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45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'

But they hold differing opinions about what that phrase means, and two-thirds of U.S. adults say churches should keep out of politics

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How we did this

Pew Research Center conducted this survey to explore Americans' attitudes about religion's role in public life. The survey asked respondents whether they think churches and other religious organizations should be involved in politics, whether the U.S. should be a "Christian nation," whether they have heard of "Christian nationalism" (and if so, what they think of it), and about their perceptions of religion's role in the Supreme Court, among other topics.

For this report, we surveyed 10,588 U.S. adults from Sept. 13 to 18, 2022. Roughly half of the survey's respondents (5,311 participants) were randomly assigned to receive the questions about whether the U.S. should be a "Christian nation," and the other half of respondents (5,277) were randomly assigned to receive the "Christian nationalism" questions. 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 <u>ATP's methodology</u> 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 <u>pewresearch.org/religion</u>.

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45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'

But they hold differing opinions about what that phrase means, and two-thirds of U.S. adults say churches should keep out of politics

Growing numbers of religious and political leaders are <u>embracing the "Christian</u> <u>nationalist" label</u>, and some dispute the idea that the country's founders wanted a <u>separation of church and state</u>. On the other side of the debate, however, many Americans – including the <u>leaders of many</u> <u>Christian churches</u> – have pushed back against Christian nationalism, <u>calling it a</u> <u>"danger" to the country</u>.

Most U.S. adults believe America's founders intended the country to be a Christian nation, and many say they think it should be a Christian nation today, according to a new Pew Research Center survey designed to explore Americans' views on the topic. But the survey also finds widely differing opinions about what it



means to be a "Christian nation" and to support "Christian nationalism."

For instance, many supporters of Christian nationhood define the concept in broad terms, as the idea that the country is guided by Christian values. Those who say the United States should *not* be a Christian nation, on the other hand, are much more inclined to define a Christian nation as one where the laws explicitly enshrine religious teachings.

Overall, six-in-ten U.S. adults – including nearly seven-in-ten Christians – say they believe the founders "originally intended" for the U.S. to be a Christian nation. And 45% of U.S. adults – including about six-in-ten Christians – say they think the country "should be" a Christian nation. A third say the U.S. "is now" a Christian nation.

At the same time, a large majority of the public expresses some reservations about intermingling religion and government. For example, about three-quarters of U.S. adults (77%) say that churches and other houses of worship should not endorse candidates for political offices. Two-thirds (67%) say that religious institutions should keep out of political matters rather than expressing their views on day-to-day social or political questions. And the new survey – along with <u>other recent</u> <u>Center research</u> – makes clear that there is far more support for the idea of separation of church and state than opposition to it among Americans overall.

This raises the question: What do people mean when they say the U.S. should be a "Christian nation"? While some people who say the U.S. should be a Christian nation define the concept as one where a nation's laws are based on Christian tenets and the nation's leaders are Christian, it is much more common for people in this category to see a Christian nation as one where people are more broadly guided by Christian values or a belief in God, even if its laws are not explicitly Christian and its leaders can have a variety of faiths or no faith at all. Some people who say the U.S. should be a Christian nation are thinking about the religious makeup of the population; to them, a Christian nation is a country where most people are Christians. Others are simply envisioning a place where people treat each other well and have good morals.

Combining the results of the new survey with an <u>earlier Center survey on the relationship between</u> <u>religion and government</u> conducted in March 2021 helps to show the distribution of these differing viewpoints. Thousands of respondents took both surveys, so it is possible to see how they answered multiple questions.

Among those who say the U.S. should be a Christian nation, roughly three-in-ten (28%) said in March 2021 that "the federal government should declare the U.S. a Christian nation," while half (52%) said the federal government "should never declare any particular religion as the official religion of the United States."

Similarly, among those who say in the new survey that the U.S. should be a Christian nation, only about a quarter (24%) said in the prior survey that the federal government should advocate Christian religious values. About twice as many (52%) said the government should "advocate for moral values that are shared by people of many faiths."

And three-in-ten U.S. adults who want the U.S. to be a Christian nation (31%) said in the March 2021 survey that the federal government should stop enforcing the separation of church and state. More took the opposite position, saying the federal government *should* enforce that separation (39%).

Many Americans who say U.S. should be a 'Christian nation' do not want the federal government to declare it officially

Among the 45% of Americans who say the U.S. should be a "Christian nation," % who also say the federal government should ...

28 %	52%		20%
Declare U.S. a Christian nation	Never declare any particular religion as the official religion of the United States		Neither/ no opinion/refused
24	52		25
Advocate Christian religious values	Advocate for moral values that are shared by people of many faiths		Neither/ no opinion/refused
31	39		30
Stop enforcing separation of church and state	Enforce separation of church and state	no	Neither/ opinion/refused

Among the **51%** of Americans who say the U.S. should <u>NOT</u> be a "Christian nation," % who also say the federal government should ...

1	88	11
Declare U.S. a Christian nation	Never declare any particular religion as the official religion of the United States	/Neither no opinion/refused
2	75	23
Advocate Christian religious values	Advocate for moral values that are shared by people of many faiths	Neither/ no opinion/refused
8	71	21
Stop enforcing separation of church and state	Enforce separation of church and state	Neither/ no opinion/refused

Among all U.S. adults (including those who think U.S. should be a "Christian nation" and those who do not), % who also say the federal government should ...

15	69	17
Declare U.S. a Christian nation	Never declare any particular religion as the official religion of the United States	Neither/ no opinion/refused
13	63	24
Advocate Christian religious values	Advocate for moral values that are shared by people of many faiths	Neither/ no opinion/refused
19	54	27
Stop enforcing separation of church and state	Enforce separation of church and state	Neither/ no opinion/refused

Note: Figures may not add to 100% due to rounding.

Source: Question about whether the U.S. should be a Christian nation from survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults. All other questions from survey conducted March 1-7, 2021, among U.S. adults.

"45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

At the same time, however, people who believe the U.S. should be a Christian nation are far more inclined than those who think it should not be a Christian nation to favor officially declaring Christianity to be the nation's religion, to support government advocacy of Christian values, and to say the government should stop enforcing separation of church and state.

Furthermore, the new survey finds that nearly eight-in-ten people who say the U.S. should be a Christian nation also say the Bible should have at least some influence on U.S. laws, including slightly more than half (54%) who say that when the Bible conflicts with the will of the people, the Bible should prevail.

Among those who want U.S. to be a 'Christian nation,' upward of half say Bible should influence U.S. laws and take precedence over the will of the people

U.S. adults who say the U.S. should be a "Christian nation" Bible should have little or Bible should have a great deal or some influence on U.S. laws: 78% no influence on U.S. laws 54% 22% 21% 3% L No If they conflict, Bible should have more influence Will of the people should have more influence than will of people answer U.S adults who say the U.S. should NOT be a "Christian nation" **Bible should have** a great deal or some influence on U.S. laws: Bible should have little or no influence on U.S. laws 20 6 14 <1 79 Will of the people should have more influence If they conflict, Bible should have more influence than will of people All U.S. adults Bible should have little or no influence Bible should have a great deal or some influence on U.S. laws: 47 on U.S. laws 27 19 2 51 If they conflict, Bible Will of the people No answer should have more influence should have than will of people more influence Note: Figures may not add to subtotals indicated due to rounding. Those who did not answer the question about how much influence the Bible should have on U.S. laws are not shown. Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults. "45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'

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Among ____, % who say ...

And about a third of U.S. adults who say the U.S. should be a Christian nation (32%) also think the fact that the country is religiously diverse – i.e., made up of people from many different religions as well as people who are not religious – weakens American society. Those who want the U.S. to be a Christian nation are far more inclined than those who do not want the U.S. to be a Christian nation to express this negative view of religious diversity.

Still, among those who say the U.S. should be a Christian nation, there are roughly as many people who say the country's religious diversity *strengthens* American society as there are who say it weakens society (28% vs. 32%).

And cumulatively, the survey's results suggest that most people who say the U.S. should be a

Those who say U.S. should be a 'Christian nation' divided about the impact of religious diversity

% who say the fact that the U.S. is made up of people from many religions, including people who are not religious ...

	Weakens American society		Strengthens American society		
	%	%	%		
U.S. adults	19	39	41		
Among those who say					
U.S. should be a "Christian nation"	32	38	28		
U.S. should NOT be a "Christian nation"	8	36	55		
Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults. "45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"					

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Christian nation are thinking of some definition of the term other than a government-imposed theocracy.

Indeed, in response to a question that gave respondents a chance to describe, in their own words, what the phrase "Christian nation" means to them, nearly half (48%) of those who say the U.S. should be a Christian nation define that phrase as the general guidance of Christian beliefs and values in society, such as that a Christian nation is one where the population has faith in God or Jesus Christ, specifically. Fewer people who say the U.S. should be a Christian nation explain that they mean the country's laws should be based on Christianity (6%).

What does the phrase 'Christian nation' mean to you?

-			-
		0	hose who V
	All U.S. adults	U.S. should be a Christian nation	U.S. should not be a Christian nation
	%	%	%
Guided by Christian beliefs/values	34	48	23
Christian-based laws/governance	18	6	30
Guided by beliefs/values (not specifically Christian)	12	21	4
Negative attributes (e.g., bigotry, authoritarianism, White supremacy)	11	<1	21
Positive attributes (e.g., religious freedom)	4	7	1
Founded on Christian principles	1	2	1
Conservative	1	<1	2
Unclear	4	4	5
Don't know/no answer	31	30	29
Note: This was an open-ended question. Results may not s	um to 100	% hecause	more than

Note: This was an open-ended question. Results may not sum to 100% because more than one response was permitted. Up to three responses were coded. Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults. "45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

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Those who say the U.S. should *not* be a Christian nation are much more likely than those who say it should be one to say that being a Christian nation would entail religion-based laws and policies (30% vs. 6%). Others who oppose Christian nationhood use negative words to describe the concept, such as that a Christian nation would be "strict," "controlling," "racist," "bigoted" or "exclusionary" toward people of other faiths (21%). (For additional discussion and details of the results of the survey's open-ended question about the meaning of the term "Christian nation," see Chapter 3.)

In your own words, what does the phrase 'Christian nation' mean to you?

Examples of responses among those who say ...

... the U.S. should be a Christian nation

- "A country based on Christian beliefs. Freedom of religion, all men being created equal. While belief in the 10 Commandments would be great, imagine life in the U.S. if only four to 10 were kept! People need to believe in something/someone higher than themselves."
- "Belief in the underpinning philosophy of Judeo-Christian traditions, which includes loving thy neighbor, belief in service to a higher power than yourself, individualism, free will and traditional morality."
- "Attributing all that we have to God or a supreme being."

... the U.S. should NOT be a Christian nation

- "'Christian' used to be code for polite and decent; now it's code for the opposite. A 'Christian nation' would be intolerant, inflexible and ultimately brutal."
- I don't like that term, but to me it means theocracy. I realize other people mean it in different ways, such as to refer to the fact that most people in America are Christian. But to pretend that the nation somehow belongs to Christians just because they happen to be the majority excludes everyone else."
- "A White Christian ethno-state."

