-generation student	392	0.19	0.39	0	0	1
Second-generation immigrant	392	0.27	0.45	0	0	1
Household income	375	2.60	2.00	0	2	6
Housing: co-ed	392	0.73	0.45	0	1	1
Housing: nonsmoking	392	0.10	0.30	0	0	1
Housing: quiet	392	0.02	0.14	0	0	1
Housing: substance-free	392	0.12	0.33	0	0	1
Smoker	392	0.07	0.26	0	0	1

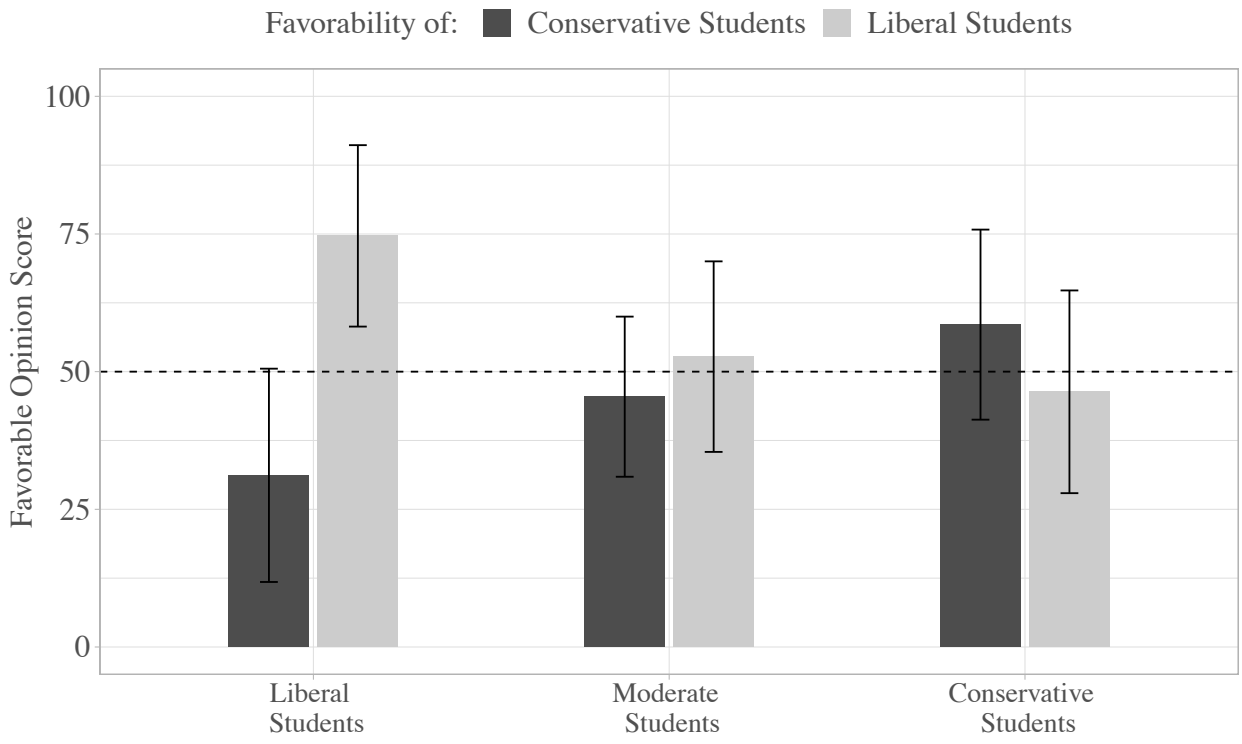
Table A.2: Random Housing Assignment Samples and Treatment Group Sizes

Sample	Control	Treatment	Total
Preregistered (opposing roommates, double rooms)	103	10 (8.8 %)	113
+ Moderate rommates	103	23 (18.3 %)	126
+ Triple rooms	143	19 (11.7 %)	162
+ Moderate roommates and triple rooms	143	37 (20.6 %)	180

