Changes in Young Women’s Pregnancy Desire after a Pregnancy Scare¹

Jennifer S. Barber
Heather Gatny
Anne Clark

University of Michigan

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Keywords
Pregnancy intentions * Unintended pregnancy * Survey data * Relationship Dynamics and Social Life (RDSL) study

Short running title
Pregnancy Desire after a Pregnancy Scare

¹ Direct correspondence to the first author at jebarber@umich.edu, Institute for Social Research, PO Box 1248, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.
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Abstract
Objectives: We examined whether and how long young women became more or less likely to desire a pregnancy after experiencing a “pregnancy scare.”

Study Design: We used data from the Relationship Dynamics and Social Life (RDSL) study, based on a random, population-based sample of 992 young women from a county in Michigan. They were interviewed weekly for 2.5 years. We used logistic regression models with a within-between specification to predict pregnancy desire after a pregnancy scare.

Results: We found that the probability of desiring a pregnancy was significantly higher, on average, after a pregnancy scare than before a pregnancy scare. This increase was largest within the following week, slightly smaller but still significant within a month, and further diminished but still significant for the remainder of the study period.

Conclusions: Our analyses suggest that the experience of a pregnancy “scare” does not scare women away from wanting pregnancies. On the contrary, the state of possibly being pregnant actually makes women more likely to want to be pregnant.

Implications
Clinicians should be aware that young women who experience pregnancy scares have higher pregnancy rates than other women not only because they have undesired pregnancies, but also because they are actually more desirous of pregnancy than their peers who have not experienced a pregnancy scare.
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1. Introduction

Young women who previously experienced pregnancy scares – brief periods when they believed they were pregnant even though they wanted to avoid pregnancy – have higher rates of pregnancy [1]. This is in part because women stop using contraception, become less consistent in its use, or switch from more to less effective methods after experiencing a pregnancy scare [2]. Studies have concluded that not only is a pregnancy scare not a “wake-up call” to become better at preventing pregnancy, it appears to have the opposite effect. What is unknown is whether this is due to something about the experience of a pregnancy scare that disrupts women’s ability to use contraception to prevent pregnancy, or whether it changes their desire to prevent pregnancy.

There are several reasons that women may actually become more likely to desire a subsequent pregnancy after temporarily believing they are pregnant, even if they did not want the pregnancy. First, if others – friends, family, or the father – reacted positively to the news of a potential pregnancy, this could make the idea of a pregnancy more appealing. In fact, many young women report that their intimate partners desire pregnancy more than they themselves do [3,4]. If the partner reacts positively to the possibility of being pregnant, this could foster pregnancy desire.

Second, some pregnancy scares are probably actual pregnancies that ended in a very early miscarriage, which may trigger a biological mechanism that increases pregnancy desire. Oxytocin typically rises throughout pregnancy [5], and it promotes bonding and prosocial behavior [6] and reduces depression [7]. These feelings coupled with the idea of a pregnancy could make women more positive about pregnancy.

Third, a psychological process called mere exposure, also known as the familiarity principle, may increase desire for pregnancy. Simply being exposed to something makes an individual more positive about that thing [8]. Women who think they may be pregnant, even those who did not want to be
pregnant, could quickly adjust to the idea of being a mother and even start to want to be a mother. Each of these processes may be long- or short-lived. That is, the consequences of a pregnancy scare could dissipate within days or weeks, or could persist for years. In this study, we estimate changes in pregnancy desire in the weeks following a pregnancy scare.

2. **Material and Methods**

We use survey data from the Relationship Dynamics and Social Life (RDSL) study. This random sample of 1,003 young women ages 18–19 was selected from driver’s license and personal identification card databases to be representative of the population of a Michigan county [9,10]. Professional researchers from the University of Michigan’s Survey Research Center conducted 60-minute face-to-face baseline survey interviews at a time and location of each respondent’s choosing between March 2008 and July 2009. Women were then invited to participate in a 2.5-year follow-up study consisting of brief weekly online or telephone surveys that asked about desire for pregnancy in the upcoming month, intimate relationship characteristics, and experiences with pregnancy. The follow-up study concluded in January 2012 and yielded 58,594 weekly interviews with 992 women. The response rate for the baseline interview was 84%. 99% of baseline respondents entered the follow-up study, and 75% participated for at least 18 months [11].

