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# In U.S., Far More Support Than Oppose Separation of Church and State

But there are pockets of support for increased church-state integration, more Christianity in public life

BY Gregory A. Smith

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### How we did this

Pew Research Center conducted this survey to help gauge Americans' views on the relationship between church and state. For this report, we surveyed 12,055 U.S. adults from March 1 to 7, 2021. All respondents to the survey are part of Pew Research Center's American Trends Panel (ATP), an online survey panel that is recruited through national random sampling of residential addresses. This way nearly all U.S. adults have a chance of selection. The survey is weighted to be representative of the U.S. adult population by gender, race, ethnicity, partisan affiliation, education, religious affiliation and other categories. For more, see the <a href="https://example.com/ATP's methodology">ATP's methodology</a> and the methodology for this report.

The questions used in this report can be found <u>here</u>.

## **Acknowledgments**

This report is a collaborative effort based on the input and analysis of the following individuals. Find related reports online at pewresearch.org/religion.

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## In U.S., Far More Support Than Oppose Separation of Church and State

But there are pockets of support for increased church-state integration, more Christianity in public life

The First Amendment to the United States Constitution states that the country shall have no official religion. At the same time, Christians continue to make up a large majority of U.S. adults – despite some rapid decline in recent years – and historians, politicians and religious leaders continue to debate the role of religion in the founders' vision and of Christianity in the nation's identity.

Some Americans clearly long for a more avowedly religious and explicitly Christian country, according to a March 2021 Pew Research Center survey. For instance, three-inten say public school teachers should be allowed to lead students in Christian prayers, a practice that the Supreme Court has ruled unconstitutional. Roughly one-in-five say that the federal government should stop enforcing the separation of church and state (19%) and that the U.S. Constitution was inspired by God (18%). And 15% go as far as to say the federal government should declare the U.S. a Christian nation.

### Most Americans oppose declaring Christianity (or any other religion) as official faith of U.S.

% of U.S. adults who say ...

		Citi	es/towns should							
Be allowed t religious syn on public pro	nbols		Keep religious symbols off public property	nc	Neither/ o opinion/ refused					
39%	6		35%		26%					
P	ublic s	cho	ool teachers should .							
Be allowed to lead stude in Christian p		i	Not be allowed to lead students n any kind of prayers	no	Neither/ opinion/ refused					
30			46		24					
Federal government should										
Stop enforcing separation of church and s	f		force separation church and state	no	leither/ opinion/ efused					
19			54		27					
	U.S	. <b>C</b> c	onstitution was							
Inspired by G reflects God' vision for Am	S	ref	ritten by humans and flects their vision, no cessarily God's visior	t r	Neither/ no opinion/ refused					
18			67		15					
	Fed	era	l government should	1						
Declare U.S. a Christian nation	Nev	er (	declare any religion cial religion of U.S.		Neither/ no opinion, refused					
15			69		17					
Fede	eral go	ver	nment should advoc	ate .						
Christian values	Moi	ral v	values shared e of many faiths		Neither/ o opinion/ refused					

Source: Survey conducted March 1-7, 2021, among U.S. adults. "In U.S., Far More Support Than Oppose Separation of Church and State"

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On the other hand, however, the clear majority of Americans do not accept these views. For example, two-thirds of U.S. adults (67%) say the Constitution was written by humans and reflects their vision, not necessarily God's vision. And a similar share (69%) says the government should never declare any official religion. (Respondents were offered the opportunity to reply "neither/no opinion" in response to each question, and substantial shares chose this option or declined to answer in response to all of these questions, suggesting some ambivalence among a segment of the population.)

Perhaps not surprisingly, the survey finds that Christians are much more likely than Jewish or religiously unaffiliated Americans to express support for the integration of church and state, with White evangelical Protestants foremost among Christian subgroups in this area. In addition, Christians who are highly religious are especially likely to say, for example, that the Constitution was inspired by God. But even among White evangelical Protestants and highly religious Christians, fewer than half say the U.S. should abandon its adherence to the separation of church and state (34% and 31%, respectively) or declare the country a Christian nation (35% and 29%).

## Most highly religious Christians support allowing cities to put religious symbols on public property, but far fewer favor declaring U.S. a Christian nation

% of U.S. adults who say ...

	Cities/towns should be allowed to put religious symbols on public property	Public school teachers should be allowed to lead Christian prayers	Fed. govt. should stop enforcing separation of church and state	U.S. Constitution was inspired by God	Fed. govt. should declare U.S. a Christian nation	Fed. govt. should advocate Christian values
Total	39%	30%	19%	18%	15%	13%
Christian	49	41	25	24	21	18
Protestant	52	47	28	26	24	21
White evangelical	65	58	34	37	35	29
Catholic	43	29	21	17	12	11
Jewish	28	6	4	5	1	4
Unaffiliated	18	8	8	5	3	4
Highly religious Christian	62	55	31	37	29	29
Less religious Christian	43	34	23	19	17	13
Not Christian	19	9	8	5	3	4

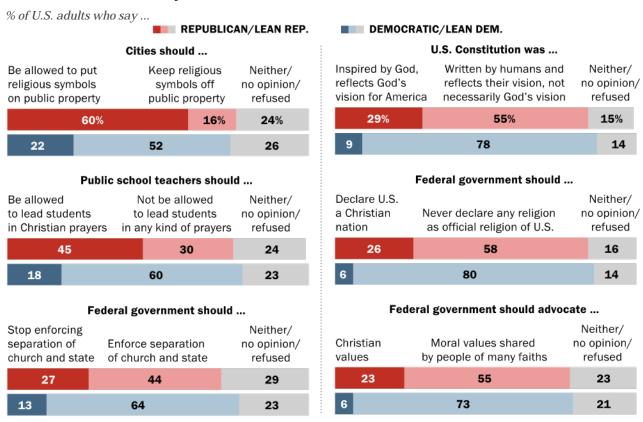
Note: White adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. "Highly religious Christians" are those who say they attend religious services at least once a week, pray daily, and that religion is "very important" in their lives. The "less religious Christians" row includes all other self-described Christians. The "not Christian" row includes those who identify with faiths other than Christianity as well as those who do not identify with any religion.

Source: Survey conducted March 1-7, 2021, among U.S. adults.

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Politics also is a major factor. Republicans and those who lean toward the Republican Party are far more likely than Democrats and Democratic leaners to want to secure an official place for Christianity in the national identity. However, for the most part, Republicans do not directly voice a preference for the integration of church and state. For instance, 58% of Republicans and Republican leaners say the federal government should never declare any religion as the official religion of the United States, while a quarter of Republicans (26%) say that the government should declare the U.S. a Christian nation. By comparison, among Democrats and those who lean toward the Democratic Party, 80% say the government should never declare any official religion, and just 6% want the government to declare the U.S. a Christian nation.

## More Republicans than Democrats say they want prominent place for Christianity in U.S. national identity



Source: Survey conducted March 1-7, 2021, among U.S. adults. "In U.S., Far More Support Than Oppose Separation of Church and State"

While the above-average level of support for an overtly Christian government among Republicans and White evangelical Protestants may come as no surprise to close observers of American politics, some of the other patterns in the survey are perhaps more unexpected. For example, many Black and Hispanic Americans – groups that are heavily Democratic – are highly religious Christians, and on several of the questions in the survey, they are just as likely as White Americans, if not more likely, to say they see a special link between Christianity and America.

Nearly four-in-ten Black Americans (38%) say public school teachers should be allowed to lead students in Christian prayers, somewhat higher than the 31% of White Americans who say this. And about one-in-five U.S. Hispanics (22%) say the federal government should stop enforcing the separation of church and state, roughly on par with the 19% of White Americans who say this.

