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Religious ‘Nones’ in America: Who They Are and What They Believe

A closer look at how atheists, agnostics and those who describe their religion as ‘nothing in particular’ see God, religion, morality, science and more

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About Pew Research Center

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

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How we did this

Pew Research Center conducted this analysis to provide a detailed portrait of religiously unaffiliated adults in the United States.

Much of this profile comes from a survey we conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023, among 11,201 respondents who are members of the Center’s American Trends Panel (ATP). The survey included interviews with a total of 3,317 religious “nones” – 658 atheists, 678 agnostics and 1,981 respondents who describe their religion as “nothing in particular.”

The ATP is an online survey panel that is recruited through national random sampling of residential addresses, which gives nearly all U.S. adults a chance of selection. The survey is weighted to be representative of the U.S. adult population by gender, race, ethnicity, political party, education, religious affiliation and other categories. For more, refer to the [ATP’s methodology](#) and the [methodology for this report](#).

In addition to the July 31-Aug. 6, 2023, survey, this analysis also draws on other ATP surveys conducted in recent years, as well as on the Center’s [National Public Opinion Reference Surveys \(NPORS\)](#).

Here are the [survey questions being published for the first time as part of this report](#). Other questions discussed in this report were published previously.

Religious ‘Nones’ in America: Who They Are and What They Believe

A closer look at how atheists, agnostics and those who describe their religion as ‘nothing in particular’ see God, religion, morality, science and more

Today, about **28% of U.S. adults are religiously unaffiliated**, describing themselves as atheists, agnostics or “nothing in particular” when asked about their religion.

At Pew Research Center, we get lots of questions about this group, often called the “nones.” What do “nones” believe? Are they opposed to religion? What are their views about science? Is their growth good or bad for society, and why?

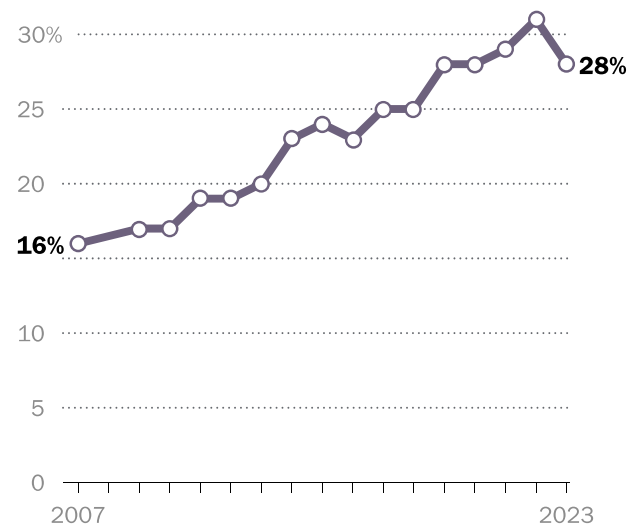
Our survey data shows:

- Most “nones” believe in God or another higher power. But very few go to religious services regularly.
- Most say religion does some harm, but many also think it does some good. They are not uniformly *anti*-religious.
- Most “nones” reject the idea that science can explain everything. But they express more positive views of science than religiously affiliated Americans do.

Surveys have **consistently shown** that many Americans view religion’s declining influence in society as a bad thing. “Nones” tend to vote less often, do less volunteer work in their communities and follow public affairs at lower rates than religiously affiliated people do.

28% of U.S. adults are now religiously unaffiliated

% of U.S. adults who identify religiously as atheist, agnostic or “nothing in particular”



Source: 2020-23 data based on Pew Research Center’s National Public Opinion Reference Surveys, nationally representative surveys conducted online and by mail; respondents recruited using address-based sampling. Data from 2019 and earlier comes from the Center’s random-digit-dial phone surveys, including the 2007 and 2014 Religious Landscape Studies.

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But the latest data shows that on a variety of measures, lower rates of civic engagement are concentrated among “nones” whose religion is “nothing in particular.” Atheists and agnostics tend to participate in civic life at rates matching or exceeding religiously affiliated people.

Here are eight of the questions we receive most often, along with brief responses. Click the links for more information, including discussion of differences *within* the population of “nones” (for example, how “nones” who are men compare with those who are women) and *between* “nones” and U.S. adults who identify with a religion.

Q1: Who are the ‘nones’? How are they defined?

In public opinion surveys, people who answer a question about their religion by saying they are atheist, agnostic or “nothing in particular” are combined into a category called “religiously unaffiliated” – now widely known as the “nones.” Scholars of religion in the U.S. have been using the term “nones” since at least the 1960s, and its use has grown common in social scientific journals and the media.¹

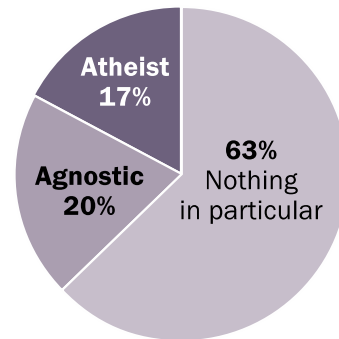
In our latest data, 17% of “nones” identify as atheist, 20% say they are agnostic and 63% choose “nothing in particular.”

Atheists and agnostics, on average, have more education than religiously affiliated Americans. By contrast, people who describe their religion as “nothing in particular” tend to have *lower* levels of educational attainment than religiously affiliated U.S. adults.

[*Jump to more information on the demographics of “nones.”*](#)

Most ‘nones’ describe their religion as ‘nothing in particular’

% of religious “nones” who are ...



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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¹ Some analysts of religious life in the United States have expressed qualms about connotations of the term “nones.” As sociologist Glenn M. Vernon of the University of Utah [wrote in the Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion in 1968](#), “It provides a negative definition, specifying what a phenomenon is not, rather than what it is. Intentionally or not, such a use implies that only those affiliated with a formal group are religious.” Still, “nones” has become a popular label for religiously unaffiliated people. As a result, while we use “nones” and “religiously unaffiliated people” interchangeably in this report, we put “nones” in quotation marks to indicate it is a colloquialism. We also emphasize (as our data shows) that the absence of a religious affiliation does not necessarily indicate an absence of religious beliefs or practices. On the contrary, as our report makes clear, most “nones” say they believe in God or a higher power.

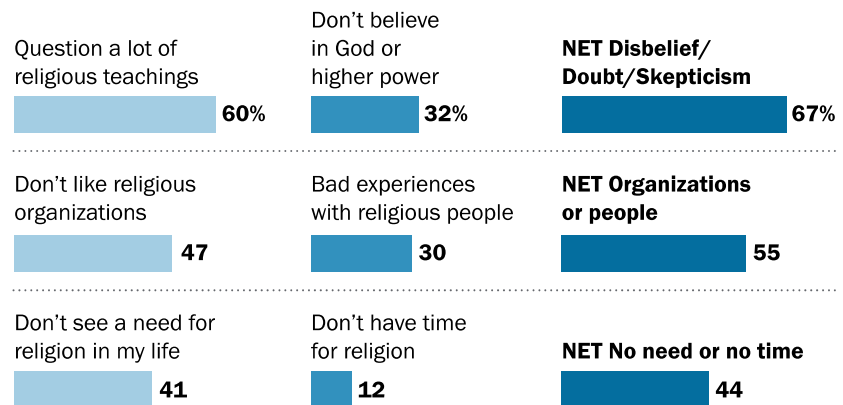
Q2: Why are ‘nones’ nonreligious?

When asked directly why they are not religious, two-thirds of “nones” say they question a lot of religious teachings or don’t believe in God.

Many also bring up criticisms of religious institutions or people, including 47% who say that one extremely or very important reason why they are not religious is that they dislike religious organizations. And 30% say bad experiences they’ve had with religious people help explain why they are nonreligious.

Most ‘nones’ cite disbelief or skepticism as reasons they are not religious

% of religious “nones” who say each of the following is an extremely or very important reason for why they are nonreligious



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.
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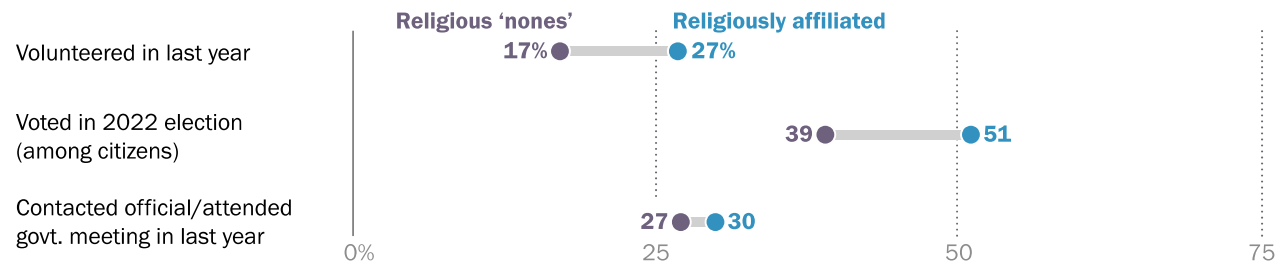
[*Jump to more information on why “nones” say they are nonreligious.*](#)

Q3: Are ‘nones’ less involved in civic life than people who identify with a religion?

By a variety of measures, religious “nones” are less civically engaged and socially connected than people who identify with a religion. On average, they are less likely to vote, less likely to have volunteered lately, less satisfied with their local communities and less satisfied with their social lives.

‘Nones,’ on average, are less likely than religiously affiliated Americans to volunteer or vote

% of U.S. adults who ...



Source: Volunteering estimates come from survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023. Voter turnout estimates come from survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 16-27, 2022; turnout was verified using official state election records. Data on contacting officials/attending meetings comes from a survey conducted April 25-May 1, 2022.

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But on some related questions, the differences between “nones” and religiously affiliated people are modest. For example, 27% of “nones” and 30% of religiously affiliated Americans say they have contacted an elected official or attended a government meeting in the past year.

Moreover, lower levels of civic engagement tend to be found especially among “nones” who describe their religion as “nothing in particular” – not among atheists and agnostics. For example, atheists and agnostics turned out to vote in 2022 at rates rivaling those seen among religiously affiliated adults. Those who describe their religion as “nothing in particular” were the only subset of “nones” with lower voter turnout than religiously affiliated people.

And on some measures, attendance at religious services (not religious affiliation alone) is the key differentiator between people who are most civically involved and those who are not. For instance, religiously affiliated people who attend religious services at least once a month volunteer at much higher rates (41%) than *both* religiously affiliated people who don’t attend services regularly (17%) and “nones” (also 17%).

In other words, on some measures, it's not whether a person identifies with a religion (or not) but whether they *actively take part* in a religious community that best predicts their level of civic engagement. In short, the link between religious disaffiliation and civic engagement is complicated.²

[Jump to read more about “nones” and their civic engagement.](#)

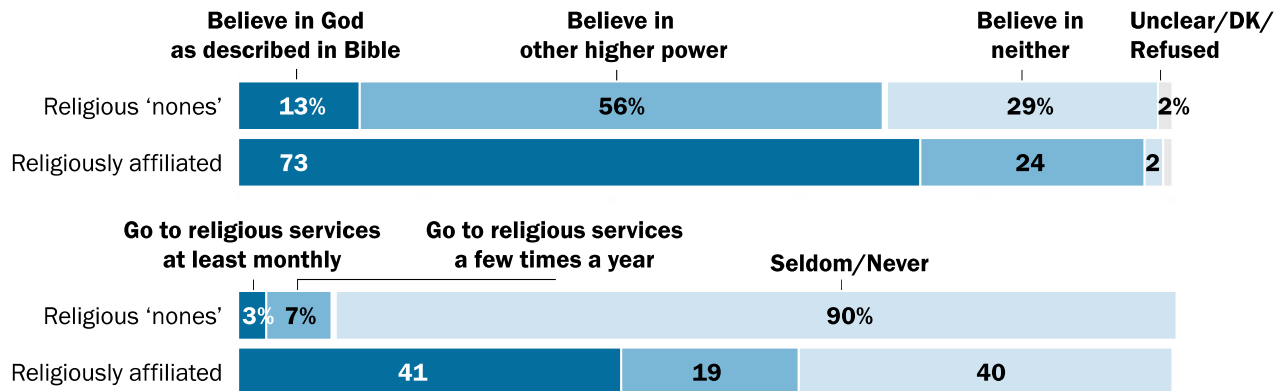
² For more on the link between religion, civic engagement and social trust, refer to Smietana, Bob. 2022. [“Reorganized Religion: The Reshaping of the American Church and Why it Matters.”](#) Also refer to Stewart, Evan. 2023. [“Not religious, not voting? The ‘nones’ are a powerful force in politics – but not yet a coalition.”](#) The Conversation; Campbell, David E., Geoffrey C. Layman and John C. Green. 2021. [“Secular Surge: A New Fault Line in American Politics”](#); Schwadel, Philip. 2020. [“The Politics of Religious Nones.”](#) Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion; Pew Research Center. 2019. [“Religion’s Relationship to Happiness, Civic Engagement and Health Around the World”](#); Frost, Jacqui and Penny Edgell. 2018. [“Rescuing Nones From the Reference Category: Civic Engagement Among the Nonreligious in America.”](#) Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly; Jansen, Jim. 2011. [“The Civic and Community Engagement of Religiously Active Americans.”](#) Pew Research Center; and Putnam, Robert D. and David E. Campbell. 2010. [“American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us.”](#)

Q4: Are all ‘nones’ nonbelievers?

No, not all “nones” are nonbelievers. They are far less likely than religiously affiliated Americans to say they believe in God “as described in the Bible,” but most do believe in God or some other higher power. Just 29% reject the notion that there is *any* higher power or spiritual force in the universe.

Most ‘nones’ believe in God or higher power, but not in biblical God

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



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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Most “nones” say they were raised in a religion, usually Christianity. Yet today, they tend to be disconnected from religious institutions. Not only have they shaken off religious *labels*, they also have largely shaken off involvement in churches, synagogues, mosques and other religious organizations.