The University of Michigan’s Institutional Review Board approved the study. Women provided written informed consent to participate in the baseline interviews, assent for web-based interviews, and oral consent for telephone interviews. The study mailed women a letter, along with a $5 bill, to invite them to participate. Respondents were subsequently paid $35 for the baseline interview, $5 each for the first four weekly interviews, and $1 per week thereafter, with $5 bonuses for completing five weekly interviews in a row within the 10-day “on-time” response window.

We limit our analysis of pregnancy scares and pregnancy desire to women who ever had sex...
during the study period (77%), because women who never had sex were not at risk of a pregnancy scare. We also drop women who were probably pregnant or pregnant during all of their weekly interviews (1%), because they never reported their pregnancy desire, or who only completed one weekly interview (4%), because we cannot analyze change in their pregnancy desire. This results in 41,736 weekly interviews with 759 respondents.

2.1. Dependent variable: Prospective Desire for Pregnancy

In each weekly survey, non-pregnant respondents were asked, “How much do you want to get pregnant during the next month?” They were given response options of 0 through 5, with 0 labeled “not at all want” and 5 labeled “really want.” Prior research demonstrates that any non-zero response is associated with a similarly higher pregnancy rate than a zero response [12]. Thus, we code pregnancy desire as 1 for any non-zero response (i.e., any desire), and 0 for a response of zero (i.e., no desire).

2.2. Independent variables

2.2.1 Pregnancy Scare

We use the same definition of pregnancy scare used in prior research with these data [1,2]. Each week, respondents were asked about their pregnancy status, and were coded as “not pregnant,” “probably not pregnant,” “probably pregnant,” or “pregnant.” “Pregnant” is defined as a positive pregnancy test (self-reported). An uncertain reply of “probably not pregnant” or “probably pregnant” that was not subsequently confirmed by a pregnancy test (or, eventually, a birth, miscarriage, or abortion) is considered a “pregnancy scare” if the pregnancy was not desired (occurred during a month when the woman reported no desire for pregnancy). We code several dichotomous versions of this variable. First, we code a version for three time periods: within the last week, within the last month, and ever. These measures are time-varying and coded 1 for each weekly interview with a pregnancy scare in that time period, and 0 otherwise. A second version codes three non-overlapping time periods: within the last week, within the last month excluding the prior week (i.e., within two to four weeks), and ever.
excluding the past month (i.e., 4+ weeks ago but within the study period).

2.2.2 Time-Varying Intimate relationship characteristics

Each week, RDSL ascertained whether each woman had a partner of any kind during the prior week. Respondents who had more than one partner during the prior week identified the most important or most serious one and discussed that partner in detail. Women identified multiple partners in only 1% of weeks [13].

Intimacy & commitment. We combined answers to multiple survey questions to create a weekly time-varying categorical measure of relationship type: married or engaged, cohabiting, non-co-residential relationship committed to monogamy, and relationship not committed to monogamy.

Duration. We also differentiate between short-term and long-term relationships. In our models, time-varying relationship duration is the total weeks spent with the current partner, including time spent together before and after breakups, coded in exact years. We also include a squared term in the models because the probability of desiring a pregnancy increases as a relationship endures, but eventually levels off.

2.2.3 Time-Varying Enrollment in School

We include a measure of school enrollment coded 1 during all weeks in which the respondent is enrolled part- or full-time in any educational institution.

2.2.3 Time-invariant respondent characteristics

We also include indicators of demographic characteristics, family background, sexual history, and current socioeconomic characteristics, all measured in the baseline interview. African American is coded 1 for “Black or African American” and 0 otherwise. Age at baseline is taken from the driver’s license or personal ID card records and is coded in exact years (i.e., converted to days then divided by 365). Five indicators of family background are coded 1 if the characteristic is true and 0 otherwise: respondent’s mother’s first birth was age 19 or younger, respondent’s mother’s educational attainment
was less than high school, respondent did not grow up with two parents, family received public assistance during respondent’s childhood, and respondent considers herself highly religious. Sexual history – experiences before the baseline interview – are coded 1 or 0 and include age at first sex was 16 or younger, had two or more sexual partners, ever had sex without contraception, and had any pregnancies.