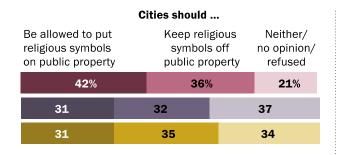
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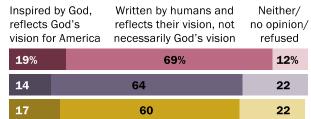
### Majorities of White, Black and Hispanic Americans oppose declaring U.S. a **Christian nation**

■ WHITE

% of U.S. adults who say ...



### U.S. Constitution was ...



#### Public school teachers should ... Not be allowed

Be allowed to lead students in Christian prayers	Not be allowed to lead students in any kind of praye	Neither/ no opinion/ ers refused
31	48	21
38	32	30
24	46	30

#### Federal government should ...

Declare U.S. a Christian nation	Never declare any religion as official religion of U.S.	Neither/ no opinion/ refused
16	71	12
12	59	29
12	65	23

#### Federal government should ...

stop enforci separation o church and	0	•		Neither/ o opinion/ refused
19	6	0		22
24	36		4	0
22	43			34

#### Federal government should advocate ...



Note: White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Source: Survey conducted March 1-7, 2021, among U.S. adults.

<sup>&</sup>quot;In U.S., Far More Support Than Oppose Separation of Church and State"

These are among the key findings of a Pew Research Center survey conducted March 1-7, 2021, among 12,055 U.S. adults on the Center's online, nationally representative American Trends Panel (ATP). These questions about the relationship between church and state can be combined into a scale that sorts respondents into one of four categories — "Church-state integrationists" (who say they would favor the intermingling of religion with government and public life); "church-state separationists" (who favor a wall of separation between religion and state); those who express "mixed" views about these matters; and those who largely express no opinion. When the questions are scaled together this way, they show there is far more support for church-state separation than for church-state integration in the U.S. public at large.

#### How categories on church-state separation scale were defined

First, all respondents who said "neither/no opinion" or refused to answer in response to four or more of the six items are placed in the "no opinion" category.

Next, all remaining respondents are sorted into one of three categories – "church-state integrationists," "church-state separationists," and "mixed." Those who offered four or more church-state integrationist answers (e.g., "Cities and towns in the U.S. should be allowed to place religious symbols on public property" or "The federal government should stop enforcing separation of church and state") are placed in the "church-state integrationists" category. Those who offered three church-state integrationist answers also are placed in this category if they offered only one or zero church-state separationist answers.

Those who offered four or more church-state separationist answers (e.g., "Cities and towns in the U.S. should keep religious symbols off public property" or "The federal government should enforce separation of church and state") are placed in the "church-state separationist" category. Those who offered three church-state separationist answers also are placed in this category if they offered only one or zero church-state integrationist answers.

Respondents who offered three of one kind of answer and at least two of the other kind are placed in the "mixed" category, as are those who offered two of one kind of answer and two or one of the other kind of answer.

Finally, because it is so large, the "church-state separationist" category is sometimes divided into two groups in this report. "Strong" church-state separationists are those who give five or six church-state separationist responses and zero church-state integrationist responses. All other respondents in the larger "church-state separationist" category are classified as "moderate" separationists.

See Methodology for additional details.

Overall, more than half of U.S. adults (55%) express clear support for the principle of separation of church and state when measured this way. This includes 28% who express a strong church-state separationist perspective (they prefer the church-state separationist view in five or six of the scale's questions and the church-state integrationist position in none) and an additional 27% who express

## Most Americans express support for separation of church and state

% of U.S. adults whose view about church-state issues is ...

Church-state se	parationist: 55%——	Mixed		Church state	No
Strong	Moderate	views	ir	itegrationis	t opinion
28%	27%	18%		14%	12%

Note: Respondents are categorized as "church-state separationist," "church-state integrationist," etc. based on their answers to six questions about the relationship between church and state. See Methodology for details.

Source: Survey conducted March 1-7, 2021, among U.S. adults.

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more moderate support for the church-state separationist perspective. By contrast, roughly one-in-seven U.S. adults (14%) express support for a "church-state integrationist" perspective as measured by the survey.

Slightly fewer than one-in-five U.S. adults (18%) have mixed views — expressing support for church-state separation on some of the survey's questions and support for increased church-state *integration* on about as many. And one-in-eight offer no opinion on a majority of these questions.

The survey shows, furthermore, that even in the groups that tend to express the most support for the intermingling of church and state, the "church-state integrationist" perspective is the exception, not the norm. Among White evangelical Protestants, for example, fewer than half (36%) express consistent support for a church-state integrationist perspective, although this is larger than the share of White evangelicals who favor the separation of church and state (26%). An additional 28% have mixed views.

Hispanic Protestants (26%) are among the other groups whose sympathy for church-state integration is higher than average. By contrast, a desire for church-state integration is almost nonexistent among U.S. Jews (1%) and the religiously unaffiliated (2%), who consist of those describing their religious identity as atheist, agnostic or "nothing in particular." Among self-identified atheists and agnostics, fully 96% fall into the church-state separationist category.

Most Democrats and those who lean toward the Democratic Party (72%) prefer church-state separation, compared with 38% of Republicans – although even Republicans are more likely to express this view than to consistently favor the integration of church and state (25%).

## Support for church-state integrationist perspective peaks at 36% among White evangelical Protestants

% of U.S. adults whose view about church-state issues is ...

	Church-sta parationist		rong	ı	Moderate		Mixed		h-state ationist	No opinion
Total	55%	2	8%		27%		18%		L <b>4</b> %	12%
Christian	44	16		28		23		2	21	12
Protestant	38	14	2	4	2	24		25		13
White evangelical	26	6	20		28			36		10
White, not evangelical	57	2	7		30		2	2	14	7
Black Protestant	38	13	25	5	21	_	1	7		25
Hispanic Protestant	34	11	23		24			26		16
Catholic	56	20		35	5		21		11	12
White Catholic	59	24			36			22		12 6
Hispanic Catholic	50	17		33			19	9		22
Jewish	91			58				32		7
No religion	79		5	4			25		8	2 11
Atheist/agnostic	96				77				1	19 2
Nothing in particular	69		40			29		12	2	17
Republican/lean Rep.	38	9	28		2	6		25		11
Democratic/lean Dem.	72		45				27		L <b>1</b> 6	12

Note: Respondents are categorized as "church-state separationist," "church-state integrationist," etc. based on their answers to six questions about the relationship between church and state. See Methodology for details. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race.

Source: Survey conducted March 1-7, 2021, among U.S. adults.

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The survey finds support for church-state integration is slightly higher among White respondents (16%) than among Hispanic Americans (11%). But at the same time, White people also are most likely to voice support for church-state *separation*, whereas Hispanic and Black Americans are more inclined than White adults to express no opinion on these questions. The survey finds little difference on these questions between U.S.-born adults and those born outside the U.S.

Support for separation of church and state is slightly higher among men than women; women are more likely than men to be in the "no opinion" category. College graduates are far more supportive of church-state separation than are those with lower levels of education. Similarly, young adults (ages 18 to 29) are more likely than their elders to consistently favor the separation of church and state.

Support for separation of church and state is lower in the South than in other parts of the country. Still, even in the South, fewer than one-in-five people consistently express a desire for the integration of church and state.

### Across demographic groups, one-in-five or fewer want church-state integration

% of U.S. adults whose view about church-state issues is ...

