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Intermarriage in the U.S. 50 Years After Loving v. Virginia

*One-in-six newlyweds are married to someone of a different race
or ethnicity*

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Terminology

The term “intermarriage” refers to marriages between a Hispanic and a non-Hispanic, or marriages between non-Hispanic spouses who come from the following different racial groups: white, black, Asian, American Indian, multiracial or some other race.¹

In the racial and ethnic classification system used for this report, individuals are classified first by ethnicity (defined as whether someone is Hispanic or not) and then by race. As such, all references to whites, blacks, Asians, American Indians, multiracial persons or persons of some other race include those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics may be of any race. So, for instance, in the 2015 American Community Survey, 4% of black newlyweds reported that they are also Hispanic. These people are categorized as “Hispanic” in this analysis, and if they are married to someone who identifies as a non-Hispanic black, both are counted as being in an intermarriage. By the same token, if a Hispanic black person marries a non-Hispanic white person, their marriage would be classified as one between a Hispanic and a white person rather than a black and a white person.

Beginning with the 2000 census, individuals could choose to identify with more than one group in response to the race question. In this analysis, these multiracial people are treated as a separate race category, different from those who identify as a single race, including those who identify as “some other race.” (As with single race individuals, a multiracial person who also identifies as Hispanic would be classified as Hispanic.)

In the secondary data analysis, the term “Asian” includes native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders; “American Indian” includes Alaska natives. In the analysis of the Pew Research Center surveys and the General Social Survey, Asian includes anyone who self-identifies as Asian.

“Newlyweds” or people who are “recently married” or “newly married” include those who got married in the 12 months prior to being surveyed for 2008 to 2015 data. In all other years, newlyweds are those who married in that same year. Data analyses for 1967 through 1980 are limited to newlyweds who married for the first time, while analyses for subsequent years include people marrying for the first time and those who have remarried.

People born in one of the 50 states or the District of Columbia or who were born abroad to at least one American parent are classified as “U.S. born.” All others are classified as “foreign born,”

¹ This marks a change from prior Pew Research Center reports regarding intermarriage, which classified couples including one multiracial spouse and one spouse of “some other race” (who didn’t identify as white, black, Hispanic, Asian or multiracial) as being in a same-race marriage. Because there are very few people who fall into the “some other race” category, the fact that these couples are now classified as intermarried has a minimal effect on estimates.

including those born in Puerto Rico or other United States territories. While these individuals are U.S. citizens by birth, the convention of categorizing persons living in the U.S. who were born in U.S. territories as foreign born has been used by the United Nations. The terms “foreign born” and “immigrant” are used interchangeably.

In the analysis of educational attainment, “some college” includes those with an associate degree or those who attended college but did not obtain a degree. “High school or less” includes those who have attained a high school diploma or its equivalent, such as a General Education Development (GED) certificate.

“Metro areas” in this report are classified based on metropolitan statistical areas (MSA), which consist of at least one large urban core with 50,000 people or more, as well as neighboring areas that are socially and economically linked to the core area. They are a proxy for urban and suburban areas.

For Pew Research Center survey data, references to urban, suburban and rural are based on the respondent’s ZIP code. Urban residents are those who live within the central city of an MSA. Suburban residents are those who live within an MSA county, but are not within the central city. Rural residents are those who do not live in an MSA county.

Table of Contents

About Pew Research Center	1
Terminology	2
Overview	5
1. Trends and patterns in intermarriage	10
Intermarriage varies by race and ethnicity	11
A growing educational gap in intermarriage	14
Intermarriage is slightly less common at older ages	18
In metro areas, almost one-in-five newlyweds are intermarried	20
The largest share of intermarried couples include one Hispanic and one white spouse	22
2. Public views on intermarriage	24
Americans are now much more open to the idea of a close relative marrying someone of a different race	26
Acknowledgments	29
Methodology	30
Secondary data	30
Survey data	31
Appendix: Survey topline questionnaire	33

Intermarriage in the U.S. 50 Years After *Loving v. Virginia*

One-in-six newlyweds are married to someone of a different race or ethnicity

In 2015, 17% of all U.S. newlyweds had a spouse of a different race or ethnicity, marking more than a fivefold increase since 1967, when 3% of newlyweds were intermarried, according to a new Pew Research Center analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data.² In that year, the U.S. Supreme Court in the *Loving v. Virginia* case ruled that marriage across racial lines was legal throughout the country. Until this ruling, interracial marriages were forbidden in many states.

More broadly, one-in-ten married people in 2015 – not just those who *recently* married – had a spouse of a different race or ethnicity. This translates into 11 million people who were intermarried. The growth in intermarriage has coincided with shifting societal norms as Americans have become more accepting of marriages involving spouses of different races and ethnicities, even within their own families.

The most dramatic increases in intermarriage have occurred among black newlyweds. Since 1980, the share who married someone of a different race or ethnicity has more than tripled from 5% to 18%. White newlyweds, too, have experienced a rapid increase in intermarriage, with rates rising from 4% to 11%. However, despite this increase, they remain the least likely of all major racial or ethnic groups to marry someone of a different race or ethnicity.

Since 1967, a steady increase in U.S. intermarriage

% of newlyweds who are intermarried



Note: Data prior to 1980 are estimates. See Methodology for more details.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2008-2015 American Community Survey and 1980 decennial census (IPUMS).

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² In keeping with the [U.S. Census Bureau definition](#), ethnicity refers to whether an individual is of Hispanic origin or not. Intermarriages are defined as marriages between Hispanic and non-Hispanic persons, or marriages between white, black, Asian, American Indian or multiracial persons, or persons who report that they are some other race. Among all intermarried couples in 2015, 54% were in interethnic (Hispanic/non-Hispanic) marriages, and the remainder was in interracial marriages.

Asian and Hispanic newlyweds are by far the most likely to intermarry in the U.S. About three-in-ten Asian newlyweds³ (29%) did so in 2015, and the share was 27% among recently married Hispanics. For these groups, intermarriage is even more prevalent among the U.S. born: 39% of U.S.-born Hispanic newlyweds and almost half (46%) of U.S.-born Asian newlyweds have a spouse of a different race or ethnicity.

For blacks and Asians, stark gender differences in intermarriage

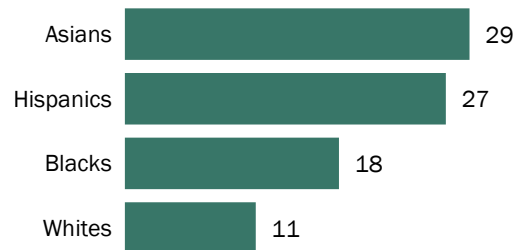
Among blacks, intermarriage is twice as prevalent for male newlyweds as it is for their female counterparts. While about one-fourth of recently married black men (24%) have a spouse of a different race or ethnicity, this share is 12% among recently married black women.

There are dramatic gender differences among Asian newlyweds as well, though they run in the opposite direction – Asian women are far more likely to intermarry than their male counterparts. In 2015, just over one-third (36%) of newlywed Asian women had a spouse of a different race or ethnicity, compared with 21% of newlywed Asian men.

In contrast, among white and Hispanic newlyweds, the shares who intermarry are similar for men and women. Some 12% of recently married white men and 10% of white

About three-in-ten Asian newlyweds in the U.S. are intermarried

% of newlyweds who are intermarried



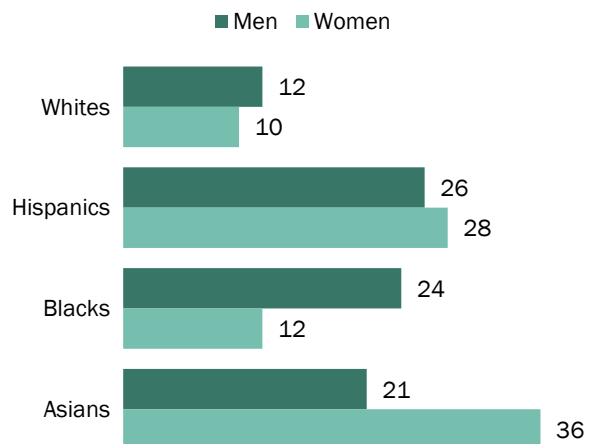
Note: Whites, blacks and Asians include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race. Asians include Pacific Islanders. Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2014-2015 American Community Survey (IPUMS).

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Black men are twice as likely as black women to intermarry

% of U.S. newlyweds who are intermarried



Note: Whites, blacks and Asians include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race. Asians include Pacific Islanders. Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2014-2015 American Community Survey (IPUMS).

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³ Asian Americans are an incredibly diverse group, with varying histories in the U.S. and very different demographic and economic profiles. For a more detailed look at Asian American subgroups and their intermarriage patterns, see "[The Rise of Asian Americans](#)".

women have a spouse of a different race or ethnicity, and among Hispanics, 26% of newly married men and 28% of women do.

