

A Reality Check on the Reach of White Christian Nationalism in Seven Charts: White Christian Nationalism is Neither the Best of Us, Nor the Majority of Us

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Abstract

This article reviews Public Religious Research Institute (PRRI) 2025 American Values Atlas survey data of 22,000 U.S. adults. Among other issues, the study investigates the Christian nationalism, support for Donald Trump, support of the use of political violence. We find that whereas approximately a third of Americans are supportive of Christian nationalism, a majority of Republicans are nonetheless supportive of it. Furthermore, support for Christian nationalism is highly correlated with voting for Trump in 2024. What is more, support for political violence is also correlated with Christian nationalism. Nearly four in ten Christian nationalism Adherents (38%) and nearly three in ten Sympathizers (28%) said they agree that "because things have gotten so far off track, true American patriots may have to resort to violence to save the country." These 2025 findings fit a pattern found in PRRI survey data over the years. Christian nationalists tend to support opinions that are destructive to pluralistic democracy. This includes anti-Black attitudes and denial of the existence of systemic racism, harsh anti-immigrant attitudes, anti-Muslim attitudes, antisemitic attitudes, support for patriarchal gender roles, and anti-LGBTQ attitudes. As pessimistic as these results are, it is also important to keep in mind that Christian nationalist attitudes are held by a relatively small minority of citizens.

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In the wake of the election of Donald Trump with the strong support of white evangelical and other conservative white Christians, my organization, PRRI, released its annual update of the largest ongoing study of Christian nationalism ever conducted. Based on interviews with more than 22,000 adults each year as part of the *PRRI American Values Atlas*, the new study examines the connections between support for Christian nationalism and voting for Trump, support for political violence, religious affiliation and church attendance, and more. ²

With Trump's return to political power completing the MAGA takeover of the Republican Party, with avowed Christian nationalists such as Pete Hegseth being confirmed to head the Department of Defense, and with conservative white Christians providing moral and theological cover for clearly illegal and unconstitutional activity, it can feel like a wave of white Christian nationalism has crashed over the entire nation. White Christian nationalism—exploited by an authoritarian politician, trumpeted by bigoted white evangelical accomplices, and amplified by the quirks of the electoral college—has indeed come into remarkable power. PRRI's new study demonstrates the danger of this worldview, but it also provides a reality check on the actual reach of white Christian nationalism among all Americans.

Christian nationalism supporters comprise only 3-in-10 Americans.

To measure Christian nationalism, PRRI used a battery of five questions about the relationship between Christianity, American identity, and the U.S. government. Overall, three in ten Americans qualified as Christian nationalism Adherents (10%) or Sympathizers (20%), compared with two-thirds who qualify as Skeptics (37%) or Rejecters (29%). These percentages have remained stable since PRRI first asked these questions in late 2022. In other words, Christian nationalism supporters, while a sizable minority, are outnumbered by a margin of two to one among the general public.

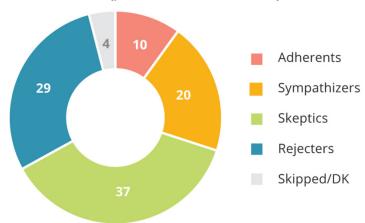
There are only two religious' groups, white evangelicals and Latino Protestants, in which a majority hold Christian nationalist views. White evangelical Protestants (65%) and Hispanic Protestants (57%) are the only two major religious groups in which a majority qualify as Christian nationalism Adherents or Sympathizers. While support for Christian nationalism has remained stable among almost all religious groups, support for Christian nationalism among Hispanic Protestants has grown 14 percentage points from 2022, when PRRI first asked these questions. Among all other major Christian groups in the country—Black Protestants, white non-evangelical Protestants, Catholics (both white and Hispanic)—and among all non-Christian religious groups and the religiously unaffiliated, majorities oppose Christian nationalism.

¹ A version of this article originally appeared on White Too Long, a substack by Robert P. Jones. Robert P. Jones, "New PRRI Survey: A Reality Check on the Reach of White Christian Nationalism in Seven Charts," White Too Long by Robert P. Jones, February 5, 2025, https://whitetoolong.net/p/new-prri-survey-a-reality-check-on

^{2 &}quot;February 4, 2025. Christian Nationalism Across All 50 States: Insights from PRRI's 2024 American Values Atlas," PRRI, https://www.prri.org/research/christian-nationalism-across-all-50-states-insights-from-prris-2024-american-values-atlas/.

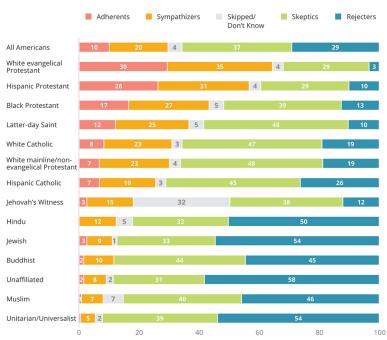
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Figure 1: Christian Nationalism Groups



Source: PRRI American Values Atlas, Mar. 13-Dec. 2, 2024.

Figure 2: Support for Christian Nationalism, by Religious Affiliation Percent who qualify as:



Source: PRRI American Values Atlas, Mar. 13-Dec. 2, 2024.

Notably, support for Christian nationalism is *higher* among those who attend church more frequently. A majority of those who attend religious services weekly or more

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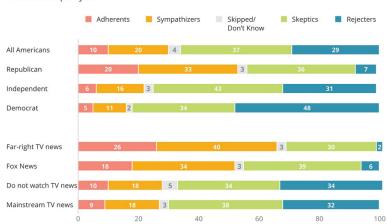
qualify as Christian nationalism Adherents or Sympathizers (51%), compared with 39% of those who attend at least a few times a year and 18% of those who seldom or never attend services.