For example, fully 90% of religious “nones” say they seldom or never go to religious services.

[*Jump to more details about the religious beliefs and practices of “nones.”*](#)

Q5: Are ‘nones’ spiritual instead of religious?

[Some “nones” are indeed spiritual.](#) About half say spirituality is very important in their lives or say they think of themselves as spiritual. Most “nones” believe animals other than humans can have spirits or spiritual energies – and many say this is true of parts of nature, such as mountains, rivers or trees.

But these spiritual identities and beliefs are not unique to “nones.” In fact, by many measures, people who identify with a religion tend to be just as spiritual, or even more spiritual, than “nones.”

[Jump to more information about spirituality among “nones.”](#)

Half of ‘nones’ say they are spiritual or that spirituality is very important to them

% of U.S. adults who describe themselves as spiritual or say spirituality is very important in their lives, among ...



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.
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Q6: Are ‘nones’ hostile toward religion?

Some “nones” have a very negative view of religion, but “nones” on the whole express mixed views rather than outright hostility.

Most say religion causes a variety of problems in society – like intolerance or superstition. But many “nones” also say that religion helps give people meaning and purpose, and that it can encourage people to treat each other well.

Overall, 43% of “nones” say religion does more harm than good in society, while 14% say it does more good than harm; 41% say religion does equal amounts of good and harm.

[Jump ahead to read more on how “nones” view religion.](#)

Q7: How do ‘nones’ view science?

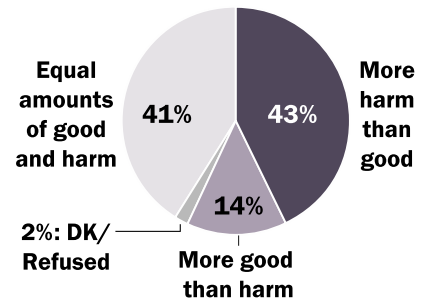
Most “nones” say science does more good than harm in American society, and on average “nones” are much more positive about science than are religiously affiliated people.

At the same time, most “nones” believe there are limits to what science can do. For example, 44% of “nones” say there is a scientific explanation for everything, while 56% say there are some things science can’t possibly explain.

[Read more details about how “nones” view science.](#)

43% of ‘nones’ say religion does more harm than good in American society

% of religious “nones” who say religion does ___ in American society



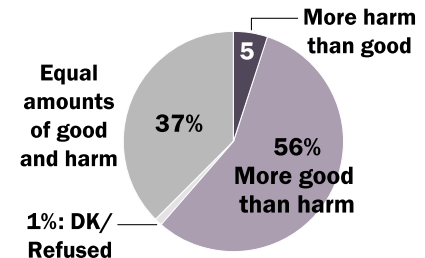
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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56% of ‘nones’ say science does more good than harm in American society

% of religious “nones” who say science does ___ in American society



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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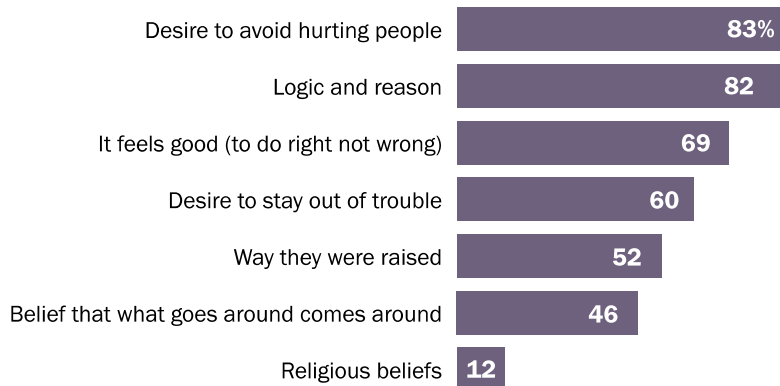
Q8: How do ‘nones’ think about morality?

The vast majority of “nones” say it is possible to be moral and have good values without believing in God. Most religiously affiliated people agree, though by a smaller margin.

When asked how they decide between right and wrong, 83% of “nones” say the desire to avoid hurting other people is a key factor. And 82% of “nones” say logic and reason are extremely or very important when they decide between right and wrong.

83% of ‘nones’ say desire to not hurt people key to deciding right from wrong

*% of religious “nones” who say each of the following is **extremely or very important** when making decisions between right and wrong*



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.
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[*Read more on how “nones” think about morality.*](#)

Much of the analysis in this report comes from a Pew Research Center survey conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023, among 11,201 respondents who are members of the Center’s American Trends Panel (ATP). The survey included interviews with 3,317 religious “nones” (658 atheists, 678 agnostics and 1,981 respondents who describe their religion as “nothing in particular”).

In addition to the July 31-Aug. 6, 2023, survey, this analysis also draws on a variety of other [ATP surveys](#) conducted in recent years, as well as on the Center’s [National Public Opinion Reference Surveys \(NPORS\)](#).

1. Who are the ‘nones’? How are they defined?

Religious “nones” are people who describe themselves as atheist, agnostic or “nothing in particular” when asked about their religious affiliation in our surveys.

To measure religious affiliation in the United States, we asked: “What is your present religion, if any?” followed by a list of options:

- Protestant (for example, Baptist, Methodist, nondenominational, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Pentecostal, Episcopalian, Church of Christ, Congregational/United Church of Christ, Holiness, Reformed, Church of God, etc.)
- Roman Catholic
- Mormon (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints or LDS)
- Orthodox (such as Greek, Russian, or some other Orthodox Church)
- Jewish
- Muslim
- Buddhist
- Hindu
- Atheist
- Agnostic
- Something else (please specify what)
- Nothing in particular

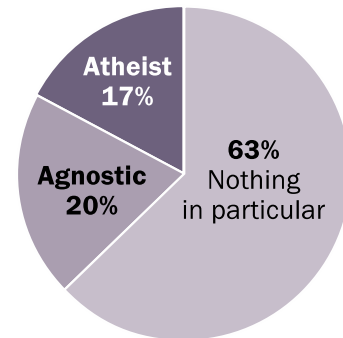
Respondents who choose atheist, agnostic or “nothing in particular” are categorized by Pew Research Center as religiously unaffiliated – a group that the Center and many others have taken to calling “nones.”

Most “nones” describe their religion as “nothing in particular” (63%), while 17% say they are atheist and 20% say they are agnostic.

We use the terms “religiously unaffiliated” and “religious nones” interchangeably. Sometimes we also refer to the “nones” as people who claim “no religion” or people who don’t identify with any religion.

Most ‘nones’ describe their religion as ‘nothing in particular’

% of religious “nones” who are ...



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.
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Meanwhile, we use the term “religiously affiliated” for respondents who identify with one of the religions listed above – including a relatively small number who choose “something else” and then write in what it is, as well as those who say they have more than one religion.

Demographics of religious ‘nones’

Age and gender

The population of religious “nones” in the U.S. is younger than the population of Americans who identify with a religion.

Among “nones,” 69% are under the age of 50, while 31% are 50 or older. By comparison, 45% of U.S. adults who identify with a religion are under 50, while 55% are ages 50 or older.

“Nones” overall are roughly split between men (51%) and women (47%). The populations of atheists and agnostics include far more men than women. The same is not true for people whose religion is “nothing in particular.”

(For more information on religious differences between men and women, refer to [“The Gender Gap in Religion Around the World.”](#))

Most atheists and agnostics are men

% of U.S. adults who are ____

	Ages 18-29	30-49	50-64	65+	Men	Women
<i>Among ...</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%
All religious 'nones'	29	40	18	13	51	47
Atheist	27	44	18	12	64	32
Agnostic	38	35	16	11	62	36
Nothing in particular	27	40	19	13	44	55
All U.S. adults	19	34	25	22	47	52
Religiously affiliated	14	31	29	26	45	54
Christian	13	30	30	27	45	55
Protestant	11	30	30	28	44	55
Evangelical	9	33	30	27	45	54
Mainline	12	24	29	35	45	55
Historically Black Prot.	15	32	32	20	40	59
Catholic	15	29	29	26	45	55

Note: Figures read across. Those who did not answer questions about their age or gender are excluded from the analysis. Those who described their gender in some other way are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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Race and ethnicity

The racial breakdown of U.S. “nones” is broadly similar to the racial breakdown of Americans who identify with a religion.

That said, White adults make up larger shares of U.S. atheists (77%) and agnostics (69%) than of people whose religion is “nothing in particular” (57%).

Just 2% of self-described atheists and 4% of agnostics are Black.

Large majorities of atheists, agnostics are White

% of U.S. adults who are ____

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Other/ Mixed race
Among ...	%	%	%	%	%
All religious ‘nones’	63	9	17	7	5=100
Atheist	77	2	9	7	5
Agnostic	69	4	16	6	4
Nothing in particular	57	12	19	6	6
All U.S. adults	62	12	16	6	5
Religiously affiliated	61	13	16	5	4
Christian	63	13	17	3	4
Protestant	65	18	9	3	4
Evangelical	75	5	12	3	5
Mainline	81	3	7	3	6
Historically Black Prot.	<1	99	1	<1	<1
Catholic	55	2	35	5	3

Note: Figures read across. Those who did not answer are excluded from the analysis. White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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Education

The populations of “nones” and of religiously affiliated adults in the United States have similar levels of education, respectively.

Among “nones,” though, atheists and agnostics have more education than those whose religion is “nothing in particular.”

Atheists and agnostics are also more likely to have a college degree than are Americans who identify with a religion.

Nearly half of atheists and agnostics are college graduates

% of U.S. adults who have the following levels of educational attainment

	College graduate	Some college	High school or less
<i>Among ...</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
All religious ‘nones’	35	31	34=100
Atheist	48	30	22
Agnostic	48	33	19
Nothing in particular	27	31	43
All U.S. adults	34	30	35
Religiously affiliated	34	30	36
Christian	33	31	37
Protestant	32	32	36
Evangelical	30	33	37
Mainline	38	29	33
Historically Black Prot.	23	37	40
Catholic	34	27	39

Note: Figures read across. Those who did not answer are excluded from the analysis.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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Party identification and political ideology of religious ‘nones’

Ideologically, American “nones” are much more likely than religiously affiliated adults to identify as liberal and less likely to identify as conservative.

Majorities of atheists (65%) and agnostics (56%) are ideologically liberal. Among those who say their religion is “nothing in particular,” the largest share identify as moderate (46%).

Overall, 62% of “nones” identify as Democrats or lean toward the Democratic Party. Atheists (78%) and agnostics (71%) are more likely to be Democrats or lean Democratic than are U.S. adults who identify religiously as “nothing in particular” (54%).

62% of religiously unaffiliated adults are Democrats or lean Democratic

% of religious “nones” who identify ideologically and politically as each of the following

Among ...	Conservative	Moderate	Liberal	Rep./ lean Rep.	Dem./ lean Dem.	Other/ Don't know/ Refused – no lean
	%	%	%	%	%	%
All religious ‘nones’	15	40	42	31	62	7
Atheist	9	24	65	19	78	3
Agnostic	8	34	56	25	71	4
Nothing in particular	18	46	31	37	54	9
All U.S. adults	32	39	25	46	48	6
Religiously affiliated	40	39	17	52	41	6
Christian	43	39	15	55	39	6
Protestant	46	36	14	58	37	6
Evangelical	59	30	8	72	23	5
Mainline	38	39	20	54	40	7
Historically Black Prot.	16	53	25	10	84	6
Catholic	34	46	17	48	47	5

Note: Figures read across. Those who did not answer the question about political ideology are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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Return to the report's [Overview](#).

Find answers to other questions:

- Why are ‘nones’ nonreligious? ([Chapter 2](#))
- Are ‘nones’ less involved in civic life than people who identify with a religion? ([Chapter 3](#))
- Are all ‘nones’ nonbelievers? ([Chapter 4](#))
- Are ‘nones’ spiritual instead of religious? ([Chapter 5](#))
- Are ‘nones’ hostile toward religion? ([Chapter 6](#))
- How do ‘nones’ view science? ([Chapter 7](#))
- How do ‘nones’ think about morality? ([Chapter 8](#))

2. Why are ‘nones’ nonreligious?

The survey asked “nones” why they are nonreligious, offering a list of six possible reasons and asking respondents to say whether each is an extremely, very, somewhat, not too, or not at all important reason why they are nonreligious.

Respondents could choose *multiple* reasons, and many did.

The reason “nones” give most often for not having a religion is that they question religious teachings: 60% say doubt about these teachings is an extremely or very important reason why they are

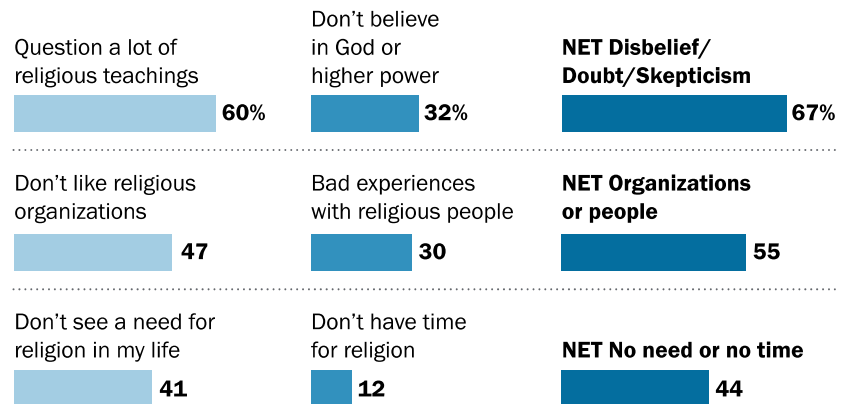
nonreligious. In addition, 32% cite a lack of belief in God or any other higher power. Altogether, 67% cite skepticism or nonbelief (or some combination of both) as a key factor in why they are nonreligious.