A more diverse population and shifting attitudes are contributing to the rise of intermarriage

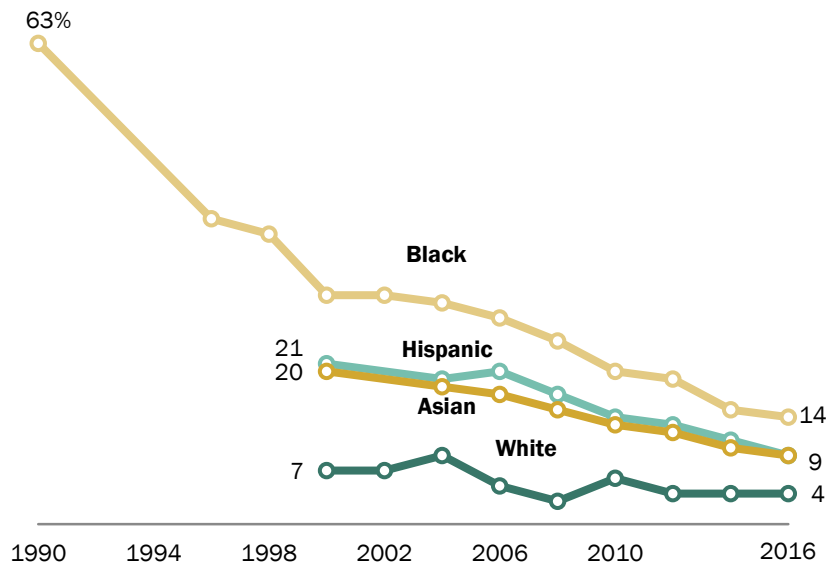
The rapid increases in intermarriage rates for recently married whites and blacks have played an important role in driving up the overall rate of intermarriage in the U.S. However, the growing share of the population that is [Asian or Hispanic](#), combined with these groups' high rates of intermarriage, is further boosting U.S. intermarriage overall. Among all newlyweds, the share who are Hispanic has risen by 9 percentage points since 1980, and the share who are Asian has risen 4 points. Meanwhile, the share of newlyweds who are white has dropped by 15 points.

Attitudes about intermarriage are changing as well. In just seven years, the share of adults saying that the growing number of people marrying someone of a different race is *good* for society has risen 15 points, to 39%, according to a new Pew Research Center survey conducted Feb. 28-March 12, 2017.

The decline in opposition to intermarriage in the longer term has been even more dramatic, a new Pew Research Center analysis of data from the [General Social Survey](#) has found. In 1990, 63% of nonblack adults surveyed said they would be very or somewhat opposed to

Dramatic dive in share of nonblacks who would oppose a relative marrying a black person

% saying they would be very or somewhat opposed to a close relative marrying someone who is ___ among U.S. adults who are not that race or ethnicity



Note: Due to changes in question wording, the universe of nonblacks prior to 2000 includes anyone who reported a race other than black; in 2000 and later, the universe of nonblacks includes those who did not identify as single-race, non-Hispanic blacks (and so may include Hispanic blacks and multiracial blacks).

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of General Social Survey. "Intermarriage in the U.S. 50 Years After Loving v. Virginia"

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a close relative marrying a black person; today the figure stands at 14%. Opposition to a close relative entering into an intermarriage with a spouse who is Hispanic or Asian has also declined markedly since 2000, when data regarding those groups first became available. The share of nonwhites saying they would oppose having a family member marry a white person has edged downward as well.

Intermarriage somewhat more common among the college educated

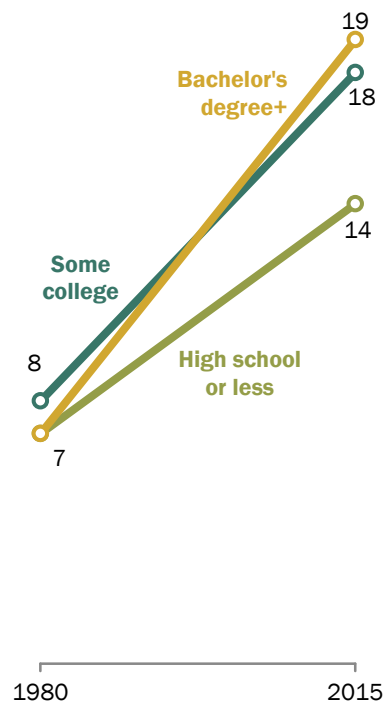
In 1980, the rate of intermarriage did not differ markedly by educational attainment among newlyweds. Since that time, however, a modest intermarriage gap has emerged. In 2015, 14% of newlyweds with a high school diploma or less were married to someone of a different race or ethnicity, compared with 18% of those with some college and 19% of those with a bachelor's degree or more.

The educational gap is most striking among Hispanics: While almost half (46%) of Hispanic newlyweds with a bachelor's degree were intermarried in 2015, this share drops to 16% for those with a high school diploma or less – a pattern driven partially, but not entirely, by the higher share of immigrants among the less educated. Intermarriage is also slightly more common among black newlyweds with a bachelor's degree (21%) than those with some college (17%) or a high school diploma or less (15%).

Among recently married Asians, however, the pattern is different – intermarriage is far more common among those with some college (39%) than those with either more education (29%) or less education (26%). Among white newlyweds, intermarriage rates are similar regardless of educational attainment.

An emerging educational gap in intermarriage

% of U.S. newlyweds ages 25 and older who are intermarried



Note: "Some college" includes those with an associate degree and those who attended college but did not obtain a degree. The 2015 time point is based on combined 2014 and 2015 data.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2014-2015 American Community Survey and 1980 decennial census (IPUMS). "Intermarriage in the U.S. 50 Years After Loving v. Virginia"

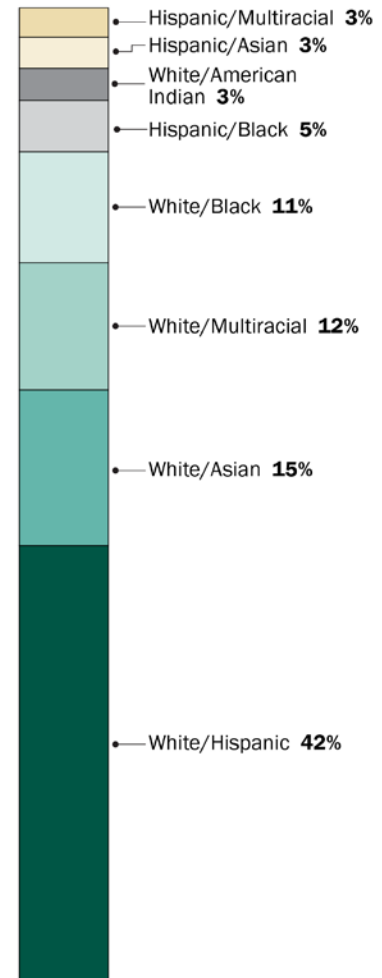
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Other key findings

- The most common racial or ethnic pairing among newlywed intermarried couples is one Hispanic and one white spouse (42%). Next most common are one white and one Asian spouse (15%) and one white and one multiracial spouse (12%).
- Newlyweds living in metropolitan areas are more likely to be intermarried than those in non-metropolitan areas (18% vs. 11%). This pattern is driven entirely by whites; Hispanics and Asians are more likely to intermarry if they live in non-metro areas. The rates do not vary by place of residence for blacks.
- Among black newlyweds, the gender gap in intermarriage increases with education: For those with a high school diploma or less, 17% of men vs. 10% of women are intermarried, while among those with a bachelor's degree, black men are more than twice as likely as black women to intermarry (30% vs. 13%).
- Among newlyweds, intermarriage is most common for those in their 30s (18%). Even so, 13% of newlyweds ages 50 and older are married to someone of a different race or ethnicity.
- There is a sharp partisan divide in attitudes about interracial marriage. Roughly half (49%) of Democrats and independents who lean to the Democratic Party say the growing number of people of different races marrying each other is a good thing for society. Only 28% of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents share that view.

About four-in-ten U.S. intermarried couples include one Hispanic and one white spouse

% of opposite-sex newlywed intermarried couples that include each combination



Note: Racial and ethnic combinations with values of less than 2% are not shown. Whites, blacks, Asians and American Indians include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race. Asians include Pacific Islanders. Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2014-2015 American Community Survey (IPUMS).

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1. Trends and patterns in intermarriage

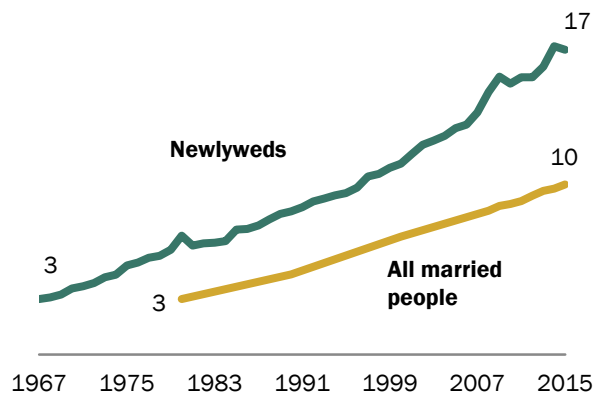
In 1967, when miscegenation laws were overturned in the United States, 3% of all newlyweds were married to someone of a different race or ethnicity. Since then, intermarriage rates have steadily climbed. By 1980, the share of intermarried newlyweds had about doubled to 7%. And by 2015 the number had risen to 17%.⁴

All told, more than 670,000 newlyweds in 2015 had recently entered into a marriage with someone of a different race or ethnicity. By comparison, in 1980, the first year for which detailed data are available, about 230,000 newlyweds had done so.

The long-term annual growth in newlyweds marrying someone of a different race or ethnicity has led to dramatic increases in the overall number of people who are presently intermarried – including both those who recently married and those who did so years, or even decades, earlier. In 2015, that number stood at 11 million – 10% of all married people. The share has tripled since 1980, when 3% of married people – about 3 million altogether – had a spouse of a different race or ethnicity.

Since 1967, a steady rise in intermarriage in the U.S.

