

## LDS Young Adults and Sex

**“Saving Faith: How Families Protect, Sustain, and Encourage Faith” by John Gee**  
**Excerpts from Chapter 7: The Ruthless War of Promiscuity**  
(Excerpt and highlight selections by Cameron Ford)

### Comparison of sexual promiscuity among Latter-day Saint emerging adults and other groups

Pages 201-215.

Among emerging adults, sex is generally in tension with religion. Two researchers observed,

Most of them want to party, to hook up, to have sex in relationships and to cohabit; or if they do not do these things now, many at least want to keep them as options for the future. . . . Many want to have sex with a boyfriend or girlfriend, or to at least be free to do so if the occasion arises, and many want to be able to hook up with someone they meet to whom they may feel attracted. Many also want to cohabit with current or future serious partners or fiancés before getting married. And all of this, emerging adults are aware, contradicts the teachings of most religions. So they simply avoid religion and thereby resolve the conflict.<sup>199</sup>

...

Framed as a social-psychological causal mechanism: most emerging adults reduce a certain cognitive dissonance they feel—arising from the conflict of religious teachings against partying and sex before marriage versus their wanting to engage in those behaviors—by mentally discounting the religious teachings and socially distancing themselves from the source of those teachings. In this simple way, the role of sex, drinking, and sometimes drugs is often important in forming emerging adults’ frequent lack of interest in religious faith and practice.<sup>202</sup>

...

While a decline in church attendance is not associated with a decline in the importance of religion, frequency of extramarital sex is.<sup>204</sup> Initiating sexual activity outside of marriage generally does not reduce church attendance but does reduce the importance of religion in an individual’s life; frequent sexual activity outside of marriage, however, does reduce church attendance.

...

As we have seen, initiation of sexual activity commences a pattern of ongoing behavior that is at odds with most religious teaching. Emerging adults who live a more or less hedonistic life do not want to think about religion. As one individual put it, “If I think about that stuff too much I’m gonna be miserable.”<sup>210</sup> Thus “some students do not even try to reconcile their sexual lives with their faith lives because they do not believe it is possible to do so within traditional organized religion.” For them, “faith is faith and sex is sex and never the twain shall meet; the idea of allowing religious beliefs to affect one’s sex life is silly if not laughable.”<sup>211</sup> “For many youth, therefore, initiating sexual activity is a significant turning point in pulling away from

religion, in part because of the mental and emotional dissonance that willfully having sex on an ongoing basis causes in the religious contexts of their lives, even when nobody religious knows they are having sex.”<sup>212</sup>

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Various religions have made efforts to decrease the sexual activity before marriage among their adherents, though not necessarily with the desired outcomes. While “it is popularly held that evangelical Protestants are the most conservative American religious tradition with respect to sexual attitudes,” it comes as a surprise that<sup>216</sup> “evangelical Protestant youth are not the religious group least likely to have sex.”<sup>217</sup> Evangelical programs to encourage chastity in youth, like True Love Waits, the Silver Ring Thing, and Purity Balls, which solicit public commitments from youth not to have sex before marriage, are not working particularly well, since 88% of those who participated in such programs engage in sexual intercourse before marriage<sup>218</sup> and “in up to 7 of 10 cases, it is not with their future spouse.”<sup>219</sup> These are well-intentioned programs that seem, on the face of it, ideal for generating the commitments necessary to resist temptation; it is something like making a covenant. “Given conservative Protestants’ vocal promotion of restrictive sexual scripts, their failure to stand out from mainliners, Catholics, and those from other religions may surprise some. But other evidence from studies of adolescents suggests conservative Protestants do not differ from others in their premarital sexual activity, only in their attitudes towards premarital sex. Conservative Protestants are typically sent out from their religious communities armed only with the message of ‘don’t have sex until marriage,’ which may not be particularly compelling when the opportunity for pre-marital sex presents itself.”<sup>220</sup>