2.3. Data analysis

First, we calculated the mean and standard deviation (continuous variables) or the proportion (dichotomous variables). Next, we estimated logistic regression models for our dichotomous outcome, pregnancy desire. We use the within-between specification for clustered data (using the command *xthybrid* in Stata), applied to weekly interviews clustered within individual women [14–16]. The method is called “within-between” because separate coefficients are estimated for within-woman differences (i.e., each week’s deviation from the corresponding woman-level mean) and between-women differences (i.e., differences across the woman-level means), as well as random effects for time-invariant individual-level control variables. The within-woman coefficients permit us to compare pregnancy desire during the weeks after a pregnancy scare to pregnancy desire during other weeks, and to differentiate between recent and more distal pregnancy scares. We do not present the between-woman coefficients from our models.²

As in fixed-effects models, the within-woman coefficients are net of the effect of any unmeasured stable characteristics of women that increase their probability of experiencing a pregnancy scare and their probability of desiring pregnancy at these young ages (e.g., unmeasured aspects of

² These coefficients are based on average pregnancy desire across all of a woman’s weekly interviews, including the weeks immediately following the pregnancy scare. For each woman, the fraction of total weeks that took place after a pregnancy scare is dependent on not only when she experienced her first pregnancy scare and the number of pregnancy scares she experienced, but also the total number of weekly interviews she completed.
disadvantaged socioeconomic background, low educational expectations, etc.). However, the within-
between specification combines aspects of fixed-effects models with random-effects models, such as
the inclusion of random intercepts for stable cluster-level variables. (This is why it is sometimes called a
“hybrid” approach.) We include random effects for all of the control variables described above.

The unit of analysis is the weekly interview. We present odds ratios, which represent the
multiplicative effect on the odds of desiring a pregnancy.

2.4 Results
Table 1 shows that 38.6% of women reported some desire for pregnancy at some point during the
study, and they reported such desire in 8.7% of the total weekly interviews. Further, 13.6% of women
experienced a pregnancy scare during the study period.

Women spent a great deal of time in intimate relationships during the study period – women
reported no partner during only 27.6% of their weekly interviews (although 65.2% of women were
unpartnered for at least one of their weekly interviews). The most common intimate relationship type
during the study period was a committed dating relationship (spent a lot of time together, committed to
be monogamous) – 81.4% of women were ever in such a relationship, and they reported that type of
relationship during 35.7% of their weekly interviews. On average, women’s relationships lasted 2.20
years. In all, 81.8% of women were ever enrolled in post-secondary education program, and they were
enrolled during 71.1% of their weekly interviews.

Thirty-four percent of the sample was African American. Average age at the time of the baseline
survey was 19.18 years. In terms of family background, 37.4% had a mother who gave birth as a teen,
9.1% had a mother whose education was less than high school, nearly half (48.2%) did not grow up in a
two-parent household, 37.2% received public assistance during their childhood, and 55.3% considered
themselves highly religious.
Overall, 58.5% had sex at age 16 or younger, 68.1% had two or more sexual partners before the study began, 54.4% had ever had sex without contraception, and 28.1% had at least one prior pregnancy.

In terms of their current (at the baseline interview) socioeconomic characteristics, 51.10% were employed (full- or part-time), 27.40% were receiving public assistance, and their average high school GPA was 3.09. Overall, women completed an average of 59.81 weekly interviews.