% who are intermarried among ...



Note: Data prior to 1980 are estimates. See Methodology for more details. For “all married people,” 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2008-2015 data points are shown.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2008-2015 American Community Survey and 1980, 1990 and 2000 decennial censuses (IPUMS).

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⁴ Interracial and interethnic relationships are about as common among the growing share of cohabitators as they are among newlyweds. In 2015 about 6% of people were in a cohabiting relationship, and 18% of these cohabitators had a partner of another race or ethnicity.

Intermarriage varies by race and ethnicity

Overall increases in intermarriage have been fueled in part by rising intermarriage rates among black newlyweds and among white newlyweds. The share of recently married blacks with a spouse of a different race or ethnicity has more than tripled, from 5% in 1980 to 18% in 2015. Among recently married whites, rates have more than doubled, from 4% up to 11%.

At the same time, intermarriage has ticked down among recently married Asians and remained more or less stable among Hispanic newlyweds. Even though intermarriage has not been increasing for these two groups, they remain far more likely than black or white newlyweds to marry someone of a different race or ethnicity. About three-in-ten Asian newlyweds (29%) have a spouse of a different race or ethnicity. The same is true of 27% of Hispanics.

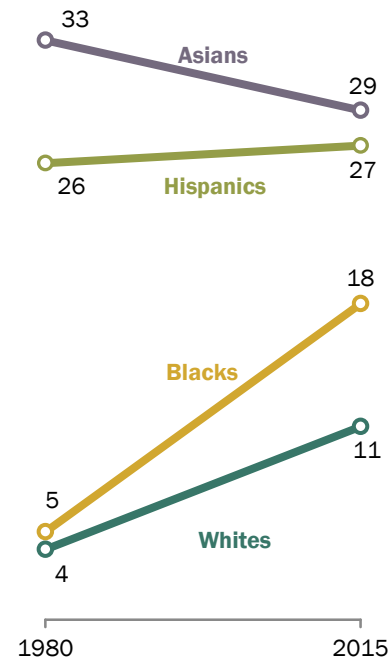
For newly married Hispanics and Asians, the likelihood of intermarriage is closely related to whether they were born in the U.S. or abroad. Among the half of Hispanic newlyweds who are immigrants, 15% married a non-Hispanic. In comparison, 39% of the U.S. born did so. The pattern is similar among Asian newlyweds, three-fourths of whom are immigrants. While 24% of foreign-born Asian newlyweds have a spouse of a different race or ethnicity, this share rises to 46% among the U.S. born.

The changing racial and ethnic profile of U.S. newlyweds is linked to growth in intermarriage

Significant growth in the [Hispanic and Asian populations](#) in the U.S. since 1980, coupled with the high rates of intermarriage among Hispanic and Asian newlyweds, has been an important factor driving the rise in intermarriage. Since that time, the share of all newlyweds that were Hispanic rose 9 percentage points, from 8% to 17%, and the share that were Asian grew from 2% to 6%. At the same time, the share of white newlyweds declined by 15 points and the share of black newlyweds held steady.

Dramatic increases in intermarriage for blacks, whites

% of U.S. newlyweds who are intermarried



Note: Whites, blacks and Asians include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race. Asians include Pacific Islanders. The 2015 time point is based on combined 2014 and 2015 data.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2014-2015 American Community Survey and 1980 decennial census (IPUMS). "Intermarriage in the U.S. 50 Years After Loving v. Virginia"

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The size of each racial and ethnic group can also influence intermarriage rates by affecting the pool of potential marriage partners in the “marriage market,” which consists of all newlyweds and all unmarried adults combined.⁵ For example, whites, who comprise the largest share of the U.S. population, may be more likely to marry someone of the same race simply because most potential partners are white. And members of smaller racial or ethnic groups may be more likely to intermarry because relatively few potential partners share their race or ethnicity.

But size alone cannot totally explain intermarriage patterns. Hispanics, for instance, made up 17% of the U.S. marriage market in 2015, yet their newlywed intermarriage rates were comparable to those of Asians, who comprised only 5% of the marriage market. And while the share of the marriage market comprised of Hispanics has grown markedly since 1980, when it was 6%, their intermarriage rate has remained stable. Perhaps more striking – the share of blacks in the marriage market has remained more or less constant (15% in 1980, 16% in 2015), yet their intermarriage rate has more than tripled.

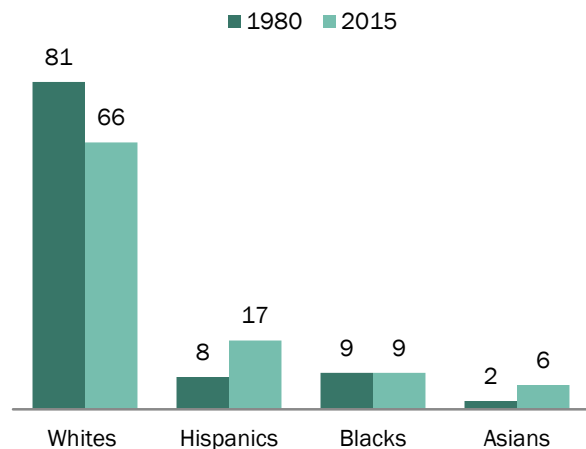
For blacks and Asians, big gender gaps in intermarriage

While there is no overall gender difference in intermarriage among newlyweds⁶, starkly different gender patterns emerge for some major racial and ethnic groups.

One of the most dramatic patterns occurs among black newlyweds: Black men are twice as likely as black women to have a spouse of a different race or ethnicity (24% vs. 12%). This gender gap has

A rising share of newlyweds are Hispanic or Asian, while white newlyweds are on the decline

% of all newlyweds in the U.S. by race and ethnicity



Note: Whites, blacks and Asians include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race. Asians include Pacific Islanders. The 2015 time point is based on combined 2014 and 2015 data. Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2014-2015 American Community Survey and 1980 decennial census (IPUMS). “Intermarriage in the U.S. 50 Years After Loving v. Virginia”

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⁵ This represents a rough proxy for the pool of potential spouses available in the recent past.

⁶ This is almost by definition: Among people in opposite-sex marriages, there will be no variation in the likelihood of men and women being intermarried. Overall gender differences in intermarriage could emerge as a result of differing rates of intermarriage among man-man and woman-woman marriages, but [same-sex marriages](#) account for less than 1% of all marriages so have little effect on the overall number.

been a long-standing one – in 1980, 8% of recently married black men and 3% of their female counterparts were married to someone of a different race or ethnicity.

A significant gender gap in intermarriage is apparent among Asian newlyweds as well, though the gap runs in the opposite direction: Just over one-third (36%) of Asian newlywed women have a spouse of a different race or ethnicity, while 21% of Asian newlywed men do. A substantial gender gap in intermarriage was also present in 1980, when 39% of newly married Asian women and 26% of their male counterparts were married to someone of a different race or ethnicity.

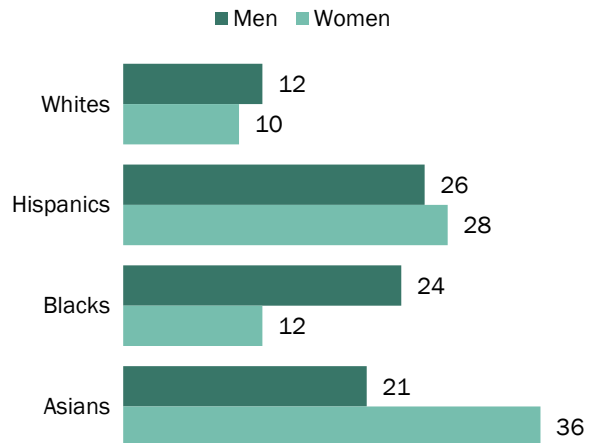
Among Asian newlyweds, these gender differences exist for both immigrants (15% men, 31% women) and the U.S. born (38% men, 54% women). While the gender gap among Asian immigrants has remained relatively stable, the gap among the U.S. born has widened substantially since 1980, when intermarriage stood at 46% among newlywed Asian men and 49% among newlywed Asian women.

Among white newlyweds, there is no notable gender gap in intermarriage – 12% of men and 10% of women had married someone of a different race or ethnicity in 2015. The same was true in 1980, when 4% of recently married men and 4% of recently married women had intermarried.

As is the case among whites, intermarriage is about equally common for newlywed Hispanic men and women. In 2015, 26% of recently married Hispanic men were married to a non-Hispanic, as were 28% of their female counterparts. These intermarriage rates have changed little since 1980.