Meanwhile, 47% of “nones” say their dislike of religious organizations is an extremely or very important reason they are nonreligious. And 30% cite bad experiences with religious people. Altogether, 55% of “nones” mention religious organizations or religious people (or both) as key reasons for being nonreligious.

About four-in-ten “nones” attribute their lack of religiousness to not having a need for religion in their lives. And 12% say they don’t have time for religion. Altogether, 44% cite a lack of need or a lack of time (or both) as reasons for why they are not religious.

Most ‘nones’ cite disbelief or skepticism as reasons they are not religious

% of religious “nones” who say each of the following is an extremely or very important reason for why they are nonreligious



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.
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Doubts about religious teachings and lack of belief in God

Overall, two-thirds of “nones” say skepticism about religious teachings or lack of belief in God are key reasons for why they are nonreligious.

Fully 91% of atheists cite these matters of doubt or disbelief as factors for why they are nonreligious, as do 84% of agnostics. These reasons are cited by lower shares of “nones” (55%) who say their religion is “nothing in particular.”

Differences by gender, age, and race and ethnicity

Men who are “nones” are more likely than women to cite skepticism about religious teachings and lack of belief in God as important reasons for why they are nonreligious.

The oldest “nones” (those ages 65 and older) are somewhat less likely than younger “nones” to cite skepticism of religious teachings and a lack of belief in God as reasons for why they are nonreligious.

Higher shares of White and Asian “nones” cite a lack of

belief in God as a reason for their nonreligion than do Black and Hispanic “nones.” Roughly two-

Two-thirds of ‘nones’ cite questioning of religious teachings, lack of belief in God as important reasons why they are not religious

*% of religious “nones” who say each of the following is an **extremely or very important reason** for why they are nonreligious*

	Question a lot of religious teachings	Don't believe in God	NET At least one of these
	%	%	%
All religious ‘nones’	60	32	67
Atheist	83	78	91
Agnostic	78	33	84
Nothing in particular	48	19	55
<i>Among religious ‘nones’ who are ...</i>			
Men	63	38	72
Women	56	25	62
Ages 18-29	65	31	69
30-49	60	35	68
50-64	58	32	67
65+	52	25	59
White	64	37	71
Black	48	19	55
Hispanic	56	20	64
Asian	51	36	59
College graduate	70	42	78
Some college	66	31	72
High school or less	46	23	52

Note: White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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thirds of White “nones” cite skepticism of religious teachings as a key reason for why they are nonreligious.

Dislike of religious organizations and bad experiences with religious people

Overall, 55% of “nones” cite a dislike of religious organizations or bad experiences with religious people as important factors for why they are nonreligious.

Differences by education, age and gender

“Nones” under 65 are more likely than older “nones” to cite dislike of religious organizations or bad experiences with religious people as key reasons for why they are nonreligious.

And more “nones” with college experience cite these as key reasons for their lack of religiousness than do “nones” who have not attended college.

Roughly one-third of “nones” who are women (32%) say having had bad experiences with religious people is an important reason for why they are nonreligious, compared with 27% of “nones” who are men.

55% of ‘nones’ cite dislike of religious organizations or bad experiences with religious people as key reasons for why they are not religious

% of religious “nones” who say each of the following is an extremely or very important reason for why they are nonreligious

	Don't like religious organizations	Bad experiences with religious people	NET At least one of these
	%	%	%
All religious ‘nones’	47	30	55
Atheist	60	35	63
Agnostic	59	36	66
Nothing in particular	40	26	48
<i>Among religious ‘nones’ who are ...</i>			
Men	47	27	53
Women	46	32	56
Ages 18-29	48	30	57
30-49	50	32	57
50-64	46	29	53
65+	38	22	45
White	51	31	57
Black	30	25	39
Hispanic	48	31	58
Asian	42	21	46
College graduate	54	33	60
Some college	52	33	61
High school or less	37	24	44

Note: White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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Lack of need for religion, no time for it

Overall, 44% of “nones” (including 73% of atheists) say they are nonreligious because they don’t see a need for religion in their lives or they don’t have time for religion.

41% of ‘nones’ say they are nonreligious because they don’t see a need for religion in their lives; 12% say they don’t have time for it

*% of religious “nones” who say each of the following is an **extremely or very important reason** for why they are nonreligious*

Differences by gender, age, and race and ethnicity

Among “nones,” men are more likely than women to say that not needing religion is a key reason for their lack of religiousness. And the youngest “nones” (ages 18 to 29) are more likely to say this than the oldest “nones” (65 and older).

White, Asian and Hispanic “nones” are each more inclined than Black “nones” to say not having a need for religion in their lives is a key reason for their nonreligion.

	Don't see a need for religion in my life	Don't have time for religion	NET At least one of these
	%	%	%
All religious 'nones'	41	12	44
Atheist	71	15	73
Agnostic	50	12	54
Nothing in particular	30	12	33
<i>Among religious 'nones' who are ...</i>			
Men	48	14	50
Women	34	10	37
Ages 18-29	45	14	48
30-49	42	14	46
50-64	38	11	41
65+	33	5	34
White	45	10	47
Black	25	12	29
Hispanic	38	20	44
Asian	39	17	44
College graduate	49	12	52
Some college	42	14	45
High school or less	33	11	36

Note: White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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Find answers to other questions:

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- How do 'nones' think about morality? ([Chapter 8](#))

3. Are ‘nones’ less involved in civic life than people who identify with a religion?

Survey data shows that religious “nones” are, on average, less civically and politically engaged than people who identify with a religion. But the differences are often modest and tend to be concentrated among the subset of “nones” who describe their religion as “nothing in particular.”

Indeed, by several measures, atheists and agnostics are about as civically and politically engaged as U.S. adults who identify with a religion. It’s often just the “nothing in particular” group that stands out for having relatively low levels of civic behavior, such as voting and volunteering.

Why is this important? Traditionally, people who are involved with U.S. religious congregations have tended to be involved with all sorts of other organizations and activities – from PTAs and community groups to voting in elections.

This has led some observers to wonder: Could the rise of religious “nones” in the United States effectively diminish Americans’ participation in civic and community life? Put another way, could the decline of religion leave the U.S. with fewer volunteers, community activists and civic leaders?³

Others have contended that the causal arrow may point in the other direction – that the decline of religion may itself be a symptom of a broader American disengagement from institutions and organizations. According to this line of reasoning, the decline of religion is just one manifestation of disaffection from (and loss of trust in) fellow citizens and institutions of all kinds.⁴

³ For more on the link between religion, civic engagement and social trust, refer to Smietana, Bob. 2022. [“Reorganized Religion: The Reshaping of the American Church and Why it Matters.”](#) Also refer to Stewart, Evan. 2023. [“Not religious, not voting? The ‘nones’ are a powerful force in politics – but not yet a coalition.”](#) The Conversation; Campbell, David E., Geoffrey C. Layman and John C. Green. 2021. [“Secular Surge: A New Fault Line in American Politics”](#); Schwadel, Philip. 2020. [“The Politics of Religious Nones.”](#) Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion; Pew Research Center. 2019. [“Religion’s Relationship to Happiness, Civic Engagement and Health Around the World”](#); Frost, Jacqui and Penny Edgell. 2018. [“Rescuing Nones From the Reference Category: Civic Engagement Among the Nonreligious in America.”](#) Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly; Jansen, Jim. 2011. [“The Civic and Community Engagement of Religiously Active Americans.”](#) Pew Research Center; and Putnam, Robert D. and David E. Campbell. 2010. [“American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us.”](#)

⁴ For more on how politics might be driving the growth of the “nones,” refer to Margolis, Michele F. 2018. [“From Politics to the Pews: How Partisanship and the Political Environment Shape Religious Identity”](#); Campbell, David E., Geoffrey C. Layman and John C. Green. 2021. [“Secular Surge: A New Fault Line in American Politics”](#); Putnam, Robert D. and David E. Campbell. 2010. [“American Grace: How Religion Divides and Unites Us”](#); and Hout, Michael and Claude S. Fischer. 2002. [“Why More Americans Have No Religious Preference: Politics and Generations.”](#) American Sociological Review.

It's beyond the scope of this report to definitively answer these big questions about the impact of the decline of organized religion on U.S. civic life, or to sort out how much of religion's decline is explained by a broader rejection of institutions and organizations. But we have collected lots of data in recent years on the connections between religion and civic engagement, and this chapter briefly reviews it.

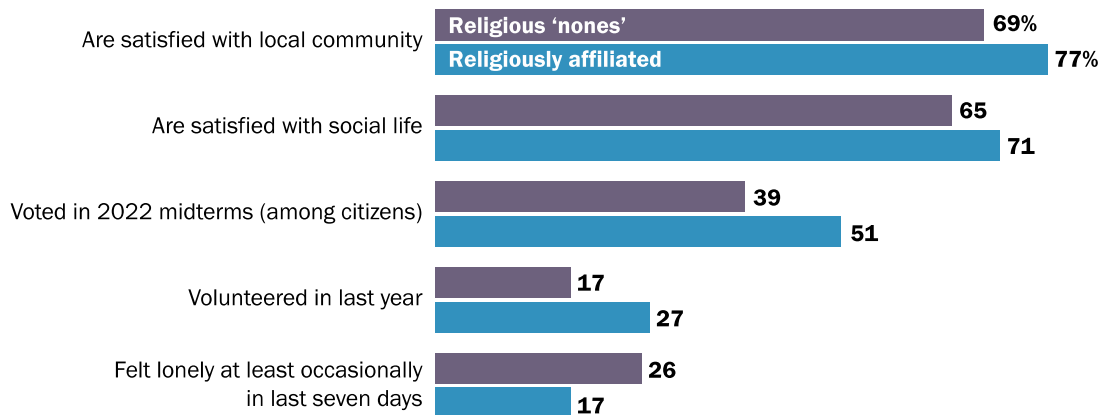
On many measures, religious ‘nones’ are less involved in civic life

Overall, 17% of religious “nones” say they volunteered for an organization or association in the past year – 10 percentage points lower than the share of religiously affiliated people who say this.

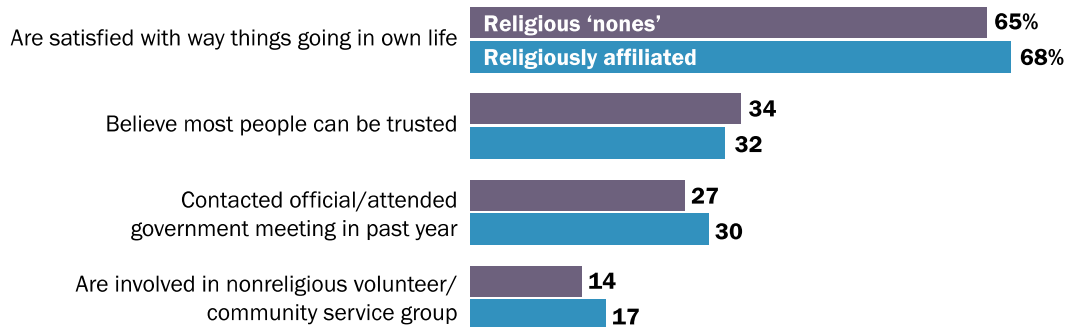
And religious “nones” are 12 points less likely than religiously affiliated citizens to have turned out to vote in the 2022 midterm elections (39% vs. 51%). (These estimates are based on [an analysis](#) that uses publicly available official state records to verify voter turnout.)

On some key measures, ‘nones’ are less civically engaged, satisfied with their lives than the religiously affiliated ...

% of U.S. adults who say they ____



... but the differences are smaller on other indicators



Source: Data on volunteering and community involvement from survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023. Voter turnout data from survey conducted Nov. 16-27, 2022; turnout was verified using official state election records. Data on loneliness from survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022; data on overall satisfaction with the way things are going in life from survey conducted Aug. 1-14, 2022; data on contacting officials/attending meetings from survey conducted April 25-May 1, 2022; data on satisfaction with social life and local community from survey conducted Oct. 18-24, 2021; and data on whether most people can be trusted from survey conducted June 14-27, 2021.

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Compared with religiously affiliated people, religious “nones” are also somewhat less satisfied with various aspects of their lives, including their local community and their social lives. And in a September 2022 survey, religious “nones” were more likely than other U.S. adults to say they’d felt lonely in the preceding week, and less likely to say they’d felt hopeful.

But differences between ‘nones’ and the religiously affiliated are often modest

For example, religious “nones” are only slightly less likely than religiously affiliated people to say they are currently involved in a *nonreligious* volunteer or community service group, as well as to say that they’ve recently contacted an elected official or attended a government meeting – all of which are standard measures of civic engagement. And the percentage of religious “nones” who say most people can be trusted is virtually identical to the percentage of religiously affiliated people who take that position – a classic measure of social trust.

And although “nones” are somewhat less satisfied than religiously affiliated people, most “nones” say they *are* satisfied with their family lives, social lives and local communities. Most “nones” do *not* say they are lonely.

Among ‘nones,’ those describing their religion as ‘nothing in particular’ (not atheists and agnostics) often tend to be the *least* civically engaged

In terms of political engagement, for example, atheists and agnostics are about as likely as religiously affiliated Americans to have voted in the 2022 midterm elections.

Atheists are actually *more* likely than religiously affiliated Americans to say they follow government and public affairs closely. Furthermore, atheists and agnostics are more likely than religiously affiliated people to say most people can be trusted.

U.S. adults who say their religion is “nothing in particular,” however, are less likely than atheists, agnostics and people who identify with a religion to say they have volunteered in the past year, to have voted in the 2022 midterms, and to say they follow government or public affairs all or most of the time.