In addition to the questions that asked about being a "Christian *nation*," the survey asked other respondents about their familiarity with the term "Christian *nationalism*."¹ Overall, the survey indicates that more than half of U.S. adults (54%) have heard nothing at all about Christian nationalism, while 14% say they have heard a little, 17% have heard some, 9% have heard quite a bit and 5% have heard a great deal about it.

Altogether, 45% say they have heard at least a little about Christian nationalism. These respondents received a follow-up question asking whether they have a favorable or unfavorable view of Christian nationalism. (Those who said they had heard nothing at all about the term were not asked for their opinion on it.) Far more people express an unfavorable opinion than a favorable one (24% vs. 5%), though even among respondents who say they have heard at least a little about Christian nationalism, many don't express an opinion or say they don't know enough to take a stance.

More than half of U.S. adults have heard nothing at all about 'Christian nationalism'

	NET	Heard at least a —— 45% ——	little		Nothing at all	No answer
5%	9 %	17%	14%		54%	1%
A great deal	Quite a bit	Some ↓	A littl	e		
All in a	ll, do yo	u have a favor	able or unf	avo	able view of "Christian nationalism"?	
5		24	8	8	<1: No answer	
Favorabl	e Unfa		er favorable Infavorable		't know ugh to say	
Note: Figur	es may not	add to 100% or to	subtotals indica	ated o	ue to rounding.	

How much have you heard or read about "Christian nationalism"?

Note: Figures may not add to 100% or to subtotals indicated due to rounding. Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults. "45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

¹ A randomly selected half of respondents received the survey's questions about being a "Christian nation," while the other half of respondents received the questions about "Christian nationalism." No respondents received both groups of questions. <u>See Topline for complete details</u>.

In an open-ended question asking about the meaning of "Christian nationalism," upward of onein-ten Americans say the term implies some form of institutionalization or official dominance of Christianity, such as theocratic rule or a formal declaration that the U.S. is a Christian nation with Christian inhabitants. At the same time, many Americans who say they hold a *favorable* view of Christian nationalism describe it in ways that suggest it promotes morality and faith without necessarily being in a position of formal, legal dominance. Overall, however, Americans' descriptions of Christian nationalism – especially among those who have an *unfavorable* opinion of it – are more negative than positive. (See an <u>accompanying interactive feature</u> for a selection of responses to this question.)

These are among the key findings of a new Pew Research Center survey, conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among 10,588 respondents who are part of the Center's <u>American Trends Panel</u>. The survey is the latest entry in the Center's long-running effort to gauge the public's perceptions and attitudes related to religion in public life – including their views about how much influence religion has in American society and how much it ought to have. The survey also contained several questions about religion and the Supreme Court.

The high court's last session produced a number of decisions with implications for religion, including the <u>historic</u> <u>case that overturned Roe v.</u> <u>Wade</u> as well as rulings that favored a <u>high school football</u> <u>coach who led Christian</u> <u>prayers</u> after games and allowed <u>public funding for</u> <u>private religious schools</u>.

The new survey finds a big jump in the share of Americans who say they think the Supreme Court is friendly toward religion. Today, roughly a third of U.S. adults (35%) say the court is friendly to religion, up sharply from 18% who said this in 2019, when the Center last asked this question.

About four-in-ten U.S. adults (42%) say the Supreme Court's recent decisions have helped the interests of Christians in the United States, compared with 15% who say they have hurt Christians. And 44% of

About a third of Americans now say Supreme Court is friendly to religion



% of U.S. adults who say recent Supreme Court decisions have _____ the interests of Christians

	Helped	Hurt	Not made much difference	
Sept. 2022	42	15	40	

% of U.S. adults who say Supreme Court justices have relied on their religious beliefs _____ in their recent decisions



U.S. adults say Supreme Court justices have relied on their religious beliefs too much in their recent decisions, versus 13% who say they have relied on these beliefs too little. Both of these questions were asked for the first time as part of the new survey.

The survey also finds a small but noticeable uptick in the share of respondents who say religion is gaining influence in American life – from 20% in 2019 to 23% today. And the share of Americans who say it has become harder to be a person of strong religious faith over the last decade declined from 54% in 2014 (when the Center last asked this question) to 47% today.

Still, with religiously unaffiliated Americans <u>rising</u> <u>steadily as a share of the U.S.</u> <u>population</u>, the share of people who say religion is losing

Three-quarters of U.S. adults say religion is losing influence in American life

% of U.S. adults who say religion is _____ in American life

	Gaining influe	nce Losing influence
Sept. 2022	23%	74%
March/ April 2019	20	78

% of U.S. adults who say living in the U.S. today is _____ than it was 10 years ago for people who have strong religious faith

	Easier	Harder	About the same
Sept. 2022	13	47	38
May/ June 2014	11	54	35

Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults. "45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

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influence in American life continues to far exceed the share who say religion's influence is growing (by a 74% to 23% margin). And those who say it has gotten harder to be a deeply religious person in the U.S. continue to outnumber those who say it has become easier (by a 47% to 13% margin).

And over the past year, there is no sign that any religious group analyzed in the survey has increasingly come to view their side as "winning" on the political issues that matter most to them. Indeed, majorities in every religious group analyzed in the study – ranging from 62% of Black Protestants to 78% of White evangelical Protestants – say their side has been losing more often than winning on the political issues that matter to them. This also includes people who are religiously unaffiliated (those who describe themselves as atheist, agnostic or "nothing in particular"). Three-quarters (74%) of unaffiliated U.S. adults (sometimes called "nones") say their side has been losing. (For additional discussion of the public's view of whether their side has been winning or losing in politics, see "Growing share of Americans say their side in politics has been losing more often than winning.")

Over past year, no increase in share of people in any religious category who feel their side has been <u>winning</u> on political issues; all groups feel they are <u>losing</u>



Thinking about the way things have been going in politics over the last few years on the issues that matter to you, would you say your side has been winning more often than losing or losing more often than winning?

Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. The 2016, 2018 and 2019 surveys included too few interviews with Hispanic Catholics to report on them separately. The 2018 survey included too few interviews with Black Protestants to report on them separately. Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults. "45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

Views about how major parties, Biden administration approach religion

In addition to asking about the Supreme Court's stance toward religion, the survey also asked similar questions about the country's two major political parties and the Biden administration. Republicans and Democrats mostly agree that the Republican Party is "friendly" toward religion; 61% of Republicans and independents who lean toward the Republican Party say this, as do 60% of Democrats and Democratic leaners.

Partisans differ sharply, however, in their perceptions of the Democratic Party. Six-inten Democrats say their party is "neutral" toward religion, and roughly three-in-ten say their party is friendly toward religion. Just 8% of Democrats view the Democratic Party as "unfriendly" toward religion. In sharp contrast, most Republicans (61%) say the Democratic Party is unfriendly toward religion, while 27% say it is neutral and just 10% say it is friendly.

Majorities in most religious groups say the Republican Party is friendly toward

Republicans and Democrats agree that the GOP is 'friendly' toward religion; no similar consensus about Democratic Party

% who say the Republican Party/Democratic Party is _____ toward religion

	Republican	Dem	ocratic	Party		
Fr	riendly Neutra		Friendly	y Neutra	al Unfr	iendly
All U.S. adults	58%	27% 11%	21%	44%	32%	
Christian	55	30 13	19	38	40	
Protestant	55	29 13	19	35	44	
White evangelical	60	30 7	8 26	6	64	
White, not evangelical	63	25 8	18	38	40	
Black Protestant	32 34	31	39	4	7 11	Ļ
Catholic	54	31 13	19	46	33	
White, non-Hispanic	60	29 8	17	38	42	
Hispanic	47	34 16	21	56	21	
Jewish*	65	22 12	20	56	23	
Religiously unaffiliated	67	21 8	25	55	17	7
Atheist	83	10	28	59	12	2
Agnostic	84	11	25	59	15	5
Nothing in particular	57	28 10	24	52	20	
Rep./lean Rep.	61	32	10 27	6	61	
Dem./lean Dem.	60	22 16	31	60) 8	3

* The survey included 230 interviews with Jewish respondents, with an effective sample size of 97 and a 95% confidence level margin of error of plus or minus 10.0 percentage points. This margin of error conservatively assumes a reported percentage of 50%. Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults. "45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

religion, although Black Protestants (32% of whom view the GOP as friendly to religion) and Hispanic Catholics (47%) are two exceptions. White evangelicals, meanwhile, are the only religious group in which a majority views the Democratic Party as unfriendly to religion (64%).

Opinions about the Biden administration's approach to religion resemble views toward the Democratic Party. Most Democrats say the Biden administration is neutral toward religion, while a sizable minority say it is friendly and just 5% say it is unfriendly. By contrast, most Republicans (57%) say the White House is unfriendly toward religion, while three-in-ten say it is neutral and just one-in-ten say it is friendly.

A plurality of all U.S. Catholics (44%) say the Biden administration is neutral toward religion, while 29% say it is unfriendly and 25% say it is friendly to religion. (Biden is the nation's <u>second Catholic</u> <u>president</u>.)

Most Democrats say Biden administration is 'neutral' toward religion; most Republicans say it is 'unfriendly'

% who say the Biden administration is _____ toward religion



* The survey included 230 interviews with Jewish respondents, with an effective sample size of 97 and a 95% confidence level margin of error of plus or minus 10.0 percentage points. This margin of error conservatively assumes a reported percentage of 50%. Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults. "45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

Partisanship, religion and views of U.S. as 'Christian nation'

The survey finds that White evangelical Protestants are more likely than other Christians to say the founders intended for America to be a "Christian nation," that the U.S. should be a Christian nation today, and that the Bible should have more influence over U.S. laws than the will of the people if the two conflict.

But these sentiments also are commonplace among other Christian groups - and by no means exclusive to White evangelicals. For example, half of Black Protestants say the Bible should have more influence on U.S. laws than the will of the people if the two conflict. About half of White Protestants who are not evangelical say the U.S. should be a Christian nation. And roughly six-in-ten Catholics say they believe the founders originally intended for America to be a Christian nation.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the view that the U.S. should be a Christian nation is far less common among non-Christians than among

Six-in-ten Christians say U.S. should be a 'Christian nation'

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

	The founders of America <u>originally</u> <u>intended</u> for the U.S. to be a "Christian nation"	The U.S. <u>should be</u> a "Christian nation"	If they conflict, Bible should have more influence than will of people on U.S. laws
	%	%	%
All U.S. adults	60	45	27
All Christians	69	62	38
Protestant	73	68	48
White evangelical	81	81	65
White, not evangelica	I 70	54	24
Black Protestant	57	65	51
Catholic	62	47	21
All non-Christians	44	16	7
Jewish*	36	16	8
Religiously unaffiliated	45	17	6
Atheist/agnostic	32	7	1
Nothing in particular	53	23	9
Republican/lean Rep.	76	67	40
Democrat/lean Dem.	47	29	16
Ages 18-29	50	23	13
30-49	55	39	25
50-64	63	56	33
65+	73	63	36

* For the questions about whether the founders intended the U.S. to be a "Christian nation" and whether the U.S. should be one, the survey included 123 interviews with Jewish respondents, with an effective sample size of 61 and a 95% confidence level margin of error of plus or minus 12.5 percentage points. For the question about the Bible and the will of the people, the survey included 230 interviews with Jewish respondents, with an effective sample size of 97 and a 95% confidence level margin of error of plus or minus 10.0 percentage points. These margins of error conservatively assume a reported percentage of 50%.