	NET Church-state separationist	Strong	Moderate		Mixed	Church-state integrationist	
Total	55%	28%	27%		18%	14%	12%
Men	59	31		28	17	15	10
Women	52	25	26		19	14	15
Ages 18-29	64	34		30		13 9	14
30-49	57	30	20	6	18	12	14
50-64	49	22	27		19	19	13
65+	54	27	27		21	17	9
White, non-Hispa	nic <b>58</b>	31		27	18	16	8
Black, non-Hispar	nic <b>43</b>	18	25	21		13	23
Hispanic	51	22	29		18	11	20
U.Sborn	56	29	27		18	14	12
Born outside U.S.	53	25	29		19	13	15
College graduate	70	42		28	8	14	11 6
Some college	56	28	28		18	15	11
High school or les	ss <b>42</b>	16	26	22		17	19
Northeast	64	34		30		17 1	0 9
Midwest	55	28	27		19	15	11
South	48	22	25		20	17	15
West	62	33		29	1	L5 12	12

Note: Respondents are categorized as "church-state separationist," "church-state integrationist," etc. based on their answers to six questions about the relationship between church and state. See Methodology for details.

Source: Survey conducted March 1-7, 2021, among U.S. adults.

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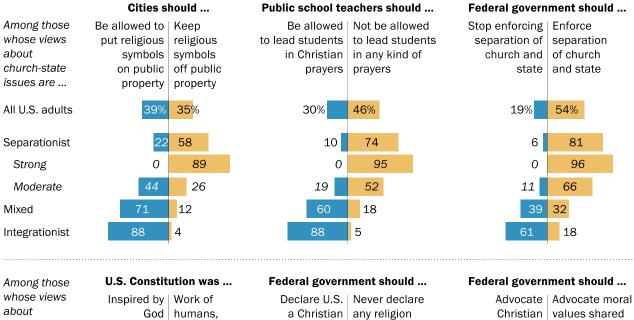
#### A closer look at the church-state scale

What, specifically, do people in each category desire in terms of the relationship between church and state? On each of the six scale items, majorities of those in the church-state integrationist category express support for the intermingling of religion and government, ranging from 60% who say the federal government should advocate Christian religious values to 88% who favor allowing towns to exhibit religious displays and public school teachers to lead Christian prayers. By contrast, most church-state separationists take the opposite position on all six questions, ranging from 58% who say religious displays should be kept off public property to 95% who say the federal government should never declare any official religion. These patterns are unsurprising, given the criteria for the categories.

But those in the "mixed" category are perhaps more interesting. Most people in this group say they think religious displays should be permitted on public property (71%) and are comfortable with public school teachers leading Christian prayers (60%). But far fewer think the government should stop enforcing separation of church and state (39%) or that the U.S. Constitution was divinely inspired (29%). And clear majorities say the federal government should never declare an official religion (62%) and should advocate moral values shared by many faiths (61%) rather than Christian values.

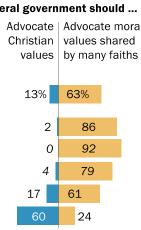
## Those with 'mixed' church-state views mostly favor prayer in schools, religious displays on public property but oppose declaring U.S. a 'Christian nation'

% of U.S. adults who say ...



church-state reflects issues are ... their vision All U.S. adults 18% 67% Separationist 3 92 Strong 0 98 Moderate 7 86 Mixed 29 55 21 Integrationist

Federal gover	'n	me	ent sh	ould .	••
Declare U.S a Christiar natior	1	aı	ever d ny relig s offici eligion	gion	е
15%		6	9%		
2			95		
C	)		99		
4			90		
17			62		
70			20		



Note: Respondents are categorized as "church-state separationist," "church-state integrationist," etc. based on their answers to six questions about the relationship between church and state. See Methodology for details.

Source: Survey conducted March 1-7, 2021, among U.S. adults.

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#### Church-state views, or White Christian nationalism?

The questions in the new survey gauging American attitudes on church-state issues are similar (but not identical) to questions used by other scholars to measure what they call "Christian nationalism." Research on Christian nationalism shows that it is correlated with attitudes about race, immigration, gender roles, the place of the U.S. in the world, and much more.

The new survey also finds a clear connection between views on church-state issues and attitudes on many other social and political topics, including matters of race and immigration. Most people who support separation of church and state are Democrats or lean toward the Democratic Party, think Donald Trump was a "poor" or "terrible" president, say immigrants strengthen American society, and reject the notion that society is better off if people prioritize getting married and having children. More than half of people with a church-state separationist perspective say it is "a lot" more difficult to be a Black person than a White person in the U.S., and that while the U.S. is one of the greatest countries in the world, there are other countries that are also great.

By comparison, people who favor church-state integration are mostly Republicans and Republican leaners, think Trump was a "good" or "great" president, say the growing numbers of immigrants in the U.S. threaten traditional American values, and feel that society would be better off if more people prioritized getting married and having children. Church-state integrationists are far more inclined than church-state separationists to say that it is "no more difficult" to be Black than White in American society (42% vs. 13%), and that the U.S. "stands above" all other countries (40% vs. 15%).

These are just a few examples of the connection between church-state views and attitudes about social and political issues. Similar correlations exist between church-state views and responses to many other questions about race, immigration, gender, and the place of the U.S. in the world.

¹ Indeed, for this study, Pew Research Center designed a series of questions modeled on items from the Baylor Religion Surveys and identified by Andrew L. Whitehead and Samuel L. Perry, authors of "Taking America Back for God: Christian Nationalism in the United States," as good indicators of Christian nationalism. The original questions in the Baylor Religion Surveys are agree/disagree questions, in which respondents are presented with a series of statements (e.g., "The federal government should advocate Christian values" and "The federal government should allow the display of religious symbols in public spaces") and then asked whether they agree or disagree with each. After exploratory testing, the Center's researchers modified the Baylor questions in a variety of ways. Perhaps most importantly, the Center decided not to ask agree/disagree questions, which leave the alternative position unstated and, in some cases, ambiguous. Instead, the Center's questions present respondents with two contrasting statements, asking which comes closest to the respondent's own view. The Pew Research Center survey also gave respondents the option of answering with "neither/no opinion," just as the Baylor Religion Surveys offered respondents the chance to say "undecided." In addition to switching from an agree/disagree to a forced-choice/balanced alternative format, the Center also modified the wording of many of the questions, and took some of the focus off of "the federal government." Five of the six original Baylor items refer explicitly to "the federal government."

#### Close connection between church-state attitudes and other social, political views

		Among those	who express	_ views about	church,	/state issues
	All U.S. adults	Church-state separationist	Strong separationist	Moderate separationist	Mixed	Church-state integrationist
Party identification	%	%	%	%	%	%
Republican/lean Rep.	43	29	14	45	63	77
Democrat/lean Dem.	52	67	83	52	32	22
Think Donald Trump was						
Good or great president	35	19	7	32	54	73
Average	12	11	6	15	14	8
Poor or terrible president	53	70	87	52	31	18
How much more difficult is it to be a Black persor in the U.S. than a White person?	)					
A lot more difficult	43	55	70	39	26	18
A little	33	31	23	39	42	38
No more difficult	23	13	6	20	30	42
Which comes closer to your view?						
Growing number of newcomers from other countries threatens traditional American customs and values	37	22	11	35	49	64
Growing number of newcomers strengthens American society	61	76	88	62	47	34
Which best describes your opinion about the U.S.?						
U.S. stands above all other countries in the world	24	15	7	22	35	40
The U.S. is one of the greatest countries in the world, along with some others	55	57	57	58	52	51
There are other countries that are better than the U.S.	21	27	36	19	13	9
Which comes closer to your view?						
Society is better off if people make marriage and having children a priority	34	24	13	36	48	63
Society is just as well off if people have priorities other than marriage and children	63	74	86	61	48	33

Note: Figures read down. For example, among those with a church-state separationist view, 29% identify with or lean toward the Republican Party, while 67% identify with or lean toward the Democratic Party. Respondents are categorized as "church-state separationist," "church-state integrationist," etc. based on their answers to six questions about the relationship between church and state. See Methodology for details.