Part of the explanation for why such programs did not work is that adolescents who do not live “in a biologically intact, two-parent family” lack a “family advantage” and are almost twice as likely to engage in sexual activity,<sup>221</sup> and evangelicals are actually more likely than average to divorce.<sup>222</sup> Among evangelicals, “we see both high marriage rates and high divorce rates, together with elevated teenage pregnancy rates, etc.”<sup>223</sup> This also helps to understand the high rate of promiscuity among Black Protestants, whose rate of illegitimacy is around 77%.<sup>224</sup> In general, “people who came from families where their parents were married, stayed married until the present day (or who stayed married until the death of one of the parents) were far less likely to have ever reported being in overlapping sexual relationships (26 percent of those raised by parents who stayed married so report compared to 39 percent whose parents did not.)”<sup>225</sup> These statistics are not brought in to criticize other’s misfortunes but to help understand the unusual position in which Latter-day Saints find themselves and to understand that some of the things we think ought to work actually do not.

## Outliers

It is precisely in the area of sexual morality where Latter-day Saint youth and young adults stand out in contrast to the rest of the world. Our statistics when it comes to sexual morality among youth and young adults do not look like any other group. We are a peculiar people. A comparison of our statistics with those of other groups is in order to show how unusual Latter-day Saints are.

Latter-day Saint youth appear as statistical outliers. As teenagers, they are the most likely to be virgins (87.4%), compared to 71.9-85% for other denominations.<sup>227</sup> Most Latter-day Saint youth say they are “not in a hurry to have sex” (72.5%); somewhat fewer evangelicals follow suit (66.2%). Latter-day Saint youth are the second least likely to have sex even though they would like to (14.9%, after evangelical Protestants at 14.3%).<sup>228</sup>

Latter-day Saint youth who have had sex seem to be a mixture of those who follow the pattern of the world and those whose comparative behavior is unusual. Latter-day Saints have the highest mean age of sexual debut (19.2 years); Jews place second (17.5 years).<sup>229</sup> Where in most youth loss of virginity commence a pattern of multiple sexual partners, Latter-day Saint teenagers are the most likely to have had sex only once and not again (7.0%); the least likely to have continuing sex with one partner outside of marriage (0%); and the least likely to have multiple sex partners (5.6%). To see how strange this is, look at the numbers in each category as a percentage of nonvirgins belonging to a particular religion who engage in each behavior. Among Latter-day Saint youth who have had sex, 55.6% do so only once. The next closest to this are Catholics at 17.3%.<sup>230</sup> Latter-day Saint youth who have had sex that continue to have sex with one partner outside of marriage is 0% (which means only that it did not show up in the sample, not that it never occurs.)<sup>231</sup> The next lowest occurrence is the catch-all category of other religions at 16.2%. While 44.4% of Latter-day Saint youth who have had sex have had multiple partners, no other religion was below 50%.<sup>232</sup> Latter-day Saint youth are the least likely to use pornography (6.2% use it monthly).<sup>233</sup> They are the least likely to engage in oral sex (9.0%), though Black Protestants are also outliers (11.9%)<sup>234</sup> Latter-day Saint youth who have sex are the most likely to use birth control the first time they have sex (91.8%), considerably more likely than the next closest religious group, which, ironically, is Catholics (67.7%). Perhaps “some parents are pushing sexual safety rather than abstinence, and their adolescent children are listening and obeying. Parental expectations are what shape their sexual values and scripts.” Latter-day Saint youth are the least likely to think that others would believe them promiscuous if they use birth control (8.6%), though Jews (9.2%) are also outliers.<sup>235</sup>