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 Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults.

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Christians, as is the view that the founders originally intended for the U.S. to be a Christian nation

(though 44% of non-Christians express the latter view). But non-Christians are *more* likely than Christians to say they currently see the U.S. as a Christian nation (40% vs. 30%).²

Three-quarters of Republicans (76%) say the founders intended for the U.S. to be a Christian nation, compared with roughly half of Democrats (47%). Republicans also are at least twice as likely as Democrats to say that America should be a Christian nation (67% vs. 29%) and that the Bible should have more influence over U.S. laws than the will of the people if they conflict (40% vs. 16%).

Americans of different ages also differ on these questions, with older Americans much more likely to express the desire for America to be a Christian nation. For example, 63% of Americans ages 65 and older say the United States should be a Christian nation, compared with 23% of those ages 18 to 29. <u>Other studies</u> consistently find that older Americans are far more likely than younger ones to identify as Christians.

² Muslims, Hindus and other smaller religious groups are included in the survey and represented in the "all non-Christians" category, but there were <u>not enough respondents in these groups</u> to analyze separately.

Other key findings include:

• A third of U.S. Christians say "being patriotic" is "essential" to what being Christian means to them, while four-in-ten say it is "important, but not essential" and roughly a quarter (27%) say being patriotic is "not important" to what it means to be Christian. There are only modest differences among White evangelical Protestants, White Protestants who are not evangelical, and White Catholics on this question. Black Protestants and Hispanic Catholics are somewhat less inclined than their White counterparts to cite patriotism as an essential element of Christianity. Christians from all backgrounds are instead much more likely to rank believing in God, living a moral life and having a personal relationship with Jesus Christ as "essential" elements of Christianity.

A third of U.S. Christians see patriotism as essential to their Christian identity; far more see belief in God, moral life, relationship with Jesus as essential

Being patriotic is to what being Christian means to me	All U.S. Christians %	White evangelical Protestant %	White Protestant, not evang. %	Black Protestant %	White Catholic %	Hispanic Catholic %
Essential	⁷⁰ 32	⁷⁰ 36	⁷⁰ 32	24	40	25
Important, but not essential	40	40	36	44	38	25 45
Not important	27	24	31	29	21	29
% who say each of the following is "essential" to what being Christian means to them						
Believing in God	84	96	76	85	77	80
Living a moral life	75	81	71	72	78	69
Have a personal relationship with Jesus	74	93	59	81	60	71
Continuing family traditions	45	42	37	48	49	52
Being a part of a community	41	46	31	47	36	42
Being patriotic	32	36	32	24	40	25
Attending religious services regularly	32	40	16	40	24	36

Note: Those who did not answer the question about whether being patriotic is essential to being Christian are not shown. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults.

"45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

- Roughly four-in-ten U.S. adults say churches and other religious organizations have too much influence in politics – on par with the share who said this in 2017, and slightly higher than the share who said it in 2019. Roughly one-third now say churches and religious organizations have about the right amount of sway in politics, while 22% say they do not have enough political influence.
- The survey suggests that more Americans see religion as a positive influence in American life than a negative one. Four-inten U.S. adults say religion's influence is

Roughly four-in-ten U.S. adults say churches and religious organizations have too much political influence

% of U.S. adults who say churches and religious organizations have _____ influence in politics

	Dec. 2017	March/April 2019	Sept. 2022
Too much	41	37	42
About the right amount	33	34	35
Not enough	25	28	22

Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults. "45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

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declining and that this is a bad thing. Approximately one-in-ten say religion's influence is growing and that this is a good thing. Roughly half, then, express a positive view of religion in these questions. By contrast, about a quarter of U.S. adults express a negative view of religion by saying either that religion's influence is waning and that is a good thing, or that religion's influence is growing and that is a bad thing. (See <u>Chapter 1</u> for additional details.)

Guide to this report

The remainder of this report describes these findings in additional detail. <u>Chapter 1</u> focuses on the public's perceptions of religion's role in public life. <u>Chapter 2</u> examines views of religion and the Supreme Court. And <u>Chapter 3</u> focuses on views of the U.S. as a "Christian nation" and perceptions of "Christian nationalism."

1. Religion in public life

Most Americans say religion's influence in society is declining, and for many people, this is a lamentable development. Americans are much more likely to express positive than negative views of religion in this way. Moreover, just under half of U.S. adults say the Bible should have at least some influence on the laws of the United States, including 27% who say the Bible should take precedence over the will of the people if the two conflict.

At the same time, however, majorities of U.S. adults also say churches and other houses of worship should keep out of politics and refrain from endorsing political candidates. These views are especially common among the growing segment of Americans who do not identify with any religious group; these religious "nones" also are more likely to express negative views toward religion in general.

Americans who say the U.S. should be a "Christian nation" are far more inclined than those who do not hold this view to say churches should endorse political candidates and express their views on social and political issues, and that the Bible should influence U.S. laws. Still, even among those who say they want the U.S. to be a "Christian nation," many do not want churches to be involved in politics and believe the will of the people should take precedence over the Bible in shaping U.S. laws.

There is no clear consensus about whether it has become easier or harder to be a person who does *not* believe or practice a religious faith in the United States over the past decade as this group has grown. Slightly fewer than half of Americans (47%), meanwhile, say life in the U.S. has become harder over the last 10 years for people of deep religious faith, much larger than the share who say this has become easier (13%).

This chapter explores these and other findings about Americans' views regarding religion and public life.

Three-quarters of U.S. adults say religion is losing influence in society

A large majority of Americans (74%) say they think religion's influence in American life is declining, although this share is down slightly from the last time the question was asked in 2019 (78%). About one-quarter (23%) now say religion's influence is growing (up slightly from 20% in 2019). Majorities across the religious and political spectrums agree that religion's influence in American society is waning.

Americans three times as likely to say religion is losing than gaining influence

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

	Gaining influence in American life	Losing influence in American life
Among all U.S. adults in	%	%
Sept. 2022	23	74
March/April 2019	20	78
In Sept. 2022, among		
Christian	22	76
Protestant	22	76
White evangelical Prot.	15	84
White Prot., not evang.	20	76
Black Protestant	34	65
Catholic	22	76
White Catholic	14	84
Hispanic Catholic	32	67
Jewish*	35	62
Religiously unaffiliated	23	74
Atheist	26	73
Agnostic	22	77
Nothing in particular	22	73
Republican/lean Rep.	16	82
Democrat/lean Dem.	30	68

* The survey included 230 interviews with Jewish respondents, with an effective sample size of 97 and a 95% confidence level margin of error of plus or minus 10.0 percentage points. This margin of error conservatively assumes a reported percentage of 50%. Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. White and Black

adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race.

Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults. "45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

The survey also indicates that Americans are more likely to see religion as a positive influence in American life than a negative one. Four-in-ten U.S. adults say religion's influence is declining and that this is a bad thing, and an additional 9% say religion's influence is growing and that this is a good thing; together, 49% express a positive view of religion through these responses. White evangelical Protestants and Republicans are especially likely to say religion is declining in influence and that this is a negative development.

On the whole, far fewer Americans express a negative view of religion by saying either that religion's waning influence is a good thing (16%) or that religion's growing influence is a bad thing (10%). There are, however, signs of wariness about religion's influence among some groups in the population. Roughly half of U.S. Jews, for instance, say either that religion's influence in American life is growing and this is a bad thing (31%) or that religion's influence is declining and this is a good thing (23%).³ And large majorities of atheists and agnostics also express a negative view of religion in one of these ways.

Among Democrats and independents who lean toward the Democratic Party, there are more people who express a negative view of religion on these questions (42%) than a positive one (32%).

³ All respondents in this report, including Jews, are categorized based on a survey question asking about their current *religion*. People who consider themselves Jewish for other reasons (such as culture, ethnicity or ancestry) but who do not identify with the Jewish religion are not included in the Jewish category.

On balance, more Americans express a positive than a negative view about religion

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U.S. adults' views toward religion, based on combined responses about whether religion's influence is growing or declining, and whether this is a good or bad thing .

	NET Positive view of religion	influence is	Religion's influence is declining, this is bad	NET Negative view of religion	influence is	Religion's influence is declining, this is good	NET Neither positive nor negative	influence is growing, this doesn't make a	Religion's influence is declining, this doesn't make a e difference
Among all U.S. adults in	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sept. 2022	49	9	40	26	10	16	23	4	18
March/April 2019	52	10	42	23	6	17	23	4	19
In Sept. 2022, among									
Christian	67	12	55	11	6	6	20	5	15
Protestant	72	14	58	9	4	5	17	4	13
White evangelical Prot.	86	12	75	3	1	2	9	2	7
White Prot., not evang.	60	10	50	15	7	8	22	3	18
Black Protestant	65	21	44	9	4	5	25	9	16
Catholic	56	8	47	16	8	8	27	5	22
White Catholic	61	5	57	12	6	7	24	3	21
Hispanic Catholic	50	14	35	21	10	10	28	7	21
Jewish*	23	3	19	53	31	23	22	1	21
Religiously unaffiliated	17	3	14	53	17	36	27	3	24
Atheist	4	1	2	86	23	62	9	1	8
Agnostic	9	<1	9	70	20	51	20	2	18
Nothing in particular	24	4	20	37	14	24	34	4	30
Republican/lean Rep.	71	10	61	8	3	6	19	3	16
Democrat/lean Dem.	32	8	24	42	17	25	25	5	20

* The survey included 230 interviews with Jewish respondents, with an effective sample size of 97 and a 95% confidence level margin of error of plus or minus 10.0 percentage points. This margin of error conservatively assumes a reported percentage of 50%.

Note: The "NET Neither positive nor negative" columns include those who did not answer the question about whether religion's growing/declining influence is a good or bad thing. Those who did not answer the question about whether religion's influence is growing or declining are not shown. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race.

Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults.

"45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

The prevailing view among Christians is that living in the U.S. has gotten harder over the last decade for people who have strong religious faith. By a 56% to 10% margin, far more Christians say life in the U.S. has gotten harder lately for people of deep religious faith than say it has gotten easier, with a third saying it is about the same. Among White evangelical Protestants, sevenin-ten say life in the U.S. has become harder for religious people over the last decade.

By contrast, religious "nones" are more evenly divided as to whether life has gotten harder or easier for people who do not believe or practice a religious faith. A third of religiously unaffiliated Americans say life has become harder for people who are not religious, while 23% say it has become easier and 42% say it hasn't changed very much.

Slim majority of Christians say life has become harder in U.S. for people who have strong religious faith

% who say living in the U.S. is easier, harder or about the same as it was 10 years ago for ...