Source: Questions used to categorize respondent views about church-state issues, party identification, and rating of Trump as president from survey conducted March 1-7, 2021, among U.S. adults. Questions about the difficulty of being a Black person, the impact of the growing number of newcomers from other countries and the prioritization of marriage/children from survey conducted July 27-Aug. 2, 2020. Question about the relative standing of the U.S. from survey conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

"In U.S., Far More Support Than Oppose Separation of Church and State"

The data shows, furthermore, that these connections are *at least* as pronounced – if not more so – among White Americans as among the public as a whole. White adults with church-state integrationist views are much more likely than White church-state separationists to say Trump was a good or great president (by a margin of 59 percentage points), to identify with or lean toward the Republican Party (by 54 points), to say that immigrants threaten traditional American customs and values (47 points), and to say that society is better when people prioritize getting married and having children (42 points). They also are 35 points more likely to say that being Black is no more difficult than being White in the U.S. today, and 32 points more likely to say the U.S. has a unique place above all other countries in the world.

These results are consistent with much of the existing research on Christian nationalism, which demonstrates that among White people, Christian nationalism is linked with support for the Republican Party, enthusiasm for Trump, hostility toward immigrants and denial that racism is pervasive or systemic in America. But the survey also shows that White church-state integrationists are far from alone in their attitudes on these matters. Indeed, *majorities* of White people with "mixed" church-state views, as well as of those with a "moderate" church-state separationist perspective, also identify with or lean toward the Republican Party and view Trump as an average or better-than-average president. And majorities of White adults in all three categories (church-state integrationists, moderate church-state separationists, and holders of mixed views on church-state questions) reject the idea that being a Black person is a lot more difficult than being a White person in the U.S. today.

In fact, strong church-state separationists are the *only* group of White respondents who are mostly Democrats, who mostly think Trump was a below average president, and among whom a majority say being a Black person in the U.S. today is a lot more difficult than being a White person. In other words, to the extent that church-state views are connected with other social and political attitudes among White respondents, those with the strongest church-state *separationist* viewpoint are in some ways more distinctive from other White people than are those with church-state integrationist views.

## Among White adults, church-state integrationists much more Republican than strict separationists

Among White U.S. adults

	All White	Among those	who express _	views about	church,	/state issues
	U.S. adults	Church-state separationist	Strong separationist	Moderate separationist	Mixed	Church-state integrationist
Party identification	%	%	%	%	%	%
Republican/lean Rep.	54	36	16	59	81	90
Democrat/lean Dem.	42	61	80	38	15	9
Think Donald Trump was						
Good or great president	44	24	9	42	71	84
Average	10	10	5	15	12	6
Poor or terrible president	46	66	86	42	17	11
How much more difficult is it to be a Black person in the U.S. than a White person?						
A lot more difficult	35	50	67	30	12	8
A little	38	34	25	44	49	40
No more difficult	26	16	7	25	37	50
Which comes closer to your view?						
Growing number of newcomers from other countries threatens traditional American customs and values	41	27	12	43	56	73
Growing number of newcomers strengthens American society	56	71	87	53	39	25
Which best describes your opinion about the U.S.?	>					
U.S. stands above all other countries in the world	26	16	8	25	43	47
The U.S. is one of the greatest countries in the world, along with some others	55	58	56	59	47	48
There are other countries better than the U.S.	19	26	36	16	10	4
Which comes closer to your view?						
Society is better off if people make marriage and having children a priority	36	25	13	38	52	66
Society is just as well off if people have priorities other than marriage and children	61	73	86	60	45	31

Note: Based on White non-Hispanic adults. Figures read down. For example, among White U.S. adults with a church-state separationist view, 36% identify with or lean toward the Republican Party, while 61% identify with or lean toward the Democratic Party. Respondents are categorized as "church-state separationist," "church-state integrationist," etc. based on their answers to six questions about the relationship between church and state. See Methodology for details.

Source: Questions used to categorize respondent views about church-state issues, party identification, and rating of Trump as president from survey conducted March 1-7, 2021, among U.S. adults. Questions about the difficulty of being a Black person, the impact of the growing number of newcomers from other countries and the prioritization of marriage/children from survey conducted July 27-Aug. 2, 2020. Question about the relative standing of the U.S. from survey conducted Sept. 3-15, 2019.

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### A closer look at those with 'no opinion' on church-state matters

they say "neither/no opinion" College graduate 15 or refuse to answer four Some college 28 (39%), five (30%) or all six High school or less 56 (31%) of the questions used to create the scale. This means Black, non-Hispanic 22 the size of the "no opinion" Hispanic 25 group is close to the size of the "church-state integrationist" Ages 18-29 21 group (12% and 14%, 30-49 38 respectively). 50-64 26 65+ 15 So, who are the respondents in the "no opinion" category? Are they really church-state Independent/other - no lean 15	33 31 36 63
or refuse to answer four  (39%), five (30%) or all six  High school or less  (31%) of the questions used to create the scale. This means  the size of the "no opinion"  group is close to the size of the  "church-state integrationist"  group (12% and 14%, respectively).  So, who are the respondents in the "no opinion" category? Are  Some college  High school or less  White, non-Hispanic  40  Ages 18-29  21  Asian, non-Hispanic  6  Ages 18-29  21  31  32  33  34  35  36  48  Pemocrat/lean Rep.  37  Democrat/lean Dem.  48	36
(39%), five (30%) or all six  (31%) of the questions used to create the scale. This means  the size of the "no opinion"  group is close to the size of the "church-state integrationist"  group (12% and 14%, 30-49 38 respectively).  So, who are the respondents in the "no opinion" category? Are high school or less and 40 decided white, non-Hispanic and 40 decided white, non-Hispanic and 22 decided white, non-Hispanic and 22 decided white, non-Hispanic and 22 decided white, non-Hispanic and 25 decided whi	
(31%) of the questions used to create the scale. This means Black, non-Hispanic 22 the size of the "no opinion" Hispanic 25 group is close to the size of the "church-state integrationist" Ages 18-29 21 group (12% and 14%, 30-49 38 respectively). 50-64 26 65+ 15  So, who are the respondents in the "no opinion" category? Are Democrat/lean Dem. 48	63
create the scale. This means the size of the "no opinion" Hispanic Group is close to the size of the "church-state integrationist" Hispanic Asian, non-Hispanic Ages 18-29 Group (12% and 14%, Grespectively).  50-64 65+ 15 So, who are the respondents in the "no opinion" category? Are Black, non-Hispanic 22 Asian, non-Hispanic 6  Asian, non-Hispanic 6  Ages 18-29 21 21 26 65+ 26 65+ 37 Democrat/lean Rep. 37	03
the size of the "no opinion"  group is close to the size of the  "church-state integrationist"  group (12% and 14%,  respectively).  So, who are the respondents in the "no opinion" category? Are  Hispanic  Asian, non-Hispanic  Ages 18-29  21  38  50-64  65+  15  Republican/lean Rep.  Democrat/lean Dem.  48	12
group is close to the size of the  "church-state integrationist" Ages 18-29  group (12% and 14%, 30-49 38  respectively). 50-64 26  65+ 15  So, who are the respondents in the "no opinion" category? Are  Asian, non-Hispanic 6  Asian, non-Hispanic 6  21  22  21  25  26  26  27  27  28  29  29  20  20  20  20  20  20  20  20	16
"church-state integrationist" Ages 18-29 21 group (12% and 14%, 30-49 38 respectively). 50-64 26 65+ 15  So, who are the respondents in the "no opinion" category? Are Democrat/lean Dem. 48	5
group (12% and 14%, 30-49 38 respectively). 50-64 26 65+ 15  So, who are the respondents in the "no opinion" category? Are Democrat/lean Dem. 48	
respectively).  50-64 65+ 15  So, who are the respondents in Republican/lean Rep. 37 the "no opinion" category? Are Democrat/lean Dem. 48	19
So, who are the respondents in the "no opinion" category? Are  65+  Republican/lean Rep.  37  Democrat/lean Dem.  48	34
So, who are the respondents in the "no opinion" category? Are  Republican/lean Rep. 37  Democrat/lean Dem. 48	25
the "no opinion" category? Are Democrat/lean Dem. 48	22
the hoopman edegory. The	43
they really church-state Independent/other - no lean 15	52
they really charen state	5
integrationists but reluctant to Conservative 25	32
express that point of view in Moderate 50	38
response to these questions?  Liberal 17	26
Are they church-state Protestant 43	42
separationists who are Catholic 21	21
hesitant to share that opinion? Other religion 8	9
Or are they people who are No religion 25	28
genuinely uncertain about, unfamiliar with or uninterested in church-state  Source: Survey conducted March 1-7, 2021, among U.S. adults. "In U.S., Far More Support Than Oppose Separation of Church and Sta	ate"