Table 2 shows that the odds of desiring a pregnancy are substantially higher following a pregnancy scare than in other weeks. The first model shows that a woman’s odds of desiring a pregnancy are nearly four times higher during the week immediately after a pregnancy scare, compared to the same woman’s odds of desiring a pregnancy in her other weekly interviews. Model 2 shows that this difference is slightly smaller when comparing a woman’s pregnancy desire during the entire month after a pregnancy scare to her pregnancy desire in other weeks, but she still has three-fold higher odds of desiring a pregnancy in the month after her pregnancy scare. Model 3 shows that this persists over time – a woman has about twice the odds of desiring a pregnancy after experiencing a pregnancy scare than she did before experiencing the pregnancy scare.

Model 4 illustrates the odds of pregnancy desire across these different time frames. In this model, the reference category is all weeks before the pregnancy scare. The coefficients represent the increased odds of desiring a pregnancy over time as the pregnancy scare becomes further in the past. In the week after the pregnancy scare, a woman has more than five times higher odds of desiring a pregnancy than she did before the pregnancy scare. After that week but within the first month after the pregnancy scare, her odds of desiring a pregnancy are more than three times higher than before the pregnancy scare. Averaging across all weeks that are more than one month after the pregnancy scare, her odds of desiring pregnancy are still nearly twice as high as before the pregnancy scare.

These differences in pregnancy desire are net of the seriousness of her intimate relationship, its
duration, and also whether she was enrolled in a post-secondary education program, all of which are strongly related to desiring pregnancy. They are also net of individual demographic characteristics, family background, pre-study sexual history, current socioeconomic characteristics, and the total number of weekly interviews a woman completed, many of which are linked to the odds of pregnancy desire during these ages.

2.5 Discussion

Previous studies have found that pregnancy scares lead to decreased contraceptive use and increased pregnancy rates. We have shown that this is likely at least in part because the experience of a pregnancy scare increases women’s desire for a pregnancy, even during these young ages. Our data cannot distinguish among several plausible mechanisms for why pregnancy desire would increase after this unwanted experience. Future research should explore the reasons behind this change.

Pregnancy scares and pregnancy desire are both strong predictors of subsequent pregnancy [1,12]. It is likely that their intersection – young women who experienced a pregnancy scare and now desire a pregnancy – represents a group of young women who are even more likely to get pregnant. Although these pregnancies will be desired at first, many young women who want to become pregnant at these ages change their mind about wanting the pregnancy before their baby is born [17]. An analysis of the same dataset showed that among the 55 women in the RDSL study who became pregnant after reporting that they desired a pregnancy, 62% retrospectively reported that they hadn’t wanted to become pregnant [17]. Having an intimate partner who responded negatively to the pregnancy was a strong predictor of that negative shift, as was not being in a serious intimate relationship. Further research should explore whether young women who develop a desire for pregnancy after experiencing a pregnancy scare are at higher risk of experiencing negative reactions from the father of their pregnancy, and/or are correspondingly more likely to change their minds about wanting the pregnancy after
Our study has several limitations. First, the sample is from a single county in Michigan, which decreases the generalizability of our models. Second, there are well-established differences between Latina, African-American, and white women in terms of pregnancy desire. Unfortunately, the RDSL’s sample of Latina women, although representative of the county in which the sample was selected, is too small to permit their analysis as a separate group. Third, the RDSL is focused solely on young women during the transition to adulthood. Older women’s experiences with pregnancy scares are likely quite different, and may also influence their pregnancy desire less or in a very different manner.

Understanding how pregnancy scares can affect young women’s feelings about pregnancy should inform clinicians and interventions to help women clarify and implement their family formation desires. One the one hand, new information as a result of a pregnancy scare – say, a partner unexpectedly reacted positively or unexpected sources of social support emerged – could explain a young woman’s abrupt desire for pregnancy. On the other hand, if there is no new information or change in circumstances, her sudden desire for pregnancy may be less secure, and if she conceives a pregnancy she could be part of the large fraction of young women who later remember their desired pregnancies as undesired [17]. These women may be important targets for pre-natal and post-natal interventions if they experience the wide range of negative psychological and health conditions that are associated with having an undesired pregnancy or birth [18,19].

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Elizabeth Cooksey, Kathie Harris, and Linda Waite.
References


[17] Barber JS, Gatny HH. Changes in Pre-Birth vs. Post-Birth Evaluations of Pregnancies as Desired or Undesired: The Role of Fathers. Work Pap Under Review. (Available at rds.psc.isr.umich.edu.).