	People who have strong religious faith			People who do not believe or practice a religious faith		
	Easier	About the same	e Harder	About the Easier same Harder		
Among all U.S. adults in	245151 %	%	%	2051CI	%	%
Sept. 2022	13	38	47	25	38	35
April 2014	11	35	54	28	39	33
In Sept. 2022, among						
Christian	10	32	56	26	36	36
Protestant	9	31	59	27	35	35
White evangelical Prot.	4	24	70	35	32	32
White Prot., not evangelical	10	41	47	23	43	32
Black Protestant	14	32	53	17	35	44
Catholic	12	35	51	22	39	37
White Catholic	10	37	52	24	40	33
Hispanic Catholic	13	33	52	18	36	45
Jewish*	21	45	32	28	43	29
Religiously unaffiliated	18	49	30	23	42	33
Atheist	26	57	15	35	34	30
Agnostic	20	57	23	28	39	32
Nothing in particular	15	45	36	18	45	35
Republican/lean Rep.	6	29	64	31	36	32
Democrat/lean Dem.	19	46	33	21	40	37

* The survey included 230 interviews with Jewish respondents, with an effective sample size of 97 and a 95% confidence level margin of error of plus or minus 10.0 percentage points. This margin of error conservatively assumes a reported percentage of 50%. Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults. "45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

Most Americans say churches should stay out of politics, refrain from political endorsements

About three-quarters of U.S. adults (77%) say churches and other houses of worship should not come out in favor of one candidate over another during political elections. This view is expressed by majorities across the religious and political spectrums, and by most people who say the U.S. should be a "Christian nation," as well as by most people who say it should not be a Christian nation. For instance, 62% of White evangelical Protestants and 63% of Black Protestants say churches should avoid endorsing political candidates, as do 70% of Republicans and 84% of Democrats.

There is a bit more openness to the idea that churches and other houses of worship should "express their views on day-today social and political questions" than to the prospect of religious organizations offering explicit endorsements of political candidates. Still, two-thirds of the public (67%) says churches and other houses

Three-quarters of U.S. adults say houses of worship should not endorse political candidates

% of U.S. adults who say the following

	During politica churches an houses of w	nd other	Churches and other houses of worship should			
Among all U.S. adults	Should come out in favor of one candidate over another		Express their views on day-to- day social and political questions	Keep out of political matters		
in	%	%	%	%		
Sept. 2022	20	77	31	67		
Sept. 2021	not asked	not asked	29	70		
March/April 2019	23	76	36	63		
In Sept. 2022, among						
Christian	25	72	39	59		
Protestant	29	68	44	54		
White evangelical Prot	. 36	62	53	45		
White Prot., not evang	. 16	81	28	69		
Black Protestant	33	63	48	50		
Catholic	17	80	29	70		
White Catholic	17	81	29	70		
Hispanic Catholic	16	80	29	70		
Jewish*	22	77	28	71		
Religiously unaffiliated	11	87	17	82		
Atheist	4	95	7	93		
Agnostic	7	92	14	86		
Nothing in particular	14	83	21	77		
Republican/lean Rep.	27	70	41	57		
Democrat/lean Dem.	15	84	24	76		
Should U.S. be "Christia	n nation"?					
Yes	31	67	46	52		
No	12	87	17	83		

* The survey included 230 interviews with Jewish respondents, with an effective sample size of 97 and a 95% confidence level margin of error of plus or minus 10.0 percentage points. This margin of error conservatively assumes a reported percentage of 50%. Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults. "45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

of worship should "keep out of political matters" and not express their views on social and political subjects.

White evangelicals and Black Protestants are divided as to whether churches and other congregations should keep out of politics or express their views on day-to-day political subjects. In every other religious group measured in the survey, however, there is a clear consensus against political involvement by houses of worship.

Overall, roughly four-in-ten U.S. adults say churches and religious organizations have too much influence in politics today, while 35% say they have about the right amount and 22% say they don't have enough political influence.

Jews and religiously unaffiliated Americans are far more apt than Christians to say religious organizations have too much influence in politics. Among Christians, a plurality say religious organizations have about the right amount of influence (42%), while the remainder are divided between those who think religious organizations have too much influence (27%) and those who think they have too little political sway (29%).

Most Democrats say they think religious organizations have too much influence in politics (60%). Among Republicans, by contrast, just 21% say religious organizations have too much political influence, while 45% say they have the right amount and 33% say they don't have enough political influence.

Among Americans who say the U.S. should be a "Christian nation," nearly half (46%) say religious organizations have about the right amount of influence in politics, and approximately a third (35%) say they do not have enough influence; fewer than one-in-five (17%) say they have too much influence. In stark contrast, two-thirds of adults who say the U.S. should *not* be a Christian nation say religious organizations have too much influence in politics (68%).

Roughly four-in-ten U.S. adults say religious organizations have too much political influence

% who say churches and religious organizations have _____ influence in politics

	Too much	About the right amount	Not enough
Among all U.S. adults in	%	%	%
Sept. 2022	42	35	22
March/April 2019	37	34	28
Dec. 2017	41	33	25
In Sept. 2022, among			
Christian	27	42	29
Protestant	25	40	33
White evangelical Prot.	12	40	45
White Prot., not evangelical	38	42	19
Black Protestant	23	42	33
Catholic	33	45	21
White Catholic	32	48	19
Hispanic Catholic	35	44	21
Jewish*	63	23	13
Religiously unaffiliated	70	20	8
Atheist	93	6	1
Agnostic	82	14	4
Nothing in particular	60	27	12
Republican/lean Rep.	21	45	33
Democrat/lean Dem.	60	27	12
Should U.S. be "Christian natior	״?		
Yes	17	46	35
No	68	25	7

* The survey included 230 interviews with Jewish respondents, with an effective sample size of 97 and a 95% confidence level margin of error of plus or minus 10.0 percentage points. This margin of error conservatively assumes a reported percentage of 50%. Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race.

Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults. "45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

Just under half of Americans say the Bible should have at least some influence on U.S. laws

Nearly half of U.S. adults say they think the Bible should have a great deal of influence (23%) or some influence (24%) on the laws of the United States, while another half sav it should have not much influence (16%) or none at all (36%). The Center asked this question once previously, in February 2020, and found broadly similar results then, though the share who say they Bible should have no influence at all on U.S. laws has ticked up slightly in the last two years (from 31% to 36%).

Upward of eight-in-ten White evangelical Protestants say the Bible should have at least some influence on U.S. laws, including 56% who say it should have a great deal of influence. Nearly threequarters of Black Protestants also say the Bible should have at least some influence on the nation's laws, and about half of Catholics and White Protestants who are not evangelical feel this way. By contrast, large majorities of Jews and religiously unaffiliated Americans

Most White evangelicals, Black Protestants say Bible should have at least some influence on U.S. laws

How much influence should the Bible have on the laws of the United States?

Among all U.S. adults	NET A great deal/ some	A great deal	Some	NET Not much/ none at all	Not much	None at all
in	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sept. 2022	47	23	24	51	16	36
Feb. 2020	49	23	26	50	19	31
In Sept. 2022, among						
Christian	63	32	32	35	15	20
Protestant	70	40	30	28	12	16
White evangelical Prot.	84	56	28	15	7	8
White Prot., not evang.	51	18	33	47	19	29
Black Protestant	73	39	34	25	13	12
Catholic	49	16	33	50	21	29
White Catholic	47	15	32	52	22	30
Hispanic Catholic	51	17	34	48	19	28
Jewish*	29	6	22	69	16	53
Religiously unaffiliated	18	7	11	82	16	66
Atheist	4	3	2	95	6	90
Agnostic	10	3	6	90	12	78
Nothing in particular	24	9	15	75	20	55
Republican/lean Rep.	64	34	31	35	16	19
Democrat/lean Dem.	33	13	20	67	16	51
Should U.S. be "Christian r	nation"?					
Yes	78	45	33	21	13	9
No	20	5	16	79	18	61

* The survey included 230 interviews with Jewish respondents, with an effective sample size of 97 and a 95% confidence level margin of error of plus or minus 10.0 percentage points. This margin of error conservatively assumes a reported percentage of 50%. Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults. "45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

(including 95% of atheists and 90% of agnostics) say the Bible should have little or no influence over the country's laws.

About two-thirds of Republicans and those who lean toward the Republican Party (64%) say the nation's laws should be influenced at least some by the Bible. By contrast, two-thirds of Democrats and Democratic leaners (67%) say the Bible should have little or no influence on U.S. laws.

Roughly eight-in-ten Americans who say the U.S. should be a "Christian nation" (78%) also say the Bible should have at least some influence on the country's laws, including 45% who say it should have a great deal of influence. Among those who say the U.S. should not be a Christian nation, eight-in-ten (79%) say the Bible should have little or no influence on America's laws, including 61% who say it should have no influence at all.

Respondents who said that the Bible should have at least some influence on U.S. laws were asked a follow-up question: When the Bible and the will of the people conflict with each other, which should have more influence on the laws of the United States?

Overall, 27% of U.S. adults say that the Bible should have more influence on U.S. laws than the will of the people – almost identical to the share who said this when the Center last asked the question in 2020 (28%).

Among Christians, more than a third (38%) say the Bible should take precedence over the will of the people in influencing U.S. laws when the two conflict. Nearly two-thirds of White evangelical Protestants (65%) express this view, as do about half of Black Protestants (51%). By comparison, far fewer Catholics (21%) and White non-evangelical Protestants (24%) say the will of the people should be subordinate to the Bible in shaping U.S. laws.

Four-in-ten Republicans say that the Bible should supersede the will of the people in shaping U.S. laws if the two conflict; fewer than half as many Democrats agree (16%).

Just over half of people who say the U.S. should be a "Christian nation" (54%) also say the Bible should take precedence over the will of the people in shaping U.S. laws when the two conflict. By contrast, upward of nine-in-ten people who say the U.S. should not be a Christian nation reject this view, including 79% who say the Bible should have little or no influence on U.S. laws (and thus were not asked what should happen in cases where it conflicts with the will of the people) and 14% who say the will of the people should supersede the Bible in shaping U.S. laws.

Roughly a quarter of U.S. adults say that the Bible should have more influence over U.S. laws than the will of the people if the two conflict

% who say ...

	NET Bible should have a great deal/ some influence on U.S. laws	The Bible	Will of people	No answer	NET Bible should have not much/ no influence on U.S. laws
Among all U.S. adults in	%	%	%	%	%
Sept. 2022	47	27	19	2	51
Feb. 2020	49	28	19	2	50
In Sept. 2022, among					
Christian	63	38	22	2	35
Protestant	70	48	19	3	28
White evangelical Prot.	84	65	16	3	15
White Prot., not evang.	51	24	24	4	47
Black Protestant	73	51	21	2	25
Catholic	49	21	27	2	50
White Catholic	47	20	25	2	52
Hispanic Catholic	51	24	26	1	48
Jewish*	29	8	20	1	69
Religiously unaffiliated	18	6	11	<1	82
Atheist	4	1	4	0	95
Agnostic	10	1	8	1	90
Nothing in particular	24	9	14	<1	75
Republican/lean Rep.	64	40	22	2	35
Democrat/lean Dem.	33	16	16	1	67
Should U.S. be "Christian nation"?					
Yes	78	54	22	3	21
No	20	6	14	<1	79

* The survey included 230 interviews with Jewish respondents, with an effective sample size of 97 and a 95% confidence level margin of error of plus or minus 10.0 percentage points. This margin of error conservatively assumes a reported percentage of 50%. Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race.

Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults.

"45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"
2. Religion and the Supreme Court

On the heels of several major decisions with religious implications, including <u>Dobbs v. Jackson</u> <u>Women's Health Organization</u> and <u>Kennedy v. Bremerton School District</u>, the new Pew Research Center survey finds a significant jump in the share of U.S. adults who say the Supreme Court is "friendly" to religion. Americans are more likely to say the court's recent decisions have helped (rather than harmed) the interests of U.S. Christians, and harmed (rather than helped) the interests of people in the U.S. who are not religious.

A large majority of Americans say Supreme Court justices should not rely on their own religious beliefs when making judicial decisions, and many (44%) say the high court's members have been doing so too much lately. But a similar share (40%) say they have been doing this about the right amount.

The remainder of this chapter explores these and other findings regarding religion and the Supreme Court in additional detail.

Share saying Supreme Court is 'friendly' to religion nearly doubles between 2019 and 2022

The Center survey finds a big increase in the share of Americans who view the Supreme Court as "friendly" toward religion. Following a historic session in which the court overturned Roe v. Wade and upheld the right of a public school football coach to offer prayers after games, more than one-in-three U.S. adults (35%) now say they think the Supreme Court is friendly toward religion, up from 18% who said this in 2019. Roughly half of adults (51%) say the high court is "neutral" toward religion (down from 69% in 2019), and about one-in-ten (11%) say it is "unfriendly" to religion (unchanged since 2019).

While the view that the high court is friendly toward religion has become more common across the religious and political spectrums, the new survey continues to find that non-Christians and Democrats are more inclined than

Most atheists, agnostics now say Supreme Court is friendly to religion; Christians less convinced

% who say the Supreme Court is _____ toward religion

	Marc	h/April 2	2019 Un-	S	ept. 202	2 Un-
	Friendly	Neutral	•	Friendly	Neutral	•
	%	%	%	%	%	%
All U.S. adults	18	69	11	35	51	11
Christian	13	72	14	27	57	13
Protestant	13	71	14	25	59	13
White evang. Prot.	10	72	16	20	64	14
White Prot., not evang.	14	76	8	30	57	9
Black Protestant	17	68	15	25	50	22
Catholic	13	72	13	30	54	14
White Catholic	12	78	9	30	55	13
Hispanic Catholic	13	66	18	30	52	15
Jewish*	29	67	3	53	33	13
Religiously unaffiliated	26	65	7	51	38	8
Atheist	43	54	2	74	22	2
Agnostic	28	67	5	62	33	5
Nothing in particular	21	67	9	40	45	11
Republican/lean Rep.	10	75	14	18	68	12
Democrat/lean Dem.	25	65	9	52	36	11

* The 2022 survey included 230 interviews with Jewish respondents, with an effective sample size of 97 and a 95% confidence level margin of error of plus or minus 10.0 percentage points. This margin of error conservatively assumes a reported percentage of 50%.

Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race.

Source: Surveys conducted March 18-April 1, 2019, and Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults.

"45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

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Christians and Republicans to see the Supreme Court as friendly to religion. Most atheists (74%) and agnostics (62%) now describe the Supreme Court as friendly to religion, as do half of Jewish adults (53%) and half of Democrats (52%). Most Christians, meanwhile, say they think the court is neutral toward religion (57%), as do most Republicans (68%).

Eight-in-ten oppose idea of Supreme Court justices bringing their own faith into official decisions

Most Americans oppose the idea of Supreme Court justices bringing their own religious beliefs to bear in deciding major cases. More than eightin-ten U.S. adults, including majorities in both political parties and in every religious group measured in the survey, say Supreme Court justices should not do this.

The survey also finds that Jews and religiously unaffiliated Americans are concerned Supreme Court justices have been going too far in this regard. Seven-in-ten Jews and two-thirds of religious "nones" (including 90% of atheists and 82% of agnostics) say the high court justices have relied too much on their own religious beliefs in their recent decisions.

Among Christians overall, the most common view is that the justices recently have been relying on their own religious beliefs about the right amount, though substantial minorities in several Christian groups (including 42% of White non-

Across religious groups, most agree Supreme Court justices should keep their own religious views out of their decisions

Thinking about the Supreme Court ...

	Do you th should o bring their views in decide n	muc justice	h do yo s have	sions, how u think relied on s beliefs?	
	Should	Should NOT	Too much	Too little	About the right amount
	%	%	%	%	%
All U.S. adults	15	83	44	13	40
Christian	20	77	32	16	48
Protestant	23	75	29	18	48
White evangelical Prot.	29	68	15	17	63
White Prot., not evangelical	10	87	42	10	42
Black Protestant	22	76	37	25	32
Catholic	15	84	38	13	47
White Catholic	11	88	40	8	48
Hispanic Catholic	22	76	33	19	47
Jewish*	7	93	70	6	21
Religiously unaffiliated	7	92	66	7	24
Atheist	2	97	90	2	6
Agnostic	3	97	82	3	14
Nothing in particular	9	89	53	10	33
Republican/lean Rep.	22	76	19	15	62
Democrat/lean Dem.	10	89	67	11	21

* The survey included 230 interviews with Jewish respondents, with an effective sample size of 97 and a 95% confidence level margin of error of plus or minus 10.0 percentage points. This margin of error conservatively assumes a reported percentage of 50%. Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults. "45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

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evangelical Protestants, 38% of Catholics and 37% of Black Protestants) agree with most Jews and

religious "nones" in saying Supreme Court justices have been relying too much on their religious beliefs in making judicial decisions.

More say Supreme Court's recent decisions have helped than hurt Christians

By a 42% to 15% margin, far more Americans say recent Supreme Court decisions have helped rather than hurt the interests of Christians, while four-in-ten sav recent decisions have not made much difference for the interests of Christians. Non-Christians are far more inclined than Christians to say recent court decisions have aided Christian interests, with 58% of Jewish Americans and 55% of religious "nones" (including roughly threequarters of atheists and agnostics) expressing this view. The survey also shows that Democrats are more inclined than Republicans to believe recent Supreme Court decisions have been helpful to Christians.

By contrast, roughly three times as many people say recent high court decisions have *hurt* the interests of people who are not religious (31%) than say recent decisions have helped nonreligious

More Americans say recent Supreme Court decisions have hurt rather than helped nonreligious people

% who say recent Supreme Court decisions have hurt, helped or not made much difference for the interests of ...

		Christia	ans	Peo	ople who religio	
	Hurt	Helped	Not made much difference	Hurt	Helped	Not made much difference
	%	%	%	%	%	%
All U.S. adults	15	42	40	31	11	55
Christian	17	35	44	23	13	61
Protestant	19	34	43	21	15	60
White evangelical Prot.	20	35	42	14	20	63
White Prot., not evang.	16	38	41	26	11	59
Black Protestant	23	26	47	26	13	58
Catholic	14	38	46	26	9	63
White Catholic	14	40	45	22	9	67
Hispanic Catholic	13	32	52	29	9	60
Jewish*	7	58	35	51	8	40
Religiously unaffiliated	10	55	34	47	5	46
Atheist	7	77	15	72	3	25
Agnostic	7	73	20	59	4	36
Nothing in particular	11	42	43	35	6	55
Republican/lean Rep.	16	33	49	14	16	67
Democrat/lean Dem.	13	53	32	48	6	45

* The survey included 230 interviews with Jewish respondents, with an effective sample size of 97 and a 95% confidence level margin of error of plus or minus 10.0 percentage points. This margin of error conservatively assumes a reported percentage of 50%. Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults. "45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

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people (11%), with 55% saying recent judicial pronouncements have had little impact on this group. The view that the interests of nonreligious people have been harmed by recent Supreme Court decisions is more common among religious "nones" and Jews than among Christians, and more common among Democrats than Republicans.

The survey also finds that 53% of U.S. adults believe recent Supreme Court decisions have hurt the interests of women. Here again, this view is far more common among Jews and religious "nones" than among Christians, and far more common among Democrats than among Republicans.

More than a third of Americans believe recent judicial decisions have harmed the interests of lesbian, gay and bisexual people. Concern on this front is especially high among lesbian, gay and bisexual people themselves, among whom roughly seven-in-ten say the high court's recent decisions have harmed the interests of people like them.

Most people say recent Supreme Court decisions have had little effect one way or the other on the interests of men.

Most religious 'nones' say recent Supreme Court decisions have hurt women's interests

% who say recent Supreme Court decisions have hurt, helped or not made much difference for the interests of ...

		Women			Men		Lesbia	n, gay or l people	oisexual
			Not made much		-	Not made much			Not made much
	Hurt	•	difference	Hurt	•	difference	Hurt	Helped	difference
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
All U.S. adults	53	16	28	14	24	59	37	22	37
Christian	43	21	34	13	21	63	28	26	42
Protestant	40	22	34	14	21	62	26	27	42
White evangelical Prot.	25	31	40	11	17	68	14	33	49
White Prot., not evangelical	52	14	31	11	22	63	32	24	38
Black Protestant	51	17	28	22	22	52	38	23	35
Catholic	50	16	32	13	21	64	33	23	42
White Catholic	51	15	32	10	18	70	31	23	44
Hispanic Catholic	45	17	36	13	25	60	35	20	44
Jewish*	77	7	16	20	23	56	55	12	32
Religiously unaffiliated	71	8	20	15	31	52	55	15	28
Atheist	91	2	6	18	33	48	75	7	17
Agnostic	82	6	11	13	38	48	66	10	23
Nothing in particular	61	10	26	14	28	55	45	19	32
Republican/lean Rep.	30	26	42	12	16	70	12	32	52
Democrat/lean Dem.	75	9	16	16	33	50	61	14	23
Men	51	18	29	16	19	63	35	23	40
Women	54	14	28	11	28	56	39	22	35
Among those who are									
Straight	51	17	30	14	22	61	34	23	39
Gay or lesbian	76	11	13	16	46	37	69	17	12
Bisexual	82	8	11	15	45	39	69	14	16

* The survey included 230 interviews with Jewish respondents, with an effective sample size of 97 and a 95% confidence level margin of error of plus or minus 10.0 percentage points. This margin of error conservatively assumes a reported percentage of 50%.

Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race.

Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults.

"45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

3. Views of the U.S. as a 'Christian nation' and opinions about 'Christian nationalism'

Most Americans think the founders of America intended for the U.S. to be a "Christian nation," more than four-in-ten think the United States *should be* a Christian nation, and a third say the country *is* a Christian nation today. However, Americans' views of *what it means to be a Christian nation* are wide-ranging and often ambiguous. To some, being a Christian nation implies Christian-based laws and governance. For others it means the subtle guidance of Christian beliefs and values in everyday life, or even simply a population with faith in something bigger.

Many Americans are unfamiliar with the concept of "Christian nationalism," and among those who have heard of it, more people express an unfavorable view of Christian nationalism than say they have a favorable impression of it. Nevertheless, like the descriptions of Christian nation, Americans' views of Christian nationalism envision varying levels of Christian influence on the nation, ranging from strict theocratic rule to merely embracing moral values such as helping others.