Black men are twice as likely as black women to intermarry

% of U.S. newlyweds who are intermarried



Note: Whites, blacks and Asians include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race. Asians include Pacific Islanders. Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2014-2015 American Community Survey (IPUMS). "Intermarriage in the U.S. 50 Years After Loving v. Virginia"

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A growing educational gap in intermarriage

In 2015 the likelihood of marrying someone of a different race or ethnicity was somewhat higher among newlyweds with at least some college experience than among those with a high school diploma or less. While 14% of the less-educated group was married to someone of a different race or ethnicity, this share rose to 18% among those with some college experience and 19% among those with at least a bachelor's degree. This marks a change from 1980, when there were virtually no educational differences in the likelihood of intermarriage among newlyweds.⁷

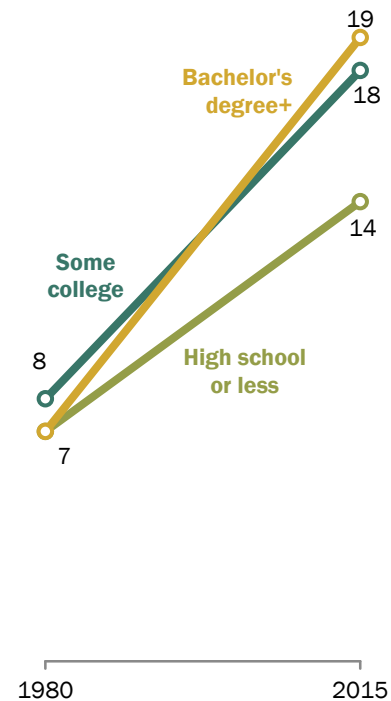
The same patterns and trends emerge when looking separately at newlywed men and women; there are no overall gender differences in intermarriage by educational attainment. In 2015, 13% of recently married men with a high school diploma or less and 14% of women with the same level of educational attainment had a spouse of another race or ethnicity, as did 19% of recently married men with some college and 18% of comparable women. Among newlyweds with a bachelor's degree, 20% of men and 18% of women were intermarried.

Strong link between education and intermarriage for Hispanics

The association between intermarriage and educational attainment among newlyweds varies across racial and ethnic groups. For instance, among Hispanic newlyweds, higher levels of education are strongly linked with higher rates of intermarriage. While 16% of those with a high school diploma or less are married to a non-Hispanic, this share more than doubles to 35% among those with some college. And it rises to 46% for those with a bachelor's degree or higher.

Intermarriage rises more for those with at least some college experience

% of U.S. newlyweds ages 25 and older who are intermarried



Note: "Some college" includes those with an associate degree and those who attended college but did not obtain a degree. The 2015 time point is based on combined 2014 and 2015 data.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2014-2015 American Community Survey and 1980 decennial census (IPUMS). "Intermarriage in the U.S. 50 Years After Loving v. Virginia"

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⁷ During this same period, the educational profile of newlyweds has changed dramatically: In 1980 29% had a bachelor's degree or more, and by 2015 this share grew to 40%. This change has been driven both by increasing levels of educational attainment in the U.S. in general and by the fact that a [marriage gap by educational attainment](#) has emerged: the more education a person has, the more likely they are to marry.

This pattern may be partly driven by the fact that Hispanics with low levels of education are disproportionately immigrants who are in turn less likely to intermarry. However, rates of intermarriage increase as education levels rise for both the U.S. born and the foreign born: Among immigrant Hispanic newlyweds, intermarriage rates range from 9% among those with a high school diploma or less up to 33% for those with a bachelor's degree or more; and among the U.S. born, rates range from 32% for those with a high school diploma or less up to 56% for those with a bachelor's degree or more.

There is no significant gender gap in intermarriage among newly married Hispanics across education levels or over time.

For blacks, intermarriage has increased most among those with no college experience

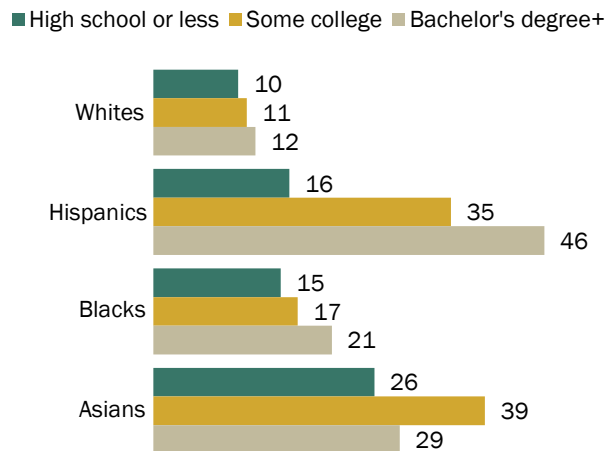
For black newlyweds, intermarriage rates are slightly higher among those with a bachelor's degree or more (21%). Among those with some college, 17% have married someone of a different race or ethnicity, as have 15% of those with a high school diploma or less.

Intermarriage has risen dramatically at all education levels for blacks, with the biggest proportional increases occurring among those with the least education. In 1980, just 5% of black newlyweds with a high school diploma or less had intermarried – a number that has since tripled. Rates of intermarriage have more than doubled at higher education levels, from 7% among those with some college experience and 8% among those with a bachelor's degree.

Among black newlyweds, there are distinct gender differences in intermarriage across education levels. In 2015, the rate of intermarriage varied by education only slightly among recently married black women: 10% of those with some college or less had intermarried compared with 13% of those with a bachelor's degree or more. Meanwhile, among newly married black men, higher education

Among blacks and Hispanics, college graduates are most likely to intermarry

% of newlyweds in the U.S. ages 25 and older who are intermarried



Note: Whites, blacks and Asians include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race. Asians include Pacific Islanders. "Some college" includes those with an associate degree and those who attended college but did not obtain a degree.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2014-2015 American Community Survey (IPUMS).

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is clearly associated with higher intermarriage rates. While 17% of those with a high school diploma or less had a spouse of a different race or ethnicity in 2015, this share rose to 24% for those with some college and to 30% for those with a bachelor's degree or higher.

Asians with some college are the most likely to intermarry

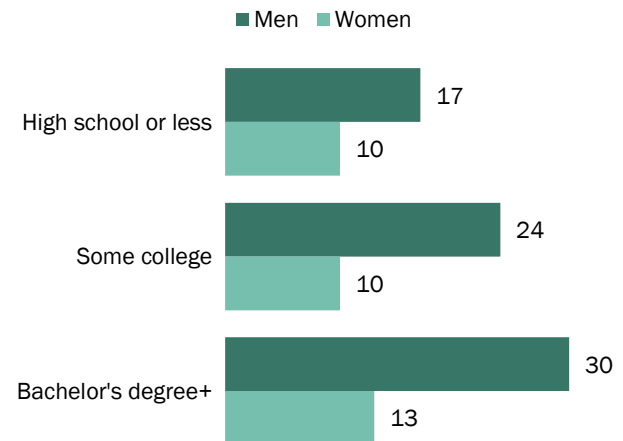
While intermarriage is associated with higher education levels for Hispanics and blacks, this is not the case among Asian newlyweds. Those with some college are by far the most likely to have married someone of a different race or ethnicity – 39% in 2015 had done so, compared with about one-fourth (26%) of those with only a high school diploma or less and 29% of those with a bachelor's degree.

This pattern reflects dramatic changes since 1980. At that time, Asians with a high school diploma or less were the most likely to intermarry; 36% did so, compared with 32% of those with some college and 25% of those with a bachelor's degree.

Asian newlyweds with some college are somewhat less likely to be immigrants, and this may contribute to the higher rates of intermarriage for this group. However, even among recently married Asian immigrants with some college, 33% had intermarried, compared with 22% of those with a high school diploma or less and 23% of those with a bachelor's degree or more.⁸

Among blacks, gender gap in intermarriage higher for those with some college or more

% of black newlyweds in the U.S. ages 25 and older who are intermarried



Note: Blacks include only non-Hispanics. "Some college" includes those with an associate degree and those who attended college but did not obtain a degree.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2014-2015 American Community Survey (IPUMS).

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⁸ Rates of intermarriage by education level among U.S.-born Asian newlyweds are not shown due to small sample size.

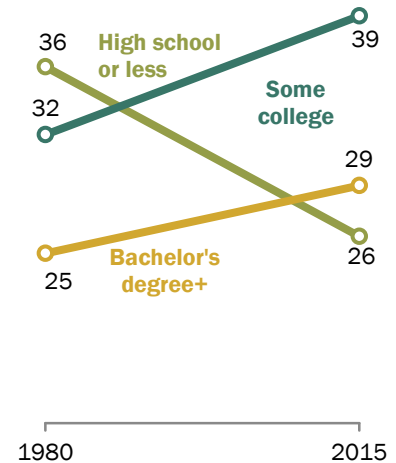
There are sizable gender gaps in intermarriage across all education levels among recently married Asians, with the biggest proportional gap occurring among those with a high school diploma or less. Newlywed Asian women in this category are more than twice as likely as their male counterparts to have a spouse of a different race or ethnicity (36% vs. 14%). The gaps decline somewhat at higher education levels, but even among college graduates, 36% of women are intermarried compared with 21% of men.

Among whites, little difference in intermarriage rates by education level

Among white newlyweds, the likelihood of intermarrying is fairly similar regardless of education level. One-in-ten of those with a high school diploma or less have a spouse of another race or ethnicity, as do 11% of those with some college experience and 12% of those with at least a bachelor's degree. Rates don't vary substantially among white newlywed men or women with some college or less, though men with a bachelor's degree are somewhat more likely to intermarry than comparable women (14% vs. 10%).

Dramatic decline in intermarriage among least-educated Asians

% of Asian newlyweds ages 25 and older in U.S. who are intermarried



Note: Asians include only non-Hispanics. "Some college" includes those with an associate degree and those who attended college but did not obtain a degree. The 2015 time point is based on combined 2014 and 2015 data.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2014-2015 American Community Survey and 1980 decennial census (IPUMS). "Intermarriage in the U.S. 50 Years After Loving v. Virginia"

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Intermarriage is slightly less common at older ages

Nearly one-in-five newlyweds in their 30s (18%) are married to someone of a different race or ethnicity, as are 16% of those in their teens or 20s and those in their 40s. Among newlyweds ages 50 and older, many of whom are likely [remarrying](#), the share intermarried is a bit lower (13%).