Table A.3: Pairs of Student-Roommate Political Ideology in the Full Sample

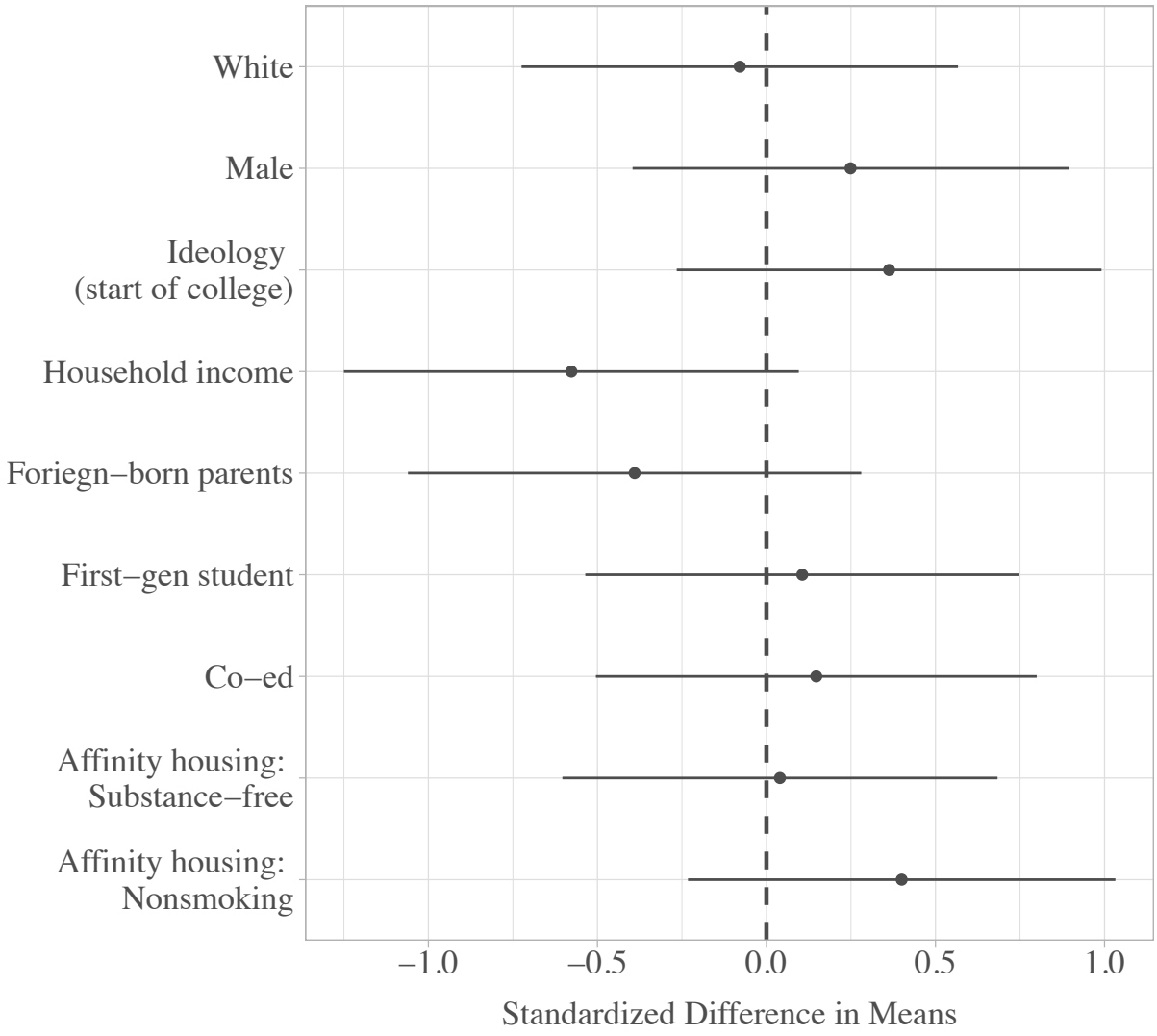
	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative	Total
Liberal	262	22	23	307
Moderate	25	12	7	44
Conservative	17	12	12	41
Total	304	46	42	392

Figure A.1: Students' Ideological Favorability



Note: The error bars represent standard deviation.