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics (n = 41,736 weekly interviews with 759 women)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Weeks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean/%</td>
<td>SD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desired a Pregnancy</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ever Experienced a Pregnancy Scare</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Time-Varying Control Variables**

- **Seriousness**
  - No Relationship: 65.2, 27.6
  - Uncommitted: 65.6, 9.7
  - Committed: 81.4, 35.7
  - Cohabiting: 47.7, 12.9
  - Married/engaged: 32.4, 14.1
  - Duration of relationship (in exact years): 2.20 (1.82), --
  - Enrolled in school†: 81.8, 71.1

**Time-Invariant Individual-Level Control Variables**

- **Demographic Characteristics**
  - African American: 34.0, --
  - Age at baseline: 19.18 (.57), --

- **Family Background**
  - Mother’s age at first birth 19 or less: 37.4, --
  - Mother’s education less than high school: 9.1, --
  - Did not grow up in two-parent household: 48.2, --
  - Childhood public assistance receipt: 37.2, --
  - Highly religious: 55.3, --

- **Sexual History**
  - Age at first sex 16 years or less: 58.5, --
  - Number of sexual partners 2 or more: 68.1, --
  - Ever had sex without contraception: 54.4, --
  - Any prior pregnancies: 28.1, --

- **Current Socioeconomic Characteristics**
  - Employed: 51.1, --
  - Receiving public assistance: 27.4, --
  - High school GPA: 3.09 (.63), --