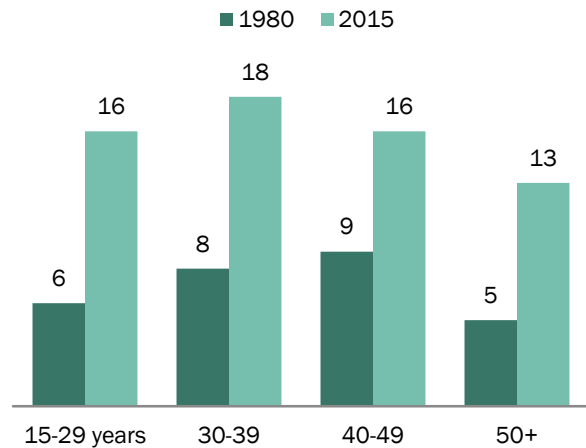
The lower rate of intermarriage among older newlyweds in 2015 is largely attributable to a lower rate among women. While intermarriage rates ranged from 16% to 18% among women younger than 50, rates dropped to 12% among those 50 and older. Among recently married men, however, intermarriage did not vary substantially by age.

Intermarriage varies little by age for white and Hispanic newlyweds, but more striking patterns emerge among black and Asian newlyweds. While 22% of blacks ages 15 to 29 are intermarried, this share drops incrementally, reaching a low of 13% among those ages 50 years or older. Among Asian newlyweds, a different pattern emerges. Intermarriage rises steadily from 25% among those ages 15 to 29 years to 42% among those in their 40s. For those 50 years and older, however, the rate drops to 32%.

A closer look at intermarriage among Asian newlyweds reveals that the overall age pattern of intermarriage – with the highest rates among those in their 40s – is driven largely by the dramatic age differences in intermarriage among newly married Asian women. More than half of newlywed Asian women in their 40s intermarry (56%), compared with 42% of those in their 30s and 46% of those 50 and older. Among Asian newlywed women younger than 30, 29% are intermarried. Among recently married Asian men, the rate of intermarriage doesn't vary as much across age groups: 26% of those in their 40s are intermarried, compared with 20% of those in their 30s and those 50 and older. Among Asian newlywed men in their teens or 20s, 18% are intermarried.

At older ages, slight decline in intermarriage in the U.S.

% of newlyweds who are intermarried



Note: The 2015 time point is based on combined 2011-2015 data. Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2011-2015 American Community Survey and 1980 decennial census (IPUMS). "Intermarriage in the U.S. 50 Years After Loving v. Virginia"

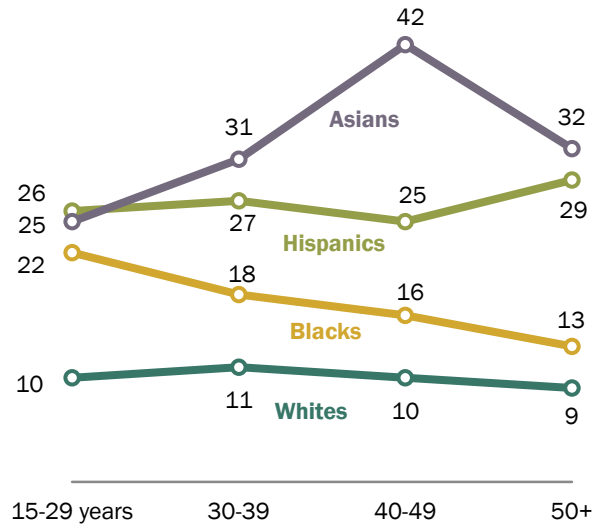
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Though the overall rate of intermarriage does not differ markedly by age among white newlyweds, a gender gap emerges at older ages. While recently married white men and women younger than 40 are about equally likely to be intermarried, a 4-point gap emerges among those in their 40s (12% men, 8% women), and recently married white men ages 50 and older are about twice as likely as their female counterparts to be married to someone of a different race or ethnicity (11% vs. 6%).

A similar gender gap in intermarriage emerges at older ages for Hispanic newlyweds. However, in this case it is newly married Hispanic women ages 50 and older who are more likely to intermarry than their male counterparts (32% vs. 26%). Among black newlyweds, men are consistently more likely than women to intermarry at all ages.

Across race and ethnicity, age patterns of intermarriage vary

% of U.S. newlyweds who are intermarried



Note: Whites, blacks and Asians include only non-Hispanics.

Hispanics are of any race. Asians include Pacific Islanders.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2011-2015 American Community Survey (IPUMS).

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In metro areas, almost one-in-five newlyweds are intermarried

Intermarriage is more common among newlyweds in the nation's metropolitan areas, which are located in and around large urban centers, than it is in non-metro areas⁹, which are typically more rural. About 18% of those living in a metro area are married to someone of a different race or ethnicity, compared with 11% of those living outside of a metro area. In 1980, 8% of newlyweds in metro areas were intermarried, compared with 5% of those in non-metro areas.

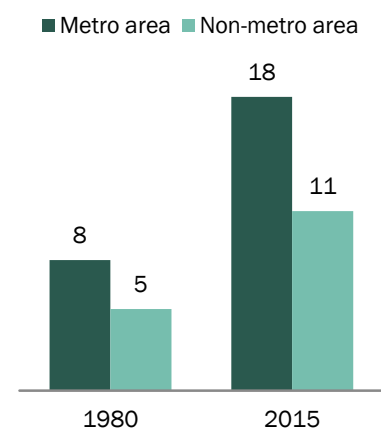
There are likely many reasons that intermarriage is more common in metro areas than in more rural areas. Attitudinal differences may play a role. In urban areas, 45% of adults say that more people of different races marrying each other is a good thing for society, as do 38% of those living in suburban areas (which are typically included in what the Census Bureau defines as metro areas). Among people living in rural areas, which are typically non-metro areas, fewer (24%) share this view.

Another factor is the difference in the racial and ethnic composition of each type of area. Non-metro areas have a relatively large share of white newlyweds (83% vs. 62% in metro areas), and whites are far less likely to intermarry than those of other races or ethnicities. At the same time, metro areas have larger shares of Hispanics and Asians, who have very high rates of intermarriage. While 26% of newlyweds in metro areas are Hispanic or Asian, this share is 10% for newlyweds in non-metro areas.

The link between place of residence and intermarriage varies dramatically for different racial and ethnic groups. The increased racial and ethnic diversity of metro areas means that the supply of potential spouses, too, will likely be more diverse. This fact may contribute to the higher rates of intermarriage for white metro area newlyweds, since the marriage market includes a relatively larger share of people who are nonwhite. Indeed, recently married whites are the only major group for which intermarriage is higher in metro areas. White newlyweds

Intermarriage more common in metro areas

% of U.S. newlyweds who are intermarried



Note: The 2015 time point is based on combined 2011-2015 data.
 Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2011-2015 American Community Survey and 1980 decennial census (IPUMS).
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⁹ A [metro area](#) is based on a "metropolitan statistical area" (MSA) which is a region consisting of a large urban core with a population of 50,000 or more, together with surrounding communities that have a high degree of economic and social integration with the urban core. For about 13% of newlyweds in the American Community Survey, it can't be determined whether they are living in a metro area or not; these people are excluded from the place of residence analysis.

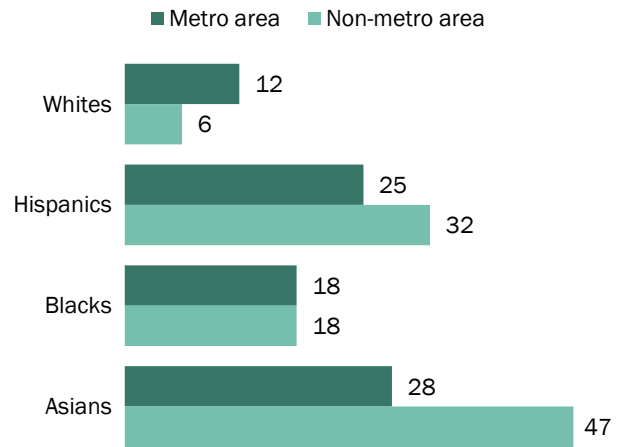
in metro areas are twice as likely as those in non-metro areas to have a spouse of a different race or ethnicity (12% vs. 6%).

In contrast, for Asians, the likelihood of intermarrying is higher in non-metro areas (47%) than metro areas (28%), due in part to the fact that the share of Asians in the marriage market is lower in non-metro areas. The same holds true among Hispanics. About one-third (32%) of Hispanic newlyweds in non-metro areas are intermarried compared with 25% in metro areas.

Among black newlyweds, intermarriage rates are identical for those living in metro and non-metro areas (18% each), even though blacks are a larger share of the marriage market in metro areas than in non-metro areas.