Figure A.2: Baseline Characteristics by Random Housing Assignment



Notes: The preregistered sample consists of students randomly assigned to double rooms with ideologically opposing roommates, with treatment defined as assignment to an outgroup roommate. Smoker status and quite affinity housing are excluded because all observations in the treatment group are 0. Lines are 95% confidence intervals.

B Further Results

Table B.1: Outgroup Roommates and Outgroup favorability

Samples	Preregistered (1)	+Moderate (2)	+Triple (3)	+Moderate&Triple (4)
Outgroup roommate	1.85	9.22*	8.25	9.93**
	(7.77)	(5.32)	(5.93)	(4.11)
Male	9.51**	8.60*	8.84**	8.44**
	(4.73)	(4.39)	(4.14)	(3.64)
White	-3.68	-5.07	1.08	0.55
	(6.20)	(6.03)	(4.64)	(4.57)
First-gen. student	10.84	12.84*	6.85	7.82
	(7.35)	(6.84)	(5.15)	(4.76)
Second-gen. immigrant	-5.38	-6.32	0.98	-0.49
	(6.76)	(6.21)	(4.98)	(4.71)
Household income	1.46	2.34**	0.27	0.81
	(1.23)	(1.12)	(0.96)	(0.90)
Smoker	-11.45	-3.88	-6.69	-2.70
	(8.94)	(8.02)	(6.96)	(6.06)
Housing: co-ed	-3.17	-2.52	-2.59	-2.04
	(5.42)	(5.50)	(4.51)	(4.02)
Housing: nonsmoking	2.91	1.01	1.40	1.77
	(5.71)	(5.47)	(4.55)	(4.19)
Housing: quiet	22.36***	22.31***	25.39***	25.55***
	(8.09)	(7.66)	(6.08)	(5.82)
Housing: substance-free	6.01	7.22	9.36	9.83*
	(7.14)	(6.43)	(6.41)	(5.69)
Observations	97	109	139	156
Treated Observations	9	21	15	32
Cohort FE	✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses. Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1

Table B.2: Outgroup Roommates and Ideological Change

Samples	Preregistered	+Moderate	+Triple	+Moderate&Triple
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Outgroup roommate	0.115	0.119	0.028	0.073
	(0.168)	(0.125)	(0.122)	(0.097)
Male	0.053	-0.022	0.067	0.038
	(0.103)	(0.097)	(0.090)	(0.086)
White	-0.091	-0.116	-0.009	-0.027
	(0.131)	(0.123)	(0.099)	(0.094)
First-gen. student	0.313*	0.298*	0.337***	0.315***
	(0.165)	(0.150)	(0.121)	(0.110)
Second-gen. immigrant	0.054	0.042	0.135	0.163
	(0.159)	(0.144)	(0.118)	(0.112)
Household income	0.026	0.025	0.034	0.029
	(0.034)	(0.031)	(0.027)	(0.026)
Smoker	-0.025	0.028	-0.081	-0.068
	(0.160)	(0.175)	(0.131)	(0.134)
Housing: co-ed	-0.138	-0.116	-0.090	-0.095
	(0.097)	(0.091)	(0.083)	(0.082)
Housing: nonsmoking	0.006	0.049	0.020	0.057
	(0.131)	(0.126)	(0.130)	(0.118)
Housing: quiet	-0.364**	-0.382**	-0.245**	-0.251**
	(0.152)	(0.146)	(0.115)	(0.112)
Housing: substance-free	0.065	0.023	0.070	-0.003
	(0.156)	(0.134)	(0.131)	(0.118)
Observations	106	118	153	170
Treated Observations	10	23	19	37
Cohort FE	✓	✓	✓	✓

Notes: Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses. Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1