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## Love and Marriage

Among those who marry at an early age (before 25), 43% of Latter-day Saint young adults wait until marriage to have sex; this is almost three times as many as the next closest religious group. Almost 19% of Latter-day Saints had premarital sex but only with their future spouse,

and 38% had premarital sex with someone else. (The next lowest religious group reported their rate of premarital sex with someone other than their future spouse at 61%). “Mormons, who report abstinence rates of about 43%, are more likely than anyone else to avoid sex before marriage, and less likely than members of any other group to report having had premarital sex with someone other than their future spouse.”<sup>241</sup> This represents not all Latter-day Saint young adults but only those who marry at an early age. “As might be anticipated from earlier findings, . . . only Mormon young adults are more likely than mainline Protestants to have abstained from sex until marriage. The difference is quite substantial, however: Mormons are more than eight times as likely as mainline Protestants to abstain rather than have premarital sex with someone other than their spouse. No other religious group stands out from mainline Protestants, but those with no religious affiliation are significantly less likely than mainliners to abstain from premarital sex.”<sup>242</sup>

Other surveys give similar results. Among all Latter-day Saints, only 21% of married Latter-day Saints had sex with their spouse before marriage, but that drops to 14% among those who were attending church at least three times per month. The next lowest group was Hindus at 29% and Muslims at 43%. “Those reporting their religion as ‘Nothing’ or ‘Spiritual but not religious’ report the highest levels of premarital sex [97%], while Mormons (LDS) report the lowest levels.”<sup>243</sup>

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### **Producing a peculiar people**

The statistics where Latter-day Saints are outliers are generally seen as positive outcomes. What could account for them? “After controlling for frequency of religious service attendance and self-reported religious salience during adolescence, Mormons are still nearly five times as likely as mainliners to abstain.” That is a significant difference, one so large that some researchers have called it the “Mormon effect.” They note that the “Mormon effect” remains substantial even after controlling for all other variables. What accounts for the “Mormon effect”? In one study, when compared to Catholics, “Mormons are on the other end of the spectrum. These individuals are far more abstinent than every other group. Social control and differential exposure to sex seem to drive part-though not all-of this association. Mormon youth are enrolled in daily ‘seminary’ classes where sexual ethics are often taught, and participation in Mormon temple rituals is often contingent on sexual chastity. Furthermore, Mormon men may be removed from sexualized situations while they serve on a missionary journey (usually between the ages of 19 and 21), and their religion’s emphasis on abstinence from alcohol may also limit their exposure to situations that are conducive to premarital sex.”<sup>247</sup>

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Latter-day Saints are also outliers in some of their attitudes. Latter-day Saint youth are the most likely to support waiting until marriage for sex (77.3%) but are closely followed in that

attitude by evangelical Protestant (73.7%), who have a much worse success rate. Latter-day Saints are the least likely to think that having sex would make them respected (2.2%) or attractive (6.1%); and the most likely to think they would feel guilty (77.1%), upset their mothers (96.4%), and make their parents “extremely mad” if they had sex (79.7%).<sup>248</sup> Only the last three items are statistically different enough from other religious groups to truly make Latter-day Saints outliers. Yet these effects are dependent on the family, not the Church; their parents will be upset, not their bishops. Latter-day Saints are the least likely by some margin to agree that “it is OK for two people to get together for sex and not expect anything further”: “Mormons (80% of all Mormons and 89% of those who attend church three times a month or more) oppose casual sex the most, while Jewish respondents (54%) are the most tolerant of all religious groups. Approval rates for casual sex are highest among those who claim no religious affiliation, with 71% of those who say their religious affiliation is “Nothing/Atheist/Agnostic” approving of no-strings attached sex.”<sup>249</sup>

Latter-day Saints are also outliers in their views about cohabitation. “Religious affiliation plays a significant role in how cohabitation is perceived. Both Mormons (76%) and Muslims (56%) are far more likely to disagree than agree” that cohabitation is acceptable.<sup>250</sup> Latter-day Saints, along with Baptists, are the least likely to cohabit.<sup>251</sup> A related area in which Latter-day Saints are outliers is marriage. Latter-day Saint young adults are by far the most likely to be married, with 22% married by their early twenties. No other religion has over 10% married.<sup>252</sup> Of Latter-day Saint young adults, 65% think it is important to marry someone of the same religion.<sup>253</sup>