Among ‘nones,’ atheists and agnostics tend to be more civically engaged than those who say their religion is ‘nothing in particular’

	Among religious ‘nones’ in the U.S. who describe their religion as ...			Among religiously affiliated U.S. adults
	Atheist	Agnostic	Nothing in particular	
Community involvement				
% who say they ...				
Volunteered in last year	21	22	15	27
Are involved in a nonreligious volunteer/community service group	17	19	11	17
Political engagement				
% who say they ...				
Voted in 2022 midterms (among citizens)	50	49	32	51
Follow govt./public affairs most of time	53	44	29	43
Contacted official/attended govt. meeting in the past year	31	27	26	30
Life satisfaction				
% who say they are satisfied with ...				
Their family life	82	78	78	85
Their local community	79	69	66	77
Their social life	67	60	66	71
The way things are going in their own life	70	70	62	68
Loneliness/hopefulness				
% who say they have felt ___ at least occasionally in last seven days				
Hopeful	35	44	42	47
Lonely	24	27	26	17
Social trust				
% who say ...				
Most people can be trusted	51	39	28	32

Source: Data on volunteering, community involvement and following government/public affairs from survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023. Data on voter turnout from survey conducted Nov. 16-27, 2022; turnout was verified using official state election records. Data on hopefulness and loneliness from survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022; data on overall satisfaction with the way things are going in life from survey conducted Aug. 1-14, 2022; data on contacting officials/attending meetings from survey conducted April 25-May 1, 2022; data on satisfaction with family life, social life and local community from survey conducted Oct. 18-24, 2021; and data on whether most people can be trusted from survey conducted June 14-27, 2021.

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On some measures, there is little difference between ‘nones’ and religiously affiliated people who don’t regularly attend religious services

Overall, 41% of religiously affiliated people say they go to services at least once or twice a month. Very few “nones” attend religious services.

On several key indicators of civic engagement, religiously affiliated people who regularly attend services stand out for their high levels of involvement. For example, they are far more likely to have volunteered in the last year than either “nones” or religiously affiliated people who *don’t* attend religious services.

Meanwhile, “nones” are about as likely as religiously affiliated people who *don’t* attend religious services to say they volunteered in the past year or that they are involved in a nonreligious community service group.

“Nones” are also about as likely as religiously affiliated people who don’t attend religious services to express satisfaction with their social lives and to have felt hopeful lately.

Religiously affiliated adults who regularly attend services most likely to volunteer, be satisfied with their social lives

	Among religious 'nones' in the U.S.	Among religiously affiliated U.S. adults who attend religious services ...		
		Among all religiously affiliated U.S. adults	At least monthly	Few times a year or less (or never)
Community involvement				
<i>% who say they ...</i>				
Volunteered in last year	17	27	41	17
Are involved in a nonreligious volunteer/community service group	14	17	21	14
Political engagement				
<i>% who say they ...</i>				
Voted in 2022 midterms (among citizens)	39	51	56	47
Follow govt./public affairs most of time	36	43	45	41
Contacted official/attended govt. meeting in the past year	27	30	36	26
Life satisfaction				
<i>% who say they are satisfied with ...</i>				
Their family life	78	85	87	84
Their local community	69	77	79	75
Their social life	65	71	77	67
The way things are going in their own life	65	68	73	64
Loneliness/hopefulness				
<i>% who say they have felt ___ at least occasionally in last seven days</i>				
Hopeful	41	47	52	43
Lonely	26	17	15	18
Social trust				
<i>% who say ...</i>				
Most people can be trusted	34	32	34	30

Source: Data on volunteering, community involvement and following government/public affairs from survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023. Data on voter turnout from survey conducted Nov. 16-27, 2022; turnout was verified using official state election records. Data on hopefulness and loneliness from survey conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022; data on overall satisfaction with the way things are going in life from survey conducted Aug. 1-14, 2022; data on contacting officials/attending meetings from survey conducted April 25-May 1, 2022; data on satisfaction with family life, social life and local community from survey conducted Oct. 18-24, 2021; and data on whether most people can be trusted from survey conducted June 14-27, 2021.

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Voter turnout among the ‘nones’

In the 2022 midterm election, atheists and agnostics turned out to vote at higher levels than “nones” who describe their religion as “nothing in particular,” and at similar levels to U.S. adults who identify with a religion.

Older “nones” voted at higher levels than younger ones, and higher shares of White “nones” than Black or Hispanic “nones” turned out to vote. In addition, “nones” with more education turned out at a higher rate than those “nones” with less education. These differences within the religiously unaffiliated population mirror broader patterns in the U.S. public as a whole.

Meanwhile, “nones” who are men turned out to vote at a higher clip than “nones” who are women. This partly reflects the fact that men who are religiously unaffiliated are more likely than women to identify as atheist or agnostic, and atheists and agnostics turn out to vote at higher rates than “nones” who describe their religion as “nothing in particular.” (Among “nones” in the July 31-Aug. 6, 2023, survey who are men, 22% are atheists, 24% are agnostics and 54% describe their religion as “nothing in particular.” Among “nones” who are women, 12% are atheists, 15% are agnostics and 73% are “nothing in particular.”)

In 2022, older religious ‘nones’ turned out to vote at much higher rates than younger ‘nones’

% of U.S. citizens who voted in the 2022 congressional election

	%
All religious ‘nones’	39
Atheist	50
Agnostic	49
Nothing in particular	32
<i>Among religious ‘nones’ who are ...</i>	
Men	45
Women	33
Ages 18-29	22
30-49	35
50-64	57
65+	62
White	45
Black	24
Hispanic	26
College graduate	54
Some college	38
High school or less	25
Among all U.S. adults	47
Religiously affiliated	51
Christian	51
Protestant	52
Evangelical	52
Mainline	57
Historically Black Prot.	37
Catholic	53

Note: Analysis restricted to U.S. citizens. White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 16-27, 2022; turnout was verified using official state election records.

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But the data also shows that among those whose religion is “nothing in particular,” men turned out to vote at a higher clip than women (40% vs. 27%). Among atheists and agnostics, roughly equal shares of men and women turned out to vote in 2022.

Volunteerism among ‘nones’

Religious “nones” are somewhat less likely than U.S. adults who are religiously affiliated to have volunteered in the last year. That said, atheists and agnostics are slightly more likely than people who report their religion is “nothing in particular” to have volunteered lately.

White and Asian “nones” are slightly more likely than Hispanic “nones” to have volunteered in the last year.

And “nones” who graduated from college are more likely to have volunteered in the last year than are “nones” with less education.

‘Nones’ are less likely to have volunteered lately than the religiously affiliated

% of U.S. adults who volunteered in the past 12 months

	%
All religious ‘nones’	17
Atheist	21
Agnostic	22
Nothing in particular	15
<i>Among religious ‘nones’ who are ...</i>	
Men	16
Women	19
Ages 18-29	19
30-49	16
50-64	19
65+	17
White	18
Black	17
Hispanic	11
Asian	23
College graduate	25
Some college	17
High school or less	11
Among all U.S. adults	24
Religiously affiliated	27
Christian	27
Protestant	27
Evangelical	29
Mainline	27
Historically Black Prot.	21
Catholic	23

Note: White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates for Asian adults representative of English speakers only. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023. “Religious ‘Nones’ in America: Who They Are and What They Believe”

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Following government and public affairs

Among “nones,” 36% say they follow “what’s going on in government and public affairs” most of the time, while 34% follow public affairs *some* of the time. Another 29% say they do so only now and then or hardly at all.

Atheists and agnostics are more likely than U.S. adults reporting their religion as “nothing in particular” to follow government and public affairs most of the time.

Some 44% of religiously unaffiliated men report they follow public affairs most of the time, compared with 28% of religiously unaffiliated women who say they do this.

Older “nones” are much more likely than younger “nones” to follow public affairs. And “nones” with college degrees are more likely than those with less education to keep up with government and public affairs.

Atheists and agnostics follow government, public affairs at least as closely as the religiously affiliated

% of U.S. adults who say they follow what’s going on in government and public affairs ...

	Most of the time %	Some of the time %	Only now and then/Hardly at all %
All religious ‘nones’	36	34	29
Atheist	53	26	21
Agnostic	44	36	20
Nothing in particular	29	36	35
<i>Among religious ‘nones’ who are ...</i>			
Men	44	33	24
Women	28	35	36
Ages 18-29	19	40	41
30-49	32	34	34
50-64	53	35	13
65+	67	20	13
White	42	32	26
Black	29	34	37
Hispanic	23	37	40
Asian	27	43	29
College graduate	48	37	15
Some college	35	30	35
High school or less	26	35	39
Among all U.S. adults	41	34	25
Religiously affiliated	43	34	22
Christian	44	34	22
Protestant	44	34	22
Evangelical	45	34	22
Mainline	50	32	17
Historically Black Prot.	31	39	30
Catholic	43	35	21

Note: White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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Satisfaction with family life, local communities, social life

About eight-in-ten religious “nones” are very or somewhat satisfied with their family lives. Around seven-in-ten are satisfied with the quality of life in their local community. And 65% are satisfied with their social lives.

While the religiously unaffiliated are somewhat less likely than Americans who identify with a religion to be satisfied in these ways, majorities in both groups report satisfaction on each of these measures.

Older “nones” tend to be more satisfied with their family lives, communities and social lives than younger “nones.”

“Nones” who have graduated from college express higher levels of satisfaction with their family lives and their local communities compared with “nones” who have not completed college.

Most religious ‘nones’ satisfied with their family lives, local communities, social ties

% of U.S. adults who are very or somewhat satisfied with their ...

	Family life	Local community	Social life
	%	%	%
All religious ‘nones’	78	69	65
Atheist	82	79	67
Agnostic	78	69	60
Nothing in particular	78	66	66
<i>Among religious ‘nones’ who are ...</i>			
Men	79	71	65
Women	78	66	64
Ages 18-29	74	60	57
30-49	79	68	66
50-64	79	74	69
65+	87	81	76
College graduate	83	77	68
Some college	75	67	60
High school or less	77	63	67
All U.S. adults	83	74	69
Religiously affiliated	85	77	71
Christian	86	77	72
Protestant	85	76	71
Evangelical	87	78	72
Mainline	84	79	70
Historically Black Prot.	84	66	73
Catholic	86	78	73

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Oct. 18-24, 2021.
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- How do 'nones' think about morality? ([Chapter 8](#))

4. Are all ‘nones’ nonbelievers?

Not all ‘nones’ are nonbelievers.

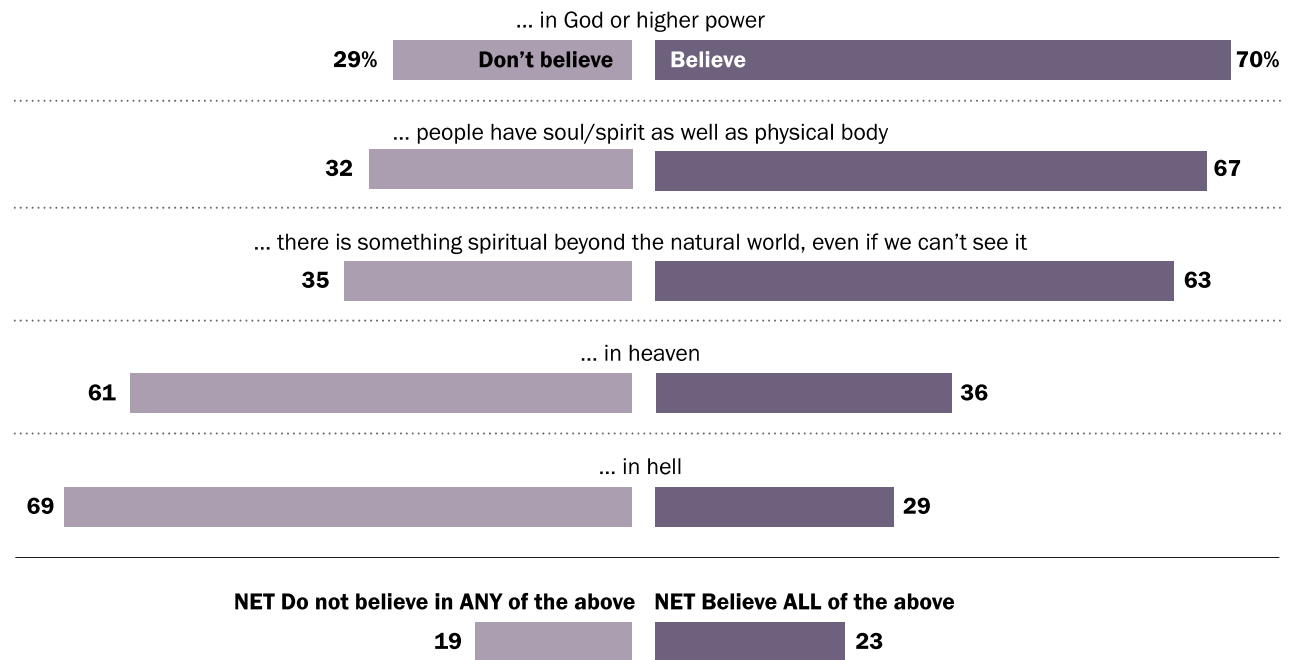
Far from it.

While the “nones” include many nonbelievers, 70% of “nones” say they believe in God or another higher power, and 63% say they believe in spiritual forces beyond the natural world.

Overall, 19% of religious “nones” are strict nonbelievers who don’t believe in God or *any* higher power, don’t believe humans have souls, don’t think there’s anything beyond the natural world, don’t think there’s a heaven and don’t believe in hell.

Most religious ‘nones’ believe in God or some higher power; most don’t believe in heaven or hell

% of religiously unaffiliated adults (atheists, agnostics and those who describe their religion as “nothing in particular”) who say they don’t/do believe ...



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.
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But 23% of “nones” say they believe in *all* of the above. The rest either hold some of those beliefs and reject others (55%) or else don’t answer enough of the questions to be able to classify the nature of their beliefs (3%).

But ‘nones’ are much *less* religious, on average, than religiously affiliated Americans.

About three-in-ten religious “nones” say they pray with some regularity, but most “nones” don’t. Fully 71% say they seldom or never pray.

While about one-fifth of “nones” say religion is either very or somewhat important in their lives, four times as many say religion is not too or not at all important to them (81%).