Table B.3: Outgroup Favorability among Liberal and Conservative Students

Ideological leaning	Liberal		Conservative		All
Housing assignments	Random	All	Random	All	All
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Outgroup roommate	7.46	8.94**	9.77	10.03	12.46***
	(4.72)	(3.60)	(11.51)	(9.48)	(2.97)
Male	6.23	7.30**	14.40	-5.63	7.09***
	(3.77)	(2.94)	(8.68)	(8.04)	(2.72)
White	-0.28	-2.28	-6.85	4.25	-2.17
	(4.83)	(3.04)	(9.19)	(8.59)	(2.80)
First-gen. student	8.82*	4.98		5.32	5.27
	(4.84)	(3.59)		(11.60)	(3.51)
Second-gen. immigrant	-3.25	-4.37		25.29**	-2.64
	(4.74)	(3.23)		(11.54)	(3.19)
Household income	0.91	1.40**		1.03	1.41**
	(0.97)	(0.66)		(2.09)	(0.63)
Housing: co-ed	-0.75	-3.52			-2.85
	(4.35)	(2.92)			(2.76)
Smoker	-1.49	0.33			-0.34
	(7.24)	(6.70)			(5.37)
Housing: nonsmoking	3.10	1.70			1.78
	(4.73)	(3.85)			(3.73)
Housing: quiet	24.54***	7.83			9.09
	(6.02)	(7.99)			(8.07)
Housing: substance-free	8.93	1.64			4.34
	(5.95)	(3.76)			(3.79)
Observations	140	269	17	32	301
Treated Observations	21	39	11	23	62
Cohort FE	✓	✓		✓	✓

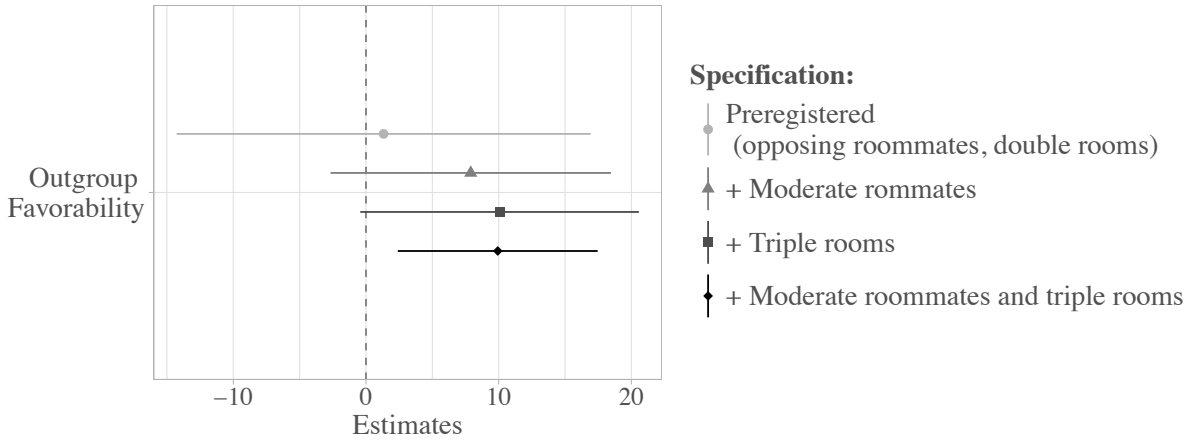
Notes: Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses. Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1

Table B.4: Roommate Interaction, Closeness, and Outgroup Favorability

Housing assignments	Random		All	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Outgroup roommate	7.23	0.32	12.31*	8.09
	(7.23)	(7.78)	(7.34)	(8.26)
Interaction freq.	0.12		0.54	
	(0.72)		(0.48)	
Get along		-0.13		0.04
		(2.60)		(1.83)
Outgroup roommate × Interaction freq.	0.82		0.07	
	(1.59)		(1.32)	
Outgroup roommate × Get along		7.45		3.17
		(5.44)		(4.96)
Male	8.37**	8.72**	7.05***	6.99***
	(3.65)	(3.58)	(2.71)	(2.69)
White	0.73	0.02	-1.87	-2.29
	(4.50)	(4.48)	(2.78)	(2.81)
First-gen. student	7.83	7.25	5.35	5.12
	(4.78)	(4.73)	(3.49)	(3.53)
Second-gen. immigrant	-0.26	-0.73	-2.48	-2.72
	(4.77)	(4.74)	(3.20)	(3.20)
Household income	0.81	0.93	1.35**	1.43**
	(0.90)	(0.90)	(0.63)	(0.63)
Housing: co-ed	-1.94	-1.82	-2.74	-2.84
	(4.04)	(3.90)	(2.75)	(2.75)
Smoker	-2.70	-2.89	-0.22	-0.24
	(6.04)	(5.94)	(5.39)	(5.40)
Housing: nonsmoking	1.95	2.87	1.95	2.11
	(4.11)	(4.17)	(3.67)	(3.70)
Housing: quiet	26.28***	25.65***	9.33	9.09
	(6.53)	(5.83)	(8.16)	(8.11)
Housing: substance-free	9.53	9.28	4.04	4.26
	(5.78)	(5.87)	(3.84)	(3.84)
Observations	156	156	301	301
Treated Observations	32	62	32	62
Cohort FE	✓	✓	✓	✓