This chapter explores these and other findings regarding the public's views of the U.S. as a Christian nation and of its attitudes toward Christian nationalism.

Americans are divided about Christianity's role in the country, have diverse ideas about what it means to be a 'Christian nation'

The survey asked half of respondents whether they think the founders "originally intended" for the United States to be a Christian nation, whether the country "is now" a Christian nation, and whether it "should be" a Christian nation.4

Most adults (60%) say the founders of the United States originally intended for it to be a Christian nation. A third say the U.S. is currently a Christian nation. And more than four-inten Americans (45%) say the country should be a Christian nation.

Compared with non-Christians, Christians are much more likely to say the founders intended for the U.S. to be a Christian nation (69% vs. 44%) and that it should be a Christian nation (62% vs. 16%).

More than four-in-ten Americans think the U.S. should be a 'Christian nation'

% who say ...

	America intended f to be a "	nders of <u>originally</u> or the U.S. Christian ion"	The <u>is no</u> "Chris national states the states of the stat	<u>w</u> a stian	The <u>should</u> "Chri nati	<u>l be</u> a stian
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
	%	%	%	%	%	%
All U.S. adults	60	37	33	64	45	51
All Christians	69	28	30	67	62	35
Protestant	73	24	27	69	68	28
White evangelical	81	17	23	75	81	18
White, not evangelical	70	26	32	62	54	40
Black Protestant	57	37	26	68	65	30
Catholic	62	35	34	64	47	49
White Catholic	68	29	36	61	56	40
Hispanic Catholic	54	42	31	66	36	60
All non-Christians	44	54	40	58	16	81
Jewish*	36	64	55	44	16	84
Religiously unaffiliated	45	53	38	60	17	80
Atheist	25	74	41	59	6	94
Agnostic	38	61	46	53	8	91
Nothing in particular	53	45	34	63	23	72
Republican/lean Rep.	76	22	29	69	67	31
Democrat/lean Dem.	47	52	39	59	29	69
Ages 18-29	50	49	34	66	23	76
30-49	55	42	33	65	39	57
50-64	63	34	31	65	56	40
65+	73	23	36	59	63	33

* The survey included 123 interviews with Jewish respondents who were asked these questions, with an effective sample size of 61 and a 95% confidence level margin of error of plus or minus 12.5 percentage points. This margin of error conservatively assumes a reported percentage of 50%.

Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults.

"45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

⁴ A randomly selected half of respondents received the survey's questions about being a "Christian nation," while the other half of respondents received the questions about "Christian nationalism." No respondents received both groups of questions. <u>See Topline for complete details.</u>

However, Christians are less likely than non-Christians to say the U.S. currently is a Christian nation (30% vs. 40%).

Eight-in-ten White evangelical Protestants (81%) say the country's founders intended it to be a Christian nation, making them the Christian group most heavily inclined toward this view. Black Protestants (57%) and Hispanic Catholics (54%) are the least likely Christians to hold this view, though half or more in both of these groups also say the founders intended the U.S. to be a Christian nation.

The vast majority of White evangelical Protestants (81%) say the U.S. should be a Christian nation, as do roughly two-thirds of Black Protestants (65%). Only about a third of Hispanic Catholics (36%) share this view.

There also are sizable differences between political parties on the place of Christianity in the United States' national identity. Two-thirds of Republicans and independents who lean toward the GOP (67%) say the U.S. should be a Christian nation – more than double the share of Democrats and Democratic leaners with the same view (29%). Republicans are also far more likely than Democrats to say the founders intended for the country to be a Christian nation (76% vs. 47%), and they are *less likely* to think the country is presently a Christian nation (29% vs. 39%).

Additionally, perspectives vary substantially on these questions among Americans of different age groups. About three-quarters of Americans ages 65 and older (73%) think the founders intended for the U.S. to be a Christian nation, compared with half of those ages 18 to 29. And roughly six-inten Americans ages 65 and older think the U.S. should be a Christian nation, compared with about a quarter of adults under 30. Similar shares across age groups think the country is currently a Christian nation.

Respondents who received these questions were also asked the open-ended question, "In your own words, what does the phrase 'Christian nation' mean to you?" Overall, Americans express widely varying ideas of what being a Christian nation means.

A third of Americans (34%) express in some way that being a Christian nation involves the **general guidance of Christian beliefs and values in society**. Within this category, some say it specifically means people having faith in God (11% of all respondents) or Jesus Christ (7%), while others say a Christian nation is one in which the majority of the population is Christian (7%). These types of descriptions are much more common among those who say the U.S. should be a Christian nation compared with those who think the U.S. should *not* be a Christian nation (48% vs. 23%).

One respondent with this understanding defines a Christian nation as "people that believe in God and follow his word and beliefs." Another says, "A nation that loves God and others with no discrimination." Many respondents also express some version of "in God we trust" or "one nation under God."

Another 12% of the public describes a Christian nation in terms of **being guided by beliefs and values, but without specifically referencing God or Christian concepts**. They describe a Christian nation as one where, for example, "Overall, the nation as a whole has a basic faith and believes all people, regardless of race or creed, be treated equally. A solid belief in our humanity and willingness to act upon it." Others reference "tolerance, morals and ethics," "caring and loving," "a nation of faith," and "love all. No matter of differences." One-in-five Americans who think the U.S. should be a Christian nation (21%) express this understanding, compared with only 4% of those who do not think the U.S. should be a Christian nation.

About one-in-five Americans (18%) describe a Christian nation as **having Christian-based laws and governance**. Those who think the U.S. should *not* be a Christian nation are far more likely than those who think the U.S. should be a Christian nation to express this view (30% vs. 6%).

Often, these descriptions are negative. One respondent describes a Christian nation as "being controlled by only people of the Christian faith." Others say, "To me it means theocracy," or that a Christian nation means "imposing incredibly selective and often untrue to their own faith 'rules' on everyone else, out of a perverse need to control others and feel better about themselves." One respondent describes a Christian nation as "one whose laws are in line with the Christian faith at the exclusion of other values or opinions."

In addition to negative views about theocracy, another 11% use **other specific negative terms** to describe the concept of a Christian nation, including 5% who mention things like bigotry, persecution or White supremacy, and 3% who mention authoritarianism or similar ideas. Virtually all respondents in this category say the U.S. should not be a Christian nation.

At the same time, however, many Americans express positive views of a Christian nation with Christian-based governance. For example, one respondent said, "A nation that honors God and Jesus Christ, and doesn't make laws that fly in the face of what God has said, and certainly doesn't persecute Christians for following what they believe the Bible tells them about issues such as homosexuality and abortion being sinful." A notable theme throughout respondents' descriptions of a Christian nation is their ambiguity. It is often unclear exactly how much institutional influence and control people attribute to Christianity in their responses. For example, respondents describe a Christian nation as "a nation that upholds the teachings of God through Jesus Christ," "a nation that follows biblical values," and one that "follows the principles of Christianity upon which it was founded." Responses like these do not clearly spell out whether Christianity would hold an official and privileged place, or rather serve as a more general source of moral guidance. Only responses that specifically mention laws, policies, governance or other national leadership are coded in the "Christian-based laws/governance" category.

Some respondents convey awareness that "Christian nation" can take on a variety of meanings. According to one, "It should mean they follow the teachings of Christ. However, now it can mean extremist, money-loaded, White nationalists pushing their agenda." Another claims, "It should mean that the nation is guided by the teachings of Christ, but most Christian politicians wish to exploit religion in a manner Christ would not approve." Several respondents suggest that its meaning recently changed: "I used to think it was a positive view, but now with the MAGA crowd, I view it as racist, homophobic, anti-woman."

Similarly, some respondents see the idea of a Christian nation as a political tool. As one respondent says, "To me it means pandering to a subset of our population to get money and votes." Other descriptions in this category include "ruled by religious propaganda," "pretending to be Christian, but yet not being Christian, in order to gain politically," "being used for political purposes," and "a bunch of hypocrites who use God as a shield to do/say whacky, zany things and everyone's supposed to brush it off."

Another 1% of Americans associate the idea of a Christian nation with **the notion that America was founded on Christian principles**, and that Christian morals and values are a part of its heritage and culture.

Apart from these descriptions, 1% of Americans associate the idea of a Christian nation with **conservative groups**, such as Republicans, evangelicals and the right wing.

Americans with different views on whether the U.S. should be a 'Christian nation' generally have different ideas of what the term means

Asked in an open-ended question, "What does the phrase 'Christian nation' mean to you," % of U.S. adults who said ...

	All U.S. adults	Among those who think the U.S. should be a "Christian nation"	Among those who think the U.S. should NOT be a "Christian nation"
	%	%	%
NET Guided by Christian beliefs/values	34	48	23
People are guided by Christian morals and values	13	20	8
People have faith in God	11	21	3
Majority of the population is Christian	7	4	9
People have faith in Jesus Christ	7	9	4
Other Christian guidance (e.g., people pray and worship)	2	3	1
NET Christian-based governance	18	6	30
Laws and policies based on Christian beliefs/teachings	11	4	18
Government privileges Christianity/Christians	3	<1	5
General Christian rule	3	1	5
Other Christian laws/governance (e.g., theocracy, no separation of church and state)	3	1	6
NET Guided by beliefs/values (not specifically Christian)	12	21	4
People treat each other well (e.g., love, respect, kindness)	6	11	2
People have morals	6	11	1
Other general beliefs (e.g., people have faith in a higher power or just faith)	2	3	1
NET Negative attributes	11	<1	21
Bigotry/persecution/exclusion/White supremacy	5	<1	10
Authoritarian/controlling	3	<1	6
Other negative attributes	4	<1	7
NET Positive attributes	4	7	1
Religious freedom	2	4	<1
Other positive attributes	2	3	1
Founded on Christian principles	1	2	1
Conservative	1	<1	2
Unclear	4	4	5
Don't know/no answer	31	30	29

Note: This was an open-ended question. Results may not sum to 100% or to subtotals indicated because more than one response was permitted. Up to three responses were coded.

Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults.

"45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

More have negative than positive view of 'Christian nationalism,' and many are unfamiliar with the term

The half of survey respondents who were not asked the questions about America as a "Christian nation" were instead asked about their familiarity with the term "Christian nationalism."

Overall, 45% of Americans say they have heard at least a little about Christian nationalism, including 5% who have heard or read a great deal about it, 9% who have heard quite a bit, 17% who have heard some and 14% who have heard a little.

Non-Christians are more likely than Christians to be familiar with the term (55% vs. 40%), with atheists (78%) and agnostics (63%) being the most familiar.

Democrats are more likely than Republicans to have heard or read about Christian nationalism (55% vs. 37%), and younger adults are more likely than older Americans to have familiarity with the term.

Upward of half of Americans are unfamiliar with 'Christian nationalism'

How much, if anything, have you heard or read about "Christian nationalism"?