The Republican Party has devolved into a white Christian nationalist party.

A majority of Republicans today qualify as either Christian nationalism Adherents (20%) or Sympathizers (33%), compared to less than one quarter of independents (6% Adherents and 16% Sympathizers) and less than one fifth of Democrats (5% Adherents and 11% Sympathizers). These views are reinforced by TV media outlets consumed disproportionately by Republicans, such as Fox News or far right TV news outlets such as OAN and Newsmax. Importantly, the partisan patterns of support reflect what political scientists call "asymmetric polarization." Partisans are indeed polarized, but not equally from the center. Only 22% of independents are Christian nationalism Adherents or Sympathizers, holding views that are much more closely aligned with Democrats. Republicans are the outliers from mainstream American opinion.

Figure 3: Who are those more likley to support Chrstian Nationalism, by party and media consumption

Percent who qualify as:



Source: PRRI American Values Atlas, Mar. 13-Dec. 2, 2024.

Support for Christian nationalism among Republicans is also reinforced by the demographic composition of the party. As the US has become more racially and religiously diverse over the past few decades, our two major political parties have responded in dramatically different ways to these shifts. Today, only 41% of Americans identify as white and Christian. But today's Republican Party is 70% white and Christian, a stark contrast from the Democratic Party, which is 25% white and Christian.

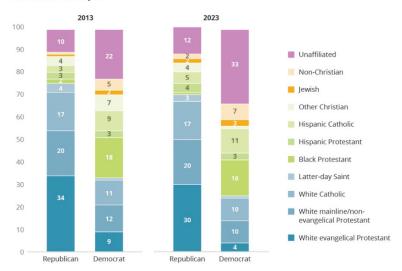


Figure 4: Shift in religious affiliation 2013 to 2023, by party affiliation Percent who identify as:

Source: PRRI American Values Atlas, Mar. 13-Dec. 2, 2024.

Support for Christian nationalism is nearly perfectly correlated with voting for Trump in 2024 at both the national and state levels. As the partisan analysis demonstrates, support for Christian nationalism is the animating force of today's MAGA controlled Republican Party. This group sees divine purpose behind Trump's rise to power. Two-thirds of Christian nationalism Adherents (67%) and nearly half (48%) of Sympathizers agree that God ordained Trump to be the winner of the presidential election, compared to just 20% of Skeptics and 4% of Rejecters. Because of the large sample size of the PRRI survey, we can also see that this connection between Christian nationalism and support for Trump goes all the way down to the state level. If you were writing a statistics textbook, this chart plotting the average score on the Christian nationalism scale by each state's vote for Trump in 2024 would provide a perfect example of a strong linear positive correlation between two variables.

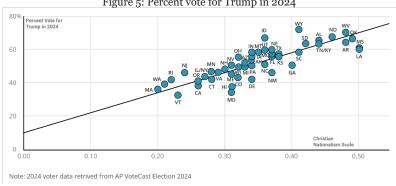


Figure 5: Percent vote for Trump in 2024

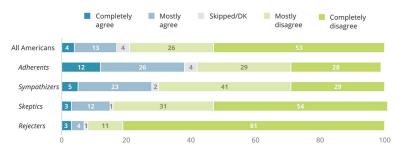
Source: PRRI American Values Atlas, Mar. 13-Dec. 2, 2024.

Figure 5 illustrates the linear relationship between support for Christian Nationalism and 2024 Vote for Donald Trump.

Support for Christian nationalism is strongly correlated to support for political violence, at both the national and state levels.

At the violent January 6th insurrection after Trump's 2020 loss, we saw a disturbing number of Christian symbols intermingled with Trump flags, Confederate flags, and other white supremacist symbols. We see the connection between Christian nationalism and support for political violence clearly in the data. Nearly four in ten Christian nationalism Adherents (38%) and nearly three in ten Sympathizers (28%) agree that "because things have gotten so far off track, true American patriots may have to resort to violence to save the country," compared with only 15% of Skeptics and 7% of Rejecters.

Figure 6: Support for political violence, by Christian Nationalism groups _ that "because things have gotten so far off track, true American patriots may need to resort to violence in order to save our country:"



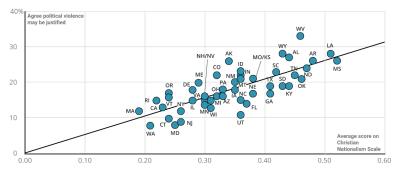
Source: PRRI American Values Atlas, Mar. 13-Dec. 2, 2024.

The relationship between Christian nationalist views and support for political violence is also strong at the state level, especially among white Americans. The chart below reflects the strong linear correlation between average scores on the

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Christian Nationalism scale by state and support for political violence (i.e., agreeing that "because things have gotten so far off track, true American patriots may need to resort to violence in order to save the country."

Figure 7: The Relationship between Support for Christian Nationalism and Support for Political Violence, Among White Americans



Source: PRRI American Values Atlas, Mar. 13-Dec. 2, 2024.

White Christian nationalism is neither the best of us, nor the majority of us

At the dawn of a second Trump administration, the threat white Christian nationalism poses to the promise of multiracial, multifaith democracy are plainer than ever. Over the last two years, PRRI has documented the connections between support for Christian nationalism and support for a host of opinions that are corrosive to a pluralistic democracy: anti-Black attitudes and denials of the existence of systemic racism, harsh anti-immigrant attitudes, anti-Muslim attitudes, antisemitic attitudes, support for patriarchal gender roles, and anti-LGBTQ attitudes just to name a few. White Christian nationalism is certainly not the best of who we are as Americans or, for those of us who understand ourselves to be followers of Jesus, the best of who we are as Christians. But this new PRRI data shows that white Christian nationalism is also not the dominant cultural force it is sometimes thought to be.