And very few “nones” say they attend religious services. Just 3% say they go to religious services once a month or more, while 97% go a few times a year or less (including 90% who say they seldom or never attend religious services).

On all these measures, religious “nones” are far less religious than Americans who identify with a religion. So religious “nones” don’t just avoid or reject religious *labels*. They also avoid or reject some common religious *behaviors*.

97% of religious ‘nones’ say they attend religious services a few times a year or less often (if at all)

	Religious ‘nones’ %	Religiously affiliated %
<i>% who say religion is _____ important in their life</i>		
Very	5	53
Somewhat	14	29
Not too/Not at all	81	18
<i>% who say they pray ...</i>		
Daily	13	56
Weekly/Monthly	16	27
Seldom/Never	71	17
<i>% who say they attend religious services ...</i>		
Monthly or more	3	41
Once a week or more	2	31
Once or twice a month	1	10
Few times a year or less	97	59
Few times a year	7	19
Seldom/Never	90	40

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.
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Beliefs about God

Seven-in-ten “nones” believe in God or a higher power of some kind, including 13% who say they believe in God “as described in the Bible” and 56% who say they *don’t* believe in God as described in the Bible but *do* believe in some other higher power.

About three-in-ten “nones” say they don’t believe in God or any “higher power or spiritual force in the universe.”

Most agnostics (67%) and U.S. adults who describe their religion as “nothing in particular” (83%) say they believe in God or some kind of higher power. Among atheists, almost none say they believe in God as described in the Bible, but 22% say they do believe in some other higher power or spiritual force in the universe.

Among “nones,” more men than women say they *don’t* believe in God or any higher power at all (36% vs. 21%). “Nones” who are women are instead more likely than “nones” who are men to believe in a higher power other than God as described in the Bible (63% vs. 51%).

There is little difference across age groups in the share of “nones” who believe in any higher power. But there are some modest differences across age categories in the share who believe in God as described in the Bible, as opposed to some other kind of higher power. The youngest “nones” are more likely than the oldest “nones” to say they believe in a higher power *other than* God as described in the Bible, while the oldest are more inclined than the youngest to believe in the biblical God.

Nine-in-ten Black “nones” and 81% of Hispanic “nones” believe in some higher power, but Black “nones” are more likely than Hispanic “nones” to say they believe in God as described in the Bible (34% vs. 19%).

Smaller majorities of both White and Asian “nones” (64% each) believe in a higher power.

Six-in-ten “nones” who are college graduates say they believe in a higher power, while 39% do not. Belief in a higher power is more common among “nones” with lower levels of formal education.

Most 'nones' believe in God or higher power

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

	NET Believe in God or higher power	Believe in God as described in Bible	Believe in some other higher power	Don't believe in God or any higher power
	%	%	%	%
All religious 'nones'	70	13	56	29
Atheist	23	<1	22	77
Agnostic	67	3	64	32
Nothing in particular	83	20	63	14
<i>Among religious 'nones' who are ...</i>				
Men	63	12	51	36
Women	78	15	63	21
Ages 18-29	68	8	60	30
30-49	71	14	57	29
50-64	70	15	55	27
65+	70	21	48	28
White	64	10	54	35
Black	90	34	55	6
Hispanic	81	19	62	17
Asian	64	6	58	35
College grad	60	5	55	39
Some college	70	12	58	28
High school or less	79	23	56	19
Among all U.S. adults	88	54	34	10
Religiously affiliated	97	73	24	2
Christian	98	78	20	1
Protestant	99	83	16	1
Evangelical	100	91	8	<1
Mainline	97	66	31	2
Historically Black Prot.	99	86	12	1
Catholic	98	67	30	2

Note: White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only. The "NET Believe in God or higher power" figures include those who said they believe in God but declined to specify whether that's God as described in the Bible or another higher power. Those who did not answer are not shown, nor are those who initially said they don't believe in God but declined to say whether they believe in another higher power.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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Views on the existence of something spiritual beyond the natural world

Overall, 63% of religious “nones” say there is something spiritual beyond the natural world, even if we can’t see it, while 35% express the materialist perspective, saying the natural world is all there is.

Most atheists say the natural world is all that exists. But most agnostics and those who describe their religion as “nothing in particular” say there is something spiritual beyond the natural world.

Among “nones,” women are more likely than men to say there is something spiritual beyond the natural world (72% vs. 56%).

Large majorities of “nones” who are Black or Hispanic believe there is something spiritual beyond the natural world, even if we can’t see it. Fewer White “nones” and Asian “nones” believe this.

Religious “nones” who are college graduates are evenly divided between those who think there is something spiritual beyond the natural world (50%) and those who think the natural world is all there is (49%). By contrast, a clear majority of “nones” with less than a college education say there is something spiritual beyond the natural world, even if we can’t see it.

Most self-described atheists say the natural world is all there is, but most other 'nones' say there is something spiritual beyond the natural world

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

	There is something spiritual beyond the natural world, even if we can't see it	The natural world is all there is
	%	%
All religious 'nones'	63	35
Atheist	24	75
Agnostic	61	37
Nothing in particular	75	23
<i>Among religious 'nones' who are ...</i>		
Men	56	43
Women	72	25
Ages 18-29	62	35
30-49	65	34
50-64	64	34
65+	59	37
White	57	40
Black	83	17
Hispanic	76	22
Asian	52	44
College grad	50	49
Some college	68	29
High school or less	72	25
Among all U.S. adults	81	17
Religiously affiliated	89	9
Christian	91	7
Protestant	92	6
Evangelical	93	5
Mainline	91	6
Historically Black Prot.	89	9
Catholic	87	10

Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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Beliefs about whether humans have a soul or spirit

Roughly two-thirds of “nones” say they think humans have souls or spirits in addition to their physical bodies. This includes 60% of agnostics and 78% of U.S. adults whose religion is “nothing in particular.” By comparison, 31% of atheists believe a person has a soul or spirit in addition to a body.

Among “nones,” women are more likely than men to believe humans have souls or spirits. Black and Hispanic “nones” are more likely than White and Asian “nones” to believe this. And “nones” who have not completed college are more likely than college graduates to express this view.

Most 'nones' believe humans have a soul or spirit in addition to a physical body

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

	Believe humans have a soul or spirit in addition to their physical body	Don't believe this
	%	%
All religious 'nones'	67	32
Atheist	31	69
Agnostic	60	37
Nothing in particular	78	20
<i>Among religious 'nones' who are ...</i>		
Men	56	43
Women	78	20
Ages 18-29	64	35
30-49	67	32
50-64	70	28
65+	64	32
White	62	36
Black	88	11
Hispanic	73	25
Asian	57	42
College graduate	59	40
Some college	70	28
High school or less	72	27
Among all U.S. adults	83	15
Religiously affiliated	91	8
Christian	92	7
Protestant	93	6
Evangelical	95	4
Mainline	92	6
Historically Black Prot.	89	10
Catholic	91	8

Note: White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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Beliefs about heaven and hell

Among religious “nones,” 36% say they believe in heaven and 29% say they believe in hell.

Half of those whose religion is “nothing in particular” believe in heaven, and 41% believe in hell. Far fewer atheists and agnostics believe in either heaven or hell.

“Nones” who are women are far more likely than “nones” who are men to believe in heaven and hell.

Black and Hispanic “nones” are each more likely to believe in heaven and hell than are White and Asian “nones.”

Among “nones” with a high school education or less, 55% say they believe in heaven, and 46% believe in hell. Far fewer “nones” with college experience believe in either.

Fewer than half of religious 'nones' believe in heaven, hell

% of U.S. adults who say they believe in ...

	Heaven	Hell
	%	%
All religious 'nones'	36	29
Atheist	4	3
Agnostic	18	13
Nothing in particular	51	41
<i>Among religious 'nones' who are ...</i>		
Men	27	22
Women	47	38
Ages 18-29	35	27
30-49	37	31
50-64	36	29
65+	38	27
White	29	23
Black	62	55
Hispanic	49	36
Asian	32	24
College graduate	21	15
Some college	33	25
High school or less	55	46
Among all U.S. adults	71	61
Affiliated with a religion	87	76
Christian	91	79
Protestant	93	83
Evangelical	97	91
Mainline	85	68
Historically Black Prot.	95	90
Catholic	87	73

Note: White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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Overall religious commitment

We often combine questions about rates of religious attendance, frequency of prayer and religious importance to categorize Americans by their level of “religious commitment.” Though these are not the only possible measures of religious commitment, combining these three is a helpful way to see if there are clear patterns of religious engagement across different parts of the population.

In this analysis, U.S. adults who say they attend religious services at least once a week, pray daily and consider religion to be very important in their lives are categorized as having high religious commitment.

Those who say they seldom or never attend religious services, seldom or never pray, and consider religion to be not too or not at all important in their lives are categorized as having low religious commitment.

Everyone else – those who fall between the high category on one end and the low category on the other – are counted as having medium religious commitment.

A majority of “nones” (64%) fall in the low commitment category, while 35% fall in the medium category. Just 1% of “nones” exhibit high levels of religious commitment.

Half of those who identify religiously as “nothing in particular” exhibit low levels of religious commitment, and 47% exhibit a medium level of religious commitment. Most atheists and agnostics have low religious commitment.

There are big differences in the religiousness of “nones” across racial categories. A clear majority of Black “nones” (69%) fall into the medium religious commitment category, making them the “most religious” of all demographic groups analyzed. About half of Hispanic “nones” fall in the medium religious commitment category, while most White and Asian “nones” display low levels of religious commitment.

Most 'nones' exhibit low levels of religious commitment

% of U.S. adults with a ____ level of religious commitment

	High	Medium	Low
	%	%	%
All religious 'nones'	1	35	64
Atheist	0	6	94
Agnostic	0	19	81
Nothing in particular	2	47	51
<i>Among religious 'nones' who are ...</i>			
Men	1	26	73
Women	1	44	55
Ages 18-29	<1	30	70
30-49	1	34	64
50-64	1	39	60
65+	2	39	58
White	1	26	73
Black	2	69	29
Hispanic	3	51	46
Asian	<1	19	80
College graduate	<1	22	78
Some college	1	32	68
High school or less	2	49	49
<hr/>			
Among all U.S. adults	17	57	26
Religiously affiliated	24	67	8
Christian	26	67	7
Protestant	29	66	5
Evangelical	39	59	2
Mainline	12	76	12
Historically Black Prot.	29	69	2
Catholic	15	73	12

Note: White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only. "High religious commitment" includes those who do each of the following three things: attend religious services at least weekly, say religion is very important in their lives and pray daily. "Low religious commitment" includes those who do each of the following three things: attend religious services seldom or never, say religion is not too or not at all important in their lives and seldom or never pray. The "medium religious commitment" category includes everyone else.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug 6, 2023.

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Religious attendance

Very few “nones” attend religious services with any regularity. Fully 90% say they seldom (24%) or never (67%) attend religious services.

There are differences in rates of religious attendance by race and ethnicity.

About a quarter (24%) of Black “nones” say they attend religious services at least a few times a year, as do 16% of Hispanic “nones.” By contrast, just 6% of White “nones” and 8% of Asian “nones” report going to a church, synagogue, mosque, temple or other house of worship a few times a year or more often.

90% of ‘nones’ seldom or never attend religious services

% of U.S. adults who say they attend religious services ...

	Monthly or more %	Few times a year %	Seldom/ Never %
All religious ‘nones’	3	7	90
Atheist	1	2	97
Agnostic	<1	5	95
Nothing in particular	4	9	87
<i>Among religious ‘nones’ who are ...</i>			
Men	3	6	91
Women	3	8	89
Ages 18-29	2	10	88
30-49	4	6	90
50-64	1	5	93
65+	3	5	92
White	2	4	94
Black	5	19	75
Hispanic	5	12	84
Asian	4	4	92
College graduate	2	5	93
Some college	2	4	94
High school or less	5	11	84
Among all U.S. adults	29	15	56
Religiously affiliated	41	19	40
Christian	43	18	38
Protestant	46	17	37
Evangelical	55	15	30
Mainline	31	18	50
Historically Black Prot.	45	19	35
Catholic	32	23	45

Note: White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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Frequency of prayer

Around seven-in-ten “nones” say they seldom or never pray. Roughly three-in-ten say they pray each day (13%) or on a weekly or monthly basis (16%).

As with most other religion measures, “nones” who identify as “nothing in particular” are far more likely to say they pray than atheists or agnostics. About one-fifth (19%) of adults in the “nothing in particular” category say they pray daily.

When looking at religious “nones” of different demographic backgrounds, Black Americans, women and those with lower levels of educational attainment are more likely than their counterparts to say they pray at least monthly.

71% of ‘nones’ seldom or never pray

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

	Daily %	Weekly/ Monthly %	Seldom/ Never %
All religious ‘nones’	13	16	71
Atheist	1	2	98
Agnostic	4	11	86
Nothing in particular	19	21	59
<i>Among religious ‘nones’ who are ...</i>			
Men	8	11	81
Women	18	20	61
Ages 18-29	6	19	75
30-49	14	14	72
50-64	15	17	67
65+	21	14	65
White	9	12	78
Black	30	28	41
Hispanic	20	26	54
Asian	2	7	91
College graduate	7	9	84
Some college	12	16	71
High school or less	19	21	60
Among all U.S. adults	42	24	34
Religiously affiliated	56	27	17
Christian	58	27	14
Protestant	63	26	11
Evangelical	72	21	7
Mainline	42	36	21
Historically Black Prot.	73	20	6
Catholic	45	31	23

Note: White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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Religion's importance

Around eight-in-ten religious “nones” say religion is not too or not at all important in their lives, while 19% say religion is somewhat or very important to them.

“Nones” who describe their religion as “nothing in particular” are more likely than atheists and agnostics to say religion is at least somewhat important to them. Still, even among those who identify as “nothing in particular,” most say religion is not too important or not at all important.

Nearly one-fifth of Black “nones” (19%) say religion is very important, while an additional 26% say it is somewhat important. This level of importance attributed to religion is much higher than for “nones” in other racial groups, particularly White and Asian “nones.”