	NET Have heard or read anything	A great deal	Quite a bit	Some	A little	Nothing at all
	%	%	%	%	%	%
All U.S. adults	45	5	9	17	14	54
All Christians	40	3	6	16	15	59
Protestant	41	4	6	16	14	58
White evangelical	42	3	7	19	13	57
White, not evangelical	39	5	8	13	14	61
Black Protestant	38	5	3	15	15	59
Catholic	38	2	4	16	15	62
White Catholic	38	2	4	16	16	61
Hispanic Catholic*	33	1	6	15	11	67
All non-Christians	55	8	13	19	14	44
Religiously unaffiliated	55	9	13	19	14	45
Atheist	78	19	24	21	14	22
Agnostic	63	8	13	25	17	37
Nothing in particular	46	6	10	17	14	53
Republican/lean Rep.	37	2	5	15	14	63
Democrat/lean Dem.	55	8	12	20	15	44
Ages 18-29	54	6	13	22	13	45
30-49	48	7	8	18	15	51
50-64	41	5	6	15	14	58
65+	38	2	7	15	14	61

* The survey included 290 interviews with Hispanic Catholic respondents who were asked this question, with an effective sample size of 87 and a 95% confidence level margin of error of plus or minus 10.5 percentage points. This margin of error conservatively assumes a reported percentage of 50%.

Note: Figures may not add to subtotals indicated due to rounding. Those who did not answer the question are not shown. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults.

"45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

U.S. adults who say they have at least a little familiarity with Christian nationalism are more likely to have an unfavorable than favorable view of it. A quarter of U.S. adults (24%) have an unfavorable view of Christian nationalism, while only 5% say they have a favorable view of the concept. An additional 8% say they have neither a favorable nor unfavorable view of Christian nationalism, and a similar share (9%) say they have heard at least a little about it but do not know enough to have an opinion or decline to answer.

In every religious group analyzed in the survey, 10% or fewer say they have a favorable view of Christian nationalism. Atheists (74%) and agnostics (56%) are especially likely to have an unfavorable view of it.

Democrats are far more likely than Republicans to have an unfavorable view toward Christian nationalism (39% vs. 9%). And younger Americans are more likely than older Americans to view Christian nationalism unfavorably.

Roughly a quarter of all Americans have an unfavorable view of 'Christian nationalism'

% who have a _____ view of "Christian nationalism"

	Favorable	Neither favorable nor un- favorable	Un- favorable	Don't know enough to say/no answer	Haven't heard of "Christian nation- alism"
	%	%	%	%	%
All U.S. adults	5	8	24	9	54
All Christians	7	8	15	10	59
Protestant	8	8	14	10	58
White evangelical	10	8	12	13	57
White, not evangelical	6	6	18	9	61
Black Protestant	9	9	10	10	59
Catholic	5	9	15	8	62
White Catholic	4	8	16	9	61
Hispanic Catholic*	3	12	10	8	67
All non-Christians	2	6	41	6	44
Religiously unaffiliated	2	6	41	7	45
Atheist	2	1	74	1	22
Agnostic	<1	3	56	4	37
Nothing in particular	2	8	27	9	53
Republican/lean Rep.	7	11	9	10	63
Democrat/lean Dem.	4	5	39	7	44
Ages 18-29	5	9	31	10	45
30-49	6	7	27	8	51
50-64	5	9	20	7	58
65+	5	5	19	9	61

* The survey included 290 interviews with Hispanic Catholic respondents who were asked these questions, with an effective sample size of 87 and a 95% confidence level margin of error of plus or minus 10.5 percentage points. This margin of error conservatively assumes a reported percentage of 50%.

Note: Those who did not answer the question about how much they've heard/read about "Christian nationalism" are not shown. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults.

"45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

The reasons for Americans' opinions toward Christian nationalism become clearer in light of their *understandings* of Christian nationalism. Respondents who said they had heard or read at least a little about Christian nationalism were asked the open-ended question, "In your own words, what does the phrase 'Christian nationalism' mean to you?" In general, those with differing feelings toward Christian nationalism express different ideas about what the concept means.

Overall, 13% of U.S. adults offer explanations of Christian nationalism that involve **Christianity playing a dominant and institutionalized role in society** – for example, basing American governance and laws on Christian beliefs and principles, or establishing a theocracy. Respondents in this category describe Christian nationalism as wanting America to be an "officially Christian nation" made of Christian people, "imposing Christian beliefs on American citizens," giving Christianity a "privileged" place over other identities, or "excluding" or "persecuting" non-Christians.

These views are most prevalent among Americans with unfavorable opinions toward Christian nationalism, with 42% in this group describing Christian nationalism in this way. One respondent defines Christian nationalism as "elevating one religion above another. It is making this a theocracy and not giving people freedom to practice their religion or giving them freedom from religion. It is dangerously wrapping one religion and love for America together. It is weaponizing the flag." Another describes the concept as "a group of people who not only want to impose their religious views on you through policies and laws, but also feel if they don't get their way they are somehow being discriminated against. And they view their religious views as patriotic, which is asinine." One of the more detailed responses, which captures the sentiments of several respondents with unfavorable views, claims:

"Christian nationalism is the belief that a nation should become a theocracy whose leaders all practice publicly the tenets of a single, lobotomized interpretation of Christianity – a creed wielded by its government as a means of social control and manipulation. Religion and nation fuse in the minds of its leaders, transcend all other concerns, then crush all opposition, foreign and domestic. Faith, fear and rage reign as one."

As conveyed in the above quote, 2% of all Americans say that Christian nationalism is essentially **a tool strategically used by leaders to help appeal to American citizens or to help certain Americans justify their political views**. In their telling, it involves using familiar beliefs, concepts and phrases from Christianity as a cover-up for what are really sociopolitical attitudes. One respondent explains that Christian nationalism is "a political movement that uses Christian values as camouflage" and another calls it "totally wrapping up political behavior in

religious clothes." Another 2% of Americans describe Christian nationalism as **the blending or mixing up of faith and politics so that they are indistinguishable**.

Some U.S. adults – again, particularly those with unfavorable views of Christian nationalism – also describe Christian nationalism using **other negative attributes**. These include: "radical" or "extremist," "hypocritical," "cult"-like or "fanatical," "fascist" or "authoritarian," "misogynistic," "hateful" or "angry," "ignorant," "Anti democratic," and "[falsely] believing they are under attack." This group makes up 30% of those with unfavorable attitudes toward Christian nationalism.

This also includes 3% of all Americans (13% of those with negative attitudes toward Christian nationalism) who describe Christian nationalism as White supremacist and racist. One respondent says Christian nationalism means "White dudes who are scared to lose power to women and minorities hiding behind a Bible they don't even believe in to retain power."

A similar share of U.S. adults (3%) describe Christian nationalism as **the positive influence of faith and morals in society, with roots in Christianity**. This view is especially common among those with a positive impression of Christian nationalism (27%). People in this category tend to view the Christian faith as a general "guide" for society, and say Christian nationalism connotes values, such as "family," "unity" and "fellowship and goodwill to all." One respondent describes Christian nationalism as "patriotic Christians who believe in God, family and country, morality and kindness." Another respondent describes it as "a national consciousness centered on biblical precepts."

A small share of the public (2%) – including 9% of those with favorable views of Christian nationalism – describe Christian nationalism with reference to **the idea that America was founded as a Christian nation and has always had a distinct Christian heritage**. For some, this includes America being favored by God. One of the more detailed responses states:

"It is the belief that the American nation is, and has always been, defined by and identified with Christianity, and the government should take an active role to hold on to that truth. Instead, our elected leaders – at all levels – have bowed to cultural, societal change, removing Christian principles from our daily life. How's that working out? Gun violence is rampant, total disregard for traditional families, by which the trickle-down effect is gender confusion, rampant mental illness and fatherless homes where babies are taught to have more babies. Kick God out of school and look what you get. The ills of this nation today lie almost entirely at the doorstep of the liberal Democratic Party."

Finally, a small number of respondents (fewer than 1%) claim that Christian nationalism is **a concept made up by liberals and/or the media to insult Christians**. One respondent says that Christian nationalism is "some gobbledygook made up by progressives trying to create a boogeyman that they hope most people will fear." Another calls it a "derogatory term used by the left to push their White supremacy conspiracy theories." And a respondent who views Christian nationalism favorably says that "Christian nationalism these days is a political term used to vilify anything with a slight Christian lean by those who oppose Christianity in general when America itself was founded on the 'word of God.'"

One respondent conveys how Christian nationalism is used as a tool by American citizens and leaders on both the political left and right:

"It seems to be an inappropriate mixing of faith and governance in the imagination of those who cannot stand our previous president. The evangelical right has gotten too enamored with political influence, which the political right is happy to exploit. The progressive left uses the term as a pejorative to denigrate the Trump wing implying that only religious leftists are suitable for involvement in national politics. It seems mostly a lie used for political advantage. Which is sort of how politics works."

Respondents also associate Christian nationalism with **particular groups and public figures**. Those mentioned include: conservatives and the right wing, evangelicals, fundamentalist Christians, Republicans, former President Donald Trump and the "MAGA cult," and Southerners. A handful of respondents also suggest that Christian nationalism is a newly emerging party or group of its own.

As with Americans' views of "Christian nation," ambiguity is a recurrent theme throughout respondents' descriptions of Christian nationalism. Their views fall along a spectrum, from strict theocratic rule on one end to a loose embrace of morals, such as helping others, on the other end. It is often unclear exactly how much control and influence Christianity has in their descriptions. For example, respondents describe Christian nationalism as "living under the beliefs of Christian values," "religion having a major impact on the political process," and "the promotion of Christian ideals within the political sphere."

Though Americans with unfavorable views of Christian nationalism often describe it in a *dominant* way and those with favorable views often describe it as a *positive* influence, sometimes their views transcend these categories. For example, a considerable portion of those with favorable views of Christian nationalism describe it as a form of Christian dominance in society (11%).

In addition to the 55% of Americans who are unfamiliar with the concept of Christian nationalism (or declined to say whether they have heard of it), 18% say they have heard at least a little about it but also say they do not know how to describe Christian nationalism, and an additional 2% give answers too ambiguous to understand.

Most common descriptions of 'Christian nationalism' involve Christianity playing a dominant and institutionalized role in society

Asked in an open-ended question, "What does the phrase 'Christian nationalism' mean to you," % of U.S. adults who said ...

	All U.S. adults	Those with favorable views of "Christian nationalism"	Those with neither favorable nor unfavorable views of "Christian nationalism"	Those with unfavorable views of "Christian nationalism"
	%	%	%	%
NET Christian dominance in society	13	11	13	42
Christian rule/theocracy/Christian-based laws and policies	8	6	5	26
Wanting the U.S. to be a Christian nation with Christian people	3	3	8	7
Imposing Christian values on the nation	2	<1	<1	7
Other forms of Christian dominance (e.g., Christian superiority to other identities, excluding non-Christians)	1	1	<1	5
NET Faith and positive moral influence in society	3	27	11	2
Wanting Christianity to guide society	1	9	3	1
Being a Christian and a patriot	1	6	2	<1
Being faithful/just being a Christian	1	6	4	<1
Other forms of faith/moral influence (e.g., family, unity)	1	7	3	<1
NET Negative attributes	8	4	3	30
White supremacy/racism/bigotry	3	2	2	13
Other negative attributes (e.g., fascist, cultish, misogynistic)	6	2	1	22
Using religious beliefs as a tool to pander or justify political views	2	<1	2	6
NET Tied to a particular group (e.g., evangelicals, Republicans)	2	2	2	8
NET Believing in America's Christian founding/heritage	2	9	2	4
Blending faith and politics	2	1	1	5
A derogatory concept made up by liberals and/or the media to insult Christians	<1	2	1	<1
Unclear/essentially repeated the phrase "Christian nationalism"	2	7	8	4
Don't know/no answer	18	46	58	24
Have not heard of Christian nationalism or did not say how familiar they are with it	55	-	-	-

Note: This was an open-ended question. Results may not sum to 100% or to subtotals indicated because more than one response was permitted. Up to three responses were coded.