### **Parental communication**

Although parent talking to youth about sex is generally thought to improve outcomes, Latter-day Saint parents do not generally stand out from the crowd in this regard<sup>254</sup> except in two areas: They are the second most likely to find it very difficult to talk with their children about the subject (29.1%, just under the 29.5% of mainline Protestants), and they are the most likely not to talk about birth control at all with their children (21.4%).<sup>255</sup> (This is ironic considering the statistic cited above that Latter-day Saint youth who have sex are most likely to use birth control.) Not discussing birth control may be of slight significance since children whose parent talk “a great deal” about birth control are more likely to become sexually active. But “talking about birth control is not as powerful an influence on subsequent virginity loss as the number of recent dating partners or the age of the child.”<sup>256</sup>

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Although researchers are strongly in favor of parents talking to their children about such matters, findings are not particularly encouraging about the effect of talking with adolescents about sex: “More frequent parent-child communication about sex slightly elevates the probability that an adolescent child will subsequently lose his/her virginity before

adulthood.”<sup>260</sup> Data also indicate that the religious group whose parents talk the most with their children about the subject<sup>261</sup> also have the most sexually active and promiscuous adolescents.<sup>262</sup>

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Perhaps the strongest arguments for parents talking to their children about sexual matters is that (1) a majority of children would rather hear about such matters from their parents,<sup>264</sup> and (2) the Church encourages parents to talk to their children about the subject.<sup>265</sup> Latter-day Saint parents seem already to be doing generally well at teaching the morality of avoiding intercourse, but they could probably do a better job than they are at teaching their children to avoid heavy petting.

### **Cross-cultural comparisons**

While some of these factors may contribute to the difference between Latter-day Saints and other religious groups, there seem to be other factors at work. In contrast to many other religions, Latter-day Saints emphasize sexual purity, define it clearly, and have methods of institutional accountability concerning it. Those semiannual interviews with the bishopric and temple recommend interview are important. Latter-day Saints “outpace evangelicals in terms of the organization of sexual social control.”<sup>266</sup> Latter-day Saint teenagers generally follow Church guidelines when it comes to dating; the median (and mode) age of starting to date is 16, though 38% begin to date before that time, starting as early as twelve.<sup>267</sup>

Excerpts from earlier in the chapter discussing the failure of cohabiting prior to marriage. Pages 184-187.

### **Cohabitation**

For adolescents and emerging adults, the initiation of sexual experiences usually leads to promiscuity that sometimes settles into longer term liaisons, such as living together, or cohabitation. Emerging adults view cohabitation as a possible prelude to marriage. It is estimated that between 50 and 70% of couples cohabit before marriage.<sup>82</sup> Many emerging adults “maintained with complete assurance that one would be stupid to get married without first having lived together for six months to a year. . . .By cohabiting for the good part of a year, one is able to ‘test drive’ the relationship and confirm before it is too late that the marriage really will work.”<sup>83</sup> Almost half (44%) of Americans agree with this philosophy.<sup>84</sup> This is, however, a fantasy; the reality is quite different. Only one in five cohabiting relationships actually end in marriage, and that number is decreasing. Cohabiting to test out the relationship is less likely to result in marriage than cohabiting for other reasons.<sup>85</sup> Both men and women in a cohabiting relationship are more than twice as likely to report wanting to leave the relationship

than those that are married.<sup>86</sup> The most successful cohabiting couples are those who view cohabitation as a step toward marriage,<sup>87</sup> and who get married before children come into the picture,<sup>88</sup> but “the longer a cohabiting relationship continues, the less likely it is that the outcome is ever going to be marriage.”<sup>89</sup>