81% of 'nones' say religion is not too important or not at all important in their lives

% of U.S. adults who say religion is ___ in their life

	Very important %	Somewhat important %	Not too/Not at all important %
All religious 'nones'	5	14	81
Atheist	1	1	98
Agnostic	<1	5	95
Nothing in particular	8	20	71
<i>Among religious 'nones' who are ...</i>			
Men	4	10	86
Women	7	17	75
Ages 18-29	3	12	85
30-49	6	13	81
50-64	5	17	77
65+	10	15	75
White	3	10	86
Black	19	26	55
Hispanic	10	21	69
Asian	1	9	90
College graduate	2	7	91
Some college	5	11	84
High school or less	9	23	68
Among all U.S. adults	38	24	37
Religiously affiliated	53	29	18
Christian	56	29	15
Protestant	61	27	12
Evangelical	72	21	7
Mainline	36	39	23
Historically Black Prot.	76	19	4
Catholic	41	36	23

Note: White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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Return to the report's [Overview](#).

Find answers to other questions:

- Who are the 'nones'? How are they defined? ([Chapter 1](#))
- Why are 'nones' nonreligious? ([Chapter 2](#))
- Are 'nones' less involved in civic life than people who identify with a religion? ([Chapter 3](#))
- Are 'nones' spiritual instead of religious? ([Chapter 5](#))
- Are 'nones' hostile toward religion? ([Chapter 6](#))
- How do 'nones' view science? ([Chapter 7](#))
- How do 'nones' think about morality? ([Chapter 8](#))

5. Are ‘nones’ spiritual instead of religious?

In our survey, 49% of “nones” say they think of themselves as spiritual or that spirituality is very important in their lives.

And 54% say they sometimes do things (like centering themselves, spending time in nature, meditating, exercising or practicing yoga) to connect with something bigger than themselves, with other people, or with their own “true self.”

The new survey also finds that most “nones” believe animals other than humans can have spirits or spiritual energies. Many also say this about cemeteries or other memorial sites, parts of nature like mountains and rivers, and certain objects like jewels or stones. And three-in-ten “nones” own things (like jewelry, crystals or a home shrine) or have body markings or piercings for spiritual purposes.

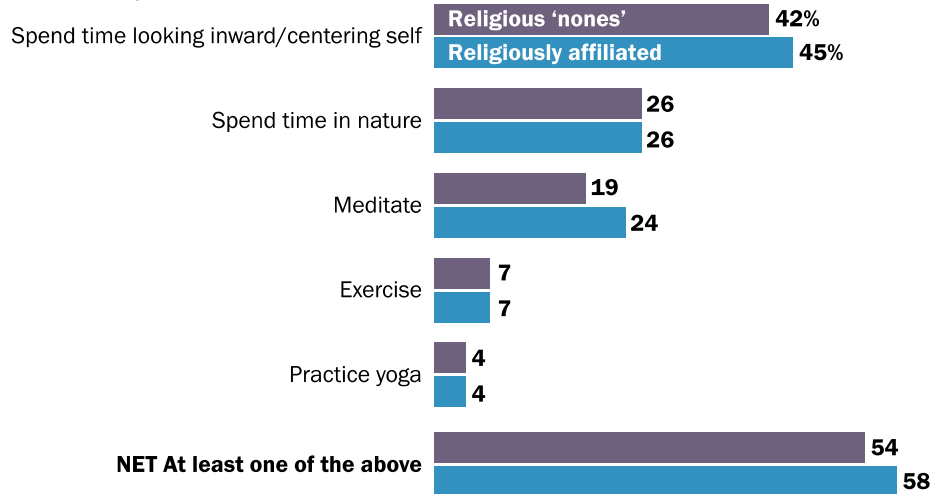
However, while many “nones” exhibit spirituality in these ways, these beliefs, practices and identities tend not to be unique to “nones.” In many cases, people who identify with a religion tend to be as spiritual or even *more* spiritual than “nones” in these ways.

For example, religiously affiliated adults are 30 percentage points more likely than “nones” to think of themselves as spiritual or to say spirituality is very important in their lives (79% vs. 49%). And religiously affiliated Americans are just as likely as “nones” to say they spend time centering themselves or spend time in nature in search of a connection with something bigger, other people or their own “true self.”

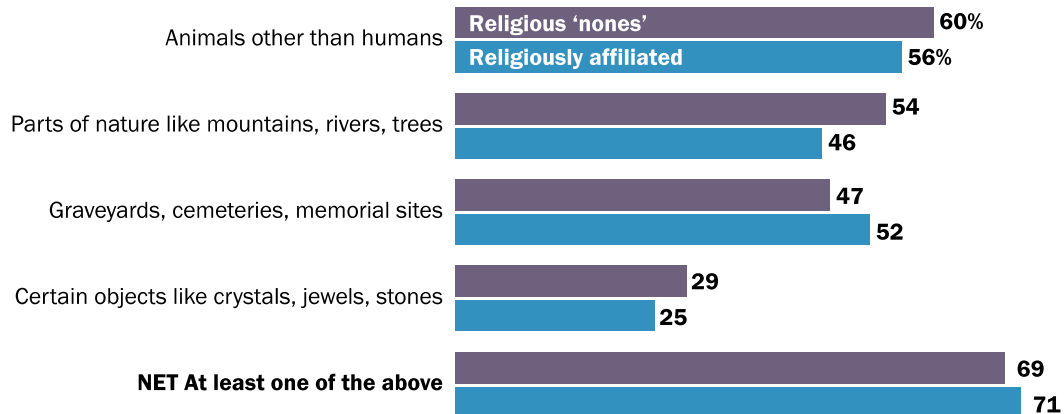
Half of religious ‘nones’ think of themselves as spiritual or say spirituality is very important in their lives



% of U.S. adults who ___ at least monthly to connect with something bigger than themselves, other people, or their “true self”



% of U.S. adults who believe ___ can have spirits/spiritual energies



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.
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How many ‘nones’ are spiritual?

We classify about half of U.S. “nones” as spiritual because they say “yes” when asked if they think of themselves as spiritual or they say spirituality is very important in their lives.

By comparison, 79% of religiously affiliated adults are spiritual in these ways.

Among “nones,” most people who describe their religion as “nothing in particular” are spiritual. Most agnostics and atheists are not.

Most Black “nones” (72%) are spiritual, as are 55% of Hispanic “nones.” Fewer White and Asian “nones” say they are spiritual or that spirituality is very important in their lives.

“Nones” who are women are more likely than “nones” who are men to be spiritual. And more “nones” older than 50 are spiritual compared with “nones” under 30.

Half of 'nones' describe themselves as spiritual or say spirituality is very important in their lives

	<i>How important is spirituality in your life?</i>			<i>Say 'yes' when asked whether they think of themselves as spiritual</i>	NET <i>Spirituality very important or think of themselves as spiritual</i>
	Very	Somewhat	Not too/Not at all		
	%	%	%	%	%
All religious 'nones'	14	29	57	48	49
Atheist	3	10	86	20	20
Agnostic	8	22	70	41	41
Nothing in particular	19	36	45	59	60
<i>Among religious 'nones' who are ...</i>					
Men	11	23	66	39	40
Women	17	34	48	59	60
Ages 18-29	10	27	64	42	42
30-49	13	28	58	48	50
50-64	16	31	53	55	55
65+	21	30	49	53	55
White	10	26	64	45	46
Black	39	36	26	71	72
Hispanic	18	36	45	55	55
Asian	3	26	71	38	39
College graduate	10	23	67	41	42
Some college	15	31	54	51	51
High school or less	18	32	50	53	55
Among all U.S. adults	39	31	28	64	70
Religiously affiliated	51	33	15	71	79
Christian	53	33	14	71	79
Protestant	59	29	11	73	83
Evangelical	68	24	7	76	87
Mainline	38	41	20	68	75
Historically Black Prot.	71	23	6	77	87
Catholic	36	42	22	65	70

Note: White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only. Those who did not answer the question about how important spirituality is in their lives are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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What does being ‘spiritual’ mean to ‘nones’?

We asked all spiritual people in the survey a series of questions about what being spiritual means to them.

Whether they are “nones” or religiously affiliated, most spiritual people say being connected with something bigger than themselves is “essential” to what being spiritual means to them. Most also say this about being connected with their “true self.”

However, majorities of spiritual “nones” say being open-minded and being connected with nature are essential parts of what being spiritual means to them, while half or fewer of spiritual people who identify with a religion say this.

Most spiritual people who identify with a religion say being connected with God is essential to what being

spiritual means to them, and half say following a religious faith is a core part of their spirituality. “Nones” who are spiritual are far less likely to say these things.

What is essential to being spiritual for religious ‘nones’?

Among U.S. adults who say they are spiritual or that spirituality is very important to them, % who say each of the following is an essential part of what being spiritual means to them

	All spiritual adults %	Religiously unaffiliated spiritual adults %	Religiously affiliated spiritual adults %
Being connected with something bigger than myself	74	64	77
Being connected with God	70	34	81
Being connected with my “true self”	64	75	60
Being open-minded	53	70	49
Being connected with nature	43	63	37
Following a religious faith	40	9	49
Being connected with other people	39	40	39
Finding a set of beliefs I make for myself	39	46	36
Being connected with loved ones who passed	31	32	31
Continuing family traditions	27	19	30

Note: Based on those who say they’re spiritual or spirituality is very important in their lives.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.
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Connecting with something beyond or with someone who has passed away

In our survey, 38% of “nones” say they have ever experienced a “sudden or unexpected feeling of connection with something from beyond this world,” while 25% say they feel the presence of something beyond this world at least several times a year.

Additionally, 35% of “nones” say they have ever experienced a strong feeling that someone who is dead is communicating with them.

Among “nones,” these experiences are all more common for those whose religion is “nothing in particular” than for atheists and agnostics.

Feelings of connection with something beyond this world are more common among “nones” who are women than “nones” who are men, and among Black and Hispanic “nones” compared with White and Asian “nones.”

38% of 'nones' say they have had a sudden sense of connection with something from beyond this world

% of U.S. adults who ...

	Have ever had a sudden sense of connection with something from beyond this world	Feel presence of something from beyond this world at least several times a year	Have ever had a strong feeling that someone who is dead is communicating with them
	%	%	%
All religious 'nones'	38	25	35
Atheist	18	8	15
Agnostic	36	15	24
Nothing in particular	44	33	44
<i>Among religious 'nones' who are ...</i>			
Men	33	18	24
Women	43	33	48
Ages 18-29	40	25	29
30-49	38	27	38
50-64	40	25	40
65+	34	15	31
White	35	20	32
Black	55	45	50
Hispanic	44	34	40
Asian	22	13	14
College graduate	32	17	25
Some college	44	27	39
High school or less	39	31	40
Among all U.S. adults	45	37	38
Religiously affiliated	48	43	40
Christian	48	43	40
Protestant	49	45	36
Evangelical	50	50	30
Mainline	48	37	41
Historically Black Prot.	50	43	51
Catholic	42	35	47

Note: White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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Belief that spiritual energies can be located in nature, animals, places, objects

Six-in-ten “nones” say they believe animals other than humans can have spirits or spiritual energies, while 54% say the same about parts of nature (like mountains, rivers or trees) and 47% say this about graveyards, cemeteries or other memorial sites.

Fewer “nones” say objects like crystals, jewels or stones can have spiritual energies.

Atheists are less likely than agnostics and people whose religion is “nothing in particular” to believe spiritual energies can be located in animals, parts of nature, memorial sites or objects.

And these beliefs are less common among “nones” who are men than “nones” who are women.

The survey also finds that the oldest “nones” (those older than 65) are less likely than younger “nones” to believe animals, nature, places and objects can have spirits.

60% of 'nones' believe animals can have spirits; 54% say the same about parts of nature like rivers, trees

% of U.S. adults who believe each of the following can have spirits/spiritual energies

	Animals other than humans	Parts of nature like mountains, rivers or trees	Cemeteries or other memorial sites	Certain objects like crystals, jewels or stones
	%	%	%	%
All religious 'nones'	60	54	47	29
Atheist	33	26	18	9
Agnostic	59	55	43	25
Nothing in particular	68	62	56	36
<i>Among religious 'nones' who are ...</i>				
Men	49	46	35	20
Women	72	63	59	39
Ages 18-29	59	55	51	29
30-49	64	58	50	34
50-64	60	52	43	28
65+	51	42	30	15
White	58	51	43	26
Black	68	61	57	42
Hispanic	66	61	52	36
Asian	48	45	42	13
College graduate	55	50	37	22
Some college	64	58	53	33
High school or less	62	55	51	34
Among all U.S. adults	57	48	50	26
Religiously affiliated	56	46	52	25
Christian	54	43	50	23
Protestant	52	41	47	21
Evangelical	45	34	40	17
Mainline	65	49	53	24
Historically Black Prot.	55	51	62	32
Catholic	58	49	58	28

Note: White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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Possessions and body markings for spiritual reasons

We also asked respondents whether they have a number of things “for spiritual purposes.”

Among “nones,” 16% say they have crystals for spiritual purposes, 15% have jewelry, 13% own a cross, 11% keep a shrine, altar or icon at home, and 11% have a tattoo or piercing for spiritual purposes.

Religiously affiliated people are far more likely than “nones” to say they have a cross for spiritual purposes. Otherwise, the differences between “nones” and religiously affiliated people are fairly modest on these questions.