Whites in metro areas twice as likely to intermarry as those in non-metro areas

% of U.S. newlyweds who are intermarried



Note: Whites, blacks and Asians include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race. Asians include Pacific Islanders. Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2011-2015 American Community Survey (IPUMS). "Intermarriage in the U.S. 50 Years After Loving v. Virginia"

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The largest share of intermarried couples include one Hispanic and one white spouse

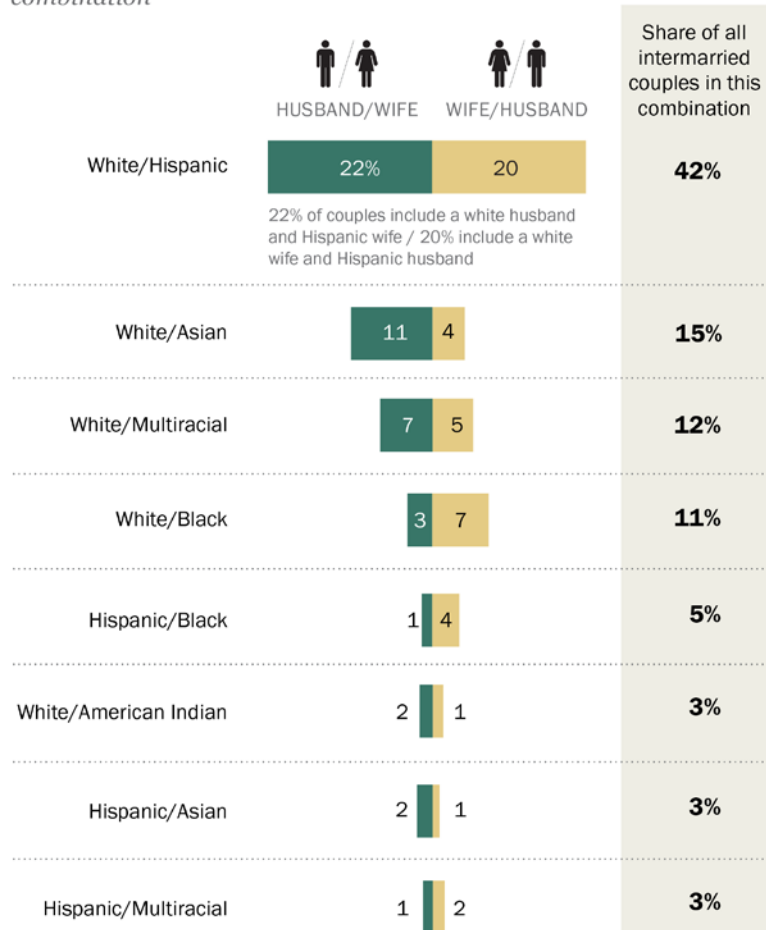
While the bulk of this report focuses on patterns of intermarriage among all newly married individuals, shifting the analysis to the racial and ethnic composition of intermarried newlywed couples shows that the most prevalent form of intermarriage involves one Hispanic and one white spouse (42%). While this share is relatively high, it marks a decline from 1980, when more than half (56%) of all intermarried couples included one Hispanic and one white person.

The next most prevalent couple type in 2015 among those who were intermarried included one Asian and one white spouse (15%). Couples including one black and one white spouse accounted for about one-in-ten (11%) intermarried couples in 2015, a share that has held more or less steady since 1980.

That intermarriage patterns vary by gender becomes apparent when looking at a more detailed profile of intermarried couples that identifies the race or ethnicity of the husband separately from the race or ethnicity of the wife. A similar share of intermarried couples involve a white man and a Hispanic woman (22%) as involve a white woman and a Hispanic man (20%).

About one-in-five intermarried couples in the U.S. include a Hispanic husband and a white wife

% of opposite-sex newlywed intermarried couples that include each combination



Note: Whites, blacks, Asians and American Indians include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race. Asians include Pacific Islanders. Racial and ethnic combinations that add up to less than 2% are excluded. Totals are calculated prior to rounding.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2014-2015 American Community Survey (IPUMS).

"Intermarriage in the U.S. 50 Years After Loving v. Virginia"

However, more notable gender differences emerge for some of the other couple profiles. For instance, while 11% of all intermarried couples involve a white man and an Asian woman, just 4% of couples include a white woman and an Asian man. And while about 7% of intermarried couples include a black man and a white woman, only 3% include a black woman and a white man.

2. Public views on intermarriage

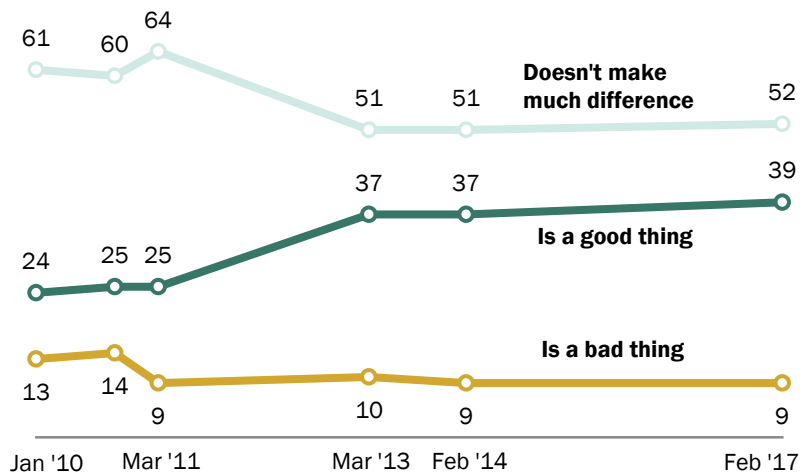
As intermarriage grows more prevalent in the United States, the public has become more accepting of it. A growing share of adults say that the trend toward more people of different races marrying each other is generally a good thing for American society.¹⁰ At the same time, the share saying they would oppose a close relative marrying someone of a different race has fallen dramatically.

A new Pew Research Center survey finds that roughly four-in-ten adults (39%) now say that more people of different races marrying each other is good for society – up significantly from 24% in 2010. The share saying this trend is a bad thing for society is down slightly over the same period, from 13% to 9%. And the share saying it doesn't make much of a difference for society is also down, from 61% to 52%. Most of this change occurred between 2010 and 2013; opinions have remained essentially the same since then.

Attitudes about interracial marriage vary widely by age. For example, 54% of those ages 18 to 29 say that the rising prevalence of interracial marriage is good for society, compared with about a quarter of those ages 65 and older (26%). In turn, older Americans are more likely to say that this trend doesn't make much difference (60% of those ages 65 and older, compared with 42% of those 18 to 29) or that it is bad for society (14% vs. 5%, respectively).

Americans more likely to say interracial marriage is good for society than in 2010

% saying more people of different races marrying each other generally _____ for our society



Note: "Don't know/Refused" responses not shown. Trends from March 2011 to February 2014 asked about "American society" instead of "our society."

Source: Survey conducted Feb. 28-March 12, 2017.

"Intermarriage in the U.S. 50 Years After Loving v. Virginia"

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¹⁰ This question asked only about interracial marriage, not interethnic marriage. All other measures in this report include both.

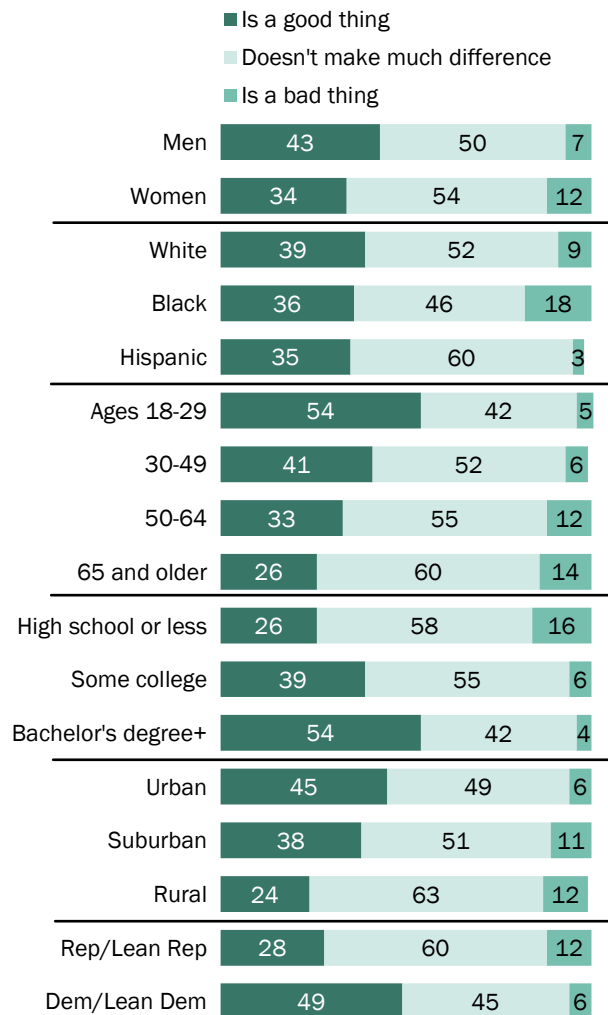
Views on interracial marriage also differ by educational attainment. Americans with at least a bachelor's degree are much more likely than those with less education to say more people of different races marrying each other is a good thing for society (54% of those with a bachelor's degree or more vs. 39% of those with some college education and 26% of those with a high school diploma or less). Among adults with a high school diploma or less, 16% say this trend is bad for society, compared with 6% of those with some college experience and 4% of those with at least a bachelor's degree.

Men are more likely than women to say the rising number of interracial marriages is good for society (43% vs. 34%) while women are somewhat more likely to say it's a bad thing (12% vs. 7%). This is a change from 2010, when men and women had almost identical views. Then, about a quarter of each group (23% of men and 24% of women) said this was a good thing and 14% and 12%, respectively, said it was a bad thing.

Blacks (18%) are more likely than whites (9%) and Hispanics (3%) to say more people of different races marrying each other is generally a bad thing for society, though there are no significance differences by race or ethnicity on whether it is a good thing for society.¹¹

Wide gaps in U.S. on views of interracial marriage by age and education

% saying more people of different races marrying each other generally ___ for our society



Note: "Don't know/Refused" responses not shown. Whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race. "Some college" includes those with an associate degree and those who attended college but did not obtain a degree.