Of course, the survey cannot provide a direct answer because, by definition, these respondents did not express a point of view — one way or the other — on the church-state questions. However, those in the "no opinion" category are distinctive in certain ways. Perhaps most obviously, they are far less likely than the full sample of respondents to be college graduates (15% vs. 33%), and far more likely to have a high school education or less (56% vs. 36%). This is expected, since past research

issues?

on patterns of survey response has revealed that people with lower levels of educational attainment are more inclined than those with higher levels of education to express no opinion on many kinds of survey questions. Indeed, in addition to the questions about church-state issues, the survey included 36 other questions that were asked of the full sample of respondents; those in the "no opinion" category decline to provide a substantive response to 3.9 of the 36 questions, on average, compared with 1.6 questions left with no substantive response by respondents in other categories, on average.

Compared with the full sample of respondents, those with "no opinion" on the church-state scale also are less likely to be White, non-Hispanic adults, and more likely to be Black or Hispanic. People in the "no opinion" category also are a bit more likely to be under age 65 than are the full sample of respondents.

In terms of their political and religious profile, there is little evidence to suggest that the "no opinion" category harbors a disproportionate share of either "church-state integrationists" or "church-state separationists." Compared with the full sample of respondents, those in the "no opinion" group are more likely than the full sample to identify as political independents or with a third party and to decline to lean toward either major party (15% vs. 5%), and also to describe themselves as ideological moderates (50% vs. 38%). The religious profile of those in the "no opinion" group closely resembles the religious profile of the full sample of respondents.

#### God's favor for the U.S.

In addition to the six questions that make up the church-state issues scale, the survey included a question that asked Americans which of two statements comes closer to their own view: "God favors the United States over all other countries," or "God does not favor any one country over all the others."

Overall, seven-in-ten U.S. adults choose the latter option: God does not favor any one country. Just 5% of U.S. adults say they think God favors the U.S. over all other countries, while 25% say neither, express no opinion or decline to answer.<sup>2</sup>

## One-in-twenty Americans say God favors the U.S. over all other countries

Which is closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?

	God favors the U.S. over all other countries	God does not favor any one country over all others	Neither/no opinion/ refused
	%	%	%
Total	5	70	25=100
Among those whose score on the church-state scale is			
Separationist	2	78	19
Strong	1	79	20
Moderate	4	77	18
Mixed	10	70	21
Integrationist	14	63	23

Note: Respondents are categorized as "church-state separationist," "church-state integrationist," etc. based on their answers to six questions about the relationship between church and state. See Methodology for details.

Source: Survey conducted March 1-7, 2021, among U.S. adults.

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The accompanying <u>detailed tables</u> provide additional information about how social and demographic groups answered the questions about church-state issues.

<sup>&</sup>quot;In U.S., Far More Support Than Oppose Separation of Church and State"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This question was not included in the scale of church-state views for two reasons. First, unlike the other items, it does not explicitly address matters of church-state separation/integration. Second, it is not as highly correlated with the items in the scale as they are with each other. If this item were added to the scale, Cronbach's alpha for the scale would drop from 0.759 to 0.745.

### **Detailed tables**

The following tables show results for each of the six questions in the church-state separation scale by religious affiliation and other demographic factors, as well as by where people fall on the overall scale.

### Views about religious displays on public property and prayer in schools, by religion

% of U.S. adults who say ...

	Cities/towns should be allowed to put religious symbols on public property	Cities/towns should keep religious symbols off public property	Neither/no opinion/refused	be allowed to lead students in Christian	Public school teachers should not be allowed to lead students in any kind of prayers	
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	39	35	26=100	30	46	24=100
Church-state category						
Separationist	22	58	20	10	74	16
Strong	0	89	11	0	95	5
Moderate	44	26	30	19	52	28
Mixed	71	12	17	60	18	22
Integrationist	88	4	8	88	5	7
Christian	49	26	26	41	34	25
Protestant	52	21	27	47	28	25
White evangelical	65	12	22	58	20	21
White, not evang.	46	32	22	32	43	25
Black Protestant	36	26	39	46	24	30
Hispanic Protestant	41	23	36	47	24	29
Catholic	43	34	23	29	45	26
White	49	32	19	33	45	22
Hispanic	30	38	32	19	47	34
Jewish	28	61	11	6	75	19
Unaffiliated	18	55	27	8	71	21
Atheist/agnostic	13	74	13	3	88	9
Nothing in particular	21	44	35	11	61	28
Religiosity index						
High	61	17	22	54	23	23
Medium	39	31	30	31	42	27
Low	18	60	22	6	76	18

Note: Figures may not add to 100% due to rounding. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. The religiosity index is a scale that includes measures of religious attendance, frequency of prayer, and self-assessments of religion's importance in one's life. Respondents who say they attend religious services at least once a week, pray daily, and that religion is "very important" in their lives are categorized as "high." Those who say they seldom or never attend religious services, seldom or never pray, and that religion is "not too" or "not at all" important in their lives are categorized as "low." All others are categorized as "medium."

Source: Survey conducted March 1-7, 2021, among U.S. adults.

<sup>&</sup>quot;In U.S., Far More Support Than Oppose Separation of Church and State"

## Views about religious displays on public property and prayer in schools, among demographic groups

% of U.S. adults who say ...

	Cities/towns should be allowed to put religious symbols on public property		Neither/no opinion/refused	be allowed to lead students in Christian prayers	Public school teachers should not be allowed to lead students in any kind of prayers	s Neither/no opinion/refused
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	39	35	26=100	30	46	24=100
Men	40	37	22	30	49	21
Women	37	33	29	30	43	27
Ages 18-29	32	40	28	20	57	23
30-49	35	39	27	26	48	26
50-64	45	29	26	37	40	24
65+	43	34	24	36	41	23
White, non-Hispanic	42	36	21	31	48	21
Black, non-Hispanic	31	32	37	38	32	30
Hispanic	31	35	34	24	46	30
Asian, non-Hispanic	28	40	32	15	58	27
College grad	35	48	17	22	58	19
Some college	41	34	25	31	45	24
High school or less	40	25	35	36	35	29
Northeast	35	42	24	23	54	22
Midwest	42	33	25	29	44	26
South	43	31	27	38	38	25
West	32	40	28	22	55	24
Republican/lean Rep.	60	16	24	45	30	24
Democrat/lean Dem.	22	52	26	18	60	23

Note: Figures may not add to 100% due to rounding. White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race.