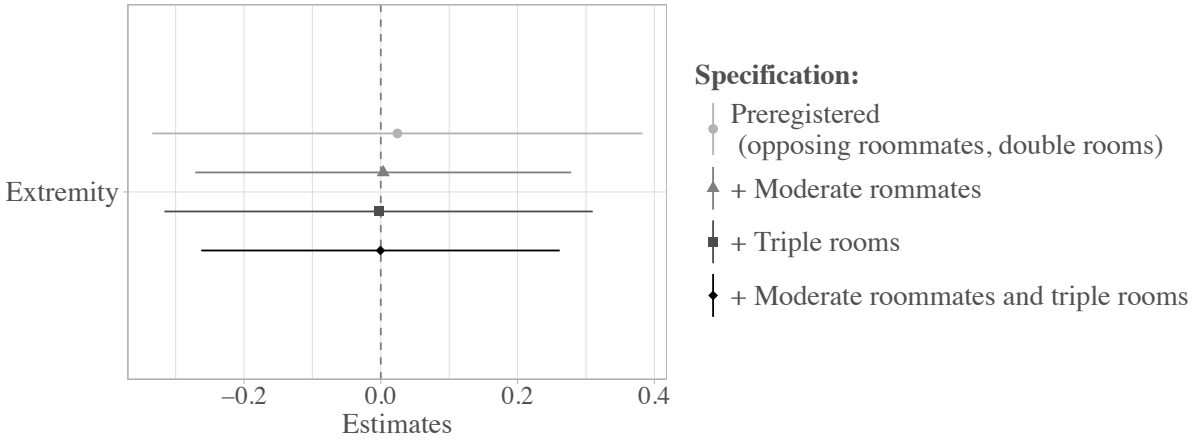
Notes: Outgroup roomamtes include moderates and triple rooms. Interaction freqeuency is measured on an 8-point scale; getting along with roommate is measured on a 3-point scale. Heteroskedasticity-robust standard-errors in parentheses. Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1

Figure B.1: Robustness Checks for Outgroup Favorability



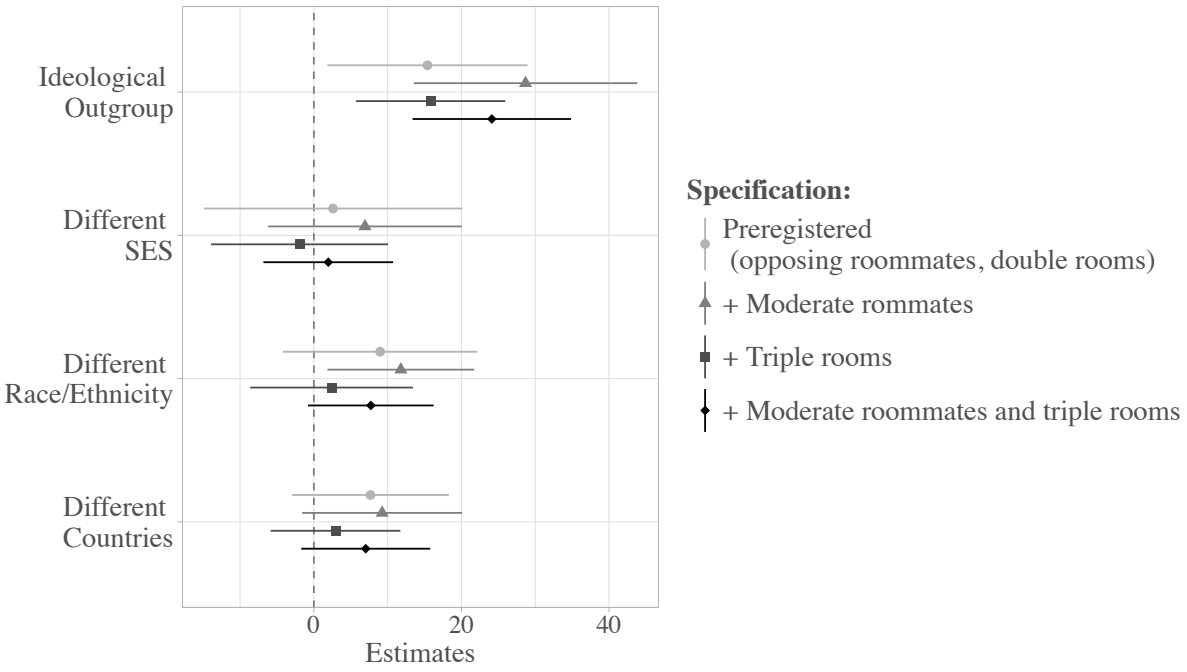
Notes: Missing values on outgroup favorability are coded as the neutral midpoint (50), which is the default value on Qualtrics if respondents answered this question but did not move the slider. Lines are 95% percent confidence intervals.