Not only is cohabitation less likely to end in marriage, but those couples who marry are more likely to divorce than those who married without cohabiting. While 76% of young adults think that cohabitation is fine,<sup>90</sup> “none of the emerging adults who are enthusiastic about cohabiting as a means to prevent unsuccessful marriages seem aware that nearly all studies consistently show that couples who live together before they marry are more, not less, likely to later divorce than couples who did not live together before their weddings.”<sup>91</sup> Cohabitation significantly increases the risk of divorce. “The divorce rates of women who cohabit are nearly 80 percent higher than the rates of those who do not.”<sup>92</sup> The divorce rates for those women who cohabit more than once are twice as high as those who cohabit only once.<sup>93</sup> In fact, either something about living together before marriage itself or the very notion of approaching marriage with the mentality of hedging one’s bets by shaking out the relationship with a provisional uncommitted marriage-like test, or both, significantly increases the probability of subsequently divorcing. But emergent adults are oblivious to these facts.”<sup>94</sup> For example,

One college professor described a survey that he had conducted over a period of years in his marriage classes. He asked the guys who were living with a girl, point blank, “Are you going to marry the girl that you’re living with?” The overwhelming response, he reports, was “NO!” When he asked the girls if they were going to marry the guy they were living with, their response was, “Oh, Yes!” The professor asked “Why?” The girls usually replied, “Because we love each other and we are learning how to be together.” The guys, however, explained that they would not marry the girl they were living with because, “She was easy for me. How can I trust her to be faithful in marriage?”<sup>95</sup>

The NSYR data back up the professor’s anecdotal claims; 61% of cohabiting women thought that their cohabitation was very likely to end in marriage, but only 43% of the men did.<sup>96</sup> National surveys show that cohabiting women are more interested in marriage than cohabiting men.<sup>97</sup> In terms of the economic view of mating, cohabiting men are already getting sexual access at a cheaper price in terms of commitment, and thus there is less incentive to pay a higher price.

The men in the professor’s anecdote cited lack of trust as a reason for not proceeding to marriage, and they have reason to think this way. “Not surprisingly, partners in a cohabiting relationship are more likely to be unfaithful to each other than married couples: . . . men in cohabiting relationships were 4 times more likely to be unfaithful than husbands and . . . women in cohabiting relationships were 8 times more likely to cheat than wives.”<sup>98</sup>

The ones who really suffer in cohabitation, however, are the children. Children born to cohabiting couples are twice as likely to experience some form of parental transition (either the creation or dissolution of a pairing) than those born to married couples.<sup>99</sup> “Older children (6 to

11 years of age) exhibited the highest number of behavioral problems living in cohabiting-partner households (16.4 percent) [where one of the biological parents is cohabiting with someone else]; cohabiting-parent households [where both biological parents are cohabiting] were next highest at 14 percent with single parent households at 9.0 percent as compared to only 3.5 percent among those living with married parents. For teens, the situation is similar." Behavior is not the only problem; poverty is also a factor: "In the mid-1990s, the poverty rate for children in cohabiting households was 31 percent, whereas that for children living in married couple families was about 6 percent." More tragic still are the rates of abuse. "Women are 62 times more likely to be assaulted by their live-in boyfriends than they are if living with their husband."<sup>100</sup> A more recent survey showed that the rate of recurrent abuse is about three times as likely in cohabitating couples as in married couples.<sup>101</sup> "Rates for serious abuse of children are lowest in the intact family, six times higher in stepfamilies, 14 times higher in the always-single-mother family, 20 times higher in cohabiting biological parent families, and an astonishing 33 times higher when the other is cohabiting with a boyfriend."<sup>102</sup>

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Yet still the practice of cohabitation has become more prevalent in general society. "Nearly three in five American women cohabit by the age of 24."<sup>104</sup>