Source: Survey conducted March 1-7, 2021, among U.S. adults.

<sup>&</sup>quot;In U.S., Far More Support Than Oppose Separation of Church and State"

## Views about separation of church and state and whether Constitution was divinely inspired, by religion

% of U.S. adults who say ...

	Fed. govt. should stop enforcing separation of church and state	Fed. govt. should enforce separation of church and state	Neither/no opinion/refused	was inspired by God, reflects God's vision for America	God's	Neither/no opinion/refused
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	19	54	27=100	18	67	15=100
Church-state category						
Separationist	6	81	13	3	92	4
Strong	0	96	4	0	98	2
Moderate	11	66	22	7	86	7
Mixed	39	32	30	29	55	16
Integrationist	61	18	20	69	21	10
Christian	25	46	29	24	60	16
Protestant	28	42	30	26	59	15
White evangelical	34	38	28	37	47	16
White, not evang.	21	57	22	16	73	10
Black Protestant	28	32	40	16	63	21
Hispanic Protestant	28	37	35	30	58	12
Catholic	21	51	28	17	63	19
White	18	58	23	17	70	13
Hispanic	25	38	38	17	54	28
Jewish	4	88	8	5	81	14
Unaffiliated	8	71	21	5	82	13
Atheist/agnostic	2	92	6	2	94	4
Nothing in particular	12	59	29	6	76	18
Religiosity index						
High	30	41	28	36	48	16
Medium	21	48	31	17	66	18
Low	6	78	16	4	86	10

Note: Figures may not add to 100% due to rounding. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. The religiosity index is a scale that includes measures of religious attendance, frequency of prayer, and self-assessments of religion's importance in one's life. Respondents who say they attend religious services at least once a week, pray daily, and that religion is "very important" in their lives are categorized as "high." Those who say they seldom or never attend religious services, seldom or never pray, and that religion is "not too" or "not at all" important in their lives are categorized as "low." All others are categorized as "medium."

Source: Survey conducted March 1-7, 2021, among U.S. adults.

"In U.S., Far More Support Than Oppose Separation of Church and State"

## Views about separation of church and state and whether Constitution was divinely inspired, among demographic groups

% of U.S. adults who say ...

	Fed. govt. should stop enforcing separation of church and state	Fed. govt. should enforce separation of church and state	Neither/no opinion/refused		vision, not necessarily God's	Neither/no opinion/refused
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	19	54	27=100	18	67	15=100
Men	17	60	23	18	71	12
Women	21	49	30	18	64	19
Ages 18-29	18	60	23	13	70	17
30-49	18	53	30	15	67	17
50-64	22	50	27	21	64	15
65+	21	56	24	21	68	11
White, non-Hispanic	19	60	22	19	69	12
Black, non-Hispanic	24	36	40	14	64	22
Hispanic	22	43	34	17	60	22
Asian, non-Hispanic	14	59	27	13	71	16
College grad	13	70	17	13	77	10
Some college	19	55	26	18	68	14
High school or less	26	39	35	21	57	22
Northeast	16	60	24	14	72	14
Midwest	22	53	25	17	69	14
South	21	49	30	20	63	17
West	17	59	24	18	67	15
Republican/lean Rep.	27	44	29	29	55	15
Democrat/lean Dem.	13	64	23	9	78	14

Note: Figures may not add to 100% due to rounding. White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race.

Source: Survey conducted March 1-7, 2021, among U.S. adults.

"In U.S., Far More Support Than Oppose Separation of Church and State"

## Views about whether federal government should declare U.S. a Christian nation and advocate Christian values, by religion

% of U.S. adults who say ...

	Should never Federal govt. declare any one			Federal govt. should advocate		
	should declare U.S. a Christian	religion the		Federal govt. should advocate	morals shared	Neither/no
	nation			Christian values	many faiths	opinion/refused
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	15	69	17=100	13	63	24=100
Church-state category						
Separationist	2	95	4	2	86	12
Strong	0	99	1	0	92	8
Moderate	4	90	6	4	79	17
Mixed	17	62	21	17	61	22
Integrationist	70	20	9	60	24	16
Christian	21	61	18	18	58	24
Protestant	24	56	19	21	54	25
White evangelical	35	49	16	29	48	23
White, not evang.	16	71	13	11	69	20
Black Protestant	15	55	30	15	54	31
Hispanic Protestant	22	53	25	27	45	28
Catholic	12	70	18	11	66	23
White	13	75	12	11	72	17
Hispanic	11	64	26	9	57	33
Jewish	1	94	5	4	87	9
Unaffiliated	3	84	13	4	73	23
Atheist/agnostic	1	96	2	2	85	13
Nothing in particular	4	77	19	5	66	29
Religiosity index						
High	28	54	18	28	49	23
Medium	14	66	19	12	63	26
Low	3	87	10	3	76	20

Note: Figures may not add to 100% due to rounding. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. The religiosity index is a scale that includes measures of religious attendance, frequency of prayer, and self-assessments of religion's importance in one's life. Respondents who say they attend religious services at least once a week, pray daily, and that religion is "very important" in their lives are categorized as "high." Those who say they seldom or never attend religious services, seldom or never pray, and that religion is "not too" or "not at all" important in their lives are categorized as "low." All others are categorized as "medium"

Source: Survey conducted March 1-7, 2021, among U.S. adults.

"In U.S., Far More Support Than Oppose Separation of Church and State"

## Views about whether federal government should declare U.S. a Christian nation and advocate Christian values, among demographic groups

% of U.S. adults who say ...

	should declare	Federal govt. should never declare any one religion the official religion of U.S.	Neither/no	Federal govt. should advocate Christian values		e Neither/no opinion/refused
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	15	69	17=100	13	63	24=100
Men	16	70	14	15	64	21
Women	14	67	20	11	63	26
Ages 18-29	10	74	17	9	64	26
30-49	13	69	18	13	63	23
50-64	18	63	19	15	59	25
65+	17	70	13	13	66	20
White, non-Hispanic	16	71	12	13	67	20
Black, non-Hispanic	12	59	29	13	56	31
Hispanic	12	65	23	14	56	30
Asian, non-Hispanic	8	74	18	12	65	23
College grad	10	80	10	10	73	17
Some college	16	68	16	13	64	23
High school or less	18	59	24	15	54	31
Northeast	10	75	14	11	69	21
Midwest	15	68	17	13	66	22
South	18	63	19	15	58	27
West	12	73	15	13	64	23
Republican/lean Rep.	26	58	16	23	55	23
Democrat/lean Dem.	6	80	14	6	73	21

Note: Figures may not add to 100% due to rounding. White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race.

Source: Survey conducted March 1-7, 2021, among U.S. adults.

<sup>&</sup>quot;In U.S., Far More Support Than Oppose Separation of Church and State"

### Methodology

### The American Trends Panel survey methodology

#### **Overview**

The American Trends Panel (ATP), created by Pew Research Center, is a nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults. Panelists participate via self-administered web surveys. Panelists who do not have internet access at home are provided with a tablet and wireless internet connection. Interviews are conducted in both English and Spanish. The panel is being managed by Ipsos.

Data in this report is drawn primarily from the panel wave conducted March 1 to March 7, 2021. A total of 12,055 panelists responded out of 13,545 who were sampled, for a response rate of 89%. This does not include two panelists who were removed from the data due to extremely high rates of refusal or straightlining. The cumulative response rate accounting for nonresponse to the recruitment surveys and attrition is 4%. The break-off rate among panelists who logged on to the survey and completed at least one item is 1%. The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 12,055 respondents is plus or minus 1.5 percentage points.