Source: Survey conducted Feb. 28-March 12, 2017.

"Intermarriage in the U.S. 50 Years After Loving v. Virginia"

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¹¹ In the survey, conducted among Pew Research Center's American Trends Panel, Hispanics are primarily English speaking and U.S. born.

Among Americans who live in urban areas, 45% say this trend is a good thing for society, as do 38% of those in the suburbs; lower shares among those living in rural areas share this view (24%). In turn, rural Americans are more likely than those in urban or suburban areas to say interracial marriage doesn't make much difference for society (63% vs. 49% and 51%, respectively).

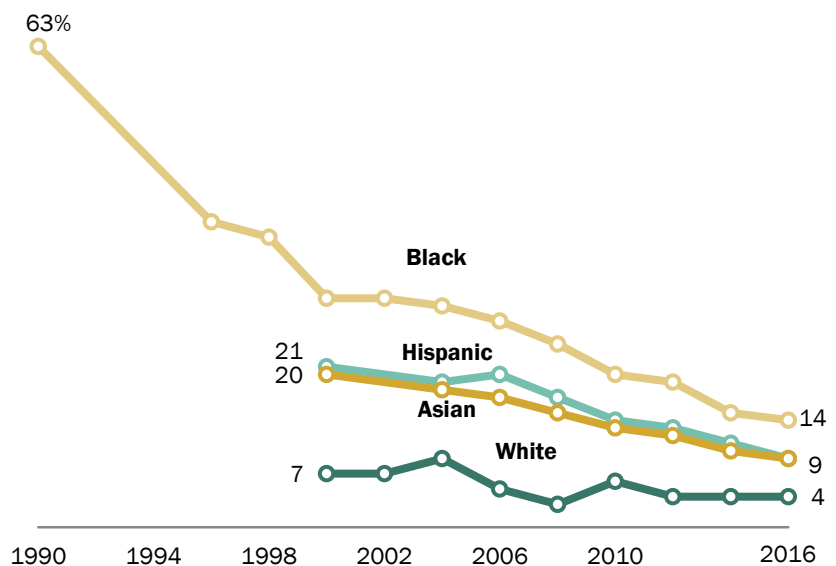
The view that the rise in the number of interracial marriages is good for society is particularly prevalent among Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents; 49% in this group say this, compared with 28% of Republicans and those who lean Republican. The majority of Republicans (60%) say it doesn't make much of a difference, while 12% say this trend is bad for society. Among Democrats, 45% say it doesn't make much difference while 6% say it's bad thing. This difference persists when controlling for race. Among whites, Democrats are still much more likely than Republicans to say more interracial marriages are a good thing for society.

Americans are now much more open to the idea of a close relative marrying someone of a different race

Just as views about the impact of interracial marriage on society have evolved, Americans' attitudes about what is acceptable within their own family have changed. A new Pew Research Center analysis of [General Social Survey](#) (GSS) data finds that the share of U.S. adults saying they would be opposed to a close relative marrying someone of a different race or ethnicity has fallen since 2000.

Dramatic dive in share of nonblacks who would oppose a relative marrying a black person

% saying they would be very or somewhat opposed to a close relative marrying someone who is ___ among U.S. adults who are not that race or ethnicity



Note: Due to changes in question wording, the universe of nonblacks prior to 2000 includes anyone who reported a race other than black; in 2000 and later, the universe of nonblacks includes those who did not identify as single-race, non-Hispanic blacks (and so may include Hispanic blacks and multiracial blacks).

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of General Social Survey. "Intermarriage in the U.S. 50 Years After Loving v. Virginia"

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In 2000, 31% of Americans said they would oppose an intermarriage in their family.¹² That share dropped to 9% in 2002 but climbed again to 16% in 2008. It has fallen steadily since, and now one-in-ten Americans say they would oppose a close relative marrying someone of a different race or ethnicity.

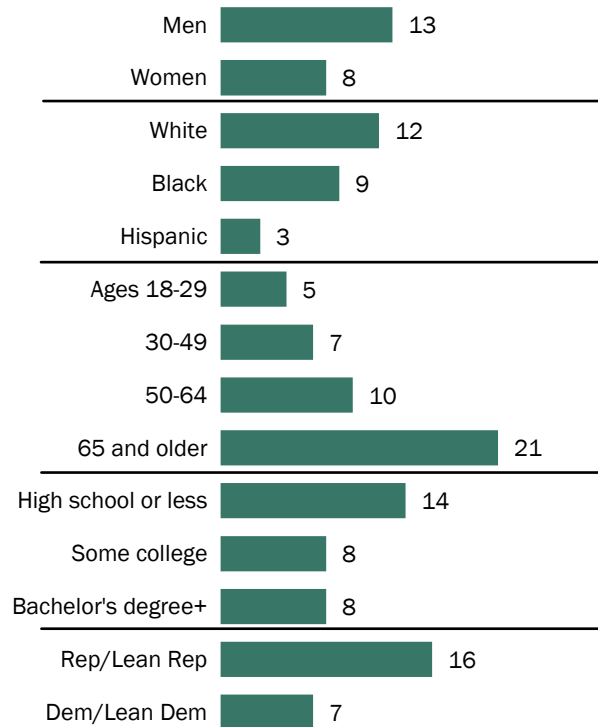
These modest changes over time belie much larger shifts when it comes to attitudes toward marrying people of specific races. As recently as 1990, roughly six-in-ten nonblack Americans (63%) said they would be opposed to a close relative marrying a black person. This share had been cut about in half by 2000 (at 30%), and halved again since then to stand at 14% today.¹³

In 2000, one-in-five non-Asian adults said they would be opposed to a close relative marrying an Asian person, and a similar share of non-Hispanic adults (21%) said the same about a family member marrying a Hispanic person. These shares have dropped to around one-in-ten for each group in 2016.

Among nonwhite adults, the share saying they would be opposed to a relative marrying a white person stood at 4% in 2016, down marginally from 7% in 2000 when the GSS first included this item.

Wide gaps by age on opposition toward relatives marrying people of other races or ethnicities

% in U.S. saying they would be very or somewhat opposed to a close relative marrying someone of a different race/ethnicity



Note: Respondents were asked four separate questions about whether they would favor or oppose (or neither) a close relative marrying someone who is white, black, Hispanic or Asian. Figures in chart include only respondents who are Hispanic or non-Hispanic single-race white, black or Asian and represent the share who say they would oppose their relative marrying at least one of the races/ethnicities asked about (besides the respondent's own race/ethnicity). Asians not shown separately due to small sample size. Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2016 General Social Survey.

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¹² Respondents were asked four separate questions about whether they would favor or oppose (or neither) a close relative marrying someone who is white, black, Hispanic or Asian. Estimates of the share of Americans who would oppose a close relative intermarrying are based only on respondents who are Hispanic or non-Hispanic single-race white, black or Asian and represent the share that say they would oppose their relative marrying at least one of the races/ethnicities asked about (besides the respondent's own race/ethnicity).

¹³ The GSS questionnaire changed in 2000 to allow respondents to select more than one race and to ask a question about Hispanic origin. Prior to 2000, the universe of nonblacks includes anyone who reported a race other than black; in 2000 and later, the universe of nonblacks includes those who did not identify as single-race, non-Hispanic black (and so may include Hispanic blacks and multiracial blacks).

While these views have changed substantially over time, significant demographic gaps persist. Older adults are especially likely to oppose having a family member marry someone of a different race or ethnicity. Among those ages 65 and older, about one-in-five (21%) say they would be very or somewhat opposed to an intermarriage in their family, compared with one-in-ten of those ages 50 to 64, 7% of those 30 to 49 and only 5% of those 18 to 29.

Whites (12%) and blacks (9%) are more likely than Hispanics (3%) to say they would oppose a close relative marrying someone of a different race or ethnicity. Men are somewhat more likely than women to say this as well (13% vs. 8%).

Americans with less education are more likely to oppose an intermarriage in their family: 14% of adults with a high school diploma or less education say this, compared with 8% of those with some college education and those with a bachelor's degree, each.

There are also large differences by political party, with Republicans and those who lean toward the Republican Party roughly twice as likely as Democrats and Democratic leaners to say they would oppose a close relative marrying someone of a different race (16% vs. 7%). Controlling for race, the gap is the same: Among whites, 17% of Republicans and 8% of Democrats say they would oppose an intermarriage in their family.

Acknowledgments

This report is a collaborative effort based on the input and analysis of the following individuals.

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David Kent, *Copy Editor*

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Danielle Alberti, *Web Developer*

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Methodology

Secondary data

Analyses are based primarily upon the American Community Survey (ACS), as well as the 1980 decennial census, both of which were obtained from [IPUMS-USA](#). Since 2008, the ACS, which is an annual, nationally representative survey, has included a question asking if the respondent married within the past 12 months, which is used to classify people as newlyweds for those years.

The 1980 census, which was the first to collect reliable data on Hispanic origin, also collected data allowing for the identification of first-time newlyweds. The questionnaire asked people to list the age at which they first married. For this analysis, anyone whose age at first marriage was the same as their age at the time of the survey was identified as a newlywed, as was their spouse. As a result, only those newlyweds who are part of a couple where either the bride or groom (or both) recently married for the first time are identified as newlyweds in 1980. About 90% of the married population in 1980 included people who were in a first marriage, or who were married to someone in a first marriage, and the intermarriage rates for those in “first marriage” couples differed little from the rates among all married couples.