Fewer than one-fifth of ‘nones’ have crystals, jewelry, crosses for spiritual purposes

% of U.S. adults who have each of the following for *spiritual purposes*

	Crystals %	Jewelry %	A cross %	Home shrine, altar or icon %	A tattoo or piercing %
All religious ‘nones’	16	15	13	11	11
Atheist	4	5	1	3	6
Agnostic	13	9	6	8	7
Nothing in particular	20	19	18	14	14
<i>Among religious ‘nones’ who are ...</i>					
Men	10	10	10	9	7
Women	23	20	16	14	15
Ages 18-29	21	18	13	15	15
30-49	16	15	12	11	13
50-64	12	12	17	9	8
65+	7	8	10	6	2
White	14	12	10	8	11
Black	27	20	23	15	17
Hispanic	19	22	20	16	11
Asian	6	9	7	19	2
College graduate	11	11	7	8	6
Some college	18	15	12	13	12
High school or less	20	19	20	13	15
Among all U.S. adults	12	19	36	15	9
Religiously affiliated	10	21	46	17	9
Christian	8	21	50	15	8
Protestant	7	17	42	7	8
Evangelical	4	14	41	4	7
Mainline	10	21	42	10	8
Historically Black Prot.	12	21	44	11	13
Catholic	11	30	72	33	8

Note: White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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- Are all 'nones' nonbelievers? ([Chapter 4](#))
- Are 'nones' hostile toward religion? ([Chapter 6](#))
- How do 'nones' view science? ([Chapter 7](#))
- How do 'nones' think about morality? ([Chapter 8](#))

6. Are ‘nones’ hostile toward religion?

Some are. But many are not.

Around a fifth of “nones” express consistently negative views of religion. They say it does more harm than good in society, encourages superstition and causes division. These “nones” also reject a couple of positive statements about religion – that it encourages people to treat others well, and that it helps society by giving people meaning and purpose in their lives.

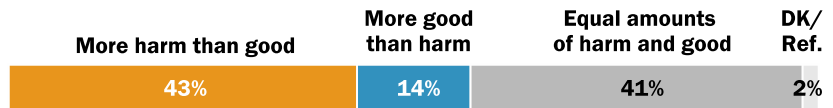
But most religious “nones” take a more neutral view of religion, expressing a mix of positive and negative opinions about its impact on people’s lives and on society as a whole.

Few “nones” surveyed – just 4% – express consistently positive views of religion.

Most ‘nones’ say religion causes division and superstition, but many also say it has positive effects

Views of religion among “nones”

% who say religion does ___ in American society



To what degree does this describe your view? Religion ...

... causes division and intolerance



... encourages superstition and illogical thinking



... helps society by giving people meaning and purpose



... encourages people to do the right thing/treat others well



Note: Based on religious “nones” – those who describe themselves religiously as atheist, agnostic or “nothing in particular.”

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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Views of whether religion does more good or harm

When asked directly, 43% of “nones” say religion does more harm than good in American society. A similar share says religion does equal amounts of good and harm. Fewer religious “nones” (14%) say religion does more good than harm in American society.

“Nones” are much more likely than religiously affiliated adults to believe religion does more harm than good, and much less likely to say religion does more good than harm in American society.

“Nones” with at least some college education are more likely than those with a high school diploma or less education to believe that religion does more harm than good. And White “nones” are more likely than “nones” of other races and ethnicities to believe that religion does more harm than good.

About three-quarters of atheists say religion does more harm than good in American society

% of U.S. adults who say religion does ___ in American society

	More harm than good %	More good than harm %	Equal amounts of good and harm %
All religious ‘nones’	43	14	41
Atheist	73	7	19
Agnostic	51	9	38
Nothing in particular	33	17	48
<i>Among religious ‘nones’ who are ...</i>			
Men	46	16	37
Women	40	12	46
Ages 18-29	48	9	38
30-49	45	13	42
50-64	39	19	40
65+	34	18	46
White	48	12	39
Black	34	17	45
Hispanic	36	17	45
Asian	37	24	38
College graduate	53	10	36
Some college	48	12	37
High school or less	30	19	49
All U.S. adults	21	40	37
Religiously affiliated	11	51	36
Christian	9	54	35
Protestant	8	56	35
Evangelical	6	62	30
Mainline	11	47	40
Historically Black Prot.	7	50	41
Catholic	11	50	38

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. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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Views of whether religion fosters intolerance and superstition

Eight-in-ten “nones” agree “a great deal” or “a fair amount” with the following statement: “Religion causes division and intolerance.”

And 69% agree a great deal or a fair amount that “religion encourages superstition and illogical thinking.” This includes higher shares of atheists (91%) and agnostics (83%).

Most of the religiously unaffiliated believe that religion causes intolerance, encourages superstition

To what degree do the following statements describe your views?

	Religion causes division and intolerance		Religion encourages superstition and illogical thinking	
	A great deal/Fair amount	Not too much/Not at all	A great deal/Fair amount	Not too much/Not at all
	%	%	%	%
All religious 'nones'	80	17	69	28
Atheist	94	5	91	8
Agnostic	92	8	83	17
Nothing in particular	73	23	59	37
<i>Among religious 'nones' who are ...</i>				
Men	84	14	76	22
Women	77	20	63	34
Ages 18-29	81	15	69	28
30-49	81	18	70	28
50-64	82	16	70	27
65+	76	23	69	30
White	84	14	73	25
Black	65	32	55	42
Hispanic	74	21	63	31
Asian	80	19	73	24
College graduate	90	9	82	18
Some college	83	15	72	26
High school or less	68	27	56	40
All U.S. adults	59	38	43	55
Religiously affiliated	50	48	31	67
Christian	47	51	28	70
Protestant	47	51	27	71
Evangelical	42	55	22	76
Mainline	54	44	33	65
Historically Black Prot.	48	51	32	66
Catholic	50	48	32	67

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. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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Views of whether religion can provide meaning, encourage kindness

At the same time, at least half of “nones” say religion has certain benefits for society.

Most “nones” (58%) say that the following statement – “Religion helps society by giving people meaning and purpose in their lives” – describes their own views a great deal or a fair amount, including 62% of agnostics and those who say their religion is “nothing in particular.”

A similar pattern emerges on the statement that religion “encourages people to do the right thing and treat other people well.” About half of religiously unaffiliated Americans say they agree a great deal or a fair amount that religion does this.

Half of religious ‘nones’ believe religion encourages people to do the right thing and treat others well

To what degree do the following statements describe your views?

	Religion helps society by giving people meaning and purpose in their lives		Religion encourages people to do right thing and treat others well	
	A great deal/ Fair amount	Not too much/ Not at all	A great deal/ Fair amount	Not too much/ Not at all
	%	%	%	%
All religious ‘nones’	58	39	53	45
Atheist	41	58	33	66
Agnostic	62	38	51	48
Nothing in particular	62	34	59	38
<i>Among religious ‘nones’ who are ...</i>				
Men	60	38	55	44
Women	57	40	51	47
Ages 18-29	56	40	46	51
30-49	58	40	54	45
50-64	59	37	57	41
65+	63	35	60	39
White	55	43	49	49
Black	67	28	57	41
Hispanic	59	36	53	42
Asian	71	27	69	30
College graduate	60	40	51	49
Some college	59	39	52	47
High school or less	57	37	56	40
All U.S. adults	78	20	76	23
Religiously affiliated	88	11	86	12
Christian	89	10	89	10
Protestant	90	9	90	9
Evangelical	91	7	92	6
Mainline	89	11	88	11
Historically Black Prot.	88	10	87	12
Catholic	87	12	86	12

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. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

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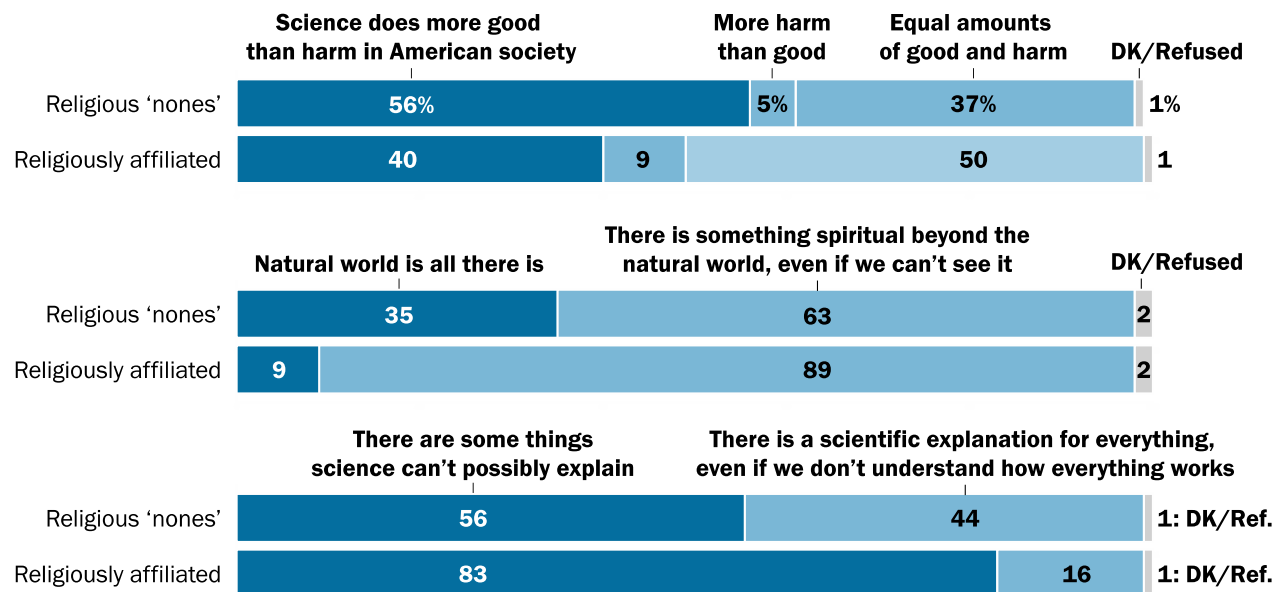
7. How do ‘nones’ view science?

Compared with U.S. adults who identify with a religion, “nones” have a more positive view of science. At the same time, most “nones” say that there are some things science cannot explain and that there’s something spiritual beyond the natural world, even if we cannot see it.

In our survey, 56% of “nones” say they think science does more good than harm in society, which is 16 percentage points higher than the share of religiously affiliated adults who take that position.

Most ‘nones’ say there’s something spiritual beyond natural world, science can’t explain some things

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



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

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Religious “nones” are also far more likely than people who identify with a religion to say the “natural world is all there is” and “there is a scientific explanation for everything, even if we don’t understand how everything works.”

Still, most “nones” *don’t* think the natural world is “all there is” – 63% of “nones” say “there is something spiritual beyond the natural world, even if we cannot see it.” And 56% of “nones” say there are some things that science just can’t explain.

Views on whether science explains everything

When asked to select which of two statements comes closer to their own view, a slight majority of “nones” (56%) choose “there are some things that science cannot possibly explain,” while 44% pick “there is a scientific explanation for everything, even if we don’t understand how everything works.”

Roughly eight-in-ten atheists say there is a scientific explanation for everything, compared with 54% of agnostics and 31% of those who describe their religion as “nothing in particular.”

Among the unaffiliated, men are more likely than women to say there is a scientific explanation for everything. And White and Asian “nones” are more likely than Hispanic or Black “nones” to say this.

Over half of “nones” who are college graduates say science offers an explanation for everything (55%), compared with a third of “nones” with a high school diploma or less education (34%) who say this.

Slight majority of religious ‘nones’ believe there are some things science cannot explain

% of U.S. adults who believe ...

	There are some things that science cannot possibly explain	There is a scientific explanation for everything, even if we don’t understand how everything works
	%	%
All religious ‘nones’	56	44
Atheist	21	78
Agnostic	45	54
Nothing in particular	68	31
<i>Among religious ‘nones’ who are ...</i>		
Men	47	52
Women	65	34
Ages 18-29	50	50
30-49	55	45
50-64	60	39
65+	65	34
White	51	49
Black	75	25
Hispanic	63	35
Asian	51	48
College graduate	45	55
Some college	57	42
High school or less	66	34
All U.S. adults	74	25
Religiously affiliated	83	16
Christian	84	15
Protestant	86	13
Evangelical	90	9
Mainline	81	18
Historically Black Prot.	83	16
Catholic	82	17

Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

Source: Survey conducted July 31- Aug. 6, 2023, among U.S. adults.

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Views about impact of science on society

A slight majority of religiously unaffiliated adults (56%) say science does more good than harm in society. Just 5% say science does more harm than good, and 37% say science does equal amounts of good and harm.

Among atheists, 79% say science does more good than harm in society, while 69% of agnostics take the same position. Fewer Americans who describe their religion as “nothing in particular” say science does more good than harm.

Unaffiliated men are more likely than unaffiliated women to say science does more good than harm. And unaffiliated adults who are college graduates express more positive views of science compared with those who have less education.

Majorities of Asian and White “nones” say science does more good than harm. Fewer Hispanic and Black “nones” say the same.

Majority of religious ‘nones’ say science does more good than harm in American society

% of U.S. adults who believe ___ in American society

	Science does more good than harm	Science does more harm than good	Science does equal amounts of good and harm
	%	%	%
All religious ‘nones’	56	5	37
Atheist	79	2	17
Agnostic	69	3	28
Nothing in particular	46	7	45
<i>Among religious ‘nones’ who are ...</i>			
Men	65	4	30
Women	47	7	45
Ages 18-29	54	6	36
30-49	55	6	39
50-64	60	4	35
65+	60	3	36
White	61	5	33
Black	37	9	51
Hispanic	43	6	49
Asian	75	2	21
College graduate	71	3	25
Some college	56	4	38
High school or less	42	8	47
All U.S. adults	45	8	46
Religiously affiliated	40	9	50
Christian	39	9	51
Protestant	37	10	51
Evangelical	32	12	56
Mainline	50	6	43
Historically Black Prot.	29	14	54
Catholic	42	6	50

Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

Source: Survey conducted July 31- Aug. 6, 2023, among U.S. adults. “Religious ‘Nones’ in America: Who They Are and What They Believe”

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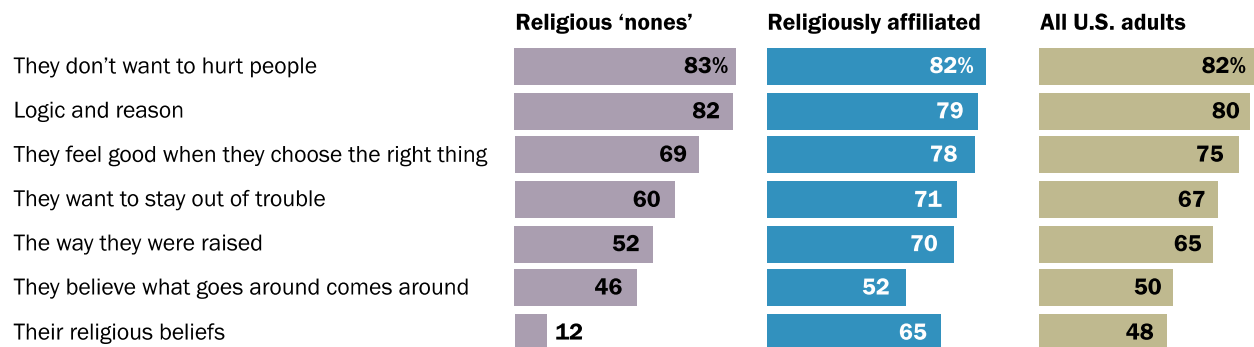
8. How do ‘nones’ think about morality?