#### **Panel recruitment**

The ATP was created in 2014, with the first cohort of panelists invited to join the panel at the end of a large, national, landline and cellphone random-digit-dial survey that was conducted in both

English and Spanish. Two additional recruitments were conducted using the same method in 2015 and 2017, respectively. Across these three surveys, a total of 19,718 adults were invited to join the ATP, of whom 9,942 (50%) agreed to participate.

In August 2018, the ATP switched from telephone to address-based recruitment. Invitations were sent to a random, address-based sample of households selected

American Trends Panel recruitment surveys						
Recruitment dates	Mode	Invited	Joined	Active panelists remaining		
Jan. 23 to March 16, 2014	Landline/ cell RDD	9,809	5,338	2,183		
Aug. 27 to Oct. 4, 2015	Landline/ cell RDD	6,004	2,976	1,243		
April 25 to June 4, 2017	Landline/ cell RDD	3,905	1,628	621		
Aug. 8 to Oct. 31, 2018	ABS/web	9,396	8,778	5,900		
Aug. 19 to Nov. 30, 2019	ABS/web	5,900	4,720	2,329		
June 1 to July 19, 2020	ABS/web	1,865	1,636	1,269		
	Total	36,879	25,076	13,545		

Note: Approximately once per year, panelists who have not participated in multiple consecutive waves or who did not complete an annual profiling survey are removed from the panel. Panelists also become inactive if they ask to be removed from the panel.

from the U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File. Additional recruitments were conducted using the same method, once in 2019 and then again in 2020. Across these three address-based recruitments, a total of 17,161 adults were invited to join the ATP, of whom 15,134 (88%) agreed to join the panel and completed an initial profile survey. In each household, the adult with the next birthday was asked to go online to complete a survey, at the end of which they were invited to join the panel. Of the 25,076 individuals who have ever joined the ATP, 13,545 remained active panelists and continued to receive survey invitations at the time this survey was conducted.

The U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File has been estimated to cover as much as 98% of the population, although some studies suggest that the coverage could be in the low 90% range.<sup>3</sup> The American Trends Panel never uses breakout routers or chains that direct respondents to additional surveys.

#### Sample design

The overall target population for this survey was non-institutionalized persons ages 18 and older, living in the U.S., including Alaska and Hawaii.

#### Questionnaire development and testing

The questionnaire was developed by Pew Research Center in consultation with Ipsos. The web program was rigorously tested on both PC and mobile devices by the Ipsos project management team and Pew Research Center researchers. The Ipsos project management team also populated test data which was analyzed in SPSS to ensure the logic and randomizations were working as intended before launching the survey.

#### **Incentives**

All respondents were offered a post-paid incentive for their participation. Respondents could choose to receive the post-paid incentive in the form of a check or a gift code to Amazon.com or could choose to decline the incentive. Incentive amounts ranged from \$5 to \$20 depending on whether the respondent belongs to a part of the population that is harder or easier to reach. Differential incentive amounts were designed to increase panel survey participation among groups that traditionally have low survey response propensities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> AAPOR Task Force on Address-based Sampling. 2016. "AAPOR Report: Address-based Sampling."

#### **Data collection protocol**

The data collection field period for this survey was March 1 to March 7, 2021. Postcard notifications were mailed to all ATP panelists with a known residential address on March 1, 2021.

On March 1 and March 2, invitations were sent out in two separate launches: Soft Launch and Full Launch. Sixty panelists were included in the soft launch, which began with an initial invitation sent on March 1, 2021. The ATP panelists chosen for the initial soft launch were known responders who had completed previous ATP surveys within one day of receiving their invitation. All remaining English- and Spanish-speaking panelists were included in the full launch and were sent an invitation on March 2, 2021.

All panelists with an email address received an email invitation and up to two email reminders if they did not respond to the survey. All ATP panelists that consented to SMS messages received an SMS invitation and up to two SMS reminders.

Invitation and reminder dates						
	Soft Launch	Full Launch				
Initial invitation	March 1, 2021	March 2, 2021				
First reminder	March 4, 2021	March 4, 2021				
Final reminder	March 6, 2021	March 6, 2021				

#### **Data quality checks**

To ensure high-quality data, the Center's researchers performed data quality checks to identify any respondents showing clear patterns of satisficing. This includes checking for very high rates of leaving questions blank, as well as always selecting the first or last answer presented. As a result of this checking, two ATP respondents were removed from the survey dataset prior to weighting and analysis.

#### Weighting

The ATP data was weighted in a multistep process that accounts for multiple stages of sampling and nonresponse that occur at different points in the survey process. First, each panelist begins with a base weight that reflects their probability of selection for their initial recruitment survey (and the probability of being invited to participate in the panel in cases where only a subsample of respondents were invited). The base weights for panelists recruited in different years are scaled to be proportionate to the effective sample size for all active panelists in their cohort. To correct for nonresponse to the initial recruitment surveys and gradual panel attrition, the base weights for all

active panelists are calibrated to align with the population benchmarks identified in the accompanying table to create a full-panel weight.

For ATP waves in which only a subsample of panelists are invited to participate, a wavespecific base weight is created by adjusting the full-panel weights for subsampled panelists to account for any differential probabilities of selection for the particular panel wave. For waves in which all active panelists are invited to participate, the wave-specific base weight is identical to the full-panel weight.

### **Weighting dimensions**

**Variable** 

Age x Gender Education x Gender Education x Age Race/Ethnicity x Education Born inside vs. outside the U.S. among Hispanics and Asian Americans Years lived in the U.S.	2019 American Community Survey
Census region x Metro/Non-metro	2019 CPS March Supplement
Volunteerism	2017 CPS Volunteering & Civic Life Supplement
Voter registration	2016 CPS Voting and Registration Supplement
Party affiliation Frequency of internet use	2020 National Public Opinion Reference Survey

**Benchmark source** 

Note: Estimates from the ACS are based on non-institutionalized adults. The 2016 CPS was used for voter registration targets for this wave in order to obtain voter registration numbers from a presidential election year. Voter registration is calculated using procedures from Hur, Achen (2013) and rescaled to include the total U.S. adult population. The 2020 National Public Opinion Reference Survey featured 1,862 online completions and 2,247 mail survey completions.

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Religious affiliation

In the final weighting step, the wave-specific base weights for panelists who completed the survey are again calibrated to match the population benchmarks specified above. These weights are trimmed (typically at about the 1st and 99th percentiles) to reduce the loss in precision stemming from variance in the weights. Sampling errors and tests of statistical significance take into account the effect of weighting.

Some analysis in this report is based on questions that were asked on previous ATP waves conducted on Sept. 3-15, 2019, and July 27-Aug. 2, 2020. In these instances, data for the respondents who participated in both waves was weighted following the same procedure as for the full sample. Methodologies for those waves can be found here and here.