For the estimates of intermarriage in years other than 1980 and 2008 to 2015, a retrospective or “look-back” method was used. The 1980 census data were used to estimate intermarriage among newlyweds from 1967 to 1979. Using the 1980 census data regarding respondent age at the time of survey and age at first marriage, the year of first marriage among couples who were still in their first marriage was established. Then, annual estimates of newlywed intermarriage were calculated. For instance, all couples who were first married in 1967 were identified as newlyweds in that year and were classified as either being intermarried or not intermarried. This same approach was used for subsequent years through 1979.

The same general approach was used to estimate intermarriage rates for the years 1981 to 2007 using the 2008 to 2015 ACS data. However, for these years, all married couples were included, regardless of whether they were in their first marriage or a subsequent marriage. To establish intermarriage rates among newlyweds in 1981, for instance, a combined file of 2008 to 2015 data was used to identify all people who had wed in that year. These 1981 newlyweds were then classified as either being in an intermarriage, or not. This same procedure was used to calculate intermarriage rates for newlyweds in subsequent years.

While using census and ACS data to create estimates for prior years would be problematic if intermarriages break up more often than other types of marriages, a number of additional analyses

suggest that using this retrospective approach produces reliable estimates of intermarriage rates. See Chapter 3 of “[Marrying Out: One-in-Seven New U.S. Marriages Is Interracial or Interethnic](#)” for more details.

While statistics regarding overall intermarriage rates are based on single year estimates, more detailed analyses using ACS data combine multiple years of data in order to increase sample size. Analyses examining age patterns or patterns by metro status are based on a combined sample of 2011-2015 ACS data. All other detailed analyses are based on a combined sample of 2014 and 2015 ACS data.

Estimates regarding the total share of presently married people who are intermarried are based on data from the 1990 and 2000 decennial census, as well as the 1980 decennial census and 2008-2015 ACS data.

In analyses that are based on presently married people, only those who are married and living with a spouse are included, since data regarding the racial and ethnic profile of spouses living apart are not available through the ACS or census. The vast majority (95%) of people who state that they are married in the ACS are married and living with their spouse.

Since 2013, it has been possible to identify [most same-sex married couples](#) in the ACS. For almost all analyses regarding 2013 and later, individuals in a same-sex marriage are included. The only exception occurs for the couple-level analysis, which is limited to other-sex couples in order to highlight the interaction of gender and race.

Beginning with the 2000 census, individuals could choose to identify with more than one group in response to the race question. In this analysis, these multiracial people are treated as a separate race category, different from those who identify as a single race, including those who identify as “some other race.” (As with single-race individuals, a multiracial person who also identifies as Hispanic would be classified as Hispanic.) Since the introduction of the multiracial option on the census, the share of individuals who identify as such has [grown substantially](#), and this has likely contributed to the increases in the share of married couples who are classified as intermarried.¹⁴

Survey data

The survey data in this report come from two sources. The question on whether more people of different races marrying each other is a good thing or bad thing for society comes from Pew Research Center telephone surveys conducted between 2010 and 2017. Data reported for 2017 are

¹⁴ See [Appendix 1](#) of “The Rise of Intermarriage” for more on this.

drawn from a mode experiment conducted Feb. 28-March 12, 2017, on the American Trends Panel (ATP). In order to avoid any potential mode effects, only data from the telephone portion of the mode experiment are used in this report. A total of 1,778 panelists were interviewed by phone and the margin of error is plus or minus 4.0 percentage points. Interviews are conducted in both English and Spanish, but the Hispanic sample in the ATP is predominantly native born and English speaking. For more information, see the [Methodology](#) for that survey.

The series of questions on favorability of a close relative marrying someone of a specified race or ethnicity is drawn from NORC's [General Social Survey \(GSS\)](#).

Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

Appendix: Survey topline questionnaire

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2017 INTERMARRIAGE TOPLINE
FEBRUARY 28-MARCH 12, 2017
N=1,778

NOTE: ALL NUMBERS ARE PERCENTAGES. THE PERCENTAGES LESS THAN .5% ARE REPLACED BY AN ASTERISK (*). ROWS MAY NOT TOTAL 100% DUE TO ROUNDING.

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

SOCTRNSD Next, please tell me if you think each of the following trends is generally a good thing for our society, a bad thing for our society, or doesn't make much difference? (First/Next) **[READ LIST] [RANDOMIZE] [READ IF NECESSARY: Is this generally a good thing for our society, a bad thing for our society, or doesn't it make much difference?]**

ITEMS A AND B HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

c. More people of different races marrying each other¹⁵

	<u>Good thing for society</u>	<u>Bad thing for society</u>	<u>Doesn't make much difference</u>	<u>DK/Ref (VOL.)</u>
Feb 28-Mar 12, 2017 ¹⁶	39	9	52	*
Feb 14-23, 2014 ¹⁷	37	9	51	2
Mar 21-Apr 8, 2013	37	10	51	2
Mar 8-14, 2011	25	9	64	2
Oct 1-21, 2010	25	14	60	2
Jan 14-27, 2010	24	13	61	3

¹⁵ This item was included in a list of other societal trends in current and past surveys. The other items used at least once in the trend were: more gay and lesbian couples raising children, more mothers of young children working outside the home, more children being raised by a single parent, more young adults living with their parents, more people continuing to work beyond age 65, more people who are not religious, more people practicing religions other than Christianity, more single women deciding to have children without a male partner to help raise them (an earlier version asked about "more single women having children without a male partner to help raise them"), more people living together without getting married, more women not ever having children, more unmarried couples raising children, more people living together without getting married, and more elderly people in the population.

¹⁶ The February 2017 survey was administered by web and telephone. Results reported here are from telephone mode only.

¹⁷ Trends from March 2011 to February 2014 asked about "American society" instead of "our society."

GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY¹⁸
2016
N=2,867

Now I'm going to ask you about another type of contact with various groups of people.

MARWHT What about having a close relative marry a white person? Would you be very in favor of it happening, somewhat in favor, neither in favor nor opposed to it happening, somewhat opposed, or very opposed to it happening?

	Very in <u>favor</u>	Somewhat <u>in favor</u>	Neither in favor nor <u>opposed</u>	Somewhat <u>opposed</u>	Very <u>opposed</u>	DK/Ref <u>(VOL.)</u>
GSS: 2016	35	15	48	2	1	*
GSS: 2014	37	14	46	2	1	1
GSS: 2012	38	12	47	2	1	*
GSS: 2010	39	15	42	2	1	*
GSS: 2008	40	15	42	2	1	*
GSS: 2006	44	14	40	2	1	1
GSS: 2004	43	14	39	2	1	1
GSS: 2002	54	12	29	3	1	1
GSS: 2000	50	11	29	2	1	7

MARBLK What about having a close relative marry a black person (would you be very in favor, somewhat in favor, neither in favor nor opposed, somewhat opposed or very opposed)?

	Very in <u>favor</u>	Somewhat <u>in favor</u>	Neither in favor nor <u>opposed</u>	Somewhat <u>opposed</u>	Very <u>opposed</u>	DK/Ref <u>(VOL.)</u>
GSS: 2016	21	13	53	8	5	*
GSS: 2014	20	14	51	7	6	1
GSS: 2012	18	12	52	8	9	1
GSS: 2010	21	13	48	10	8	*
GSS: 2008	17	15	47	11	10	1
GSS: 2006	16	13	46	13	12	1
GSS: 2004	14	12	47	14	12	*
GSS: 2002	20	12	40	13	14	1
GSS: 2000	18	12	39	13	17	2
GSS: 1998	14	11	40	16	18	1
GSS: 1996	13	11	39	16	19	2
GSS: 1990	7	4	31	25	32	2

¹⁸ There have been minor changes to General Social Survey question wording and order over the years. The 2016 question wording and order is shown here. For more information, see the [full questionnaires](#) for each year.

MARASIAN An Asian American person (would you be very in favor, somewhat in favor, neither in favor nor opposed, somewhat opposed or very opposed)?

	Very in <u>favor</u>	Somewhat <u>in favor</u>	Neither in favor nor <u>opposed</u>	Somewhat <u>opposed</u>	Very <u>opposed</u>	DK/Ref <u>(VOL.)</u>
GSS: 2016	21	15	55	6	2	1
GSS: 2014	20	16	54	6	4	1
GSS: 2012	18	14	55	8	4	1
GSS: 2010	19	17	51	8	4	1
GSS: 2008	17	16	52	10	5	1
GSS: 2006	15	17	51	11	6	1
GSS: 2004	12	17	53	11	7	*
GSS: 2000	15	17	44	11	8	5
GSS: 1990	3	6	47	26	14	2

MARHISP A Hispanic or Latin American person (would you be very in favor, somewhat in favor, neither in favor nor opposed, somewhat opposed or very opposed)?

	Very in <u>favor</u>	Somewhat <u>in favor</u>	Neither in favor nor <u>opposed</u>	Somewhat <u>opposed</u>	Very <u>opposed</u>	DK/Ref <u>(VOL.)</u>
GSS: 2016	22	15	54	6	2	1
GSS: 2014	21	16	52	6	3	1
GSS: 2012	20	14	54	7	4	1
GSS: 2010	19	17	51	8	5	1
GSS: 2008	18	16	50	10	6	1
GSS: 2006	17	15	49	12	6	1
GSS: 2004	15	16	52	11	6	1
GSS: 2000	18	17	43	11	8	4
GSS: 1990	5	7	47	24	15	2