## Notes

82. Regnerus and Uecker, *Premarital Sex in America*, 199.
83. Smith and Snell, *Souls in Transition*, 62; Regnerus and Uecker, *Premarital Sex in America*, 200.
84. *Relationships in America Survey*, 44.
85. Regnerus and Uecker, *Premarital Sex in America*, 199, 200, 201-2.
86. *Relationships in America Survey*, 41.
87. Regnerus and Uecker, *Premarital Sex in America*, 202.
88. Laurie DeRose, Mark Lyons-Amos, W. Bradford Wilcox, and Gloria Huarcaya, "The Cohabitation-Go-Round: Cohabitation and Family Instability across the Globe," in *World Family Map 2017* (New York: Social Trends Institute, 2017), 6-7.
89. Regnerus and Uecker, *Premarital Sex in America*, 202.
90. Regnerus and Uecker, *Premarital Sex in America*, 202.
91. Smith and Snell, *Souls in Transition*, 63.
92. Janice Shaw Crouse, "Cohabitation: Consequences for Mothers, Children, and Society," in *The Family in the New Millennium*, ed. A. Scott Loveless and Thomas B. Holman, vol. 1 (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007), 353.
93. Regnerus and Uecker, *Premarital Sex in America*, 202.
94. Smith and Snell, *Souls in Transition*, 63. Regnerus and Uecker, *Premarital Sex in America*, 203.
95. Crouse, "Cohabitation," 353.
96. NSYR wave 3 data.
97. *Relationships in America Survey*, 39.
98. Crouse, "Cohabitation," 353.
99. DeRose et al., "Cohabitation-Go-Round," 9.
100. Crouse, "Cohabitation," 351, 354, 357.
101. *Relationships in America Survey*, 36.
102. Crouse, "Cohabitation," 357.
103. Smith and Snell, *Souls in Transition*, 59.
104. Jeremy E. Uecker, Damon Mayrl, and Samuel Stroope, "Family Formation and Returning to Institutional Religion in Young Adulthood," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 55, no. 2 (2016): 389.

199. Smith and Snell, *Souls in Transition*, 83-84; compare Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 53-54; Carolyn McNamara Barry and Larry J. Nelson, "The Role of Religion in the in the Transition to Adulthood for Young Emerging Adults," *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 34, no. 3 (2005): 247; Freitas, *Sex and the Soul*, 26.
200. Melanie A. Gold, Anya V. Sheftel, Laurel Chiappetta, Amanda J. Young, Allan Zuckoff, Carlo C. DiClemente, and Brian A Primack, "Associations between Religiosity and Sexual and Contraceptive Behaviors," *Journal of Pediatric Adolescent Gynecology* 23 (2010): 295.
201. Freitas, *Happiness Effect*, 198.
202. Smith and Snell, *Souls in Transition*, 83-84; compare Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 53-54; Barry and Larry J. Nelson, "The Role of Religion in the in the Transition to Adulthood," 247; Freitas, *Sex and the Soul*, 26, 154.
203. Mark D. Regnerus and Jeremy Uecker, "Finding Faith, Losing Faith: The Prevalence and Context of Religious Transformations during Adolescence," *Review of Religious Research* 47, no. 3 (2006): 229; Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 125: "Adolescent virgins who exhibited rapid declines in attendance or religious salience were much more likely to report having had sex between study waves (the odds increase by 35-50 percent)."
204. Uecker, Regnerus, and Vaaler, "Losing My Religion," 1678-81.
205. Freitas, *Sex and the Soul*, 143.
206. Adamczyk and Felson, "Friends' Religiosity and First Sex," 925.
207. C. Harry Hui, Sing-Hang Cheung, Jasmine Lam, Esther Yuet Ying Lau, Shu-Fai Cheung, and Livia Yuliawati, "Psychological Changes during Faith exit: A Three-Year Prospective Study," *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality* 10, no 2. (2018): 115.
208. Regnerus and Uecker, *Premarital Sex in America*, 23, 19.
209. Regnerus and Uecker, *Premarital Sex in America*, 19-21.
210. Quotes in Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 36.
211. Freitas, *Sex and the Soul*, 145-46.
212. Smith and Snell, *Souls in Transition*, 240; Freitas, *Sex and the Soul*, 155.
213. Rigo, Uzarevic, and Saroglou, "Make Love and Lose Your Religion," 29-30, 34.
214. Rigo, Uzarevic, and Saroglou, "Make Love and Lose Your Religion," 29, 33, 34.
215. *Relationships in America Survey*, 26.
216. Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 153-61.
217. Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 153.
218. Ron Sider, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Conscience* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 2005), 23; Freitas, *Sex and the Soul*, 70, 75-79.
219. Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 205.
220. Jeremy E. Uecker, "Religion, Pledging, and the Premarital Sexual Behavior of Married Young Adults," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 70 (2008): 741 (textual references omitted.)
221. Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 155.
222. Sider, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Conscience*, 18-20. This factor is downplayed in Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 157.
223. Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 157.
224. Paul E. Barton and Richard E. Coley, *The Black-White Achievement Gap: When Progress Stopped* (Princeton: Princeton Educational Testing Service, 2010), 35; compare 21-24.
225. *Relationships in America Survey*, 26.
226. Uecker, "Religion, Pledging, and the Premarital Sexual Behavior," 741; Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 123-24.
227. Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 123. Also reported was a different, slightly older data set (Add Health) with slightly older teenagers, where 78.3% of Latter-day Saints were virgins, second to Jews, at 82.4%
228. Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 133.
229. Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 127, gives the percentage as 18.0. This was based on earlier wave data. I have used the later NSYR wave 3 data here.
230. Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 133.
231. One suspects that this statistic is a feature of granularity and an artefact of the sample size. When Latter-day Saints are a fraction of the original sample and only a small percentage of them have had sex in the first place, the small percentage of those who continue to have sex with the same individual has appeared as zero. The