#### Creation of the church-state views scale

The scale reflects responses to six survey questions. In each question, respondents were presented with two contrasting statements, and asked which most closely reflects their own view. Respondents were also given the option of choosing "neither/no opinion." The pairs of statements are:

Cities and towns in the U.S. should be allowed to place religious symbols on public property

OR

Cities and towns in the U.S. should keep religious symbols off public property

Teachers in public schools should be allowed to lead students in Christian prayers OR

Teachers in public schools should not be allowed to lead students in any kind of prayers

The federal government should stop enforcing separation of church and state OR

The federal government should enforce separation of church and state

The U.S. Constitution was inspired by God and reflects God's vision for America OR

The U.S. Constitution was written by human beings and reflects their vision for America, not necessarily God's vision

The federal government should declare the United States a Christian nation OR

The federal government should never declare any particular religion as the official religion of the United States

The federal government should advocate Christian religious values OR

The federal government should advocate for moral values that are shared by people of many faiths

Before creating the scale, researchers confirmed that the six survey questions described here do, in fact, scale well together (i.e., are highly correlated with each other). Each question was coded from 0 to 2, with 0 points assigned for the church-state separationist response (e.g., "Cities and towns in the U.S. should keep religious symbols off public property" or "The federal government should enforce separation of church and state"), 1 point assigned for "neither/no opinion" responses as well as for those who refused to answer the question, and 2 points assigned for church-state integrationist responses (e.g., "Cities and towns in the U.S. should be allowed to place religious

symbols on public property" or "The federal government should stop enforcing separation of church and state"). Cronbach's alpha for a scale consisting of items coded in this way is 0.76.

To sort respondents into categories, researchers began by putting everyone who said "neither/no opinion/refused" to four or more of the six items into a "no opinion" category. They did not provide enough information to classify their views about church-state issues. Overall, 12% of respondents express "no opinion" on the scale.

Next, the remaining 88% of respondents were sorted into three categories — "church-state integrationists," "church-state separationists," and "mixed." Respondents who offered four or more church-state integrationist answers in response to the six questions were placed in the "church-state integrationist" category. Respondents who offered four or more church-state separationist answers were placed in the "church-state separationist" category.

What about respondents who offered three church-state integrationist answers or three church-state separationist answers? They were sorted based on the number of opposing responses they gave. If respondents gave three church-state integrationist answers and only one or zero church-state separationist answers, then they were placed in the "church-state integrationist" category along with those who gave four or more church-state integrationist answers. However, respondents who gave three church-state integrationist answers and also gave a similar number (i.e., two or three) church-state separationist answers were placed in the mixed category, reflecting their mixed views on these matters. Similarly, respondents who gave three church-state separationist answers were placed in the "church-state separationist" category if they only gave zero or one church-state integrationist answers, but in the mixed category if they also gave two or three church-state integrationist answers.

The remaining respondents – those who gave two of one kind of answer and one or two answers of the opposing kind (with the balance of responses consisting of "neither/no opinion" or refusals) – were placed in the mixed category.

The scale created this way categorizes 14% of U.S. adults as church-state integrationists, 18% as having mixed views on these matters, and 55% as church-state separationists. Because the latter group is so large, it is sometimes divided in this report into two groups. "Strong" church-state separationists are those who give five or six church-state separationist responses and zero church-state integrationist responses; 28% of U.S. adults are "strong" church-state separationists. All other respondents from the larger "church-state separationist" category (27% of U.S. adults) can be considered "moderate" church-state separationists. The church-state integrationist category is too small to similarly analyze "strong" and "moderate" categories.

### Sample sizes and margins of error

The following tables show the unweighted sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups analyzed in this report.

Sample sizes and margins of error for results based on
full sample from March 1-7, 2021, survey

Group	Unweighted samp	le size	Margin of error			
All U.S. adults	12,055		1.5 percentage points			
Among those whose views about church-state issues are						
Separationist	7,791		1.9 percentage points			
Strong	4,607		2.5 percentage points			
Moderate	3,184		2.9 percentage points			
Mixed	1,831		3.7 percentage points			
Integrationist	1,511		4.0 percentage points			
Christian	7,577		1.9 percentage points			
Protestant	4,794		2.3 percentage points			
White evangelical	1,821		3.6 percentage points			
White, not evangelical	1,544		4.0 percentage points			
Black Protestant	692		5.7 percentage points			
Hispanic Protestant	429		9.3 percentage points			
Catholic	2,492		3.4 percentage points			
White Catholic	1,457		3.8 percentage points			
Hispanic Catholic	889		6.9 percentage points			
Jewish	335		9.8 percentage points			
Unaffiliated	3,552		3.0 percentage points			
Atheist/agnostic	1,626		4.3 percentage points			
Nothing in particular	1,926		3.9 percentage points			
Unweighted sample size Weighted %						
Republican/lean Rep.	4,796	43	2.3 percentage points			
Democrat/lean Dem.	6,988	52	2.1 percentage points			
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## Sample sizes and margins of error for results based on subsample from March 1-7, 2021, survey and for results from combining March 2021 survey with earlier surveys

Form 1 (half sample), March 1-7, 2021, survey (rating of Trump as president)

	Among all respondents Unweighted		Among White, non-Hispanic respondents Unweighted	
Group	sample size	Margin of error	sample size	Margin of error
All U.S. adults	6,044	2.1 percentage points	4,165	2.4 percentage points
Church-state views				
Separationist	3,915	2.7 percentage points	2,800	3.0 percentage points
Strong	2,305	3.5 percentage points	1,734	3.8 percentage points
Moderate	1,610	4.1 percentage points	1,066	4.7 percentage points
Mixed	927	5.2 percentage points	626	6.1 percentage points
Integrationist	743	5.7 percentage points	541	6.1 percentage points

Combination of March 1-7, 2021, and July 27-Aug. 2, 2020, surveys (questions about difficulty of being a Black person in U.S., growing number of newcomers from other countries, prioritizing marriage and children)

	Among all respondents Unweighted		Among White, non-Hispanic respondents Unweighted	
	sample size	Margin of error	sample size	Margin of error
All U.S. adults	9,325	1.8 percentage points	6,421	2.0 percentage points
Church-state views				
Separationist	6,079	2.2 percentage points	4,325	2.5 percentage points
Strong	3,630	2.9 percentage points	2,711	3.1 percentage points
Moderate	2,449	3.4 percentage points	1,614	4.0 percentage points
Mixed	1,404	4.2 percentage points	961	4.8 percentage points
Integrationist	1,167	4.6 percentage points	841	5.0 percentage points

Combination of March 1-7, 2021, and Sept. 3-15, 2019, surveys (question about relative standing of U.S. in the world)

	Among all respondents Unweighted		Among White, non-Hispanic respondents Unweighted	
	sample size	Margin of error	sample size	Margin of error
All U.S. adults	4,302	2.6 percentage points	3,199	2.9 percentage points
Church-state views				
Separationist	2,835	3.3 percentage points	2,154	3.5 percentage points
Strong	1,715	4.2 percentage points	1,366	4.3 percentage points
Moderate	1,120	5.0 percentage points	788	5.7 percentage points
Mixed	645	6.3 percentage points	478	7.2 percentage points
Integrationist	522	7.0 percentage points	415	6.9 percentage points
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Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request. 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.

### Dispositions and response rates (for March 1-7, 2021, survey)

Final dispositions	AAPOR code	Total
Completed interview	1.1	12,055
Logged on to survey; broke-off	2.12	119
Logged on to survey; did not complete any items	2.1121	72
Never logged on (implicit refusal)	2.11	1,297
Survey completed after close of the field period	2.27	0
Completed interview but was removed for data quality		2
Screened out		0
Total panelists in the survey		13,545
Completed interviews	I	12,055
Partial interviews	Р	0
Refusals	R	1,490
Non-contact	NC	0
Other	0	0
Unknown household	UH	0
Unknown other	UO	0
Not eligible	NE	0
Total		13,545
AAPOR RR1 = $I/(I+P+R+NC+O+UH+UO)$		89%

Cumulative response rate	Total
Weighted response rate to recruitment surveys	11%
% of recruitment survey respondents who agreed to join the panel, among those invited	73%
% of those agreeing to join who were active panelists at start of Wave 84	57%
Response rate to Wave 84 survey	89%
Cumulative response rate	<b>4</b> %

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