Source: Survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022, among U.S. adults.

"45% of Americans Say U.S. Should Be a 'Christian Nation'"

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 from the panel wave conducted from Sept. 13 to Sept. 18, 2022. A total of 10,588 panelists responded out of 11,687 who were sampled, for a response rate of 91%. The cumulative response rate accounting for nonresponse to the recruitment surveys and attrition is 3%. 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 10,588 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

American Trends Panel recruitment surveys

				Active panelists
Recruitment dates	Mode	Invited	Joined	remaining
Jan. 23 to March 16, 2014	Landline/ cell RDD	9,809	5,338	1,504
Aug. 27 to Oct. 4, 2015	Landline/ cell RDD	6,004	2,976	882
April 25 to June 4, 2017	Landline/ cell RDD	3,905	1,628	434
Aug. 8 to Oct. 31, 2018	ABS	9,396	8,778	4,121
Aug. 19 to Nov. 30, 2019	ABS	5,900	4,720	1,478
June 1 to July 19, 2020; Feb. 10 to March 31, 2021	ABS	3,197	2,812	1,543
May 29 to July 7, 2021 Sept. 16 to Nov. 1, 2021	ABS	1,329	1,162	790
May 24 to July 6, 2022	ABS	2,724	2,324	1,390
	Total	42,264	29,738	12,142

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. The 2022 recruitment survey was ongoing at the time W114 was conducted. The counts reflect completed recruitment interviews up through July 6, 2022.

address-based recruitment. Invitations were sent to a stratified, random sample of households selected from the U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File. Sampled households receive mailings asking a randomly selected adult to complete a survey online. A question at the end of the survey asks if the respondent is willing to join the ATP. In 2020 and 2021 another stage was added to the recruitment. Households that did not respond to the online survey were sent a paper version of the questionnaire, \$5 and a postage-paid return envelope. A subset of the adults who returned the paper version of the survey were invited to join the ATP. This subset of adults received a follow-up mailing with a \$10 pre-incentive and invitation to join the ATP.

Across the five address-based recruitments, a total of 22,546 adults were invited to join the ATP, of whom 19,796 agreed to join the panel and completed an initial profile survey. In each household, one adult was selected and asked to go online to complete a survey, at the end of which they were invited to join the panel. Of the 29,738 individuals who have ever joined the ATP, 12,142 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.⁵ 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. It featured a stratified random sample from the ATP in which panelists were sampled at rates designed to ensure that the share of respondents in each stratum is proportional to its share of the U.S. adult population to the greatest extent possible. Respondent weights are adjusted to account for differential probabilities of selection as described in the Weighting section below.

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 that was analyzed in SPSS to ensure the logic and randomizations were working as intended before launching the survey.

⁵ AAPOR Task Force on Address-based Sampling. 2016. "AAPOR Report: Address-based Sampling."

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.

Data collection protocol

The data collection field period for this survey was Sept. 13 to Sept. 18, 2022. Postcard notifications were mailed to all ATP panelists with a known residential address on Sept. 12.

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 Sept. 13. 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 also sent an invitation on Sept. 13.

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	Sept. 13, 2022	Sept. 13, 2022			
First reminder	Sept. 15, 2022	Sept. 15, 2022			
Final reminder	Sept. 17, 2022	Sept. 17, 2022			

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, five ATP respondents were removed from the survey dataset prior to weighting and analysis.

Weighting

The ATP data is 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. These weights are then rescaled and adjusted to account for changes in the design of ATP recruitment surveys from year to year. Finally, the weights are calibrated to align with the population benchmarks in the accompanying table to correct for nonresponse to recruitment surveys and panel attrition. If only a subsample of panelists was invited to participate in the wave, this weight is adjusted to account

Weighting dimensions

Variable	Benchmark source
Age (detailed) 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 (ACS)
Census region x Metro/Non-metro	2020 CPS March Supplement
Volunteerism	2021 American Trends Panel Annual Profile Survey/2019 CPS Volunteering & Civic Life Supplement
Voter registration	2018 CPS Voting and Registration Supplement
Party affiliation Frequency of internet use Religious affiliation	2021 National Public Opinion Reference Survey (NPORS)
Additional weighting dimensions applied	within Black adults
Age Gender Education Hispanic ethnicity	2019 American Community Survey (ACS)
Voter registration	2018 CPS Voting and Registration Supplement
Party affiliation Religious affiliation	2021 National Public Opinion Reference Survey (NPORS)

Note: Estimates from the ACS are based on non-institutionalized adults. Voter registration is calculated using procedures from Hur, Achen (2013) and rescaled to include the total U.S. adult population. Volunteerism is estimated using a model to account for potential changes in volunteering behavior due to the coronavirus outbreak that began in February 2020.

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for any differential probabilities of selection.

Among the panelists who completed the survey, this weight is then calibrated again to align with the population benchmarks identified in the accompanying table and trimmed at 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.

Group		ighted le size	Plus or minus
All U.S. adults	10,	588	1.5 percentage point
Christian	6,7	767	1.8 percentage point
Protestant	4,4	41	2.2 percentage point
White evangelical	1,7	708	3.4 percentage point
White, not evangelical	1,3	322	4.0 percentage point
Black Protestant	8	70	5.3 percentage point
Catholic	2,0)85	3.4 percentage point
White, non-Hispanic	1,3	342	3.7 percentage point
Hispanic	5	96	7.2 percentage point
All non-Christians	3,7	750	2.5 percentage point
Jewish	23	30	10.0 percentage point
Religiously unaffiliated	3,0)86	2.8 percentage point
Atheist	6	34	6.1 percentage point
Agnostic	64	42	6.1 percentage point
Nothing in particular	1,8	310	3.7 percentage points
Ages 18-29	8	57	4.5 percentage point
30-49	3,4	111	2.5 percentage point
50-64	3,0)51	2.5 percentage point
65+	3,2	237	2.6 percentage point
Men	4,6	634	2.3 percentage point
Women	5,8	334	1.9 percentage point
Straight	9,5	580	1.5 percentage point
Gay or lesbian	3	12	9.1 percentage point
Bisexual	3	61	8.0 percentage point
	Unweighted sample size	Weighted %	
Rep/Lean Rep	4,930	44	2.1 percentage point
Dem/Lean Dem	5,353	50	2.1 percentage point

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 in the survey.

Group		ighted le size	Plus or minus
Among respondents who re questions about whether th "Christian nation" (i.e., Forr	ne U.S. was, is o	r should be a	
Total	5,3	311	2.1 percentage points
Christian	3,3	88	2.6 percentage points
Protestant	2,2	234	3.1 percentage points
White evangelical	86	62	4.6 percentage points
White, not evangelical	65	56	5.9 percentage points
Black Protestant	39	99	7.6 percentage points
Catholic	1,0	38	4.8 percentage points
White, non-Hispanic	66	63	5.3 percentage points
Hispanic	30	06	9.8 percentage points
All non-Christians	1,8	85	3.6 percentage points
Jewish	12	23	12.5 percentage points
Religiously unaffiliated	1,5	527	4.0 percentage points
Atheist	3:	16	8.9 percentage points
Agnostic	3:	11	8.6 percentage points
Nothing in particular	90	00	5.2 percentage points
Ages 18-29	43	38	6.3 percentage points
30-49	1,7	29	3.5 percentage points
50-64	1,5	516	3.6 percentage points
65+	1,6	512	3.7 percentage points
Say U.S. should be a "Christian nation"	2,4	63	3.0 percentage points
Should not	2,7	11	3.0 percentage points
	Unweighted sample size	Weighted %	
Rep/Lean Rep	2,498	44	2.9 percentage points
Dem/Lean Dem	2,666	51	3.0 percentage points

Group		ighted le size	Plus or minus
Among respondents who re questions about "Christian respondents)	ceived the surv nationalism" (i.	vey's e., Form 2	
Total	5,2	277	2.1 percentage points
Christian	3,3	379	2.6 percentage points
Protestant	2,2	207	3.1 percentage points
White evangelical	8	46	4.9 percentage points
White, not evangelical	6	66	5.5 percentage points
Black Protestant	4	08	7.4 percentage points
Catholic	1,0)47	4.8 percentage points
White, non-Hispanic	6	79	5.2 percentage points
Hispanic	29	90	10.5 percentage points
All non-Christians	1,8	365	3.6 percentage points
Religiously unaffiliated	1,5	559	3.9 percentage points
Atheist	3	18	8.2 percentage points
Agnostic	3	31	8.7 percentage points
Nothing in particular	9	10	5.1 percentage points
Ages 18-29	4	19	6.4 percentage points
30-49	1,6	682	3.6 percentage points
50-64	1,5	535	3.5 percentage points
65+	1,6	625	3.6 percentage points
Among those with view of "Christian nationalism"			
Favorable	295		9.1 percentage points
Neither favorable nor unfavorable	3	89	8.0 percentage points
Unfavorable	1,4	126	3.9 percentage points
	Unweighted sample size	Weighted %	
Rep/Lean Rep	2,432	44	3.0 percentage points
Dem/Lean Dem	2,687	50	2.9 percentage points

Group	Unweighted sample size	Plus or minus
Among respondents who participated in 13-18, 2022, survey and the March 1-7 (about church/state issues)		
Say U.S. should be a "Christian nation"	1,857	3.7 percentage points
Should not	1,965	3.8 percentage points

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

Final dispositions	AAPOR code	Total
Completed interview	1.1	10,588
Logged onto survey; broke off	2.12	128
Logged onto survey; did not complete any items	2.1121	62
Never logged on (implicit refusal)	2.11	901
Survey completed after close of the field period	2.27	3
Completed interview but was removed for data quality		5
Screened out		0
Total panelists in the survey		11,687
Completed interviews	l	10,588
Partial interviews	Р	0
Refusals	R	1,096
Non-contact	NC	3
Other	0	0
Unknown household	UH	0
Unknown other	UO	0
Not eligible	NE	0
Total		11,687
AAPOR RR1 = I / (I+P+R+NC+O+UH+UO)		91%

Cumulative response rate	Total
Weighted response rate to recruitment surveys	10%
% of recruitment survey respondents who agreed to join the panel, among those invited	70%
% of those agreeing to join who were active panelists at start of Wave 114	41%
Response rate to Wave 114 survey	91%
Cumulative response rate	3%

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