When making decisions between right and wrong, most “nones” say they rely extensively on the desire to avoid hurting people, and on the use of logic and reason.

Overall, 83% of “nones” say the desire to avoid harming other people is extremely or very important to them when making moral decisions, while 82% say the same about the use of logic and reason.

82% of religious ‘nones’ say logic and reason are key factors when deciding between right and wrong

% of U.S. adults who say each of the following is an extremely or very important factor when making decisions between right and wrong, among ...



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.
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Majorities of “nones” also say feeling good when they choose right over wrong factors into their decision-making (69%), as does the desire to stay out of trouble (60%).

Like most “nones,” most religiously affiliated Americans cite each of these four considerations – not wanting to hurt people, logic and reason, feeling good when choosing the right thing, and wanting to stay out of trouble – as key factors when making decisions between right and wrong.

What most distinguishes “nones” on this survey question is a lack of reliance on religious beliefs. Just 12% of “nones” say they rely heavily on religious beliefs in deciding between right and wrong, compared with 65% of U.S. adults who identify with a religion.

Factors that influence decision-making about right and wrong

To probe the way people describe their moral calculations, the survey asked: “How important are each of the following factors when you make decisions between right and wrong?” It then listed seven possible factors, such as “your religious beliefs,” “the way you were raised,” and “logic and reason.” Respondents were asked to say whether each of the seven factors was extremely, very, somewhat, not too, or not at all important when choosing between right and wrong.

On many factors, there are relatively small differences between atheists, agnostics and adults who describe their religion as “nothing in particular.” However, just over half of respondents whose religion is “nothing in particular” say the belief that “what goes around comes around” is an extremely or very important factor when they make moral decisions, which is notably higher than the share of agnostics and atheists who say this.

Religiously affiliated adults are much more likely than “nones” to say their religious beliefs and the way they were raised play an extremely or very important role when they are making moral decisions.

Atheists less likely than other groups to say a belief that ‘what goes around comes around’ influences their moral decisions

% of U.S. adults who say each of the following is an *extremely or very important factor* when making decisions between right and wrong

	They don't want to hurt people	Logic and reason	They feel good when they choose the right thing	They want to stay out of trouble	The way they were raised	They believe what goes around comes around	Their religious beliefs
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
All religious 'nones'	83	82	69	60	52	46	12
Atheist	86	87	64	51	44	26	4
Agnostic	88	88	70	57	53	39	3
Nothing in particular	80	79	70	64	55	54	16
<i>Among religious 'nones' who are ...</i>							
Men	80	85	66	57	54	36	9
Women	86	79	73	64	50	57	14
Ages 18-29	79	78	62	55	51	42	9
30-49	83	83	69	62	50	47	12
50-64	85	86	77	65	54	50	12
65+	85	84	75	60	61	48	15
White	84	83	68	55	49	42	7
Black	77	76	80	70	64	59	32
Hispanic	80	79	69	69	51	54	17
Asian	84	84	64	64	56	43	9
College graduate	85	83	70	53	50	36	6
Some college	84	87	74	61	52	50	11
High school or less	79	77	65	67	55	54	17
All U.S. adults	82	80	75	67	65	50	48
Religiously affiliated	82	79	78	71	70	52	65
Christian	82	79	78	72	72	52	68
Protestant	81	78	76	71	70	49	73
Evangelical	80	77	73	69	68	44	81
Mainline	83	81	78	69	70	51	56
Historically Black Prot.	83	79	85	83	79	67	78
Catholic	82	82	82	74	76	57	56

Note: White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31- Aug. 6, 2023.

“Religious ‘Nones’ in America: Who They Are and What They Believe”

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Views on whether belief in God is necessary for morality

Almost all agnostics (98%) and atheists (97%) say it is possible to be moral and have good values without believing in God. A somewhat smaller majority of those who describe their religion as “nothing in particular” say this (83%).

Just 10% of “nones” overall say belief in God is necessary to be moral and have good values.

There are few differences by gender and age on this question among “nones.” And majorities of “nones” in all racial and ethnic categories agree it’s possible to be moral without believing in God.

However, 27% of Black “nones” say it is necessary to believe in God to be moral and have good values, which is higher than the shares of Hispanic, Asian or White “nones” who say this.

Among adults who identify with a religion, 65% say it’s possible to be moral and have good values without believing in God, while one-third say belief in God is necessary to be moral and have good values.

Large majority of religiously unaffiliated adults say it is possible to have good values without believing in God

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

	It is possible to be moral and have good values without believing in God	It is necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values
	%	%
All religious 'nones'	89	10
Atheist	97	3
Agnostic	98	1
Nothing in particular	83	14
<i>Among religious 'nones' who are ...</i>		
Men	90	8
Women	87	11
Ages 18-29	90	8
30-49	88	11
50-64	90	9
65+	86	10
White	93	5
Black	71	27
Hispanic	81	17
Asian	88	9
College graduate	95	4
Some college	90	7
High school or less	80	18
All U.S. adults	73	25
Religiously affiliated	65	33
Christian	64	34
Protestant	62	35
Evangelical	58	39
Mainline	76	22
Historically Black Prot.	48	49
Catholic	69	30

Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. White, Black and Asian adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates for Asian adults are representative of English speakers only.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 31-Aug. 6, 2023.

"Religious 'Nones' in America: Who They Are and What They Believe"

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Return to the report's [Overview](#).

Find answers to other questions:

- Who are the 'nones'? How are they defined? ([Chapter 1](#))
- Why are 'nones' nonreligious? ([Chapter 2](#))
- Are 'nones' less involved in civic life than people who identify with a religion? ([Chapter 3](#))
- Are all 'nones' nonbelievers? ([Chapter 4](#))
- Are 'nones' spiritual instead of religious? ([Chapter 5](#))
- Are 'nones' hostile toward religion? ([Chapter 6](#))
- How do 'nones' view science? ([Chapter 7](#))

Methodology

The American Trends Panel survey methodology (Wave 132)

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.

Most of the data in this report is drawn from ATP Wave 132, conducted from July 31 to Aug. 6, 2023. A total of 11,201 panelists responded out of 12,932 who were sampled, for a response rate of 87%. 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 11,201 respondents is plus or minus 1.4 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

Recruitment dates	Mode	Invited	Joined	Active panelists remaining
Jan. 23 to March 16, 2014	Landline/ cell RDD	9,809	5,338	1,494
Aug. 27 to Oct. 4, 2015	Landline/ cell RDD	6,004	2,976	876
April 25 to June 4, 2017	Landline/ cell RDD	3,905	1,628	431
Aug. 8 to Oct. 31, 2018	ABS	9,396	8,778	4,097
Aug. 19 to Nov. 30, 2019	ABS	5,900	4,720	1,460
June 1 to July 19, 2020; Feb. 10 to March 31, 2021	ABS	3,197	2,812	1,535
May 29 to July 7, 2021; Sept. 16 to Nov. 1, 2021	ABS	1,329	1,162	783
May 24 to Sept. 29, 2022	ABS	3,354	2,869	1,685
April 17 to May 30, 2023	ABS	686	576	571
	Total	43,580	30,859	12,932

Note: RDD is random-digit dial; ABS is address-based sampling. 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.

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address-based sampling (ABS) recruitment. A study cover letter and a pre-incentive are mailed to a stratified, random sample of households selected from the U.S. Postal Service’s Delivery Sequence File. This Postal Service 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 Within each sampled household, the adult with the next birthday is asked to participate. Other details of the ABS recruitment protocol have changed over time but are available upon request.⁶

We have recruited a national sample of U.S. adults to the ATP approximately once per year since 2014. In some years, the recruitment has included additional effort (known as an “oversample”) to boost sample size with under-represented groups. For example, Hispanic adults, Black adults, and Asian adults were oversampled in 2019, 2022 and 2023, respectively.

Across the six address-based recruitments, a total of 23,862 adults were invited to join the ATP, of whom 20,917 agreed to join the panel and completed an initial profile survey. Of the 30,859 individuals who have ever joined the ATP, 12,932 remained active panelists and continued to receive survey invitations at the time this survey was conducted.

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 noninstitutionalized persons ages 18 and older living in the U.S., including Alaska and Hawaii. All active panel members were invited to participate in this wave.

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.”](#)

⁶ Email pewsurveys@pewresearch.org.

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 July 31 to Aug. 6, 2023. Postcard notifications were mailed to all ATP panelists with a known residential address on July 31.

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 July 31. 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 sampled panelists were included in the full launch and were sent an invitation on Aug. 1.

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 who consented to SMS messages received an SMS invitation and up to two SMS reminders.

Invitation and reminder dates, ATP Wave 132

	Soft launch	Full launch
Initial invitation	July 31, 2023	Aug. 1, 2023
First reminder	Aug. 3, 2023	Aug. 3, 2023
Final reminder	Aug. 5, 2023	Aug. 5, 2023

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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, one ATP respondent was 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 for any differential probabilities of selection.

American Trends Panel weighting dimensions

Variable	Benchmark source
Age (detailed)	2021 American Community Survey (ACS)
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.	
Census region x Metro/Non-metro	2021 CPS March Supplement
Volunteerism	2021 CPS Volunteering & Civic Life Supplement
Voter registration	2018 CPS Voting and Registration Supplement
Party affiliation	2022 National Public Opinion Reference Survey (NPORS)
Frequency of internet use	
Religious affiliation	
<i>Additional weighting dimensions applied within Black adults</i>	
Age	2021 American Community Survey (ACS)
Gender	
Education	
Hispanic ethnicity	
Voter registration	2018 CPS Voting and Registration Supplement
Party affiliation	2022 National Public Opinion Reference Survey (NPORS)
Religious affiliation	

Note: Estimates from the ACS are based on noninstitutionalized adults. Voter registration is calculated using procedures from Hur, Achen (2013) and rescaled to include the total U.S. adult population.

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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.

The following table shows 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.

Sample sizes and margins of error, ATP Wave 132

Group	Unweighted sample size	Plus or minus ...
Total sample	11,201	1.4 percentage points
Religiously unaffiliated (i.e., religious "nones")	3,317	2.7 percentage points
Atheist	658	5.8 percentage points
Agnostic	678	6.0 percentage points
Nothing in particular	1,981	3.5 percentage points
<i>Among religious "nones" who are ...</i>		
Men	1,580	3.9 percentage points
Women	1,678	3.7 percentage points
Ages 18-29	468	6.4 percentage points
30-49	1,363	3.9 percentage points
50-64	782	5.0 percentage points
65+	692	5.7 percentage points
White	2,124	3.2 percentage points
Black	332	8.7 percentage points
Hispanic	428	7.8 percentage points
Asian	265	9.1 percentage points
College graduate	1,682	3.3 percentage points
Some college	1,026	4.7 percentage points
High school or less	602	5.6 percentage points
Religiously affiliated	7,832	1.7 percentage points
Christian	7,135	1.8 percentage points
Protestant	4,676	2.1 percentage points
Evangelical	2,389	3.0 percentage points
Mainline	1,489	3.8 percentage points
Historically Black Prot.	798	5.2 percentage points
Catholic	2,157	3.5 percentage points

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Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

Dispositions and response rates

Final dispositions, ATP Wave 132

	AAPOR code	Total
Completed interview	1.1	11,201
Logged on to survey; broke off	2.12	162
Logged on to survey; did not complete any items	2.1121	70
Never logged on (implicit refusal)	2.11	1,496
Survey completed after close of the field period	2.27	2
Completed interview but was removed for data quality		1
Screened out		0
Total panelists sampled for the survey		12,932
Completed interviews	I	11,201
Partial interviews	P	0
Refusals	R	1,728
Non-contact	NC	2
Other	O	1
Unknown household	UH	0
Unknown other	UO	0
Not eligible	NE	0
Total		12,932
AAPOR RR1 = $I / (I+P+R+NC+O+UH+UO)$		87%
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Cumulative response rate as of ATP Wave 132

	Total
Weighted response rate to recruitment surveys	11%
% of recruitment survey respondents who agreed to join the panel, among those invited	71%
% of those agreeing to join who were active panelists at start of Wave 132	49%
Response rate to Wave 132 survey	87%
Cumulative response rate	3%
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Other data sources

In addition to Wave 132, some of the analyses in this report draws on the Center's [National Public Opinion Reference Survey \(NPORS\)](#) and on the following ATP waves:

- [Wave 117](#), conducted Nov. 16-27, 2022
- [Wave 114](#), conducted Sept. 13-18, 2022
- [Wave 113](#), conducted Aug. 1-14, 2022
- [Wave 107](#), conducted April 25-May 1, 2022
- [Wave 98](#), conducted Oct. 18-24, 2021
- [Wave 91](#), conducted June 14-27, 2021

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