- **Time in Study**
  - Total number of weekly interviews: 59.81 (40.71), --

† Proportion who ever attended post-secondary education program. Time-varying version included in regression models.
### Table 2
Logistic Regression (with within-between specification) of the effects of pregnancy scares on the odds of pregnancy desire (N = 41,736 weekly interviews with 759 women)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>OR</th>
<th>95% CI</th>
<th>OR</th>
<th>95% CI</th>
<th>OR</th>
<th>95% CI</th>
<th>OR</th>
<th>95% CI</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pregnancy Scare</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Last week</td>
<td>3.697 **</td>
<td>(2.271,6.017)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5.291 **</td>
<td>(3.199,8.751)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within the past month</td>
<td>3.044 **</td>
<td>(2.262,4.095)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.059 **</td>
<td>(1.541,2.751)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ever</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.159 **</td>
<td>(2.215,4.508)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.805 **</td>
<td>(1.364,2.390)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Time-Varying Control Variables</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Seriousness of current relationship</td>
<td>1.209 (0.922,1.584)</td>
<td>1.174 (0.895,1.541)</td>
<td>1.221 (0.932,1.599)</td>
<td>1.186 (0.904,1.556)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncommitted dating</td>
<td>2.566 **</td>
<td>(2.065,3.189)</td>
<td>2.529 **</td>
<td>(2.034,3.144)</td>
<td>2.639 **</td>
<td>(2.122,3.283)</td>
<td>2.558 **</td>
<td>(2.055,3.184)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committed dating</td>
<td>2.924 **</td>
<td>(2.222,3.846)</td>
<td>2.875 **</td>
<td>(2.183,3.785)</td>
<td>2.833 **</td>
<td>(2.151,3.732)</td>
<td>2.814 **</td>
<td>(2.135,3.709)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married/engaged</td>
<td>1.673 **</td>
<td>(1.412,1.981)</td>
<td>1.687 **</td>
<td>(1.424,1.999)</td>
<td>1.661 **</td>
<td>(1.403,1.967)</td>
<td>1.693 **</td>
<td>(1.428,2.007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration squared</td>
<td>0.876 **</td>
<td>(0.845,0.908)</td>
<td>0.877 **</td>
<td>(0.846,0.909)</td>
<td>0.875 **</td>
<td>(0.844,0.907)</td>
<td>0.875 **</td>
<td>(0.844,0.907)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrolled in school</td>
<td>0.765 **</td>
<td>(0.665,0.891)</td>
<td>0.762 **</td>
<td>(0.654,0.887)</td>
<td>0.790 **</td>
<td>(0.678,0.920)</td>
<td>0.780 **</td>
<td>(0.669,0.909)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Time-Invariant Individual-Level Control Variables</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>African American</td>
<td>2.789 **</td>
<td>(1.482,5.249)</td>
<td>2.707 **</td>
<td>(1.436,5.104)</td>
<td>2.438 **</td>
<td>(1.298,4.577)</td>
<td>2.432 **</td>
<td>(1.294,4.569)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age at baseline</td>
<td>0.658 (0.425,1.020)</td>
<td>0.667 (0.431,1.034)</td>
<td>0.703 (0.455,1.088)</td>
<td>0.693 (0.448,1.073)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Family Background</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mother &lt;20 at first birth</td>
<td>1.570 (0.940,2.623)</td>
<td>1.593 (0.954,2.662)</td>
<td>1.684 *  (1.013,2.799)</td>
<td>1.618 (0.971,2.695)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's education &lt; high school</td>
<td>0.584 (0.259,1.314)</td>
<td>0.555 (0.246,1.253)</td>
<td>0.548 (0.244,1.233)</td>
<td>0.567 (0.252,1.276)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not raised in 2-parent household</td>
<td>1.350 (0.798,2.287)</td>
<td>1.369 (0.808,2.318)</td>
<td>1.350 (0.800,2.278)</td>
<td>1.301 (0.770,2.198)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received public assistance during childhood</td>
<td>2.813 ** (1.667,4.746)</td>
<td>2.839 ** (1.684,4.794)</td>
<td>2.619 ** (1.557,4.403)</td>
<td>2.673 ** (1.566,4.438)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highly religious</td>
<td>0.583 *  (0.346,0.983)</td>
<td>0.563 *  (0.333,0.950)</td>
<td>0.490 ** (0.290,0.827)</td>
<td>0.502 *  (0.297,0.849)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sexual History</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age at first sex 16 years or less</td>
<td>1.164 (0.630,2.150)</td>
<td>1.148 (0.622,2.122)</td>
<td>1.084 (0.589,1.993)</td>
<td>1.083 (0.588,1.994)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of sexual partners 2 or more</td>
<td>1.379 (0.713,2.669)</td>
<td>1.382 (0.714,2.676)</td>
<td>1.390 (0.720,2.680)</td>
<td>1.371 (0.711,2.645)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ever had sex without contraception</td>
<td>2.987 ** (1.685,5.295)</td>
<td>2.928 ** (1.652,5.189)</td>
<td>2.777 ** (1.576,4.896)</td>
<td>2.791 ** (1.582,4.925)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any prior pregnancies</td>
<td>0.493 *  (0.254,0.954)</td>
<td>0.498 *  (0.257,0.965)</td>
<td>0.526 (0.274,1.012)</td>
<td>0.510 *  (0.265,0.980)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Current Socioeconomic Characteristics</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>1.062 (0.640,1.763)</td>
<td>1.074 (0.646,1.784)</td>
<td>1.043 (0.631,1.725)</td>
<td>1.069 (0.645,1.772)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Receiving public assistance</td>
<td>1.146 (0.606,2.168)</td>
<td>1.136 (0.600,2.151)</td>
<td>1.065 (0.565,2.006)</td>
<td>1.075 (0.571,2.025)</td>
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<tr>
<td>High school GPA</td>
<td>0.688 (0.455,1.039)</td>
<td>0.683 (0.452,1.032)</td>
<td>0.764 (0.506,1.154)</td>
<td>0.768 (0.508,1.161)</td>
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<td><strong>Time in Study</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Total number of weekly interviews</td>
<td>1.009 * (1.002,1.016)</td>
<td>1.009 * (1.001,1.016)</td>
<td>1.003 (0.996,1.010)</td>
<td>1.003 (0.996,1.011)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chi-Squared</td>
<td>561.47</td>
<td>584.42</td>
<td>569.1</td>
<td>615.35</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05, ** p < .01, two-tailed tests