granularity of the statistics makes it appear that the total number of Latter-day Saint youth in the sample who had engaged in sex at that point was nine.

232. Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 133. According to NSYR wave 3 data, no other religion was below 72%.
233. Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 176; but note page 175: “Evangelicals, Mormons, and youths who identify with another (non-Christian) religion display the lowest stated rates of pornography use here, though these numbers may be artificially low due to stronger than average social desirability bias.”
234. Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 164, 169. Many teenagers do not consider oral sex to be sex. Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 30. This is a cultural perception since ancient Romans considered oral sex to be morally worse than vaginal intercourse.
235. Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 143, 181, 141.
241. Uecker, “Religion, Pledging, and the Premarital Sexual Behavior,” 736-37.
242. Uecker, “Religion, Pledging, and the Premarital Sexual Behavior,” 737.
243. *Relationships in America Survey*, 32.
244. NSYR wave 3 data.
245. NSYR wave 3 data.
246. NSYR wave 3 data.
247. Uecker, “Religion, Pledging, and the Premarital Sexual Behavior,” 737, 739, 740-41.
248. Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 87, 104, 87.
249. *Relationships in America Survey*, 46, 55.
250. *Relationships in America Survey*, 46, 55.
251. Martha Gault-Sherman and Scott Draper, “What Will the Neighbors Think? The Effect of Moral Communities on Cohabitation,” *Review of Religious Research* 54, no. 1 (2010): 48. According to NSYR wave 3 data, Jews (at 10%) are less likely to cohabit than Latter-day Saints.
252. NSYR wave 3 data.
253. NSYR wave 3 data.
254. Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 64-69.
255. Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 66, 65.
256. Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 71.
260. Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 71; emphasis in original.
261. These are Black Protestant parents (by at least 18 points); Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 65. Compare Olsho et al., *National Survey of Adolescents and Their Parents*, x.
262. Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 123, 133, 135; Olsho et al., *National Survey of Adolescents and Their Parents*, ix, xi.
264. Olsho et al., *National Survey of Adolescents and Their Parents*, 56-57.
265. Handbook 2: Administering the Church, §21.4.11: “Parents have the primary responsibility for the sex education of their children. Teaching this subject honestly and plainly in the home will help young people avoid serious moral transgressions.”
266. Regnerus, *Forbidden Fruit*, 23.
267. NSYR wave 3 data.