Figure B.2: Outgroup Roommates and Changes in Ideological Extremity

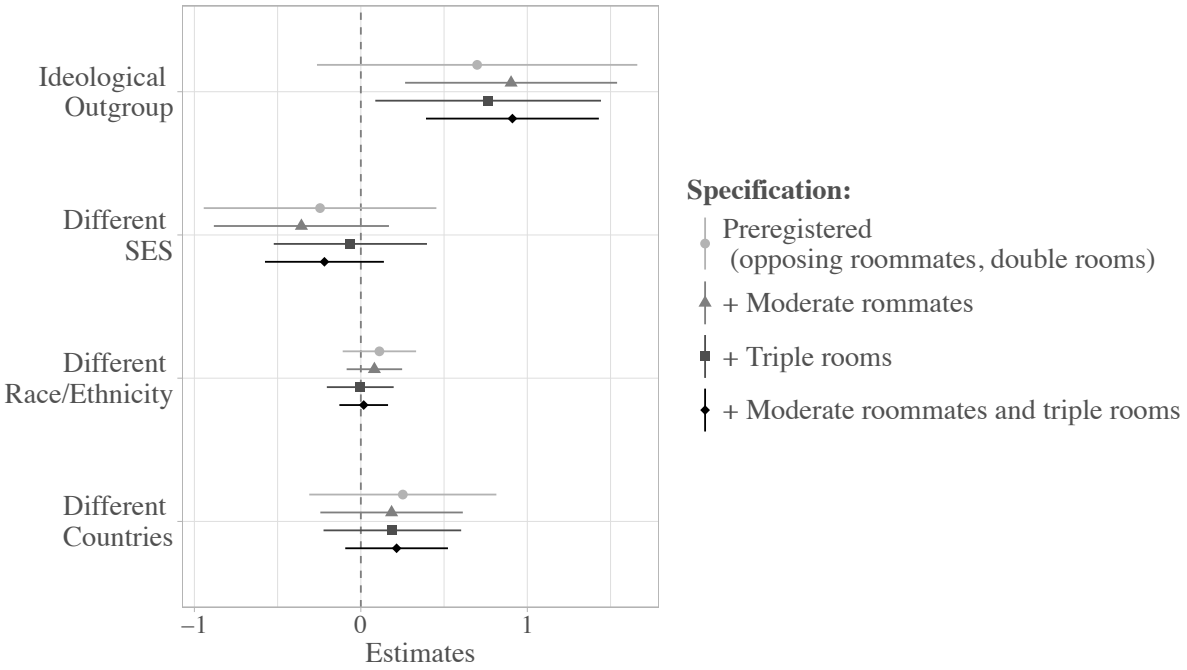


Note: Lines are 95% percent confidence intervals.

Figure B.3: Outgroup Roommates and Social Connections



(a) Friendship Network Composition



(b) Interaction Frequency

Notes: Lines are 95% confidence intervals.